

The Scramble for the Arctic?

A Discourse Analysis of Norway and the EU's Strategies Towards the European Arctic

Astrid Grindheim



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Title

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Abstract

This report examines the discourses on engagement in the European Arctic. Since 2006, both Norway and the EU have launched strategies directed toward engagement in the North. By means of discourse analysis, the report will investigate how the two actors have portrayed and discussed the European Arctic. Taking a social constructivist approach, it is assumed that regions are what we make them to be, and that discourse analysis can indicate the area of action for the region. Special attention will be paid to climate change, environmental issues and energy, as these issues play a prominent role in the Arctic. The region shows evident signs of climate change – but it also contains perhaps 25% of the world's untapped energy resources. This creates tension between the wish to preserve the environment and the climate, and the business potential of the energy reservoirs. The European Arctic was of high geo-strategic importance during the Cold War, and there is now talk of a possible renewal of that role. The report applies the theoretical approach developed by Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde (1998) about the widened security concept in examining whether the two actors' discourses are framed within security terms and within a security framework.

Key Words

European Arctic, energy security, climate change, widened security concept, EU, Norway, High North

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Contents

Acknowledgements	iii
1 Introduction	1
2 The Analytical Framework	4
2.1 Discourse Analysis	4
2.2 The New Security Concept	9
3 Empirical Background	11
3.1 The High North and the Arctic – the European Arctic?	11
3.2 Norway and the EU	13
3.2.1 Norway	13
3.2.2 The European Union	14
3.2.3 Materials from Norway	14
3.2.4 Materials from the EU	15
4 The Analysis	16
4.1 National Environmental Identity: ‘Sustainability to the World’	16
4.1.1 Norway: A Small State with Success in Resource Management	16
4.1.2 Norway is a Responsible Actor That Makes Environmental Issues a Foreign Policy Concern	19
4.1.3 Being Better than Russia	19
4.1.4 Summary	21
4.1.5 Story-lines	22
4.2 Innovative Energy Optimism	22
4.2.1 Norway: Environmentally-friendly Energy Management	23
4.2.2 Norway as Energy Nation and Superpower in Energy Relations	23
4.2.3 Europe Wants Norwegian Resources	25
4.2.4 Energy in the North to Boost a Dying Region	27
4.2.5 Summary	28
4.2.6 Story-lines	30
4.3 Climate Change as a Threat Multiplier	30
4.3.1 EU – Global Fighter and Manager of Environmental Action in the European Arctic	30
4.3.2 EU Affects the Arctic and Vice Versa	32
4.3.3 Climate Change Can Lead to Increased Multilateral Governance	32
4.3.4 The Need for Rapid Action	33
4.3.5 Summary	34
4.3.6 Story-lines	35
4.4 EU Energy Security	36

4.4.1	Increased Energy Security	36
4.4.2	Energy Conflicts and the Conflict Potential of the Area	36
4.4.3	The Need for Sustainable Use of the Resources	38
4.4.4	Summary	39
4.4.5	Story-lines	39
5	A Region of Security?	40
5.1	The Widened Security Concept – Linking Areas or Issues to Security	40
5.2	The Threatening Consequences of Climate Change	41
5.3	The Fear of Scramble for Resources	42
6	Concluding Remarks	44
	References	47
	Other materials	50
	Websites	50
	Figure sources	51

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1 Introduction

In August 2007, members of a Russian expedition planted a titanium flag on the seabed under the North Pole. The media coverage was enormous, with newspapers writing about ‘the new “gold rush” in the High North’ (Reynolds 2007) and the ‘race towards the North Pole’ (Iversen 2007). The Arctic had emerged as an area with renewed and transformed importance, and comments focused on territorial claims as well as the potential huge energy reservoirs in the region. Reference was made to the ‘scramble for Africa’ in colonial times and comparisons were drawn to the historical race between states over access to the resources of the African continent (David 2007). Yet the media also focused on how the Arctic area has been showing the consequences of climate changes, with rapid melting of ice.

Political debates about the area increased around the world. In 2006, the Norwegian government launched a strategy towards the High North, placing the area at the top of the government’s agenda (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2006: 7). Within the Norwegian public debate, this action marked a new focus on an area that had been of military geo-strategic importance during the Cold War (Rottem, Hønneland and Jensen 2008: 122). In November 2008, the EU joined the game, launching the first steps towards a potential EU Arctic policy with a communication on Arctic policy (Commission 2008a).

The Arctic has become a field of considerable interest, with its recently renewed importance and the growing international interest in the area. Hønneland and Jensen (2008: 110) write that regions are what we make them to be: they are created by text and speech. The creation of the Arctic today has consequences for its future; it has an impact on political accomplishments and lays certain premises for action. This makes it relevant to investigate the creation and formation of this region. The purpose of this report is to provide an empirical contribution to the study of the Arctic through a discourse analysis of Norway and the EU’s strategies. The Arctic is a high attractive region due to its resource potential in both living resources, such as fish and other species, and in non-renewable resources, such as oil and gas. On the other hand, the Arctic also shows clearer evidence of climate changes than other regions of the world. Thus two opposed interests come to the fore: the economic potential of extraction of resources, and the environmental and moral interest in preserving the climate. This analytical contribution will focus on political discourses about the environment, climate and energy, and how these are communicated through recent written strategies of the two actors. As the EU documents place a greater focus on climate change than on the environment, there will be a division in the analysis, with a Norwegian focus on environmental matters and an EU focus on climate matters. A more detailed explanation of this will be presented later in the text.

