Securing the Arctic
– A comparative study of mainstream media representation of the securitization of the Arctic in Norway and Canada

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Abstract
This thesis aims to describe and compare how the securitization of the Arctic is represented in mainstream media of Norway and Canada. As two Arctic nations part of the likeminded group in international relations it is interesting to see how national media frames respective nations’ Arctic interests and strategy. Based on securitization and framing theory this thesis identifies themes and trends surrounding the Arctic by using three different security concepts: economic security, traditional security and environmental security. The data for study will be in total 189 full-text articles from both nations’ mainstream media, where search terms relating to a security grammar will be used. A qualitative content analysis will be employed on articles from Norwegian media, specifically Aftenposten, and Canadian media, The Globe and Mail. The analysis will show that both Norwegian and Canadian mainstream media thematically framed the securitization of the Arctic predominantly through the same security concepts. Yet there were differences in relation to attitudes towards Arctic securitization where Canadian media showed a more assertive disposition towards other nations involvement. Norwegian media, on the other hand was more inclined towards regional cooperation.

Securitization | Arctic | Framing | Mainstream Media | Norway | Canada
# Table of Contents

1. Introduction .................................................................................................................. 1
   1.1 Multivariate response to security ............................................................................. 4

2. Literature Review ............................................................................................................. 6
   2.1 Global Commons & Securitization ............................................................................ 6
   2.2 Securitization of the Arctic ....................................................................................... 7
   2.3 Media, Securitization & the Arctic ........................................................................... 8
   2.4 Gap .............................................................................................................................. 9

3. Theoretical Approach ...................................................................................................... 10
   3.1 The Theory of Securitization and Different Concepts of Security .............................. 10
      3.1.1 Environmental security .................................................................................... 12
      3.1.2 Economic Security .......................................................................................... 13
      3.1.3 Traditional Security ......................................................................................... 15
   3.2 Framing Theory ......................................................................................................... 15
   3.3 Operationalization ..................................................................................................... 17
      3.3.1 Indicators .......................................................................................................... 18
   3.4 Analytical Framework .............................................................................................. 20

4. Specified Aim and Research Questions ........................................................................ 21

5. Research Design & Methodology .................................................................................. 22
   5.1 Research Design ........................................................................................................ 22
   5.2 Case Selection ............................................................................................................ 23
   5.3 Selection of Data ........................................................................................................ 24
   5.4 Methods for Analysis .............................................................................................. 25

6. Results/Analysis ............................................................................................................. 27
   6.1 Other States’ Unilateral Actions .............................................................................. 27
      6.1.1 Aftenposten ....................................................................................................... 27
      6.1.2 The Globe and Mail ........................................................................................... 30
      6.1.3 Comparative Analysis: Other States’ Unilateral Actions ..................................... 32
   6.2 Climate Change as a threat multiplier ..................................................................... 33
      6.2.1 Aftenposten ....................................................................................................... 33
      6.2.2 The Globe and Mail ........................................................................................... 36
      6.2.3 Comparative Analysis: Climate Change as a Threat Multiplier ............................ 38
   6.3 Arctic Resources ....................................................................................................... 39
      6.3.1 Aftenposten ....................................................................................................... 39
      6.3.2 The Globe and Mail ........................................................................................... 42
      6.3.3 Comparative Analysis: Arctic Resources ........................................................... 44
6.4 Emergence of Alternative Navigation Routes ................................................................. 45
  6.4.1 Aftenposten .................................................................................................................. 46
  6.4.2 The Globe and Mail .................................................................................................... 47
  6.4.3 Comparative Analysis: Emergence of Alternative Navigation Routes ....................... 49

7. Conclusion .......................................................................................................................... 51

8. Bibliography ........................................................................................................................ 54

IX. Appendix ........................................................................................................................... 60
  IX.I Allocation of Indicators .................................................................................................. 60
  IX.II Articles from Aftenposten ............................................................................................ 62
  IX.III Articles from The Globe and Mail ................................................................................ 64

List of Tables

Table 1: Typologies of Economic Security .............................................................................. 14
Table 2: Potential Outcomes of Security Concepts .................................................................. 18
Table 3: The Analytical Framework ........................................................................................ 20
Table 4: Coding of Data .......................................................................................................... 26
Table 5: Allocation of Indicators for Aftenposten ................................................................. 60
Table 6: Allocation of Indicators for The Globe and Mail ...................................................... 61
1. Introduction

In May of 2008 a team of U.S. Geological Survey scientists had a mission to estimate the future potential of the Arctic’s oil and gas resources. The sum of the mean estimates of undiscovered resources suggested that the Arctic held 90 billion barrels of oil, 1,669 trillion cubic feet of natural gas, and 44 billion barrels of natural gas liquids. That is 22 percent of all the world's oil and gas. Of this approximately 84 percent was expected to be found offshore (USGS, 2008). During summer, the Arctic ice is 40% smaller than it was 30 years ago, additionally by some estimations, the Arctic region\(^1\) will be completely ice free during the summer months in 20 to 30 years. The prediction of the melting of the ice caps also has tremendous implications for international trade. The emerging Asian consumer markets offers up huge economic potential for future maritime trade through the now frozen Arctic. Climate change and the melting of ice in the Arctic is acting as a Threat Multiplier\(^2\) and will have implications for human and state interactions in the region (Czarny Ryszard, 2015; Elliot-Meisel, 2009; Schäfer, Scheffran and Penniket, 2015).

The potential gains expected to be found in the Arctic has made many actors\(^3\) active in the international community regarding the region. To complicate matters further for the stakeholders of the Arctic territories, much of the region falls under the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) of 1982. UNCLOS makes it possible for all countries to take part of the Arctic resources outside each Arctic country’s exclusive economic zone (EEZ)\(^4\) (Czarny Ryszard, 2015; Osica, 2010). Due to this, many of the Arctic countries work to legitimize their claim over the Arctic.

One way for actors to gain more power on an issue is through the use of successful securitization. The theory of securitization explains how something moves to become a security issue, which can be characterized by the accepted use of extraordinary measures. If an issue is successfully securitized it will grant the securitizing actor power. Specifically,

\(^1\) The Arctic region is contested and is partially held by five states bordering the Arctic Ocean called the Arctic five (Russia, the United States/Alaska, Canada, Denmark/Greenland and Norway). In addition, three concerned parties whose lands are located next to the Arctic are Iceland, Finland and Sweden (Arctic Eight) (Osica, 2010).

\(^2\) 2014 Quadrennial Defense Review defines threat multipliers as: effects of climate change that will aggravate stressors abroad. E.g. Poverty, environmental degradation, political instability, and social tensions conditions which can increase different forms of conflict or even terrorist activity (U.S. Department of Defense, 2014).

\(^3\) International organizations, supranational entities, non-governmental organizations, international corporations, indigenous tribes such as the Barents Council, the Council of the Baltic Sea States, the Northern Dimension (Sub regional Institutions), the European Union and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) (Osica. 2010).

\(^4\) A country's exclusive economic zone reaches 200 nautical miles from the shore line. If the continental shelf extends beyond the EEZ an additional 150 nautical miles can be effectively claimed granting additional sovereignty over the seabed resources in that area. (Czarny Ryszard, 2015; Osica, 2010).
Buzan et al (1998; 21) describes it as the justification to use whatever means that are necessary to block a threatening development. An example of an actor being granted extraordinary measures was during the aftermath of 9/11. Where conservative think tanks connected the Bush administration with strong ties to the media which started to propagandize the threat of terrorism to the American people thereby granting the Bush administration the right to use extraordinary measures in invading both Afghanistan and Iraq (Dolinec, 2010).

The Arctic has gone through several changes when it comes to the characteristics of the political environment around it during the last century. Cold War relations in the Arctic were marked by militarization and political stasis. After the Cold War relations became more amicable in the Arctic, especially after the introduction of sub-regional organizations for increased cooperation, desecuritization and demilitarization. This trend started with Mikhail Gorbachev's policy initiative to transform the Arctic to an international zone of peace. But the progress towards peace was not to last. A third change to international relations and security in the Arctic had its start with the hoisting of the Russian flag on the Arctic Ocean seabed in August 2007 and later the intensification after the Crimean crisis. The modern Arctic security narrative is marked by a re-militarization but more importantly an increase in non-military securitization of the Arctic (Knecht, 2012; Osica, 2010; Gritsenko, 2016; Åtland, 2008).

Within this present security environment, different Arctic states have adopted different roles in their foreign policy. The countries of Norway and Canada are good examples on how the Arctic region is affecting foreign policy. Both countries have a similar approach to foreign policy but when it comes to the Arctic, the similarities end. Canada perceives the Arctic as a part of its identity, meaning that the political, economic and social future of Canada is connected with its Arctic policies. Canadian Arctic policy is determined by three main challenges: maintenance of sovereign rights to control and exploit natural resources, political and legal disputes with other states. Norway in the same way as Canada perceives itself as an Arctic state and is dependent on the Arctic economically. But the Norwegian approach to the Arctic is one of regional cooperation and development. Norway and Canada are two states which are like-minded in many ways in the international community but the Arctic is setting them apart (Osica, 2010).

With the Arctic gaining significance as a geopolitical region for state actors, media coverage of the Arctic has increased. Since 2007, news regarding the region became more politically and economically charged in contrast to previous years (Christensen & Nilsson 2017: 259). With the mainstream media being one of the largest forums of information available and targeted to the public, it could be argued that it is constantly shaping public
opinion (Chong & Druckman, 2007), thus having an effect on how people and policymakers perceive the situation in the Arctic. Framing theory highlights particular issues of a perceived reality in order to elevate them and obscure others in the eyes of the audience. Depending on how something is framed in mainstream media, it has the potential to lead to severely different opinions in the public sphere and even policymaking. It arguably heralds what type of political action can be taken but also justifies said action (Rowe, 2013: 233). Even though media coverage of the Arctic has increased during the last decade, the body of research on media representation of a securitized Arctic is still quite small. In this thesis the goal is to look at and answer the research question: How is the securitization of the Arctic represented in mainstream media of the Arctic stakeholders Norway & Canada?

To summarize, one of the main interests of the Arctic from the perspective of states is the search of new raw materials and the emergence of new transport routes to the Asian markets. With the impact of climate change and the new political dynamics of the world, the importance of the Arctic region have had a revival in international relations. Some have started to describe the positioning in the Arctic as the next great international game while others have pointed out it is a good example for international cooperation, either way the Arctic is a future international hotspot on international waters (Czarny Ryszard, 2015; Osica, 2010). By looking at mainstream media's framing of the Arctic in Norway and Canada this thesis will try to add to the research about the securitization of the Arctic.

This thesis starts with a literature review on prior research regarding the securitization of the Arctic and mainstream media’s representation of it. The next chapter entails the theoretical approach of this thesis. It introduces the theory of securitization, different concepts of security as well as framing theory and concludes with an analytical framework constructed to identify and analyze the data found. The following chapter makes explicit the specified aim of this thesis along with its research questions. Chapter five presents the applied research design and methods. It describes the descriptive comparative design implemented as well as an explanation on the method of data gathering and qualitative content analysis of data. Chapter six contains the results and analysis of the media’s representation of the securitization of the Arctic. Lastly, chapter seven contains the conclusion of the thesis.

5Chosen mainstream media for Norway is Aftenposten and chosen mainstream media for Canada is The Globe and Mail.
1.1 Multivariate response to security

Since the end of the Cold War there has existed a need to broaden the scope of what constitutes as security in international relations. With the implementation of newer and different security concepts such as economic security, environmental security, societal security\(^6\) as well as human security\(^7\) came a need of widening the proactive responses to security issues (Alkire, 2003; Buzan et al. 1998). As the nature of what characterizes as a threat differ between the different security concepts the response will differ as well. A multi-dimensional response requiring cooperation or of non-military nature may or may not be the best response when dealing with traditional security threats (Al-Rodhan, 2009; Barbi & Ferreira 2014; Brauch, 2011).

An example of how a security threat, through the lens of different security concepts, creates different responses can be found in the US-Canadian dispute over the Northwest Passage\(^8\). In 1969 in a joint mission between the United States, Canada and the Humble Oil Company, the SS Manhattan journeyed through the passage to test the possibility of the establishment of a new trade route. Some Canadian officials and media outlets were quick to condemn the voyage as a breach of national security and Canadian sovereignty, and were demanding reestablishment of Canadian dominance in the region and increased traditional security measures. The Canadian government responded to the outburst by downplaying the role of sovereignty in the Arctic shifting the focus to the environmental threat the Arctic poses with emphasis on the protection of the Arctic climate and ecology, linking sovereignty to environmental security. In response to the Canadian outburst, the US government in order to protect future prospects, declared that the territorial claims were unilateral infringements of the freedom of the seas\(^9\), and demanded that differences should be submitted to the International Court of Justice as well as putting international pressure on the country (Watson, 2016).

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\(^6\) Societal security focuses on threats to the identity of individuals identifying themselves with a community (Buzan et al. 1998: 95-103).

\(^7\) Human security is heavily associated with the 1994 Human Development Report on Human Security from the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). The intent of Human Security is to link the concepts of freedom from fear (violence, repression) and the freedom from want (poverty, privation, chronic hurt). What characterize Human security and differentiate it from other forms of security can be categorized into four essential characteristics. It is people-centered. Human security is concerned with how humans live in a society, how free they are in their choices, the amount of access to the market and social opportunities and whether people live in conflict or in peace (Alkire, 2003).

\(^8\) The Northwest Passage is a potential sea and trade route between Greenland and Canada that is opening up due to the melting of the ice in the Arctic. The passageway will reduce travel time from the Atlantic to Eastern America and Asia substantially. Canada claims large part of the route as territorial waters and is currently in a dispute about the claims with United States and the international community (Osica, 2010).

\(^9\) The freedom of the seas is the concept that The U.N. Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) is built upon. UNCLOS gives every state the right to operate and gather resources without interference from other states on international waters (Young, 2016).
The significance of the use of different concepts of security in a securitizing move, as shown in the example, shows that outcomes will depend on how a security issue is conceptualized. Thus it becomes important to study the securitization of the Arctic from the perspectives of the different security concepts.
2. Literature Review

This literature review will contain four parts. The first part presents the securitization of the Arctic as a part of the Global Commons. The second part presents previous research about the securitization of the Arctic. The third part delves into previous literature on media’s role in the framing of the Arctic. Lastly there is a presentation of the gap.

2.1 Global Commons & Securitization

Global climate change is altering the geopolitical landscape. In particular, the melting of the sea ice in the Arctic have presented the world with new debates and divergent opinions regarding the newly available natural resources, sea trade routes, emerging environmental problems and corresponding threats surrounding the region. With conflicting inter-state views, the Arctic territories have become increasingly important in the policymaking of the Arctic states and actors.