In relation to media coverage and the focal areas, it can be fruitful to employ the widened security concept presented by Buzan and Wæver (1998). They focus on the act of speech: the practice that portrays a topic as a security matter. Their approach is useful for this report, as it can help to show whether the two actors characterize and frame the region in

security terms, and the potential security framing of climate, the environment and energy issues. Such framing will have an impact on practical action towards the area.

This report takes a social constructive approach, assuming that the world is accessible only through categories and representations, and that there is no objective truth ‘out there’ (Winther Jørgensen and Phillips 2002: 5). Discourse analysis is part of social constructivism and is relevant for studying the social construction of an area. Through discourse analysis, we can see how an actor constructs an issue and which social frameworks and areas of action these discursive perceptions create. Discourses are specific ways of grouping or categorizing the world; they are frameworks and categorizations – a set of spectacles that constrain the way we look upon, talk and treat different things. They help to structure our perceptions of a chaotic world, as they constrain what is acceptable to say in relation to certain areas or issues and direct what is considered natural and what are natural actions in a given situation (Neumann 2008: 62). However, discourses do not determine actions completely, as there will always be more than one possible outcome. Within constructivist theory, the discourse and its representations are the closest we will ever get to ‘reality’.

The analysis in this report will focus on how views and perceptions are communicated through actors’ strategies. This is important, as it can reveal how the actors perceive and portray the area and its issues to the rest of the world and how this has been shaped by historical and social contexts, which in turn can help us to understand why actors behave as they do. The two actors’ discourses are part of the social construction of the Arctic, and can help us to see what role the region has gained in this re-launching process. All this can contribute to an epistemological input to the debate on the European Arctic, showing how and why topics appear as they do and how this knowledge is produced and reproduced (Neumann 2001: 14, 30). As Neumann notes, an important feature of discourse analysis is how it helps to establish an empirical base, which ‘then can be used to shed new light over the assumptions and prerequisites that are always part of political practice’ (2001: 15). With knowledge about these premises, we can gain a deeper understanding of specific political actions. Within a constructivist framework, the intention is not to seek motives behind the text or search for ontological explanations, but to treat the world as it is presented. Therefore, we will not focus on national interests or motives behind the actors’ strategies, as these do not exist as objective truths ‘out there’, according to the chosen analytical framework. This marks one of the differences between a postmodernist framework and more classical approaches to international relations (IR). Furthermore, causal relationships will not be searched for and the area under investigation is not taken for granted, but is part of what is being studied. The focus within this constructivist approach is on the understanding of the ideas articulated and the framing of these ideas, rather than on giving a causal explanation behind the ideas (Sørensen and Jackson 2003: 265). Given these basic assumptions, the problem can be formulated like this:

How do Norway and the EU frame climate, environmental and energy issues in their strategies towards the European Arctic?

Examining this problem can provide new insights to the study of the Arctic. Previous studies with a Northern focus have concerned the Northern Dimension of the EU (Offerdal 2009), the petroleum debate in Norway (Jensen 2007) and energy security in the EU (Youngs 2009). A discourse analysis of Russian and Norwegian perceptions of the region has also been conducted (Jensen and Skedsmo 2009) and there have been studies on the best theoretical security approach for studying the region (Åtland 2007). Where the present report is unique is in its focus on the new steps taken by the EU towards the Arctic and the in-depth examination of energy and climate questions in the region. It can also contribute new perspectives to the field of study and to the constructivist approach in IR. The report is written within the tradition of security studies, discourse analytical studies and in discourses around the Arctic.

The analysis is based on a few political documents, and it might be queried whether there is enough material to call it a 'discourse analysis'. One argument for the use of discourse analysis is the importance of the texts studied. These are official political documents that serve as monuments within the debate on the area. 'Monuments' are texts that function as intersections within a discourse (Neumann 2001: 177). The texts used in this report are *the* official statements that set the official standards for discourses about the area. It is therefore fruitful to analyse how they present the theme, despite the low number of actual texts. Moreover, official documents are politics in printed format. For a more detailed discussion, see the chapter on analytical framework.

By presenting perceptions from two actors, the report will be able to offer a broader and more nuanced picture than would have been the case if we investigated the perceptions of only one actor. The reason for studying Norway's approach lies in the interplay of the country being an energy-exporting country that also wants to show leadership in environmental matters (Office of the Prime Minister 2005: 51). Additionally, the country has a large part of its territory located within the region. The European Arctic was one of the most securitized areas during the Cold War – but lost that status after the end of that period. Today it seems relevant to investigate the content of the recent increase in international interest in the area. The EU plays a crucial role in politics and development throughout Europe, and European perceptions can give indications on how others outside of Norway perceive the area.

The next chapter outlines the analytical framework of the report, with an introduction to discourse analysis as theory and method, and a presentation of the widened security concept. Next comes a short presentation and discussion of the High North, the European Arctic, followed by a presentation of Norway and the EU's earlier engagement in the area. Prior to the analysis, there is also a presentation of the two actors and the choice of the material. Next, the various representations of climate and energy in relation to engagement in the European Arctic are presented and discussed. The final discussion concerns the possible security framing of the discourses on engagement in the European Arctic.

2 The Analytical Framework

A discourse analysis can indicate how political action is framed within certain ideas and assumptions. This makes it relevant to see if the climate and energy sectors in the North are framed within a security framework, and to which potential security actions this may lead.

The chapter starts with a description of discourse analysis as both theory and method and an explanation of how it is applied to the material. Then comes a presentation of the widened concept of security based on Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde's (1998) approach, followed by an in-depth introduction to how certain issues are framed in a security mindset and the interpretation and usage in this report. According to Wæver, security is a social construction and a speech act (1995a: 55), which in turn means that defining something as a 'security issue' is a subjective action. In relation to the social construction of security and the ways of framing energy and climate issues, discourse analysis is a relevant instrument for investigating the written strategies of the two actors in focus here. The chapter as a whole is intended to set the analytical framework for the report.

2.1 Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis focuses on the construction of an issue and the social consequences of these discursive perceptions. Here it is important to define the rather vague concept *discourse*. Fairclough writes of discourse as the 'use of language seen as a form of social practice' (Fairclough, in Mathisen 1997: 1). According to Foucault: 'We shall call discourse a group of statements in so far as they belong to the same discursive formation [... Discourse] is made up of a limited number of statements, for which a group of conditions of existence can be defined' (Foucault, in Winther Jørgensen and Phillips 2002: 12). Neumann defines a discourse as 'a system for production of a set of expressions and practices' (2001: 177), noting that discourses stand out as normal and valid for those who use them when they speak within the frameworks the discourse has set up. This happens through the inclusion of certain words or phrases in institutions or through the regular use of expressions in social relations. Thus: a discourse is a set of talking about and framing issues in social relations; and here a certain degree of regularity must be involved.

Speech plays an active role in shaping and changing the world. It is through our expressions that social relations and identities are communicated, and this does not happen in a neutral way. It is therefore relevant to investigate how the two actors speak of the Arctic in relation to climate, the environment and energy, as this will indicate how they shape the role of the area. Since discourses are constructed in a biased manner, the way in which engagement with the area is constructed might prove to be completely different if we were to investigate the view of another actor – Russia, for example. As Neumann writes, 'discourse analysis makes the social world more transparent by demonstrating how its elements interact' (2008: 76). It is also 'analysis of the use of language in a societal context, focusing on how ideas and concepts that produce the context interpret and help shape parts of social reality' (Mathisen 1997: 3).

Through an analysis of what the texts emphasize and downplay, we can look into what is taken for granted and what does not seem relevant to explain. This can then be used to uncover and analyse the cognitive and normative frameworks that give direction to the policy. As Mathisen has argued, these frameworks consist of a set of basic perceptions and judgements of the policy area carried by a certain group (1997: 18). As these can be one version out of many, we need to be aware of the rhetoric used to promote the viewpoints, which means that we must identify the basic assumptions in order to understand the mind of the discourse. The use of one metaphor set represents a phenomenon in one specific way, whereas using another set of metaphors leads to different representations (Neumann 2001: 41).

In discourse analysis it is important to be aware of the role of the researcher, as this is an expounded method where discourses are not empirical phenomena. The researcher must discover and expound the frames of what can be said, who can speak, when and how; and discourses have to be constructed and worked with as ideal types (Mathisen 1997: 19). Saying that discourses are not 'empirical phenomena' means that although discourses may be written down, in the sense that they exist on paper, the connections and correlations within the discourses are not necessarily present as objective data. Rather, they are constructed either by the researcher or by those who take part in the discourses. Winther Jørgensen and Phillips suggest the researcher constructs the discourse as an entity projected onto reality, to create a framework for study (2002: 143). The material is then demarcated in a strategic way in relation to the research area. This report is based on a demarcation between environmental, climate and energy representations found in the overall discourse on engagement in the European Arctic. These areas are part of the problem formulation and are in focus because of the relations of conflict existing among and between them.

It is also relevant to discuss the power element in social constructivism and discourse analysis. Within a discourse, the actors will have varying amounts of power or elements for establishing and using discourses in some ways rather than others. In addition, some representations will be perceived as dominant within a discourse, while others will not. Politicians are one group that has considerable power to establish a discourse or set the agenda. They are in a privileged position to establish their set of perceptions within a discourse through public debate. By analysing their policy documents, we can access the viewpoints of privileged actors. Kjell Lars Berge (2003), discussing the powerful role of texts, concludes that each text can have its own value, as each constitutes its own universe of meanings. Moreover, a text can have power by being of a certain genre, for example being a white paper from a government. Thirdly, a text can gain power through a presentation of a certain ideology or discourse (Berge 2003: 30–33).