While the Arctic is not included in the official Global Commons\(^{10}\), it is a territory with vast amounts of natural resources in both an international and national environment. It could be argued that the Arctic high seas (international waters) which includes the North Pole and the surrounding Arctic Ocean is under the domain of the Global Commons since the high seas is one of the classic accepted global commons. Not only does it fit the definition of being a global or shared resource domain to some degree, it has been mentioned in relation to Global Commons as well as receiving an increased international focus as key terrain in security calculations for states (Dauvergne, 2012; Jasper, 2010:25). The Global Commons have been argued to play a powerful role in international relations because of their capabilities for economic growth and prosperity, flow of information and goods, paradoxically it is these same reasons that is the basis for potentially increased global insecurity (Jasper, 2010). The Arctic as a contested region has seen more coverage during the last decade due to its significance as a territory of yet unclaimed natural resources. Because of this, there has been an increasing amount of literature on not only the Arctic and its securitization but also climate changes and security. It has been said that climate change acts as a “Threat Multiplier” and thus has implications for human and state interaction. It has the possibility to create regional disputes and increase rivalry between states through increasing competitiveness over

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\(^{10}\) "Global commons” is a term used describe natural or man-made assets outside national jurisdiction. It officially includes international waters, the atmosphere, outer space and arguably cyberspace (Jasper, 2010)
resources (water, energy and food supply) and territory (Schäfer, Scheffran and Penniket, 2015; Trombetta, 2008).

### 2.2 Securitization of the Arctic

Previous research into the Securitization of the Arctic, which has focused on governmental policies and speech acts of state officials, has identified three intervals of securitization patterns since World War II that have been the general international discourse about the Arctic region. The intervals show that the Arctic security discourse has gone through a Cold War securitization to a post-Cold War desecuritization. It has been a shift from a focus on military security to a new securitization discourse in a post-post-Cold War period which have a more inclusive non-military threat agenda. The new threats are environmental, social, economic and spilling over into the political. The new securitization of the Arctic is not a fallback to the Cold War era or an anarchic scramble for its resources. The issue of securitization in the Arctic has largely moved over into jurisdictional disputes of who have sovereignty over not yet demarcated continental shelves (Knecht, 2012). The desecuritization of the heavily securitized Cold War Arctic started in October 1987 when the Secretary-General of the Soviet Communist Party, Mikhail Gorbachev introduced a series of policies with the initiative to transform the Arctic to an international zone of peace. Previous research has shown that the desecuritization of the Arctic discourse was not irreversible and with new security threats emerging again in the Arctic international discourse, a trend of re-securitization of the Arctic has been observed (Åtland, 2008).

Jensen (2013) who traced the gradual changes in the security discourse about the Arctic have identified two modes of Arctic security discourse in international relations. The research showed that security discourse of the Arctic does not only revolve around military and political objects anymore but is inclusive of other forms of security. The modes are still hierarchical in structure with the military-political focus on stabilization of the region still dominant but there is a second mode present of the so called high politics discourse which is connected to the securitization of a multitude of themes such as human security, societal security, energy security and environmental security (Jensen, 2013). The re-securitization that has been observed occurring in the Arctic discourse in international politics is not same in nature as during the Cold-War but re-securitization of the Arctic has become an increasing concern for international security since 9/11 in 2001 (Greaves, 2016; Hossain, 2016; Watson, 2013).
2.3 Media, Securitization & the Arctic

Previous research into the securitization of the Arctic has had a focus on governmental policies or speech acts of state officials yet no substantial focus has been put on media’s role in it (Greaves, 2016; Hossain, 2016; Jensen, 2013; Knecht, 2012; Watson, 2013; Åtland, 2008). When it comes to the media in relation to security, the common role for mainstream media in a security analysis is to be the mediators of a speech act. As pointed out before, successful securitization needs to have acceptance from the targeted audience. For this purpose mainstream media has a huge part in successful securitization since it is one of the largest forums of information offered to the public. It fills the role of informative function in society, mediating between different actors and the public. It is here the securitizing actors have the chance to gain political support for their agenda and strengthen their position in the public sphere (Dolinec, 2010). Yet media is not a neutral mediator either by choice or by source (Schäfer, Scheffran and Penniket, 2015:81). An issue can have many explanations or subjective interpretations and depending on mainstream media’s coverage or framing, different truths can be accepted by the audience. Mainstream media has the ability to promote a speech act from securitizing actors and thus, in extension, is a securitizing actor by its own means. Mainstream media can also be involved in the process of securitization directly by creating their own speech act based on opinions hold by the specific media outlet, journalist or individual due to its ability to reach out and persuade the audience (readers, listeners or viewers). It has the capability to influence public agenda. Shapes public discourse, and in the case of securitization, shape the security discourse by choosing what particular speech act is to be represented for the audience (Dolinec, 2010).

Since mainstream media is a big influencer on public and policymaker opinions, it is interesting to see how the Arctic is portrayed in aforementioned media. With the melting of the Arctic sea ice due to anthropogenic climate change, the mainstream media coverage of the Arctic has increased and become associated with other factors over the last decade. Particularly, it was around 2007 that regular Arctic themes including environmental issues and ecology became interconnected with topics such as economy, politics and security in the media (Christensen & Nilsson 2017: 259).

Previous literature on media representation of the Arctic suggests there is a disconnect, or a selective choice process between scientific facts, media portrayal and public opinion, due

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11 Media in securitization can be used as a tool, used as an informative function, projecting the securitization to a broader audience and thus becomes a mediator between securitizing actors and audience (Dolinec, 2010).
to various reasons such as structure of media institutions, stakeholder relations, values, personal interpretation and the politics of climate change (Christensen & Nilsson 2017: 260-263). News about the Arctic have become more interlinked with economic, social and political issues during the last decade such as exports and national territorial disputes. With these entwined values, media has put more focus on the Arctic as either a zone for latent conflict or multilateral cooperation. This particular framing by the media is further researched upon by another group of authors who indicate that the Arctic (securitization) is often portrayed in different media through 2-3 templates which includes: Scramble for the Arctic, Conflict and Oil & Resources (Pincus & Ali, 2016; Rowe, 2013).

Previous research has shown that media plays a part in framing the securitization of the Arctic as a territory. Arguably, this has a direct influence on public opinion and indirectly affects Arctic policy outcomes. The significance of through what security concept an issue is presented, is important to research, depending on what concept is used the outcome will vary. How something is framed not only heralds what type of political action can be taken but also justifies said action (Rowe, 2013: 233).

2.4 Gap
The securitization of the Arctic in recent years has left a gap in current literature on how the security of the Arctic is represented in mainstream media through the different security concepts. The significance of researching media has its roots in its role as a tool for securitizing rhetoric, reaching out to a broader audience. If the speech act becomes accepted, future extraordinary measures will be easier to implement. Thus it becomes interesting to try to understand what kind of message about the securitization of the Arctic media is representing because as written previously, depending on how it is represented, different outcomes will be possible for the actors involved. Even though media plays a vital role in the framing of the Arctic as a security threat, it is not yet a topic heavily researched upon. It is the aim of this thesis to contribute to fill in this gap.

3. Theoretical Approach

This chapter will introduce the theoretical concepts used to answer the research question which is: How is the securitization of the Arctic represented in mainstream media of the Arctic stakeholders Norway & Canada? This chapter will contain four different parts. Firstly, the theory of securitization is presented. Following that, three theoretical approaches to security will be presented which are environmental, economic and traditional security. The second part will consist of a presentation of framing theory which will be used to construct the analytical framework. The third part explains the operationalization of the theoretical approaches to security which are included in the analytical framework. The last part contains the analytical framework used in this thesis.

3.1 The Theory of Securitization and Different Concepts of Security

To answer the question how the securitization of the Arctic is represented in media one first needs to define what securitization is as well as related concepts to the theory.

“Securitization can be defined as an actor’s agenda to frame security status through speech act and other means for a particular issue in order to gain power to endorse emergency measures going beyond regular politics” (Buzan et al. 1998; vii).

The concept of securitization contains four units: the securitizing actor, the referent object, the existential threat and functional actors. The securitizing actors are the units responsible for the move to state that a referent object is existentially threatened. Through the use of speech act, the actor tries to convince the audience that the issue which is being securitized is an existential threat (Buzan et al. 1998).

To construct an existential threat a securitizing actor needs to follow two facilitating conditions, one internal and one external. The internal condition is the creation of a (in) security narrative, construction of a threat, use of security grammar, a plot consisting of a threat, point of no return and a way out. In addition, the threat must be made in a dialect accepted by the relevant audience. The external condition relies on the actor’s social capital as well as the contextual structure of the threat in relation to the audience. This means if the actor is in a position of power and the threat seems logical, the probability of a successful securitization will increase (Buzan et al. 1998: 21-45). Thus when an issue is securitized it moves from the realm of politics to the realm of security which has the effect of silencing and obscuring the issue on the political level (Buzan et al. 1998: 34).
The act of attempting to construct an issue as a threat to move it from normal politics into a security sphere is called a securitizing move. In the original conceptualization this is done through speech act but later research have argued that it can be done through a number of different mediums (Buzan et al. 1998: 21-45; Williams, 2003). Functional actors are actors that are not securitizing actors or referent objects but those whom have an influence on the political decisions in the field of security. Functional actors are different depending on what issues are being securitized (Buzan et al. 1998: 21-45; Mcdonald, 2014:64-72). The referent object can be anything that the securitizing actor believes is worth saving, but in practice it is constrained by facilitating conditions such as historical or normative perceptions of the existential threat (Buzan et al. 1998: 36-37; McDonald, 2014:64-72). Easily accepted referent objects can be states, ideologies, a nation’s economy, religions, culture or the environment (Buzan et al. 1998: 22-23).

The clearest role for media in securitization is to be the mediators of speech act. Media is a big factor in shaping public discourse and in the case of securitization the security discourse by choosing what particular speech act is to be represented for the audience. Media fills the role as the informative functional actor in society, acting as a forum between different actors and the public. But usually media is not a neutral mediator either by choice or by source. An issue can have many explanations and depending on media’s coverage different truths can be accepted by the audience. Media has the ability to promote speech act of securitizing actors but is arguably a securitizing actor by its own volition. Media can also be involved in the process of securitization directly by creating their own speech act based on opinions held by the specific media outlet, journalist or individual due to its ability to reach out and persuade the audience (readers, listeners or viewers)(Dolinec, 2010).

Buzan et al (1998) has been influential in broadening the security discourse to include more than just military-political factors. While the Copenhagen school of security studies helped widen the field of security it has gained some criticism over the conceptualization of the different security sectors (Greaves, 2011:221; Rothe, 2017; Dent, 2007). Security sectors are arenas which contains a certain type of security interactions. The sector specific security complexes can be divided into military, political, economic, societal and environmental categories. By putting the survival of collective units and principles as the core of security studies one has the basis for applying security analysis to all the different sectors. Using the sectors as lenses makes it possible to highlight certain aspects of the different interactions and relationships within the international system (Buzan et al. 1998: 27-28). The approach offers the security analysis the possibility of investigating the sector specific dynamics of the chosen
subject as well as specific types of intersubjective interactions of the actors involved (Buzan et al. 1998: 7–17; Mcdonald, 2014: 64-72). This thesis is applying three security sectoral lenses to media's representation of securitization of the Arctic and they will hence be called security concepts or conceptual approaches to security for the sake of consistency.

3.1.1 Environmental security

“Environmental security concerns the maintenance of the local and the planetary biosphere as the essential support system on which all other human enterprise depend” (Buzan, 1991:19-20).

A relatively new security discourse emerged after the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment in 1972 (Buzan et al. 1998: 71). It focuses on the relationship between nature and human civilization. With concerns over resources such as water, fertile land, energy and clean air; environmental security is integral to the survival of civilization and thus other branches of security. Without the environment and its ecosystems, the preservation or development of the achieved level of civilization is unsustainable. When facing a threat from the environment (e.g. climate change) the only way to secure society is to adapt or change. Because environmental threats exist on several levels and can vary in scale, from the local to the global, the range of possible referent objects in environmental security is substantial and can include the survival of individual species, collective human enterprise (such as states and communities) to the entire biosphere (Buzan et al. 1998: 23, 76). The overall rationale behind environmental security is to protect the environment in order to protect the referent object.

As presented by Buzan et al (1998) it has been referred to as the “ultimate security” by some analysts, yet others call it a “pollution of security proper” because of its distance from the traditional school of security. Since the concept of this security discourse is relatively new it has been seen somewhat controversial in regard to other sectors in security studies. Additionally, whether a threat to the environment is real or theoretical is not critical for the political agenda. It is the presumed urgency that generates securitizing moves by actors. Immediate threats are more likely to be acted upon than apparent threats in the future (Buzan et al. 1998:73). When discussing the critique against this concept, it has been claimed that environmental security is too narrow with much of its focus on the speech act and the verbal construction of threats, and that it creates a border between physical reality and the socially
constructed world, by focusing on perceptions of threats that cannot always be directly seen instead of existing, objective threats (Rothe, 2017: 336).

An interesting characteristic of environmental security is the existence of both scientific and political agenda, which often overlap in media and public deliberations. Environmental concerns are constructed outside the political sphere by scientists and research institutions which creates a foundation for securitizing or desecuritizing moves for different actors. It is not uncommon for the scientific argument to structure the environmental security debate. (Buzan et al. 1998: 71-72).

### 3.1.2 Economic Security

When it comes to economic security some researchers argues that the Copenhagen school avoids merging security and economics with the reasoning that economic security is the relationship between the political structure of anarchy and the economic structure of the market. But economic security has, since the end of the Cold War, received an increasingly crucial role in nations’ national security agendas due to the growing interdependence between international entities (Dent, 2007).

Since the end of the Cold War there has been a shift in global geopolitics when it comes to international security. From a politico-military perspective to a more inclusive discourse containing threats of environmental, societal and economic nature. A post-Cold War shift from geopolitics to geo-economics has occurred in international relations and due to globalization, economic security has become a key part of states’ security agendas. Economic security has become important in countries’ military-political agendas (economic security nexus) but is often mixed together with traditional security. Thus it becomes important to characterize what economic security actually is.

The intent of economic security is to identify economic security motivations in foreign economic policy actions (FEP). The pursuit of economic security can broadly be characterized by FEP actions. It can be divided into two dimensions. The first dimension is technical policy realms, which in turn can be divided up into core elements (trade, Foreign Direct Investment, international finance and foreign aid policy) and associative elements (policy’s affecting core elements). The second dimension is economic diplomacy which concerns how the policies of the first dimension are conducted between different agents of FEP. To be able to identify economic security in addition to technical policy realms and economic diplomacy economic security also needs three orientating interactive dimensions to take into consideration. The first interactive dimension is cognitive ideological approach which is how different
ideological “nodes” of thought (neo-mercantilism, liberalism etc.) effect FEP. The second interactive dimension is *contesting actor-based influence*, how different organizations from a domestic to an international level affect the FEP. The last interactive dimension is *generic economic security objectives* (Dent, 2007). By taking into consideration the differentiation between economic security nexus and economic security modeling the intent of Economic security after the structure of FEP the definition of economic security is;

> “Safeguarding the structural integrity and prosperity- generating capabilities and interest of a politico-economic entity in the context of various external risks and threats that confront it in the international economic system.”(Dent, 2007: 244).