The texts used in this analysis are political white papers and official strategies from the authorities in Norway and the EU that represent an authoritative genre with power to constitute a certain meaning. The first point about texts creating a universe of meaning is also relevant to this report, as the discourse analysis will seek to unveil the universe the texts set up

in relation to the European Arctic. These political documents are also presentations of foreign policy or ideological discourses within which the authorities work. The document analysis of official political documents is therefore an analysis of politics in text format. As noted by Hajer: ‘analysing policy papers becomes important even if they do not include “hard” new proposals or legislation. It becomes imperative to examine the specific idea of reality or of the status quo as something that is upheld by key actors through discourse’ (1995: 55).

It is also important to select the right texts to analyse. Hansen explains ‘... poststructuralist discourse analysis gives epistemological and methodological priority to the study of primary texts; that is, for instance, presidential statements, speeches and interviews in the case of official foreign policy’ (Hansen 2006: 82–85). This fits well with the analysis of this report, as our focus is on primary texts from official institutions. Hansen also sets certain criteria for choosing the right primary texts to analyse: the text should be characterized by clear articulation of identities and policies, be widely read and attended to, and have formal authority to define a political position. The texts used in this analysis all score high on these criteria; they are political documents defining policies of states and international organizations. They are widely published and heeded, as they are official documents issued by political authorities who have the possibility to define a political position. Further criteria for choosing the texts are the institutional delimitation and the time dimension. Mathisen writes, ‘through a delimitation of a discourse with basis in a certain social activity and its institutional frames, we give the discourse a visible social anchorage’ (1997: 20). Selecting official texts from the EU and Norway ensures that the analysis focuses on official discourses and perceptions of the North. This will give the discourses a material side, demonstrating that they are shaped within the official structures of the EU and Norway. The delimitation in time scope, with 2006 as starting point and April 2009 as an end, is based on the shift in Norwegian politics with the formation of a new government in 2005 that put the High North at the top of the agenda. Similarly, there was a change in the EU policy towards the northern dimension in 2006–2007 with the inclusion of Norway and Russia as equal partners; this marked a shift also to include the European Arctic (Airoldi 2008: 22).

An operational, workable analytical framework helps to set the standard for a stringent and structured analysis. The analysis performed in this report will largely be an abstract approach of society-oriented discourse analysis. Fairclough (in Larsen and Pedersen 1995) has separated discourse analysis into two branches – text-oriented and abstract approaches – in order to provide a better overview of the field. The text-oriented approach is largely a linguistic approach where discourses are perceived as concrete texts or speeches. This leads to text-oriented analysis of a few texts. By contrast, the abstract approach has a broader focus and is less connected to a few specific texts. Discourse is then understood as a way of talking and thinking in a certain context and in a certain period; it works more as a framework within which one can speak and think (Larsen and Pedersen 2002: 2). This report will employ a combination of the two approaches: the overall focus is rather broad, but concentrating on few texts. It will analyse what kind of consequences the discursive prac-

tices have. As the aim in discourse analysis is to get a deeper understanding of a phenomenon and not draw any general conclusions, it is appropriate to focus on the monument texts that exist within this field. The number of texts in this report should be enough to provide an impression of how the two actors perceive the situation in the North.

How then will this abstract approach be used in this report? Neumann points out that it is important to define what is to be studied and analysed, and this demarcation needs to be justified (2001: 55–56). Demarcation is important since discourses are embedded within each other and not clearly separated for those in the discourse or the researcher. It can therefore be difficult to point at just one specific discourse without mentioning others that are related. The demarcation cannot be done purely analytically, because actors in the discourse themselves try to distinguish the discourses, and this is part of the discourse itself and worth analysing (Neumann 2001: 56). Within this report, the focus is on climate and energy representations in the overall discourse on involvement in the European Arctic. It is then assumed that there is a discourse on involvement in the Arctic and that the strategies which have been launched are evidence of this. Furthermore, it is assumed that there is a conflict relationship between climate and energy in this discourse, as they are often perceived as mutually exclusive. The analysis will present two views on the representations in the discourse: from Norway and from the EU. The choice of these two views will enable us to see the ongoing battles within the discourse of the European Arctic. It will also show what is taken for granted and what helps to maintain contingency and permanence within the discourses. The areas of study also help to investigate the content of the overall discourse of the European Arctic.

As noted, this report is a discourse analysis: a subjective and interpretative method where the argument will be supported by appropriate quotes. This helps to make the arguments more visible, but there is also the risk of drawing erroneous inferences when quotes are taken out of their proper context. There can also be problems in using the most *extreme* quotes. Winther Jørgensen and Phillips point out that it is important to give the readers the chance to follow the steps that are taken to get to the result (2002: 146). This enables the readers to draw their own evaluations and conclusions. In that connection, it is important to adhere to the use of sources and consistently refer to them in a way that can allow others to go back and ensure verification.