The political-economic entity needs to safeguard its territorial and extraterritorial economic interest from FEP. The objective of economic security thus becomes to keep the internal construction of economy in the interactions in the global economy (Dent, 2007). The objectives of economic security can be divided into eight different typologies: supply security, market-access security, finance credit security, techno industrial capability security, socio economic paradigm security, trans-border community security, alliance security and systematic security (Dent, 2007). The typologies can be used as a framework to identify economic security indicators as can be seen in table 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Typologies of Economic Security</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Supply security</td>
<td>Securing key supply chains containing foreign resources.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Market-access security</td>
<td>Securing the best access possible to key foreign markets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance credit security</td>
<td>Ensuring financial solvency and maintaining/access/influence sources of international credit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Techno industrial capability security</td>
<td>Preserving the ability of generating prosperity by maintaining an economic position close to the technological frontier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socio economic paradigm security</td>
<td>The defense of societies preferred socio-economic paradigm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trans-border community security</td>
<td>Securing local and regional concerns to the economy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alliance security</td>
<td>Maintaining international economic partnership with state and non-state actors.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Systematic security</td>
<td>Securing the integrity of the international economic system.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Dent, 2007)
3.1.3 Traditional Security

Taken from traditional school of security, this security discourse includes both the political and military sectors established by Buzan et al (1998). This thesis chooses to use the term *traditional security* instead of *national security*. National security can be regarded as an ambiguous term as it encompasses many different types of security sectors such as economic, political and military. Whereas the traditional security perspective mainly incorporates ideas regarding state, constitution, sovereignty and military power.

The traditional security discourse revolves around military-political factors where the state is usually the key actor and the referent object, but can also include supranational institutions or regimes (such as the EU). It has its roots in traditional realist perception of state behavior and intentions in international relations. Traditional security focuses on the sustained well-being and sovereignty of the nation-state. State interests such as territorial integrity, administrative independence, maintenance of civil order, protection of its citizens and the institutional capacity of the government are all important factors (Levy, 1995; Buzan et al. 1998). It is the responsibility of the state to guard against external threats and factors such as armed conflict, divergent economic interests and even climate change.

The nation-state is defined by the idea of self-government over its territories and population. State interaction often contains the interplay of defensive and offensive capabilities and show of force. Since force is an effective means of both obtaining and keeping current territory in accordance to state interests, military strength is a traditional tool of the state. This also applies when governmental interests are under external military threat (Buzan et al. 1998: 49).

Yet traditional security is not only defined through military force and state sovereignty. It is also about keeping the idea of the state, ideology, identity as well as institutions safe from political threats that may aim to reduce the organizational integrity of the state (Buzan et al. 1998: 142)

3.2 Framing Theory

Framing theory is developed as a framework to analyze how collective meaning is created and altered through discursive interactions. A frame is a tool to be utilized as a set of beliefs or conceptual structure for organizing political thoughts, discourses and policies in order to highlight or enforce certain aspects of perceived reality. Frames are used to schematically interpret reality through the use of language (Rychnovská, 2014). Framing theory provides the
theoretical instruments to understand and categorize meanings and contexts in media representation and will be used in the analysis section of this thesis.

To show a simple example of how framing can carry implicit meanings depending on how something is depicted, this thesis uses Strömbäck’s (2014) example of the glass half filled with water. The glass could be described as either half full or half empty. In both scenarios there is exactly the same amount of water, yet if it is presented as half empty there is an implicit request that the glass should be refilled. On the other hand, if it is presented as half full no such implicit meaning exists, thus, potentially altering the perception surrounding the glass of water (Strömbäck, 2014: 115).

Framing theory gives an explanation on how an issue is perceived by an audience. To frame something, is to highlight particular issues of a perceived reality, making those issues more noticeable and meaningful for the targeted audience (Entman, 1993: 53). In relation to media reporting, news should be seen as frames or reconstructions of reality not mirror reflections of it. There is always a connection between media's framing of a certain event and the event in question. Yet the strength of this connection, is not definite and thus media coverage of reality should never be mistaken for reality itself (Strömbäck, 2014: 114).

Framing in mainstream media may have an effect on a large part of the receiving audience which in turn continuously shapes public opinion (Chong & Druckman, 2007). When a journalist or media institution create news content by choosing what information to include, they are framing that reality in a particular way. This has consequences, since focus on particular values, problems and causal factors inherently neglects others and thus affects how people (the audience) perceive and form opinions regarding the topic. Depending on how an issue is framed an audience will have different reactions to the issue. By framing something in a certain way, specific moral values or thoughts may be connected to the subject in the targeted audience. As mentioned earlier, it is a way of interpreting the real world using different frames and schematas of understanding (Entman, 1993; Goffman, 1974).

To be able to analyze media representation of the securitization of the Arctic framing theory will be utilized. Watson (2012) demonstrated that securitization and framing are similar enough research programs that the two schools can be considered as one. According to Watson, it is possible to treat a security as distinct master frame, thus securitization can be considered as a subfield of framing (Watson, 2012).

Another supporter of the interaction between the two theories is Rychnovská (2014). Who states that both framing theory and securitization stems from the same logic of how a
discursive interaction creates collective meaning. Cooperation with framing theory benefits the securitization analysis (Rychnovská, 2014).

3.3 Operationalization

In order to be able answer the thesis research question: How is the securitization of the Arctic represented in the media of Arctic stakeholders Norway & Canada, an analytical framework is needed. Previously in this chapter the role of media in securitization was presented as an informative function in society, mediating between different actors and is usually not a neutral mediator (Dolinec, 2010). If media is either a conduit for other securitizing actors or a securitizing actor of its own volition, the end result will be the same, an empirical source for analyzing media's representation of the securitization of the Arctic. For the sake of this thesis media will be viewed as a securitizing actor in its own right to be able to answer a part of the research question.

In this chapter three concepts of security has been introduced to be able to clarify different representations of the securitization of the Arctic. Framing a threat through the different security concepts will create different outcomes and responses, thus the conceptual approaches to security is important for this thesis to be able to identify different trends in media’s securitization of the Arctic. To be able to analyze media’s representation of the securitization of the Arctic the analytical framework needs to ask the questions: What are the major themes identified surrounding the securitization of the Arctic? How is the securitization of the Arctic represented in Aftenposten and The Globe & Mail through different security concepts? In terms of the identified themes framed within a particular security concept, how is Aftenposten compared to The Globe & Mail, representing the securitization of the Arctic?

Through the use of the security concepts different outcomes can be identified and thus used as indicators to identify the different security concepts. This is important because it lays the foundation for the comparative study. The outcomes for the different approaches to security can be seen in table 2.
### Table 2: Potential Outcomes of Security Concepts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Security Concepts</th>
<th>Outcomes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Traditional Security</td>
<td>E.g. Increased military presence, political recognition, territorial protection, protection from influence from foreign powers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental Security</td>
<td>E.g. Protection of the Environment, Preservation of human enterprise form the Environment, protection of Civilization from Environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic Security</td>
<td>Supply security, Market-access security, Finance credit security, Techno industrial capability security, Socio economic paradigm security, Trans-border community security, Alliance security, Systematic security</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


#### 3.3.1 Indicators

When it comes to the categorization and identification of previously mentioned security concepts in the framing of the securitization of the Arctic, this thesis utilizes operational indicators from Buzan et al. and Dent (1998; 2007). Due to the distinct nature of the chosen security concepts the operationalization to find the indicators can be based on keywords and phrases presented in previous literature used to capture the conceptualization of the different approaches to security.

**Economic security**

Indicators such as phrases, objectives and themes that correspond to an economic security perspective described in the theory chapter. Economic security has become important in countries’ military-political agendas and thus often mixed together with traditional security (Dent, 2007). To be able to identify and distinguish economic indicators for analysis, a second variable is needed to take into consideration, the outcome. By looking at the outcome with the help of the economic security framework indicators can be identified.

*E.g. trade, foreign economic policy, resources, opportunity costs, safeguard of territorial and extraterritorial economic interests*
Environmental security
Indicators such as phrases, objectives and themes that correspond to an environmental security perspective described in the theory chapter.

E.g. ecosystem, biosphere, human enterprise, food & water supply, species

Traditional security
Indicators such as phrases, objectives and themes that correspond to a traditional security perspective described in the theory chapter.

E.g. state, policy, military, arms race
3.4 Analytical Framework

Through observation of the data gathered this thesis has identified the most common overlaying amount of themes when it comes to Arctic security politics in the media, and then analyzed the data through the deductive use of the security concepts presented in the theoretical chapter. By using the indicators from 3.3.1 and putting them into the context of the identified themes, the analytical framework will be able to identify economic, traditional and environmental security indicators within each theme.

Table 3: The Analytical Framework

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Themes</th>
<th>Traditional Security</th>
<th>Economic Security</th>
<th>Environmental Security</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Other States’ Unilateral Actions</td>
<td>E.g. military, military activity, military muscles, sovereignty, flag</td>
<td>E.g. resources, claim, investments</td>
<td>E.g. environmental protection, climate, pollution, ecosystem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Climate Change as a Threat Multiplier</td>
<td>E.g. Cold War, military escalation</td>
<td>E.g. oil, energy resource, fossil energy, sovereignty</td>
<td>E.g. temperature, greenhouse, polar bears, extinction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arctic Resources</td>
<td>E.g. confrontation, national security, NATO, claims</td>
<td>E.g. transportation, mineral resources, economic activity</td>
<td>E.g. ecological, biological, weather, sustainable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emergence of Alternative Navigation Routes</td>
<td>E.g. military exercises, military build-up</td>
<td>E.g. infrastructure, trade, industry</td>
<td>E.g. ice-free, floods, hurricane, draughts, storms</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4. Specified Aim and Research Questions

The aim of this thesis is to compare and describe how mainstream media in Norway and Canada is representing securitization of the Arctic territories. Based on security concepts from both the traditional and Copenhagen school of security as well as the use of framing theory, this thesis explores whether there are similarities and differences between the securitization of the Arctic in the respective countries.

This thesis research question is: How is the securitization of the Arctic represented in mainstream media of the Arctic stakeholders Norway & Canada? More specifically:

1. What are the major themes identified surrounding the securitization of the Arctic?
2. How is the securitization of the Arctic represented in Aftenposten and The Globe & Mail through different the security concepts?
3. In terms of the identified themes framed within a particular security concept, how is Aftenposten compared to The Globe & Mail, representing the securitization of the Arctic?
5. Research Design & Methodology

This thesis will follow a qualitative descriptive comparative design. The research aim is to show how mainstream media represents the securitization of the Arctic in Norway and Canada. This is to provide an overview of media’s role in the securitization of the Arctic in two different Arctic countries. The research question has been approached deductively with an analytical framework based on framing theory and securitization. The themes used in the analytical framework have been created by identifying the biggest narratives in the data. A timeframe has been set starting in June of 2007 and ending in December 2017. This period symbolizes the start of post-post-Cold War securitization of the Arctic. It also represents an escalation of threat concerns in the Arctic different from the earlier post-Cold War period (Knecht, 2012).

This chapter describes the choice of research design and methods in collecting and analyzing data used to answer the research question of this thesis. Part one of this chapter presents the research design of this thesis, namely a small-N comparative study. The second part delineate the choice in selecting the cases for study. Thirdly the choice of newspaper articles as data and the gathering of those sources will be discussed. The final segment of this chapter entails the presentation of this thesis content analysis.

5.1 Research Design

In this thesis, a qualitative comparative design is well-suited in order to study how Canadian and Norwegian mainstream media is representing the securitization of the Arctic. While a quantitative approach would be suitable for a larger number of cases in order to generalize results, this thesis is a small-N study and focuses only on two cases. Thus, a qualitative approach will provide more descriptive detail and deeper knowledge regarding the subject.

The choice of a comparative design is uncomplicated since this thesis aims to compare the representation of a situation in two Arctic countries and wishes to learn the differences and similarities between them. It is also worth mentioning that by comparing two cases, there is a possibility for a deeper understanding or awareness of social phenomena and can be especially illuminating (Bryman, 2016: 65; Esaiasson et al. 2017: 213) . Because this thesis utilizes a comparative design, it could be argued that a greater generality is achieved over for example a single case study design. Yet, at the same time it is important to acknowledge that validity may be threatened the broader an analysis gets (Halperin & Heath, 2017: 154).
Another viable option for research design could be a single case study. Since case studies contain comprehensive information regarding history and context in contrast to other designs, it often has good internal validity. It could be interesting to conduct such research, yet then one would lose much of the context surrounding the topic, not to mention generality. Therefore this thesis has chosen two cases instead of one (Halperin & Heath, 2017: 154).

5.2 Case Selection
The choice of cases in this thesis is interesting due to the potential diplomatic confusion the Arctic region holds in international politics. Since the end of the Cold War both Norway's and Canada's foreign policy had a focus on peace, security, development, and international cooperation. Both countries have a focus on the protection of human communities. This focus follows the 1994 Human Development Report on Human Security from the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the protection from freedom from fear (violence, repression)(Alkire, 2003: 20-21). Both countries are part of what has been called the Like-minded group (LMG) which is a collection of countries with similar foreign policy patterns and ideas in international relations. The LMG was a global platform on the question of global economic reform with a base in social democracy, Christianity and anti-colonialism. Canada and Norway both took part of this sphere and their foreign policy follows a moral commitment to developing countries and a more just and equitable world economic order. A more recent approach to the LMG developed during the creation of the international criminal court (ICC) in response to the crisis in former Yugoslavia. One of two driving constituencies for the 1998 Rome conference for the establishment of the ICC was a geographically heterogeneous caucus of 60 states including Canada and Norway. LMG propagated for an inherent jurisdiction of ICC over the core crimes of genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes and a lessening of influence from the Security Council (O'Sullivan, 2015; Schabas, 2001).

However, when it comes to the politics of the Arctic both countries are far from similar. Canada perceives the Arctic as a part of its national heritage and political identity, and identifies itself as an Arctic state, meaning that the political, economic and social future of Canada is connected with its Arctic policies (Osica, 2010: 19-31). Canadian Arctic policy is determined by three main challenges: maintenance of sovereign rights to control and exploit natural resources, political and legal disputes with other states. In 2009 Canada introduced its northern strategy defining four priorities in its approach to the Arctic, protecting
environmental heritage, promoting social and economic development, exercising Arctic sovereignty and improving and devolving Northern governance. Canada while supporting multilateral cooperation between other Arctic states it is at the same time emphasizing sovereignty over parts of the Arctic region which have led to friction with the other Arctic states over territorial and maritime rights (Osica, 2010: 19-31).

Norway, similar to Canada, identifies itself as an Arctic state and is dependent on the Arctic economically. But the Norwegian approach to the Arctic is one of regional cooperation and development. Norway promotes involvement of NATO and through Nordic cooperation the European Union (EU). The strategy of Norway is structured in a way to try maintaining the status quo. The main reason for this approach comes from the low potential to hold a more powerful position outside today’s international structure if the regional superpowers would get involved. Increased interest in the Arctic by other states outside regional cooperation is a threat for Norwegian Arctic policy (Osica, 2010: 19-31). Due to the similarities in the country’s foreign policies it becomes very interesting to see how media is representing the securitization of the Arctic.

5.3 Selection of Data
With the implementation of framing theory and the focus on the media, the choice of data for this study is taken from the one of the biggest daily newspapers in respective country. Framing theory has a history of focusing heavily on print media and is one of the main data sources for framing analysis (Watson, 2012). The chance for success is higher when the securitizing actor follows the facilitating conditions. Using newspapers deemed as newspapers of record will increase the validity of the analysis due to audience acceptance of these newspapers as credible and of high standards (Salles, 2010). Both sources used, are considered newspapers of record and are among the largest, most well-circulated and read newspapers in the respective country (Medienorge, 2016; The Editors of Encyclopædia Britannica, b2018). In choosing these two newspapers, this thesis will achieve a good representation of mainstream media in both countries. The two sources selected for the collection of data during the timeframe of 10 years starting in June of 2007 until December of 2017 was The Globe and Mail and Aftenposten.

The data for Aftenposten (Norway) was accessed through the Retriever media digital archive. The data gathered from The Globe and Mail (Canada) was taken directly from the newspaper’s own digital media archive. The Globe and the Mail is a six day national
newspaper and is one of the most read papers across all of Canada. The newspaper have a weekday readership of over a million and during weekends the readership goes up to almost two million (Yasmin, 2005; 51). The Globe and the Mail is one of the most influential and prestigious papers in Canada (The Editors of Encyclopædia Britannica, b2018) Aftenposten is the most sold daily newspaper in Norway with a circulation of almost a hundred and fifty thousand copies (Medienorge, 2016).

The data for study is full-text articles from respective newspaper and was found through the digital media archive using search terms Arctic* and the North Pole* in combination with the terms security*, danger*, politics* and threat*. A total of 189 articles were found, 93 in TGAM and 96 from Aftenposten.

5.4 Methods for Analysis
This thesis employs a qualitative content analysis. Data gathered will be analyzed through the analytical framework to be able to answer the research question. The unit of record will be full-text articles. Through the search terms presented in 5.3, the data found had a higher chance of carrying a securitizing narrative which was preferable for the analysis. The analysis will categorize the relevant themes to be able to apply the theoretical framework. Secondly the analysis will present the different themes as well as applying the analytical framework to the data. The analytical framework will enable the thesis to answer the question how securitization of the Arctic is represented in the media and to start with the comparative analysis. It is important for the thesis to hold this step by step approach to the data in order to maintain reliability (Halperin & Heath, 2012).

“Qualitative content analysis...The results are reliable to the degree that they are plausible to others” (Halperin & Heath, 2012: 332).

The choice of a qualitative content analysis was due to acquire insight to explore the meanings, motives and purposes embedded in the textual data but also have the ability to analyze a larger quantity of text through the use of indicators which was necessary for the thesis (Halperin & Heath, 2012). To be able to identify the themes the articles needed to be divided into different categories of plot. The plot could then be sorted into overarching different narratives. The data contained 189 articles, each article was examined for the plot

13 In the case of Aftenposten, in the same order: Arktis*, Nordpolen (Nordområdene)*, Sikkerhet*, Fare*, Politikk* and Trussel*
which led to the categorization of four themes: *Other States’ Unilateral Actions*, *Climate Change as a Threat Multiplier*, *Arctic Resources* and *Emergence of Alternative Navigation Routes*. When the themes were identified the coding could start by searching for specific indicators in the data. The indicators were found using the layout in 3.3.1. The template for categorization of data can be seen in the table below.

**Table 4: Categorization of Data**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Name of article</th>
<th>Identified Economic Indicators</th>
<th>Identified Environmental Indicators</th>
<th>Identified Traditional Indicators</th>
<th>Plot</th>
<th>Main Themes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
6. Results/Analysis

This part of the thesis will be divided into four subchapters. Which will contain the four different themes identified in the data and presented in our analytical framework.

Through observation of the data gathered, this thesis has identified the most common overlaying themes present when it comes to Arctic security politics in the two newspapers *The Globe and Mail* and *Aftenposten*. A total of 189 articles were gathered, 96 of the articles were taken from the Norwegian paper *Aftenposten* and 93 articles from the Canadian *The Globe and Mail*.

6.1 Other States’ Unilateral Actions

The largest theme for *Aftenposten* and second largest for *TGAM* was the theme *Other States’ Unilateral Actions*. The theme can be described as the political game between the Arctic countries when it comes to the control and utilization of the Arctic region. Whether through military activity, power politics or economic means. From the articles, the data showed parallels drawn between the more current situation and historical events such as the Cold War, as well as the region being a reflection of the current international climate.

6.1.1 Aftenposten

In *Aftenposten* the theme of *Other States’ Unilateral Actions* was predominantly framed from a traditional security perspective, it was also the largest theme of all with the majority of indicators found within this concept. The major focal point and largest perceived threat, was Russia. Relations between Norway and Russia were increasingly tense due to Russian display of hard power through the increase of Russian military activities and exercises in Arctic territories, often close to Norwegian borders. Something that was interpreted as a growing military threat and a neighbouring nation that was becoming increasingly unpredictable in its behaviour due to centralization of power. Russia was often mentioned in this context with military and hard power, for example, the nation has also established an Arctic task force to further make their presence felt in the Arctic. There was also talk about collective security against a possible Russian threat through redirecting NATO’s attention towards the Arctic. This due to thoughts regarding Norway’s military capabilities being inadequate against Russian aggression. Below are some excerpts from Aftenposten exhibiting some of the aforementioned focal points.

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14 Full results and allocation of indicators from data can be found in Appendix IX.I.
“Russian military exercise. Showing muscles in the north is an important part of Vladimir Putin’s Arctic strategy.” 15 2015-03-18

“Russia will deploy military forces in the Arctic. The purpose is to secure what they consider to be the most important area for access to resources in the future.” 16 2009-03-28

“Russia's national interests in the High North will be defended by a new brigade on the Kola Peninsula, which is being assembled this year. The brigade will be specially adapted to defend Russia's interests in the Arctic.” 17 2011-04-01

“...NATO is so occupied with fighting terrorists in remote countries that we could not count on help if Russia should start showing military muscles to push us in the north.” 18 2007-09-26

Another focus was on how the Norwegian government invests in the Arctic as well as how territorial disputes are common within the region. This is in part due to melting sea ice and the emergence of new resources which have allowed for a tenser geopolitical climate. It was more specifically the Svalbard region19, an archipelago which carries paramount geographic and economic strategic importance in the Arctic. Which Norwegian media expresses concern about and perceives as threatened. Through increased Norwegian governmental presence and investment in economic opportunities such as research in the Arctic, Aftenposten claims that it strengthens Norwegian sovereignty in the eyes of other Arctic states.

“...the High North is the government’s most important area of investment. ‘It will be important to strengthen the authorities’ presence and control’” 20 2010-09-26

“Although the Svalbard Treaty is clear on Norway’s role in Svalbard, it is reasonable to believe that the world is considering Norwegian sovereignty based on the actual activity Norway operates here.” 21 2008-05-21

Lastly, within the traditional security framing of Aftenposten on this particular theme, attention was directed on Arctic power relations and China’s as well as the EU’s desire to

15 “Russisk militærøvelse. Å vise muskler i nord er en viktig del av Vladimir Putins Arktis-strategi.”
16 “Russland vil utplassere militære styrker i Arktis. Hensikten er å sikre det de mener blir fremtidens viktigste område for tilgang på ressurser.”
17 “Russlands nasjonale interesser i nordområdene skal forsvares av en ny brigade på Kolahalvøya som bygges opp allerede i løpet av inneværende år. Brigaden vil være spesialtilpasset for å forsøre Russlands interesser i de arktiske områder.”
18 "...NATO nå er så opptatt med å slåss mot terrorister i fjerne land, at vi ikke kunne regne med hjelp om Russland skulle begynne å spille med militære muskler for å presse oss i nord.”
19 The Svalbard Treaty was signed on February 9th in 1920. It recognizes Norwegian sovereignty over the archipelago, although some regulations such as preservation of the environment and demilitarization are stipulated (The Svalbard Treaty, 1920).
20 "... nordområdene er Regjeringens viktigste satsningsområde. 'Det vil bli viktig å styrke myndighetenes tilstedeværelse og kontroll'”
21 “Selv om Svalbardtraktaten er klar om Norges rolle på Svalbard, så er det rimelig å tro at verden vurderer norsk suverenitetsutøvelse ut fra den faktiske virksomheten Norge driver her.”
become permanent observers in the Arctic Council\textsuperscript{22}. Something that Norway was initially hesitant to, yet then saw the potential gain of allies and the dismantling of a possible rival IGO (Intergovernmental Organization) in the future, although Russia, and to some extent Canada, frowned upon both candidates’ entry, since that could be a threat to or displace the established power relations within the Arctic. Canada also took a firm stance against Norway on the question of NATO involvement in the Arctic. Where Norway saw a possible defense against Russia, Canada saw the watering down of the established power structure within Arctic politics.

“... the Russians feared that a Chinese entry into the Arctic could shift power relations and water out the influence of the Arctic countries in the region” \textsuperscript{23} 2013-05-14

“The EU as a unit would like to be a permanent observer in the council, get support from Norway - but stopped by Russia” \textsuperscript{24} 2012-06-04

“The two Arctic countries stood firm against each other when the alliance's strategy was up for revision last autumn. Norway wanted the Arctic to have a special place in NATO's new strategic concept. Canada set down its foot. Norway wanted NATO to stave off Russian influence in The High North. The Canadians would at all costs avoid other NATO countries getting more influence in Arctic politics.” \textsuperscript{25}2011-07-26

There were also indicators showing the subject being securitized from an economic security perspective. The biggest focus being on how resources and economic incentives in the Arctic also require an increase in infrastructure and military presence. With increased economic incentive follows military activity and thus also the possibility for increased tensions in the region. A nation which is mentioned prominently in this context is Russia. Also with the harshening political climate since Russia’s annexation of the Crimea peninsula, territories and state sovereignty is perhaps not as clear or as certain as it previously seemed. In the context that Russia is also seeking economic gain in the Arctic it gives cause for increased tensions.

\textsuperscript{22} The Arctic Council is sub-regional organization made up of the Arctic eight and some indigenous tribes (Oisca, 2010).
\textsuperscript{23} “...russerne fryktet at et kinesisk inntog i Arktis vil kunne forskyve maktforholdene og vanne ut de arktiske landenes innflytelse i regionen”
\textsuperscript{24} “EU som enhet vil gjøre en fast observatør i rådet, får støtte av Norge - men stanses av Russland”
\textsuperscript{25} “De to arktiske landene sto steilt mot hverandre da alliansens strategi var oppe til revisjon i fjor høst. Norge ville at Arktis skulle ha en særlig plass i NATOs nye strategiske konsept. Canada satte foten ned. Norge ville at NATO skulle demme mot russisk innflytelse i nordområdene. Canadierne ville for enhver pris unngå at andre NATO-land fikk mer innflytelse i arktisk politikk.”
“But the increasing importance of the northern borders, natural resources, critical infrastructure as well as search and rescue objectively requires the strengthening of conventional forces and civilian assets in the Arctic states.”  

“Borders are being redrawn with the bayonet - after Russia’s annexation of Crimea in the Ukraine. With the hunt for resources in the Arctic that is about to start, the Russian bear is gearing up again.”

Finally, there was also framing from an environmental security perspective, albeit very small. Where the focus was put on retaining Norwegian sovereignty on Svalbard through preserving the Island from human interaction and collecting valuable information on Arctic fauna and flora. Thereby also increasing national presence in the Arctic to keep Svalbard as a strategic point in Norwegian Arctic infrastructure as well as maintaining power relations in Arctic politics.

“...Norway has on its own developed an interest for environmental protection, territorial monitoring and governance. The idea behind it is ostensibly to indicate sovereignty by protecting Svalbard from human intervention, and by collecting potentially sought after knowledge about climate, fauna and flora in a vulnerable, high-arctic area.”

6.1.2 The Globe and Mail

The dominant trend within TGAM framed the theme of Other States’ Unilateral Actions as a traditional security perspective. The theme was one of the largest themes identified and 37 out of the 93 articles was to some extent connected to the issue. The theme could be divided into two topics for which traditional security issues were framed. The first topic is the representation of Russia as a military threat towards Canada’s claims in the Arctic as well as Canadian territory. The second topic for TGAM is Canadian power projection in the Arctic. The topic could be divided into two dominant structures, the first is protection of the territory of Canada and the second is the protection of the claimed territory of Canada. Both issues are posed as threat to sovereignty. Canadian sovereignty in the Arctic is framed as having many threats from different sources. Large parts of the threats are represented as coming from the Russians, but threats to Arctic sovereignty or Canadian power in the Arctic could also be identified from the United States and the Scandinavian countries.

26 “Men den økende viktigheten av de nordlige grensene, naturressursene, den kritiske infrastrukturen samt søk og redning krever objektivt sett styrking av konvensjonelle styrker og sivile midler i de arktiske statene.”


28 “...Norge på egen hånd utviklet en interesse for miljøvernrettet territorial overvåking og styring. Tanken bak er øyensynlig å markere suvereniteten ved å verne Svalbard mot menneskelige ingrep, og ved å samle potensielt etterspurt kunnskap om klima, fauna og flora i et såbart høyarktisk område.”
While *TGAM* displays Canada as having sovereignty disputes and power struggles with many of the countries in the Arctic eight, the Russians are usually depicted as the main threat to its Arctic sovereignty. The threat comes from the disputed Arctic territories the countries share in combination with the projection of Russian hard power at display in the far north. Traditional Security indicators for the theme were found to be distributed through the whole selected time frame of the study but three events seemed to be in focus for framing the theme as a traditional security issue, the Russian flag planting in the North Pole, the response to Russia’s approach to international relations after Crimean referendum of 2014 and the reassuming of Soviet era military patrolling of the Arctic. Many of the articles draws similarities between present day situation and the Cold War.

"The planting of the flag is purely political symbolism and most of that is directed at a Russian audience but it does send a reminder to places like Ottawa of the very impressive Arctic capabilities that the Russians have," 2007-08-02

“Russia's bombers have resumed flights to areas off Norway and Iceland, as well as Russia's northeast corner, across the Bering Strait from Alaska several years ago. However, such missions have been rare, and Mr. Putin's statement signals that they would become more frequent.” 2007-08-17

“Russian scientists had just planted a titanium flag on the seabed at the North Pole, and the media were playing up the risk of a new Cold War.” 2012-03-27

The second topic in framing the theme as a traditional security focused on the threat to Canadian power in the Arctic that could be divided into protection from threats to claimed territories and protection from threats in actual territories. In this topic *TGAM* had a more spread view of where the threats derived from, and is portraying United States and Scandinavian countries especially Norway and Denmark as potential threats. *TGAM* has also portrayed Canada as having a negative perspective on NATO involvement in the region while the opinion on U.S – Canadian cooperation is met with mixed messages, as a threat to Canadian sovereignty but also as a must for the defense from an aggressive Russia. Most solutions presented in the data points towards favoring increased military built up in the region.