Moving on from the demarcation and delimitation of discourses, the next step will be to look at representations. They are things and phenomena as we perceive them and stories that tell how things have *always* been in one way or another (Neumann 2008: 76; 2001: 33). To identify the basic assumptions and the set of metaphors used helps us to understand how the actor perceives and presents the problem or issue. Most discourses will contain one dominant representation of reality, and several alternative representations. If there is only one representation, the discourse is unpoliticized, or politically closed (Neumann 2001: 51–63). Different representations lead to alternative sets of actions, which is both relevant and useful in the scope of this report. The analysis will start with a presentation of the different representations of climate and energy in the North as

evident in the policy papers. It will not be discussed if any of the representations are hegemonic enough to constitute a separate discourse. The focus is more on the varying different representations within one discourse, showing that the field is politicized.

Another useful tool in discourse analysis is interdiscursivity. Discourses are constructed and deconstructed in an ongoing process. This leads to connections between elements in the language, often by repeating old connections and at other times through more innovative connections. Through new couplings, old areas or issues get a new and different meaning. According to Fairclough, one is always using previous meanings that are already established, often in other discourses. He therefore finds it interesting to investigate this interdiscursivity of discourses and the way discourses and representations draw on other texts and discourses (in Winther Jørgensen and Phillips 2002: 82). A study of interdiscursivity provides the opportunity to investigate possible reproductions of discourses where old connections that have been made before are used again. It is also possible to investigate change and look for new connections where elements from other discourses are connected to new themes. Further, interdiscursivity can be a tool for actors to establish their discourse as the hegemonic discourse.

The discourse analysis can also be structured along the concept of story-lines. Story-lines as discourses work as constructed figures, and can be defined as

... narratives on social reality through which elements from many different domains are combined and that provide actors with a set of symbolic references that suggest a common understanding. Story-lines are essential political devices that allow the overcoming of fragmentation and the achievement of discursive closure. (Hajer 1995: 62)

The structural advantage of story-lines is that they help to reduce the discursive complexity of a problem within the discourse analysis. Story-lines can also give permanence to a debate if more and more actors start to use them. Hajer lists various features in a discourse that can fall under the definition of a story-line: analogies, historical references, clichés and appeals to collective fears or senses of guilt (1995: 62–63). Finally, story-lines construct problems, but they also ‘play an important role of a social and moral order in a given domain. Story-lines are devices through which actors are positioned, and through which specific ideas of “blame” and “responsibility”, and of “urgency” and “responsible behaviour” are attributed’ (Hajer 1995: 64–65). For those inside the discourse it becomes easier to frame and understand a complex world when it is presented in known frames of knowledge (Hønneland 2005: 110). The concept of the story-line can be used to search for simplified presentations of complex issues or problems. In this report, the story-lines related to the representations of climate and energy are presented at the end of each chapter, serving as a summary of the analysis.

Within international relations studies, there exists a deep division between constructivist theories and positivist theories. From a positivist point of view, one could claim that a disadvantage with discourse analy-

sis is its lack of focus on or acknowledgement of the political actor's interest behind the strategies. Nevertheless, as this report has been written in the constructivist tradition, the assumption is that there are no real objective motives behind actions. The political objectives are those that we find in the discourse – and 'discourse analysis can uncover one thing: discourse' (Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde 1998: 177). The problem formulation therefore focuses on how actors communicate their perceptions of the world and the rhetoric around problems, and does not focus on national interests as explanatory factors behind action.

Winther Jørgensen and Phillips underline the importance of letting one's theoretical and philosophical frame help to construct the field of study in a certain way, '... and the different approaches will therefore conceive the "same" field of study differently and emphasizing some aspects and ignoring others' (2002: 154–155). Additionally, since discourse analysis works on the assumption that society is discursively constructed, one must translate other theories into discursive terms if they are to be combined with discourse analysis. It is therefore important to deliver a whole package of theory and methods. In this report, this package consists of a combination of discourse analysis and the theory of security as a discursively constructed speech act.

2.2 The New Security Concept

Buzan and Wæver are known for founding the Copenhagen school of security studies, and in their work, they deal with an expanded concept of security that includes more than just heavy national territorial security and use of military measures (2003: 18). Their approach takes as its point of departure the subject's presentation of security issues, and their main contribution to security studies lies in their focus on studying actors' subjective perceptions of possible threats, rather than objectively deciding on potential threats (Rieker 2006: 8). In their *Regions and Powers* (2003), Buzan and Wæver write about the post-Cold War security order that marked the shift from the heavy military security concern to a wider, more diverse and less clearly marked set of non-military security fears. The shift was away from traditional threats to the sovereign nation-state, and towards more fluid and global threats, such as threats to the stability of the global economy and the environment (Buzan and Wæver 2003: 18). To avoid a situation where everything is seen as being threatening and securitized, they established criteria for undertaking a security analysis (Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde 1998: 19). They also explain the difference between a securitizing move and securitization: 'a discourse that takes the form of presenting something as an existential threat to a referent object does not by itself create securitization – this is a *securitizing move*, but the issue is securitized only if and when the audience accepts it as such.' (Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde 1998: 25, emphasis in the original). Measuring audience acceptance can be difficult and is a weakness of their analytical framework. The analysis in this report will therefore focus on communications from the actor who sends out possible securitizing moves, and not on whether or not these are accepted.