“Prime Minister Stephen Harper announced this week plans to stake Canada's claims in the Arctic with a bold and expensive military campaign. For many Canadians, Mr. Harper's Throne Speech pledge was a natural and welcome bid to defend Canada's ownership of the far north in the face of challenges from the U.S., the Scandinavian nations and especially Russia,” 2007-10-20

"… In recent months, a Cold War-style game of imperial conquest has developed beneath the ice of the Arctic Ocean and the Northwest Passage, a submarine-driven dispute involving the United States, Norway, Denmark and especially Canada and Russia." 2007-10-20
“Prof. Byers said. But the real urgency is for Canada to undertake seismic mapping of the ocean floor, which is essential to Canada's scientific assertion of sovereignty over the far reaches of the Arctic. "I've always taken the position that it's one thing to claim sovereignty. It's another thing to be able to go to the place that you claim.” 2007-08-02

*TGAM* portrays the Arctic as a part of Canadian sovereignty, thus almost every encroachment on the disputed territories in the North are portrayed as a jab at Canadian sovereignty. Portraying the Arctic as a traditional security issue within the theme of Other States’ Unilateral Actions was one of the most common indicators found through the data gathered. The theme also had some indicators portraying it as an economic security issue. The argument follows the rhetoric of the former Prime minister of Canada Stephen Harper, “use it or lose it”. The argument follows that a Canadian economic presence in the Arctic will justify Canada's claim in the region. The economic security issue is framed within the theme as a trans-border community security issue. A few indicators were found supported a framing of the theme as an environmental security issue. But the indicators were few and built in to arguments to enforce framing the issue through a narrative of economic or traditional security concepts.

“… seven in 10 people worried other countries would challenge Canada's claim in the Arctic and that a military buildup, not diplomacy, was the best way to handle it. Increasing military presence receives the most unprompted mentions from Canadians as a way to clearly establish Canada's claim to Arctic territory” 2011-03-08

“The first principle of Arctic sovereignty is: Use it or lose it, he said. Taken together . . . (these announcements) will significantly strengthen Canada's sovereignty over the Arctic.” 2007-08-10

"Canada must move quickly to make immediate, strategic investments in its Arctic and recognize that the greatest challenges in the North are social, economic and environmental” 2007-08-05

6.1.3 Comparative Analysis: Other States’ Unilateral Actions

Both newspapers framed this theme from a predominantly traditional security perspective. When it comes to what was identified as a threat there are both similarities and dissimilarities. Both newspapers identifies Russia as a threat to Arctic sovereignty due to the increasing military presence and provocations from the nation. For Norwegian media, it is the case of Russian display of hard power close to Norwegian borders that has led to rising tensions between the nations and a growing sense of unpredictability from Russia. Canadian media also frames Russia as an aggressive Arctic neighbour yet views the situation more as competition of rearmament for the disputed territories. *TGAM* also showed a tendency to frame other countries disputing Canadian legitimacy in the Arctic as threats and has pointed
out all of their neighbors in the region as potential rivals. Among these are United States, the Scandinavian countries and NATO. *Aftenposten* in contrast to *TGAM* viewed Russia as the main threat and was more positive towards Arctic cooperation and the involvement of supranational organizations29.

From a Norwegian media perspective, the Norwegian strategy was to an extent, framed as inviting stronger international actors to establish a power structure to defend against possible Russian Arctic aggression. The exception to this strategy was the Svalbard archipelago, where *Aftenposten* framed Norway as seeking to increase national presence in order to stave off any territorial disputes and possible sovereignty issues. When it came to framing it from an economic security issue, in *TGAM*, Canada deployed the “use it or lose it” strategy, propagating for increased economic activity in its northern regions to project it sovereignty over the region. *Aftenposten* claims that increased economic activity also lead to the increased presence of military power as well as the need of improved infrastructure which can make the Arctic region more vulnerable.

Throughout this theme different topics from both newspapers were identified which showed that Canadian media has a more aggressive inclination towards other countries regarding Arctic sovereignty. In contrast, *Aftenposten* depicted cooperation as viable and possible route to take, while only identifying one major threat - Russia.

### 6.2 Climate Change as a threat multiplier

This theme was the largest in *TGAM* and third in *Aftenposten*. The theme included many topics about how climate change is increasing the threat in the Arctic as well as how a warming Arctic is affecting the rest of the world.

**6.2.1 Aftenposten**

The third largest theme identified with the majority of indicators portraying it from an environmental security perspective. The largest topics discussed within this theme is how the melting of Arctic sea ice negatively impacts the Arctic ecosystem and even carries adverse effects for other parts of the globe. Anthropogenic climate change is the largest perceived threat as it melts sea ice and threatens species such as the polar bear and different migratory birds. *Aftenposten* also shows, that with the melted sea ice, came the emergence of gas hydrates from the Arctic seabed. These pieces of ice contain methane gas, which if released,

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29 Such as the EU and NATO.
could work as an accelerator to global warming. Possible global effects are increased precipitation, monsoons and higher water levels.

“It is a very distinctive ecological system that is linked to the ice, which is largely the source of the characteristic animal and plant life we associate with the Arctic. This ecosystem is now threatened. “ 30  2007-09-18

“We get an Arctic with less ice, shorter winters, more rainfall and other animals and plants. This leads to fundamental changes in the Arctic’s physical, chemical and biological systems, which eventually lead to consequences far beyond the Arctic - for weather systems throughout the northern hemisphere, the report says. The changes in the Arctic may even affect the monsoon in southeastern Asia.” 31 2017-12-27

“Higher temperatures lead to more evaporation. Water vapor is an important greenhouse gas, and a warmer atmosphere holds on more water vapor. It also leads to increased greenhouse effect and even greater heating.” 32 2017-11-23

From an environmental security perspective, Aftenposten continues to show that the Arctic is receiving increased attention from states due to these environmental changes and is showing on several occasions that the consequences of this could be joint safeguarding of the environment. In Aftenposten, Norway was seen somewhat of an environmentalist as it has hosted environment conferences and subsidized national damages done by Arctic migratory birds. Norway was also depicted as aiming to be a leading Arctic expert with a lot of government research into the region.

“Both the EU and Norway agree that climate change has led us to see opportunities and issues in the polar area which no one saw just a few years ago.” 33 2008-05-26

“The biggest challenges in the Arctic are linked to changes in climate and environment and increased business activity. We therefore wish to further strengthen cooperation with the Arctic states, on environment and sustainability, preparedness and business development.” 34 2014-01-19

The second largest framing of Climate Change, a Threat Multiplier in Aftenposten was from an economic security perspective, where climate change has a dual role. Its

30 “Det er et helt særegent økologisk system som er knyttet til isen, og som i høy grad er opphavet til det karakteristiske dyre- og plantelivet vi forbinder med Arktis. Dette økosystemet er nå truet.”

31 “Vi får et Arktis med mindre is, kortere vintre, mer nedbør som regn og andre dyr og planter. Dette fører til grunnleggende endringer i Arktis fysiske, kjemiske og biologiske systemer som etter hvert gir konsekvenser langt utenfor Arktis - blant annet for værsystemer over hele den nordlige halvkule, heter det i rapporten. Endringene i Arktis vil til og med kunne påvirke monsunen i det sørosten Asia.”

32 “Høyere temperaturer fører til mer fordamping. Vanndamp er en viktig drivhusgass, og en varmere atmosfære holder på mer vanndamp. Også det fører til økt drivhuseffekt og enda større oppvarming.”

33 “Både EU og Norge er enige om at klimaendringene har fått oss til å se muligheter og problemstillinger i polarområdet som ingen så bare før få år siden.”

34 “De største utfordringene i Arktis er knyttet til endringene i klima og miljø og økt næringsvirksomhet. Vi ønsker derfor å styrke samarbeidet med de arktiske statene ytterligere, på miljø og bærekraft, beredskap og næringsutvikling.”
consequences are not heavily researched upon when it comes to the fish stocks in the Arctic and may thus pose a threat to the fishing industry. On the other hand, melting sea ice has revealed increased possibilities for economic gain. Such as trade and resource extraction which demands improvements to Arctic infrastructure. There is also possible economic opportunities in the gas hydrates below the surface of the sea, which might hold more potential than other fossil fuels. The newspaper also shows how Norway wants to increase inter-state trade in the Arctic regions indicating alliance security.

"... know too little about how climate change in the sea has affected the interrelationships between the major fish stocks." 35 2013-04-02

“Resources are so substantial that some oil companies consider it a future energy resource. The most optimistic have estimated that twice as much energy is present in the gas hydrates compared with other fossil energy resources in the world, including coal.” 36 2016-05-26

“The ambition must be that the High North becomes one of the most innovative, knowledge-based growth regions globally. Good infrastructure in the north is important for both people and business. We have seen a big increase in traffic across the Norwegian-Russian border, not least after the introduction of the border-resident certificate. We are now working for an extension of the border management system and increased trade.” 37 2014-01-19

The smallest concept within this theme was that of the traditional security perspective. From this perspective, climate change can also act as a threat multiplier deteriorating state relationships. Due to climate change causing the melting of sea ice, the Arctic landscape is changing along with state interests, arguably leading to more sovereignty disputes. *Aftenposten* describes how this newfound rivalry can also lead to inter-state conflict. In this scenario, climate change acts as a threat to states national interests and thus possibly leading to increased tensions between states.

“Climate change is increasingly threatening world peace and has brought with it rival demands in the Arctic that can lead to a new Cold War …” 38 2007-10-24

35 “...vet for lite om hvordan klimaendringene i havet har påvirket de innbyrdes forholdene mellom de store fiskebestandene.”
36 “Ressursene er såpass store at enkelte oljeselskaper vurderer det som en fremtidig energiresurs. De mest optimistiske har anslått at dobbelt så mye energi finnes i gasshydratene sammenlignet med andre fossile energiressurser i verden, inkludert kull.”
37 “Ambisjonen må være at nordområdene blir en av de mest innovative, kunnskapsbaserte vekstregionene globalt. God infrastruktur i nord er viktig både for folk og næringsliv. Vi har sett en stor økning i trafikken over den norsk-russiske grensen, ikke minst etter at ordningen med grenseboerbevis ble innført. Vi jobber nå for en utvidelse av grenseboerordningen og økt Samhandel.”
38 “Klimaendringer truer i stadig større grad verdensfreden og har brakt med seg rivaliserende krav i Arktis som kan føre til en ny kald krig…”

35
“...can emissions of greenhouse gases be limited so that the warming and climate change are not completely out of control. Then many conflicts and wars can be avoided in the next decades.” 39 2007-10-13

6.2.2 The Globe and Mail

In TGAM the most amount of indicators framed the theme through an environmental security perspective. The theme was portrayed through three different threat narratives. The largest topic was the environmental threat to Arctic species due to climate change. The second topic was the environmental threat to the Arctic region and its inhabitants due to climate change. The third and the smallest topic within environmental security was the more overarching and global threat climate change poses.

The first topic was presented in two ways. The first was Canada’s obligation to become the guardian over the Arctic region when it comes to halting climate change and species extinction.

“It is time for Canada to stop worrying about losing Arctic sovereignty and act instead as an Arctic leader, giving voice to the indigenous peoples of the North and engaging the United States in forging a new regional partnership to act as responsible stewards for this unique and fragile environment, for the benefit of all Arctic peoples.” 2008-11-19

“Recently, a more immediate and avoidable threat has come to the fore - ironically, one that comes from the very people who rely on polar bears the most. It relates to a decision that threatens not only polar bears, but also Canada's Arctic sovereignty aspirations, and our reputation as strong stewards of the Arctic.” 2008-11-14

Secondly, the use of knowledge from Inuit and First Nation communities to protect the region came up. An example of this is the setup of National parks and environmental protection areas for the Beluga whale around the eastern exit of the Northwest Passage, co-managed with the first nation tribes in the areas.

“Even if atmospheric greenhouse gases are stabilized at current levels, the letter says, the Arctic would still go ice-free in the summer, 10 to 25 per cent of the world's species would still be committed to extinction, and weather will continue to become more extreme.” 2008-10-08

“Most in attendance agreed on two main issues: a need to mesh Inuit knowledge with scientific research and acknowledgment that climate change is the polar bear's No. 1 threat because it is shrinking the seasonal ice cover that comprises the animal's winter feeding grounds.” 2009-01-17

The second topic identified in TGAM was the regional threat to Canada which climate change poses, due to the melting ice and the warming climate creating floods, droughts, forest

39 “...kan utslippene av klimagasser begrenses slik at oppvarmingen og klimaendringene ikke kommer helt ut av kontroll. Da kan mange konflikter og kriger unngås de neste tiårene.”
fires, hurricanes and extreme storms. The aforementioned situation was presented as a threat to the Arctic way of life and habitability of the Northern provinces.

“And anyone living downstream from melting ice and snow could experience avalanches and floods at speeds close to that of a modern anti-tank missile.” 2007-06-06

“The devastating floods in Manitoba and Quebec are likely to be repeated sooner rather than later. Even British Columbia's 'Wet' Coast is not immune, as shocked residents of the rain-forest vacation destination of Tofino discovered two years ago, when their taps ran dry and tourists fled in droves” 2008-05-31

The third topic presented the urgency climate change poses on a global scale. The topic was filled with securitizing predictions of what the near future could look like due to climate change. The topic is represented as a motivational call to arms for the protection of human populations, communities and states.

“More Arts Stories Planet Earth lost 1.2 million square kilometres of Arctic sea ice this summer. That's an area larger than Ontario. The loss of so much highly reflective ice will result in much more solar energy being absorbed into the ocean, altering currents and affecting weather patterns worldwide. Canada - with 40 per cent of its territory in the Arctic - is on the front lines of climate change.” 2007-09-29

“We built a railway across an infant country and, three generations later, retooled our entire economy to confront the Nazi threat. The disappearing Arctic sea ice is the clearest signal yet as to the scale and urgency of the current crisis. It's time to get serious about climate change, with market-based measures being but one manifestation of our national intent. “2007-09-29

“From the Arctic to the South Pacific islands, indigenous people said they are among the first to suffer the worst effects of global warming. They drew connections between the planet's north and south, describing how the melting glaciers in the Arctic are jeopardizing the existence of small island states in the Pacific, and how severe ocean storms are imperilling people in both regions.” 2007-12-14

Framing through an economic security perspective was the second largest concept identified. The theme could be divided into two topics: climate change impact on infrastructure and socioeconomic paradigm security and climate change impact on economic enterprise in the Arctic.