Another criticism of their presentation concerns how far things must evolve in order to be securitized. In the Copenhagen school approach,

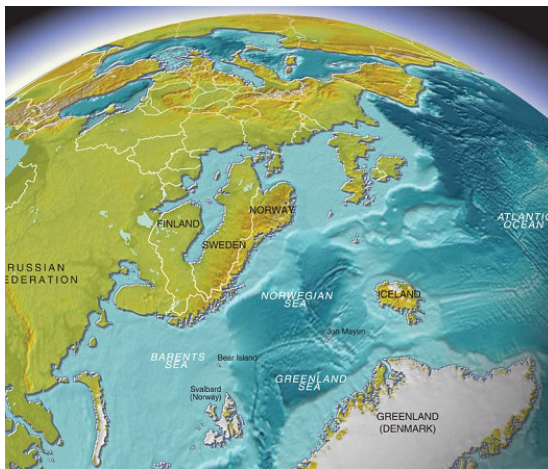
securitization means that the relevant actor brings in the possibility of using extraordinary measures. This means ‘claiming a special right to use the means necessary to block this development’ (Wæver 1993: 7) and ‘the process of securitization is what in language theory is called a speech act ... by saying the words, something is done’ (Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde 1998: 26). Essentially, there should be a war for an issue to be defined as securitized – and that is not present in the case of the European Arctic. This report will therefore focus on securitizing moves and on possible tendencies towards such moves, rather than on trying to determine whether securitization has taken place. A further weakness with using the theories of the widened security concept for the purposes of this report is the difficulty of identifying non-actors as being threatening. In the case of climate change, no will or direct intention exists behind such a threat. True enough, Wæver says this does not make it less serious, but it takes this threat out of the realm of will (1995a: 63). However, the speech act approach to security is all about what the actors perceive to be threatening, and not what actually is threatening – and that shows a subjective and constructive approach to security. As threats are perceived according to how we label them and are what the actor perceives as creating insecurity, a major element of a security analysis becomes to investigate the processes that lead to the definition of security threats (Buzan and Wæver 2003: 26). The usefulness of this in terms of the present report lies in how it can facilitate investigation and analysis of subjective strategies from two political entities. The strategies are based on political choices and emphasize various issues differently, and a possible linkage to security becomes a political choice. With this political choice of defining something as a threat, the actors open up for other, often more dramatic, consequences than if the issue had not been coupled to security: ‘... thus by labelling it “security” an agent claims a need for and a right to treat it by extraordinary means’ (Wæver 1993: 13). The theoretical approach is then chosen, as the point of departure is in the subject’s understanding of threats and security. This works well in conjunction with a discourse analysis, which helps to describe what is communicated rather than focusing on the underlying intentions and interests.

The next step will be to introduce the area of study, including the actors and the documents studied. To this we turn in Chapter 3, before proceeding to the analytical section where representations are presented and discussed in relation to the discourses.

3 Empirical Background

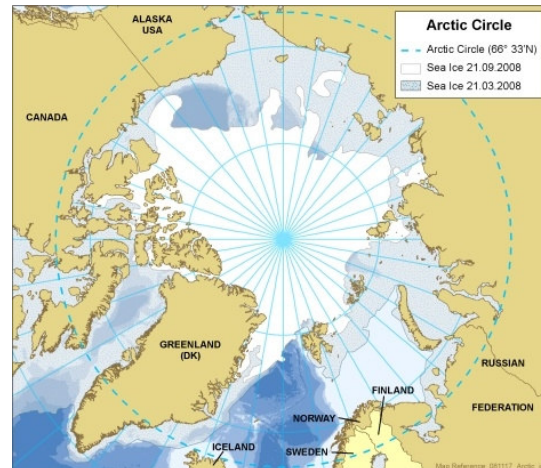
This chapter provides a brief introduction to the two actors relevant for the analysis and a short explanation of the material selected. This gives a contextual and historical framework for the ensuing analysis and the discourses.

Figure 1. The High North



Source: Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2006

Figure 2 The Arctic Circle



Source: EU Maritime Affairs 2008

3.1 The High North and the Arctic – the European Arctic?

The 2005 general elections in Norway led to the formation of a new coalition government. In 2006, this three-party government launched its first strategy towards the High North. They placed the area at the top of their political agenda, and this strategy marked a shift in how one talked about the region in Norwegian politics (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2006: 7). It had previously been called the ‘close’ or ‘near’ areas (*nærområdene*), but now the same region was referred to as the High North (Nordområdene) – even capitalized to emphasize its importance (Hønneland and Jensen 2008: 94). In fact the label ‘High North’ covers a twofold understanding of the area: both geographical (see map 1.0) and a political, which includes administrative units of Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia (Hønneland and Jensen 2008: 35). Moreover, the High North also includes relations and cooperation with Canada, the USA and the EU in the Arctic Council and the EU’s Northern Dimension policy.