“Arctic aboriginal villages are facing erosion, fragile ice is endangering their hunters, caribou herds are at risk from shifting weather and severe storms are becoming more frequent in the north and the south, they said. 'Some Inuit have already made changes to the traditional times of the year which they travel on the land,” 2007-12-14

“The federal assessment "is intended to identify airport infrastructure that could be at risk of failure, damage, loss or service and/or deterioration from extreme climatic events or significant changes to the climate,” 2015-03-08

The second topic presented the dangers of climate change towards industry in the region such as flooding due to the melting of the glaciers, but the biggest issue was the threat
of draughts. The most threatened industries in the region was portrayed as the fossil fuel extraction industry and agriculture. The smallest security perspective present in the theme was traditional security. The framing presented climate change as a military threat multiplier for the region as well as in the international political climate.

“North may experience more flooding, sooner than anticipated, that widespread environmental changes could occur in the biologically rich delta, and that oil and gas exploration could be affected because gas extraction causes land to subside, creating a greater flooding threat” 2008-04-04

“Climate change, of course, complicates this picture. A warmer climate means a wetter climate - but, perversely, not necessarily one in which more water is available. What does all of this mean for Canadians? In the Prairies, melting glaciers have pumped surges of water into rivers over the past decade, but this will soon dwindle to a trickle, leaving farmers, factories and cities high and dry.” 2008-04-04

“Political solutions are needed now to problems posed by climate change that threaten peace in areas ranging from Africa to the Middle East and even the Arctic, Mr. Steinmeier told a conference on climate change. ‘There's a Cold War at the North Pole that we have to prevent,’ he said. ‘Climate change is a threat to worldwide peace and security. ‘Policies to fight climate change can, and will, become an important part of peace policies.” 2007-10-23

6.2.3 Comparative Analysis: Climate Change as a Threat Multiplier

Both newspapers framed the theme predominantly from an environmental security perspective followed by economic and a traditional perspective. Aftenposten identified the largest threat as climate change due to how it adversely affects the Arctic ecosystem. The melting of sea ice could even have effects on a global scale with rising water levels and errant weather. The paper also showed how this could in itself accelerate global warming through the release of methane from melted ice in the Arctic. As a consequence, the region has also received more attention from states and the newspaper shows that cooperation and joint safeguarding of the environment could be a possible response in the future. Norway was also depicted, in Aftenposten, as a nation which was protective of the environment and focused a lot of government research on the region in order to define itself as an Arctic expert. Along similar lines, Canadian media framed the solution of the escalation the climate change crisis as a responsibility for the Canadian state to take up the mantle of the protectors or stewards of the Arctic when it came to environmental security. Secondly, TGAM primarily focused on protection of Arctic species in relation to environmental security. The second topic of the theme focused more on regional environmental threats due to climate change. Portraying climate change and the warming of the Arctic as a global issue was on third place on topics identified within the theme.
Portraying the theme as an economic security issue TGAM framed it as a threat towards Arctic aboriginal communities, infrastructure and agricultural and fossil fuel extraction industries. In contrast, Norwegian media, with few indicators showed how climate change can also be a possible economic threat to the fishing industry. This was because, it was not heavily researched upon how these environmental changes affect fish stocks in the Arctic. While climate change in this aspect can be regarded as a threat, Aftenposten also identified possible economic opportunities which was not the case in TGAM. Lastly, framing it through a traditional security perspective, TGAM focused on climate change as a military threat multiplier for the region and the international community. Aftenposten similarly depicted climate change as a threat multiplier with capabilities of escalating tensions and creating inter-state rivalry from a traditional security perspective.

Both countries were being portrayed in respective media as wanting to have leading roles in the cause for Arctic preservation. But the similarities end there, while Canada was portrayed as wanting to be a steward or gatekeeper to the Arctic, Norway was instead focusing on being on the forefront of Arctic research.

6.3 Arctic Resources

The third largest theme identified when it came to the number of indicators for TGAM and the second largest for Aftenposten. The theme included articles about the abundance of Arctic natural resources gradually becoming available and the potential future gains from its extraction. It also included threats to and from resource management in the region.

6.3.1 Aftenposten

The theme of Arctic Resources was principally framed from an economic security perspective. Two overarching topics were identified, the exploitation of resources and the sustainable management of them. Both deal with economic security concerns often leading to sovereignty disputes in order to gain valuable control of more territory containing said resources. According to Aftenposten the Arctic is a region which has garnered a lot of interest due to its deposits of natural resources, with the majority of attention directed towards its extraction for national interest. The United States, Russia, China and Norway are the nations most mentioned in this regard. Where Russia was considered the largest threat while China’s newly found commercial interest in the potential profits of the Arctic was seen a step towards international diplomacy. The newspaper described the Arctic as a region holding enormous
economic potential and thus also escalating tensions between nations. Once again Russia was prominently mentioned, where the Arctic is essential to sustain its economy. Russia was also increasing military activity to substantiate sovereignty claims to control territories with resources.

“THE ARCTIC IS STEADILY becoming more important to Russia, economically and resource wise. “ 40 2015-04-21

“The warming of the globe and the melting of the ice is an important reason for Russia's search for large gains on the transportation through the Arctic. The freight itself is one of the most lucrative parts of the oil and gas industry ...” 41 2017-04-02

“The navy is an instrument for defending national economic resources, including regions such as the Arctic, where some of the world's richest biological resources and mineral resources are concentrated ...” 42 2012-08-08

The second topic within this theme framed from an economic security perspective was the more sustainable management of Arctic resources. Aftenposten showed that Norway was also interested in the natural resources that the territory holds. Yet Aftenposten depicted an image where Norway is also concerned with the sustainability of the extraction of these resources and claims that resources should be left alone in fear of worsening political and environmental climate. It showed how there is an awareness regarding the repercussions of arguably incautious economic gain. Where Norway was investing in research and technology to better extract oil and how tourism was a viable and potentially profitable economic interest. There were also articles showing Norwegian inclination towards a joint Arctic governance to ensure protection of resources and environment. According to Aftenposten, Norway found one nation for possible alliance security in the United States with similar thoughts on sustainability but was still threatened by competing nation’s interests in the Arctic resources.

“... natural resources and a great potential for tourism. The region provides new perspectives for transport and logistics. Knowledge development, with emphasis on science ...” 43 2015-01-20

"We are very good when it comes to extracting oil and gas in demanding marine environments” 44 2012-04-17
"The United States shares Norway's outlook for the area, when it comes to the protection of the environment and resources."

From an environmental security perspective, the majority of indicators showed a focus on how adverse effects on the environment could be linked to resource extraction within the Arctic. With the main threat identified as potentially harmful resource extraction. An argument for why the resources such as oil should stay where they are in order to avoid a potential climate disaster. Articles from 2016 and forward also showed that to be in accordance with the Paris Agreement, the International community and Norway in particular should not create new infrastructure for the extraction of fossil fuels in the Arctic. Since that would be in violation of the agreement due to the release of carbon emissions. According to Aftenposten, Norway wanted to be seen as an environmentalist in the global community yet still had numerous oil platforms, if it wished to retain or possibly improve its standing in Arctic politics it needed to focus more on renewable energy.

“Extraction of oil and gas in the Norwegian Arctic regions will have major environmental consequences and contribute significantly to climate change.”

“...Let the oil in the Arctic lie.”

“Continued exploration for oil and gas on the Norwegian continental shelf that leads to production for decades to come will undoubtedly contribute to very serious environmental and health damage that will affect people living today and the generations after us. This activity is therefore contrary to what the Constitution clearly states. In addition, this activity will help hinder the goals from Paris.”

Lastly, where the least amount of indicators were found within this theme, was the framing of this theme from a traditional security perspective. Aftenposten shows that there was a scramble for resources leading to sovereignty claims and disputes between Arctic nations. It depicts resources as a threat multiplier where nations increase military presence in the Arctic to display hard power. The newspaper also showed the possibility that tensions will escalate into a future conflict. One of the biggest threats identified in this regard was Russia which was portrayed to explicitly increase military presence in the Arctic due to resource control as well as contesting Norway’s sovereignty over Svalbard.

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45 “USA deler Norges agenda for området, hva gjelder beskyttelse av miljø og ressurser.”
46 “Utvinning av olje og gass i norske Arktis-områder vil ha store miljømessige konsekvenser og bidra sterkt til klimaendringer.”
47 “…la oljen i Arktis ligge.”
“... equip our northernmost country to meet climate change, resource management, interest in the Arctic and relations with Russia.” 49 2009-09-11

“There are many indications that a race for resources and sovereignty is taking place in the Arctic with a risk of confrontations.” 50 2009-01-11

“Russia is preparing for the battle for energy resources, also in the north. It can also be a battle with military means.” 51 2009-05-14

6.3.2 The Globe and Mail

The second largest theme in TGAM was Arctic resources. The largest amount of indicators showed that the issue was framed from an economic security perspective, followed by framing it as an environmental security issue, and lastly as a traditional security issue. Framed as an economic security issue the theme can be divided into two topics, the scramble for resources in the Arctic and resources management. The topic scramble for resources are articles about the opportunity cost of current international politics and the threat to sovereignty, when it comes to the resource-rich disputed Arctic territories and the race to get them. The phrase scramble for the Arctic is used through the collected data to describe above written process. The frantic process of claiming the resources had led to some bold moves from both the Canadians and the Russian to assert their sovereignty in the region.

TGAM frames the scramble as a display of Canada's right to the Arctic and other countries especially Russia 52 and Denmark 53 as encroaching on Canadian sovereignty by claiming the same territories and resources. The topic is described as a trans-border community security issue but also as a supply security and a techno industrial capability security.

“The voyage's chief goal appeared to be advancing Russia's political and economic influence by strengthening its legal claims to the huge gas and oil deposits thought to lie beneath the Arctic sea floor.” 2007-08-05

“Denmark makes their stake for Arctic, sending experts to study possible underwater mountain range Recent Canada's ownership claim to the waters has been largely ignored. That is changing, however, as warming temperatures open the prospect of resource exploitation and

49 “...rørte vår nordligste landsdel til å møte klimaendringer, ressursforvaltning, interesse for Arktis og forholdet til Russland.”
50 “Det er mange indikasjoner på at et kappløp om ressurser og suverenitet er i gang i Arktis med fare for konfrontasjoner.”
51 “Russland forbereder seg på kamp om energiressursene, også i nord. Det kan også bli en kamp med militære midler.”
52 The Russian submission to UNCLOS claims areas in the Arctic that encroaches on claims made by Canada, Denmark and the United States (Byers, 2010).
53 Canada and Denmark dispute over the small island named Hans Island between Greenland and Canada. The conflict started 1973 and was relatively peaceful until it drew public attention in 2002 when TGAM printed an article called ‘The return of the Vikings’ (Byers, 2010).
maritime access Russia made the dramatic move of placing a flag underneath the North Pole last week to claim the area's resources as its own." 2007-08-10a

“While the threats to Canadian sovereignty are of an entirely different magnitude than during the Cold War -when the threat of nuclear warfare would have meant the launching of missiles over the Arctic Circle - there are different potential encroachments on the North, particularly mining and oil and gas extraction. 'You start eliminating the ice and all of a sudden one of the major economic reasons why we haven't seen platforms up there disappears,'” 2007-07-10

The data on the topic of resource management framed as an economic security issue displayed two focuses for TGAM. The largest focus was on international resource management, which was how Canada should deal with threats to its management of its Arctic resources and capabilities in Arctic from foreign powers especially from Russia and United States.

“…It recommended that international agencies be allowed to help manage it by establishing rules for activities such as drilling and shipping oil in the region. Rob Huebert, an Arctic sovereignty expert and associate director of the University of Calgary's Centre for Military and Strategic Studies, said the Canadian government shouldn't ignore or play down these two documents. He said Mr. Bush's directive has effectively 'thrown a grenade into Canada-U.S. relations'…” 2009-01-14

The second focus in the topic of resource management, had to do with regional threats to the Arctic. The second focus displayed in the TGAM had the characteristics of socioeconomic paradigm security in addition to the above mention economic security indicators. The threat was framed to directly affect the region and more importantly its communities. The threat differs in characteristics from the ability to gain clean drinking water to energy security, food security, human resources and pollution.

“Some have said that Canada needs to use it or lose it in the Arctic, but there are enduring human communities who have been using it there since time immemorial. Indeed, the greatest threat of Canada losing its Arctic might arise not from foreign warships or bombers but from the social, climatic and economic challenges that keep those living there from fully benefiting from Canadian citizenship.” 2011-01-26

“The notion of Arctic drilling – considered by environmentalists and groups representing native interests as a threat to the Alaska landscape, and to the economy and diet of native Alaskans who fish and hunt in the Chukchi Sea -…” 2015-08-25

Framing the theme from an environmental security perspective, the indicators could be categorized into two topics, threats from maritime resource management and threats to inland resource management. The first topic dealt with the increased threat of how maritime resource management such as drilling for fossil fuels in the Arctic will affect the regional ecosystem as well as the communities dependent on them.
“Environmentalists warn that an oil spill could have devastating, long-term impacts, and say that dispersants make the situation worse.” 2014-10-30

“The World Wildlife Fund Canada, in conjunction with RSP Associates, modelled oil spill scenarios in the Arctic and found that if dispersants were applied to an oil spill more oil would be removed from the surface, but the mixture increased what they term toxic plumes.” 2014-10-30

The second topic smaller in the amount of data but more diverse in its threat construction framed the theme as an environmental threats to inland and coastal communities. The articles dealt with the impact from environmental threat on Arctic resource management as well as of the impact of Arctic resource management on the regional environment. Most concerning for TGAM was the impacts on food, water and energy securities for the Arctic communities as an impact of environmental threats.

“It takes four barrels of water to produce one barrel of oil, and the Athabasca River (on which the water-guzzling tar sands operations depend) runs straight downhill from the shrinking Columbia Ice field. The devastating floods in Manitoba and Quebec are likely to be repeated sooner rather than later. Even British Columbia's 'Wet' Coast is not immune, as shocked residents of the rain-forest vacation destination of Tofino discovered two years ago, when their taps ran dry and tourists fled in droves” 2008-05-31

“But there will also be consequences. The mine will leave untold scars on the natural landscape and cut into the fragile permafrost. It will affect caribou migration, disturb walrus populations and have an impact on seals, polar bears, beluga whales, foxes, ermines, lemmings, hares and narwhals. It is an age-old tension jobs and economic development versus the environmental costs but one that is about to be felt in new ways in northern communities around the world, and particularly in Canada” 2011-05-14

Identifying the theme as framed with traditional security indicators had the smallest amount of indicators and was focused on the Russian military build-up in the region in order to control its resources and enforce its territorial claims.