Prior to the election, the previous government had constituted an expert group in 2003 to report on and identify new challenges and possibilities for Norway in the North (Hønneland and Jensen 2008: 26). The expert group presented an official report, followed up in 2005 with a White Paper (*Stortingsmelding*) from the same government. The area had long been of interest to Norway, but the real take-off came when the new government presented its High North strategy in 2006.

In 2009, the same three-party government launched the second part of the strategy. Here mention was made of the problem of diverse use of names and concepts to describe the same area:

In the government's strategy, the High North is not precisely defined, nor is it limited to Norwegian territory. Important Norwegian interests are linked to developments in the Arctic and the wider circumpolar area, and internationally the terms 'the High North' and 'Arctic' are frequently used interchangeably. (Norwegian government 2009: 7)

There is also a difference from the first part of the strategy, where the area was defined rather concretely in terms of specific countries and areas, whereas the second part operates with no precise definition. Vagueness in definition can be a political advantage, as politicians can use the strategic definition that suits them best, at different times. Conversely, in the second part the government acknowledges that the perspectives on the High North presented in the first part were basically Norwegian in character. Recognizing the international interest in the area, the government then admits that the use of 'High North' in its strategies is basically synonymous with the 'Arctic' (Norwegian government 2009: 50).

In 1997, the EU established the Northern Dimension, intended as a framework for the 'promotion of dialogue and concrete cooperation, strengthening stability, well-being and sustainable development in northern Europe' (NDP Framework 2006). Despite the broad geographical coverage, these political measures were directed towards the Baltic region and did not concern the Arctic. In 2006, a new Northern Dimension was defined where Norway, Russia and Iceland became equal partners. This policy framework was to be valid for the whole region, including the Barents region. It was claimed that the Arctic and sub-Arctic were priority areas, together with the Baltic Sea and Kaliningrad. However, Airoldi holds that the Baltic area has retained its central role within this strategy, whereas the Arctic is at best peripheral (Airoldi 2008: 22).

In November 2008, the EU launched what it called the first steps towards an Arctic policy with *The European Union and the Arctic region*, a communication from the Commission¹ to the European Parliament and Council. Here the Arctic is defined as a region that 'covers the areas around the North Pole of the Arctic circle. It includes the Arctic Ocean and territories of the eight Arctic states: Canada, Denmark (including Greenland), Finland, Iceland, Norway, Russia, Sweden and the United States' (see map 2.0), and it is claimed that the Arctic areas are a priority in the Northern Dimension policy (Commission 2008a: 2). The origins of this communication can be found in the paper *Climate Change and International Security* of March 2008, presented by the High Representative for Common Foreign and Security Policy and the European Commission to the European Council. Here it is argued that the EU should 'develop an EU Arctic policy based on the evolving geo-strategy of the Arctic region, taking into account i.a. access to resources and the opening of new trade routes' (High Representative 2008: 11). This was followed up by a European Parliamentary resolution in October 2008, which states '... the "High North" forms a part of the EU's Northern dimension policy, but ... the Arctic's importance in a global context needs to be raised

¹ Properly speaking, 'the Commission of the European Communities', henceforth referred to in the text as 'the Commission'.

further by delivering a standalone Arctic policy'. In addition, the parliament 'awaits with great interest the forthcoming Commission communication on Arctic policy and hopes that it will lay the foundations for a meaningful EU Arctic policy' (European Parliament 2008). With support from the whole of the EU, the Commission issued its communication in November 2008, which was approved by the Council of the European Union already the following month.

Thus we see that the 'Arctic' and the 'High North' are two labels that often cover the same areas, although also delimiting the area in slightly different ways. Nevertheless, the geographical area covered under the umbrella is generally the same: from the Polar Circle up to the North Pole. Within social constructivism, delimitation and use of concepts are important features. Some diversity is apparent when it comes to including or excluding countries and regions between the actors' documents, depending on the political impact of inclusion and exclusion. Despite the different labelling of more or less the same area, there are possibilities for analysing the two actors' strategies towards the region within the scope of this report, as our focus is on climate and energy issues. To avoid misunderstanding and ensure coherence in the report, the area will generally be termed 'the European Arctic', in the parts of this report dealing with the EU and with Norway. This term refers to the area of the European continent located north of the Arctic Circle – which also indicates that viewpoints or strategies emanating from Canada, the USA or Russia will not be included in this report (Hønneland 2003: 141).

3.2 Norway and the EU

This section presents the actors that have produced the strategies to be analysed. Giving a description of the actors and their political working areas can help to shed some light on the dynamics in the two approaches. It is also relevant to introduce the material, to indicate to the reader what kinds of texts are analysed in this report. Here a point on translation should be made, as translation can be an important step in communicating certain ideas and strategies to others to create an example to follow or to establish a way of understanding. For the purpose of this report, the author has translated all citations from non-English documents.