“The air force exercise also follows a widely advertised scientific expedition to the North Pole last month with the task of finding justification for Russia's claims for a bigger slice of the Arctic zone, believed to have rich mineral resources.” 2007-09-03

“Walter Natynczyk plan to visit the High Arctic area during this years exercise, which will come just weeks after Russia's Defence Minister, Anatoly Serdyukov, said his country will send two army brigades to help protect its interests in the contested, resource-rich region.” 2011-07-04

6.3.3 Comparative Analysis: Arctic Resources

Both newspapers framed this theme mainly from an economic security perspective, where resources led nations to increase their sovereignty claims in the Arctic. Though similarities diverge when it comes to the topics. TGAM framed the disputed Arctic territories as an already legitimate part of the Canadian sovereignty, representing the other countries in the
region especially Denmark and Russia as encroaching on their lands. The main threat in \textit{TGAM} was portrayed as the opportunity cost of not taking the initiative in the Arctic scramble. \textit{Aftenposten} on the other hand, depicted natural resources in the Arctic as an impetus for nations to increase military presence to strengthen sovereignty claims. That increased economic activity also brought increased military presence. Norway was not on the forefront of new sovereignty claims but more concerned with defending established territories like Svalbard. The newspaper also identified Russia as one of the main threats in Arctic politics due to strong reliance on Arctic resources to sustain its economy. Continuing, the paper also framed Norway somewhat as an environmentalist which thought about the sustainability of resource extraction and saw economic opportunities in other arenas such as tourism. \textit{Aftenposten} also mentioned possible Norwegian acceptance of joint Arctic governance to safeguard resources and environment, and also identified an ally in the United States. In contrast, the narrative of \textit{TGAM} followed the “use it or lose” it concept. The focus is not on sustainable resource extraction, instead the focus lie on the threat to socio-economic paradigm security of the Arctic communities. This is due to offshore resource extraction and on water, food and energy securities for above mentioned communities, for the sake of projecting Canadian sovereignty over the region.

From an environmental security perspective, \textit{Aftenposten} framed economic initiatives in the Arctic where fossil extraction was undertaken as being a threat to the environment. Norway was portrayed as aiming to have or maintain an environmentalist status in the global community and saw a possible threat not being able to so. The nation was also trying to adhere to the Paris agreement which does not align with establishment of new infrastructure for fossil extraction. In contrast, \textit{TGAM} framed the theme through the environmental security perspective as a more regional matter focusing on threats from maritime resource management and threats to inland resource management on the Arctic communities. Framing from a traditional security perspective, \textit{TGAM}’s focus was on the threat to Canada’s right to Arctic resources from the Russian Arctic militarization. Similarly, \textit{Aftenposten} saw a threat in Russia’s increased military presence in the Arctic to substantiate sovereignty claims.

\textbf{6.4 Emergence of Alternative Navigation Routes}

The smallest theme identified for both newspapers. The theme is about the consequences of melting Arctic sea ice, the opportunities of global shipping, the imbalances it creates and the effect on already established Arctic trade.
6.4.1 Aftenposten

The majority of indicators were found conceptualizing this theme from an economic security perspective. In Aftenposten, the melting sea ice in the Arctic is depicted as a possibility for trade and transport routes through the Arctic. It is the Northeast Passage in particular that comes into focus as an economic opportunity for Norway to exercise control over traffic and create national business opportunities. With traffic increasing through the Arctic, it makes it more viable economically in the future. Norway was also shown to be interested in research regarding logistics and shipping to make it a leading maritime nation as well as expressing interest in cooperation with other Arctic nations. The trade routes were, in this context, sometimes depicted as being even more important than the Arctic natural resources. Making nations increase their presence in the Arctic to both strengthen claims to territories but also to be in the running for future developments regarding the sea routes. Not to mention the safeguarding of territorial interests. Thereby creating a threat scenario of whom can gain the most control of the lucrative sea routes.

“In a few years it will be possible to transport goods to a large degree through the Northeast or Northwest Passage. And beneath the ice natural resources are hiding. And possibly oil.” 54 2013-01-24

“Will research on shipping in the High North - especially logistics, shipwreck, conflicts of interests, ice, environment and cooperation with Russia.” 55 2009-02-19

“The development is not characterized by a struggle for resources or increased conflict, but because many actors are positioning themselves with regard to future interests. Especially, the new seas in the north can become a flammable topic in the years to come.” 56 2013-03-05

There were not many indicators that framed this theme from an environmental security perspective, yet those found show that the increasing accessibility of Arctic sea routes may be negative. This due to the fact that increased traffic on the emerging sea routes may lead to increased pollution and deterioration of the Arctic environment. Thereby posing as a threat to the Arctic ecosystem. Articles in Aftenposten also showed an environmental awareness where it is mentioned that vessels could run on natural gas instead of fossil fuels to combat a

54 “Om noen år kan det være mulig å transportere varer i stort monn gjennom Nordøst- eller Nordvestpassasjene. Og under isen skjuler det seg naturressurser, deriblant fisk. Og trolig olje.” 2013-01-24

55 “Vil forske på skipsfart i nordområdene - særlig logistikk, skipsleder, interessekonflikter, is, miljø og samarbeid med Russland.”

56 “Utviklingen er ikke preget av ressurskamp eller økt konflikt, men av at mange aktører posisjonerer seg med hensyn til fremtidige interesser. Særleg de nye sjørutene i nord kan bli brennbare i årene fremover.”
potential natural disaster. Norway was also shown to be responsible for creating a new legal framework, The Polar Code, for Arctic shipping to ensure human and environmental safety.

"The Arctic is a vulnerable area for pollution, while shipping in the region will increase sharply as the ice melting opens traffic through the Northeast Passage." 57 2013-04-02

"...but arctic regions will need their own additional environmental and safety requirements. It is Norway that is leading the work of the new regulations, called the Polar Code." 58 2013-08-02

There were very few indicators within this theme that framed it from a traditional security perspective, leading to the lack of sizeable results in this segment. There was, however, a brief mention of how the opening of trade routes could leave the United States’ state of Alaska vulnerable to attack from Asia. Thereby showing the importance of Arctic security policies for traditional security in the region.

"At the same time, the United States also has a security policy agenda: if the polar ice is melting and opening up seaways from Asia, the country is more vulnerable to attacks against Alaska." 56 2015-03-22

6.4.2 The Globe and Mail

The data showed that the biggest group of indicators framed this theme as an economic security issue. While it was the smallest theme the topics included were the most straightforward. Framed as an economic security issue, the theme could be identified into two topics. The first topic portraying Canada’s disputed claim over the Northwest Passage as a threat to Trans-border community security and market-access security. The dispute about the Northwest Passage and its potential as a future “Silk Road” for shipping is the most populous topic in the theme. The interest by other countries into the trade route is framed as an intrusion to Canadian sovereignty, especially the U.S denunciation of Canada’s claim on the passage.

“'Canada can no longer afford to maintain a passive approach to our northern interests.' U.S. President George W. Bush's administration released the controversial new policy on Monday, just days before president-elect Barack Obama is scheduled to take office. The document reasserts the Americans' long-held claim that the fabled Northwest Passage is an international waterway, open to all.” 2009-01-14

“Prof. Huebert said the danger of China's keen interest in shipping goods through the Northwest Passage is the erosion of Canadian sovereignty, particularly since the United States disputes Canada's claims.” 2017-11-12b

57 “Arktis er et sårbart område for forurensning, samtidig som skipsfarten i regionen vil øke kraftig som følge av at issmelting åpner for trafikk gjennom Nordøstpassasjen.”

58 “...men arktiske strøk vil trene egne tilleggskrav til miljø og sikkerhet. Det er Norge som leder arbeidet med det nye regelverket, kalt Polarkoden.”

59 “Samtidig har også USA en sikkerhetspolitisk agenda: hvis polisen smelter, og åpner opp sjøveier fra Asia, er landet mer sårbare for angrep mot Alaska.”
The second topic identified in TGAM was the protection of Arctic trade with the focal point on the threat to the controversial polar bear fur trade and trophy hunting. The threat was framed to identify the environmentalist groups and U.S legislation banning its citizens to import the fur as a threat to Canadian sovereignty and to the socio-economic paradigm security for the Arctic communities. The framing of environmentalist groups as a threat to Arctic economic development and trade for its communities also extends to other sectors of the industry such as the gas, oil and fishing (seals) industry.

“Nunavut Premier Paul Okalik criticized Washington’s recent decision to list polar bears as a threatened species, which could affect the lucrative visits to the Canadian North by American trophy hunters, who would no longer be allowed to take pelts into the United States.” 2008-05-30b

“Under the guise of protecting polar bears and seals -something that none of us in the North have asked for - (environmental) groups ... are seeking to shut down oil and gas exploration and development off the coasts of both Alaska and the Northwest Territories... “2008-06-24a

”... he will also criticize recent U.S. legislation that categorizes polar bears as a threatened species. The change won't protect the animals, but will substantially damage the NWT’s economy by destroying its sport hunting industry, valued at $1.6-million a year, according to an advance copy of the speech.” ’2008-06-24a

Framing it as a traditional security issue, the theme was portrayed as an issue of threatened sovereignty. The focus was on the Northwest Passage and Canadian-U.S diplomatic relations due to the disagreement over Canada's sovereignty over the strait.

“But a foreign policy group, the Rideau Institute, has argued that U.S. laws would require Alliant Techsystems to respond to national-security and defence demands of the U.S. government, even if they were in conflict with Canadian interests. In the Arctic, for example, Canada considers the Northwest Passage to be an internal waterway, but the United States does not accept Canada's position.” 2008-04-07

“Russian bombers in international airspace are mostly a distraction. A greater threat to Canadian sovereignty runs silent and deep, in the form of a U.S. submarine that might sail the Northwest Passage this week.” 2009-03-05

Framed from an environmental security perspective the topic for the theme was the threat to the regional ecological habitat due to bad marine management of the increased shipping in the potential future trade route through the Northwest Passage. In half of the articles with indicators pointing towards environmental security the argument is brought forward that Canada needs to move on from protecting is sovereignty claims in favour of take the lead when it comes to sustainable management in the region.

“The Arctic is a potentially lucrative opportunity where warming temperatures are melting new openings for the movement of goods through waters where Canada has few resources to respond to potential disasters, such as oil spills. Experts in maritime safety say there is no
emergency infrastructure in Canada, Russia or U.S. Arctic waters to deal with fuel spills or the breaking up of a vessel.” 2017-11-12a

“Many say the belugas need protection against what could become a bigger threat as the Arctic region becomes increasingly industrialized and the shipping season lengthens due to disappearing sea ice.” 2014-03-02

6.4.3 Comparative Analysis: Emergence of Alternative Navigation Routes

Both newspapers framed this theme predominantly through an economic security perspective, followed by an environmental and traditional security perspective. The two main focuses for the theme was the Northwest Passage for TGAM and Northeast Passage shipping lanes for Aftenposten. Norwegian media depicted the emergence of the Northeast Passage as holding future economic potential. An opportunity for Norway to exercise control over vessels in their territory as well as the potential for economic gain. Furthermore, the trade routes were framed as to arguably have a higher potential for profits than the Arctic resources, leading to nations positioning themselves to claim territory in the passage. While Norwegian media was showing Norway to be inclined towards cooperation and research, there were also existing territorial disputes and conflict of interests which could potentially threaten possible future economic yields in the region. For Canadian media, the main focus of threats to Canadian trade in the Northwest Passage was the intrusion to its claimed sovereignty over the lane. The indicators had a strong rhetoric to them carrying ambiguous characteristics with traditional security. Still the outcome was of an economic security nature with the main threats coming from other countries FEP. TGAM also framed the theme as an economic security through a second topic focusing on the threat to already existing Arctic trade due to pressure from environmentalist groups and foreign governments. The pressure is represented as an encroachment on Canadian economic sovereignty. When discussing environmental security, both newspapers saw the growth of maritime traffic through the Arctic as potential threat to the environment due to increased pollution. Both news outlets also depicted respective nation to be an aspiring environmentalist, and suitable leader of the region’s maritime and environmental activities. Lastly, from a traditional security perspective Aftenposten briefly mentioned how the United States deem the increased traffic through the Arctic as a possible threat to regional stability. TGAM continue on, framing the theme through a traditional security matter, focusing on the threat to sovereignty in the Northwest Passage.

Over all in the theme, TGAM held a strong focus on protecting Canadian sovereignty, except when it came to instead focusing on becoming the environmental protector and manager of the whole region. Similarly, Aftenposten showed an overarching theme of business opportunity for Norway in the Northeast Passage and the nation being at the
forefront of maritime research and showing environmental awareness, yet separates itself from TGAM when it comes to playing up sovereignty.
7. Conclusion

This thesis research question was: How is the securitization of the Arctic represented in mainstream media of the Arctic stakeholders Norway & Canada? To be able to answer this question, three sub questions were formulated. To find these answers, an analysis of 189 articles from two different newspapers within a 10-year interval was undertaken. To answer the first question, four major themes were identified in both newspapers surrounding the securitization of the Arctic. The four overarching themes were: Other States’ Unilateral Actions, Climate Change as a Threat Multiplier, Arctic Resources and Emergence of Alternative Navigation Routes. To answer the second and third questions, this thesis summarizes the comparative results below.

The first theme Other States’ Unilateral Actions was predominantly framed through a traditional security perspective in both newspapers. Although sharing the same security perspective, Canadian media showed a more assertive tone towards other Arctic countries regarding regional sovereignty. On the other hand, Norwegian media showed a slightly more cooperative approach as a possible route in the future and only identified one major threat which was Russia.

The second theme Climate Change as a Threat Multiplier was mostly framed within the environmental security concept, once again, for both media institutions. Both countries were portrayed as wanting to have principal roles in the cause for Arctic preservation. Norwegian media focused on the adverse effects of melting sea ice and Norway was presented to be focused on leading Arctic research while Canada was portrayed as wanting to be a steward of the Arctic. Canadian media also took a more regional approach, representing the climate change in the Arctic as a direct threat to Canadian economy, infrastructure and way of life.

Arctic Resources was the third theme and was mainly framed through an economic security concept in both newspapers. The analysis found that TGAM was more assertive and staking claims to Arctic resources while Norway was depicted in Aftenposten to be more defensive of its Arctic territory of Svalbard, protecting its sovereignty rather than claiming new land. Both newspapers framed resources as a catalyst which led nations to increase their sovereignty claims in the Arctic due to the potential of future economic gain.

The final theme was Emergence of Alternative Navigation Routes and was framed mostly through the economic security perspective in both mainstream medias. Aftenposten showed how the increasing accessibility to sea routes created economic opportunities and
potentially increased conflict of interests for nations as well as Norway focusing on maritime research and showing environmental awareness. TGAM in contrast, was representing Canada as losing economic opportunities due to infringements on their sovereignty.

This thesis has identified similar tendencies regarding the framing of themes for mainstream media in both Norway and Canada. Both newspapers framed the themes surrounding the Arctic primarily through the same security concepts. This is interesting due to the many perspectives the Arctic is represented as in international relations. The choice of framing could be an indicator for the countries like-mindedness but also on what extraordinary measures are deemed justified when dealing with Arctic questions. Even though the themes are mostly framed through the same security concepts for both media outlets, this thesis has identified different recurring topics for respective newspaper. Norwegian media often displayed Russia as an unpredictable nation with tremendous interest in the Arctic and was on several occasions mentioned to be increasing military presence in the region. Another recurring topic was that of Norway as an aspiring environmentalist with awareness of detrimental effects of climate change in the Arctic along with focusing on research on the region in order to be considered an Arctic expert. Moreover, Norwegian media recurrently viewed the protection of territory in the Arctic as something integral to Norway’s Arctic policies as well as being more open towards possible cooperation than its Canadian counterpart. As previously written, recurring topics for TGAM was the protection of Canadian sovereignty in the region including contested territories (Northwest Passage) and unrecognized claims (Arctic continental shelves). The threat was predominantly portrayed as coming from Russian foreign policy but other contestants in the region were also portrayed as threats such as United States, China, Denmark and other Scandinavian nations usually within the framework of the economic security perspective, but there were outliers framing other countries than Russia through a traditional security perspective. Canada’s supposed claim over the Arctic was also visible when looking at TGAM from an environmental perspective but the issue then framed itself instead of a sovereignty issue as an issue of responsibility of the management of the Arctic. Lastly, climate change in the Arctic was framed as a very intimate issue striking close to home.

This thesis has aimed to contribute to fill in the gap on how the securitization of the Arctic was framed in mainstream media. Through the examination of mainstream media in two Arctic countries this thesis has identified trends and themes and contributed to the topic of media’s representation of securitization of the Arctic. As previously stated, mainstream media continuously shapes public and even policymaker opinions. Thus, the significance of
identifying these themes through different security concepts has given a small insight to the present and possible future courses of action in Arctic international relations, more specifically, on how Canada and Norway’s Arctic policies might be affected by media’s representation of the region.

To conclude, it is possible to say that through the last century the perspective of the Arctic has changed several times. Through the different themes, the thesis has showed that the Arctic is framed through more than one perspective, reflecting the present situation of international relations. Future studies into securitization of the Arctic can continue this thesis’ research by asking why Canada and Norway differ when it comes to behaviour in the Arctic, is it a question of Arctic identity, what is an Arctic identity and how does it affect international relations? Another interesting topic for future research would be how securitization of the Arctic is represented in Russian mainstream media due to Russia’s prevalence in the analyzed data.

The securitization of the Arctic has many different aspects, some of which has been covered in this thesis and hopefully contributed to the political understanding of security issues in the Arctic.
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IX. Appendix

IX.I Allocation of Indicators
Below is the coded content from the Norwegian newspaper *Aftenposten*. The table shows the amount of indicators found in relation to each theme and how it was framed. It also depicts the overall distribution of indicators for each theme in percentages. The tables are made for comparative emphasis between the newspapers.

Table 5: Allocation of Indicators for *Aftenposten*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Themes</th>
<th>Traditional Security</th>
<th>Economic Security</th>
<th>Environmental Security</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Other States’ Unilateral Actions</td>
<td>90 (78 %)</td>
<td>21 (18 %)</td>
<td>4 (3 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Climate Change as Threat Multiplier</td>
<td>12 (20 %)</td>
<td>14 (24 %)</td>
<td>32 (55 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arctic Resources</td>
<td>33 (25 %)</td>
<td>61 (46 %)</td>
<td>39 (29 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emergence of Alternative Navigation Routes</td>
<td>2 (7 %)</td>
<td>22 (81 %)</td>
<td>3 (11 %)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Numbers are approximated to avoid decimals.

Below is the coded content from the Canadian newspaper *The Globe and Mail*. The table shows the amount of indicators found in relation to each theme and how it was framed. It also depicts the overall distribution of indicators for each theme in percentages.
Table 6: Allocation of Indicators for *The Globe and Mail*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Themes</th>
<th>Traditional Security</th>
<th>Economic Security</th>
<th>Environmental Security</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Globe and Mail</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other States’ Unilateral Actions</td>
<td>64 (82%)</td>
<td>10 (13%)</td>
<td>4 (5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Climate Change as Threat Multiplier</td>
<td>11 (13%)</td>
<td>20 (24%)</td>
<td>51 (62%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arctic Resources</td>
<td>7 (14%)</td>
<td>31 (60%)</td>
<td>14 (27%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emergence of Alternative Navigation Routes</td>
<td>6 (26%)</td>
<td>11 (48%)</td>
<td>6 (26%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Numbers are approximated to avoid decimals.
IX.II Articles from Aftenposten
Below are the articles used as data for the thesis, it shows the publishing date and name of each article.

2007-08-17 Norges rolle, sett fra nord
2007-09-18 Trenger vi drivisen?
2007-09-21 Enden er nær
2007-09-26 Frostbitt eller tøvær?
2007-10-13 Å hindre krig
2007-10-24 Advarer mot «kald krig» på Nordpolen
2007-11-06 Hvor er de gamle bamsene?
2008-03-13 Ingen ny kald krig
2008-03-13 Bildet som ga EU sjøkk
2008-04-02 Nord-Norge vant kampen om Forsvaret
2008-05-21 Suveren i solskinn
2008-05-26 Store ber EU slå ring om havretten
2008-06-03 I høst kan du ro til Nordpolen
2008-06-21 UD-ansatte advart om aktive spioner
2008-08-17 Canada på vrakjakt - styrker krav i Arktis
2008-11-13 EU lover å holde seg til havretten
2009-01-11 USA satser i Arktis
2009-01-16 USA krever sin rett i Arktis.
2009-02-19 Sammen om ny forskning
2009-03-28 Russerne vil sikre Arktis militært
2009-05-14 Russiske muskler i nord
2009-05-19 Nå blir et godt naboskap satt på prøve
2009-07-16 Ruster opp på Grønland
2009-08-03 Et demokratisk underskudd
2009-08-31 Arktisk dobbeltmoral
2009-09-11 14 viktige områder
2009-12-10 Vil ha Obamas blikk mot nord
2010-01-07 Strategi til hjemmebruk
2010-06-22 Stadig mer norsk spionasje
2010-06-28 Skipsfart. Liten satellitt dekker stort behov
2010-08-17 Utfordringene i nord
2010-09-26 Nye krigsskip blir liggende ved kai
2010-10-15 Fare i nord
2010-12-01 Norge står alene i nord
2011-04-01 Muskelspill
2011-04-01 Russisk opprusting på Kola
2011-07-26 Kampen Norge tapte
2011-08-05 USA kritisk til Canadas Arktis-satsning
2011-08-06 Motsetninger i nord
2011-10-18 EU ser mot nord
2011-11-24 Trekkende arter møter dødelige hinder
2012-04-17 Oljen gjør oss sterke
2012-06-04 EU vil inn i Arktis, Norge nøler
2012-06-22 Har alt å vinne
2012-08-08 Moskva forbereder ny «kald krig» i nord
2012-08-20  Støre advarer mot naivitet i nord
2012-08-25  Sikkerhet i nord er et felles ansvar
2013-01-22  Storpolitikk i oljefat og matfat
2013-01-24  Norsk helomvending i nord
2013-01-29  Vil vise muskler i nord
2013-03-05  Et uoversiktlig og ut- fordrende trusselbilde
2013-03-22  Kappløpet mot nord er avlyst
2013-04-02  Blendet av nordlys og klimaturister?
2013-04-02  Vil bruke naturgass i Arktis
2013-05-12  En visjon for Arktis
2013-05-14  "Diplomatisk sluttspurt om arktiske observatører
2013-07-09  Nå kommer kineserne
2013-08-02  Spår mangedobling av skipstrafikken i nord
2013-08-02  Nærmere asiatiske markeder
2013-08-04  Å sikre velferden er god utenrikspolitikk
2013-08-24  Sviket mot livet
2013-08-29  Oljeeventyr uten lykkelig slutt?
2013-12-13  Kampen om Nordpolen
2014-01-19  Store muligheter - stort ansvar
2014-03-06  Som skapt for en fredelig avtale
2014-10-21  Putin viser rå makt mot nabolandene
2014-12-17  Ingen trusler som krever militærmakt
2015-01-20  Nordområdene er vårt felles hjem
2015-03-18  Ny uro i nord
2015-03-18  «Både Russland og vi øver fordi vi er mer bekymret enn vi var»
2015-03-22  Hvem vinner kampen om Nordpolen?
2015-03-27  Tenk på en iskant
2015-04-21  Provokasjoner i nord er uakseptable
2015-06-05  Vi må innse at vi ikke har evnen til å forsvare oss
2015-08-05  Kampen spisser seg til
2015-08-06  Positive signaler fra Russland i Arktis
2015-11-02  Oljeland i risikosonen
2015-12-18  Paris-avtalen langt fra tilstrekkelig
2016-03-15  Arktis er Russlandsredningsplanke
2016-05-01  Oljeutvinning i nord blir det ultimate bruddet med våre klimaforpliktelser
2016-05-26  Isen som brenner
2016-10-18  Kina blir Norges utfordrende nabø i nordområdene
2016-10-19  Det aller siste Kina tenker på, er Arktis og nordområdene
2017-03-30  Russene la parkett i snøen da Brende kom på besok
2017-03-31  Stormaktene enige: Det er på tide å høste Arktis
2017-04-02  Bryter snarvei til Kina
2017-05-11  Skal vise muskler i nord
2017-05-12  Klimafremgang i Arktisk råd
2017-07-28  Varsko fra isen!
2017-07-28  Varsko fra isen!
2017-09-03  Det er en skam for Norge
2017-11-10  Olljevirksomhet i strid med Grunnloven
2017-11-23  Flere isbjørner - men Arktis snus på hodet
2017-12-27  Flere isbjørner - men Arktis snus på hodet
2017-12-31  Dette skipet skal kunne dra til Nordpolen
IX.III Articles from The Globe and Mail

2007-06-29 Whose Arctic is it?
2007-07-29 Russia takes a test run for North Pole claim
2007-08-02 Russian mini-sub plants flag at North Pole sea bed
2007-08-03 Pushing ahead in the Arctic
2007-08-05 Layton calls for Arctic protection push
2007-08-06 The Russian bear is more bark than bite; for now
2007-08-10a Canada steps up fight for the Arctic
2007-08-10b Danes head to North Pole to strengthen territorial claims
2007-08-15 Denmark scoffs at Canadian, Russian moves on Arctic
2007-08-17 Russia to resume long-range bomber patrols (Putin revives Soviet-era patrols)
2007-08-21 Russia flexes military muscles at its largest post-Soviet air show
2007-09-03 Russia's strategic bombers run Arctic exercise
2007-10-02 Russia steps up bomber exercises near Canada and Alaska
2007-10-20 Sovereignty and the Arctic
2007-12-05 Wake up to what's happening in the former Soviet Union
2007-06-06 Snow and ice woes put heat on
2007-07-10 Passage's thaw a recipe for chilly foreign relations
2007-09-29 Climate change: How much does Canada care?
2007-10-03 Canadians monitoring Russian bombers on training missions
2007-10-20a Treading on thin ice
2007-10-20b On and under the water
2007-10-23 Climate change threat to peace, says German foreign minister
2007-12-14 Indigenous people describe real perils of warming
2007-12-27 Warming enough for you?
2008-03-15 The sabre-rattling on NAFTA is worrying, but take it as an opportunity
2008-04-02 Space division sale no threat to Arctic sovereignty, CEO says
2008-04-04 River delta's rise puts Arctic's future in flux
2008-04-07 NDP plans legal action to block satellite sale
2008-05-30 Premiers bypass Ottawa on U.S. Arctic policies
2008-05-31 Tapped out?
2008-06-24 NWT defends Arctic gas as green benefit
2008-10-08 120 climate scientists criticize Tory policies, urge strategic voting
2008-11-14 Stewards of the Arctic?
2008-11-19 Moving beyond Arctic sovereignty
2009-01-14 Harper plays down threat to Arctic sovereignty
2009-01-14 What are we going to do about the bears?
2009-01-17 No common ground at first polar bear summit
2009-01-19 How Ottawa can help clean up Obama's first mess
2009-03-05 Arctic sovereignty: Another threat runs silent and deep
2009-03-20 Climate No. 1 threat to polar bears: Arctic nations
2009-05-08 Canada's reckless carbon habit
2010-09-29 Stephen Harper, and a spin machine on steroids
2011-01-26 Arctic security means more than Arctic sovereignty
2011-03-08 Tories play to misconceptions on Arctic with jet-thundering photo-op
2011-05-14 A railway to Arctic riches: economic boom, environmental threat?
2011-07-04 Military plans show of force in High Arctic
2011-07-14 Listing helps the polar bear survive a warming world
2012-03-25 Most Chinese takeovers not a security threat to Canada
Canada asked to explain polar bear policies to international environmental group
You can’t replace real icebreakers
Arctic symbolism, Harper stagecraft
Why energy producers need to pay heed to global warming
Some Greenpeace activists will face additional charges, Russia says
Baird says Canada, Russia work well in Arctic despite other differences
Manitoba eyes better beluga protection as shipping traffic increases
New climate change report details threats to global security, possibilities of violent conflict
Confrontation over the Arctic: Soviet/Russian strategic bombers, then and now
Extreme weather – Canadians better get used to it
How Vladimir Putin reinvigorated NATO
Putin’s oil deals with Exxon, Shell under threat from sanctions
Patriotic fervour, fate boost Harper’s hand
Russian military activity around North America increasing, says NORAD commander
Expect budget to hike military funding to tackle increasing terrorism
Arctic alert: Russia is taking aim at the North
Changing winds herald climate risks for Arctic airports
DND concerned about spy drones in the Arctic as Russia beefs up presence
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Conservatives on verge of loosening oil spill clean-up rules
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Polar bears at risk of dying off if global warming not reversed: report
Is Arctic oil a losing gamble?
If Canada expects NATO to do more on global security, we must do more for NATO
Canada risks global irrelevance with smaller military
To be a world player, Trudeau must spend on defence
Climate change threatens traditional Inuit food supply in Alaska
Arctic issues conference in U.S. highlights absence of election climate debate
Obama set to push Canada, other nations on climate action
Why Clinton’s Arctic stance is her political declaration of independence
Conservative campaign pledge would cost $14 million to pave roadway in Northwest Territories
McKenna's climate climb
Russia suggests it wants thawed relations with Canada in Arctic
Arctic waters get long-sought protection
Canadian business must prepare for insurance in the age of climate change
Ottawa lays out $62-billion in new military spending over 20 years
From Paris to pariah: Trump set to exit climate deal
In a darkening world, it’s time Canada moved beyond fear
Russia warns Canada Magnitsky sanctions would be blow to relations
U.S. signing declaration supporting Paris accord is significant: Freeland
It’s time to rethink our messaging about environmental change
An irreplaceable ecological treasure is about to be auctioned off for oil. Will Canada step up?
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species to Nunavut