3.2.1 Norway

The Norwegian government that stands behind the texts analyzed was a coalition government sitting for the period 2005–2009. This government, consisted of members of the Labour Party (*Arbeiderpartiet*), the Socialist Left Party (*Sosialistisk Venstreparti*) and the Centre Party (*Senterpartiet*), has fashioned the main strategy that will be analysed here. The government was a majority government; therefore, its policies could generally be expected to obtain the support of a majority in the parliament.

Norway is a member of several councils and organizations that are linked to the European Arctic. It is a full member of the Arctic Council, the Barents Secretariat and the Barents EURO-Arctic Council. Furthermore, Norway became a partner to the Northern Dimension of the EU in 2007. It is also a founding member of the Nordic Council, which has focused

increasingly on the North lately. Norway is not an EU member, but works closely with the EU through the European Economic Area agreement.

In relation to the theme of energy, which will be discussed later, it should be noted that Norway's main income today derives from the export of its energy resources: in 2007 this constituted 67.9% of total exports. The country is the world's third biggest exporter of oil and gas, and it contributes approximately 15% of the EU's gas imports. Furthermore, Norway's main market for export and trade is the EU (EU bilateral trade website 2009).

3.2.2 *The European Union*

Today's EU has common policies for a wide range of policy areas including energy, environmental issues and foreign policy. However, the development of these many policy areas varies, with foreign policy as one area that is still largely framed by national solutions. The EU is a complex organization of several interdependent institutions, but in this report it will be treated as a basically uniform actor. Here it is assumed that the reader is otherwise acquainted with the relationships among the various EU institutions, so they will not be described here, neither will possible tensions inside the EU or in relation to the member-states be discussed. The EU documents that will be analysed come from the Commission, the Parliament, the Council of the European Union and the High Representative for Common, Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). These institutions constitute the executive and legislative parts of the European Union.

In relation to the European Arctic, the Commission is a full member of the Barents EURO-ARCTIC council and the European Northern Dimension programme. In 2008, it applied for observer status in the Arctic Council, but this request was turned down in spring 2009 (Barents observer 2009).

3.2.3 *Materials from Norway*

The two main documents that constitute the Norwegian part of the analysis are parts one and two of the government's High North strategy. They consist of 76 and 93 pages respectively. Strategies as such do not lead to legal jurisdiction but they serve as a basis and set the agenda for the government's future priorities in selected areas. The first part, *The Norwegian Government's High North Strategy*, was published in 2006 and translated into English, Russian, German and French. The second part, *New Building Blocks in the High North*, was published in spring 2009. It is available in English.

One White Paper (*Stortingsmelding*) on Norwegian foreign policy – *Interests, Responsibilities and Possibilities: Main Lines in Norwegian Foreign Policy* – is also analysed. This was published in spring 2009 and is relevant to include as it sets the line and premises of future Norwegian foreign policy. It also includes the priorities established in the High North strategy and contains chapters on energy, climate and the High North. White Papers are used when governments want to present a case to the parliament that is not connected to proposals for the enactment of specific

legislation. A White Paper is often a report to the parliament about the work underway in a particular field or a discussion on a future policy. Such White Papers and the treatment of them often form the basis for a later proposition from the Norwegian Parliament (Norwegian government 2009). The spring 2009 White Paper (*Stortingsmelding* 15, 2008-2009) on foreign policy consists of 178 pages and is available only in Norwegian.

3.2.4 *Materials from the EU*

The documents emanating from the EU are mostly communications and resolutions. Communications are papers on various issues on which the Commission wants to make a statement. Taking the approach that policy documents are political actions, it is possible to counter the claim that communications do not necessarily lead to policy and arguments that papers from the Commission are often merely declarations and not actual policy documents due to their lack of legislative power. Resolutions are also non-binding documents coming from the Parliament when the latter wishes to make a political statement about an issue (EU Glossary 2007). Binding or not, such documents serve as guiding principles – and, in accordance with discourse analysis, the main point is how something is presented and not necessarily the practical outcome. Thus the relevance of analysing these documents in this report.

The texts chosen are the most relevant for the analysis, as they are monuments within the discourse. The 2008 document from the High Representative and the Commission to the Parliament and the Council, *Climate Change and International Security*, serves as a monument for the climate–security connection within the EU. This link between security and climate change in an EU context takes its point of departure in this text, and the text is referred to several times in later documents. This document set the stage for the Arctic communication with its call for an EU Arctic policy in the end. The text is a natural part of the analytical material due to its important role in the formation of an Arctic policy. The resolution from the Parliament on Arctic governance is also included. With these as a basis, the European Commission launched the communication on Arctic policy in autumn 2008 (Commission 2008a). Also included in our analysis is the paper from the Council of the European Union that approved the communication from the Commission – *Draft council conclusions on the European Union and the Arctic region*, published in December 2008. The communication consists of 12 pages, while the documents from the Council and the Parliament consist of two pages each. The paper from the High Representative on international security is 11 pages in length. The analysis is also based on the 2nd *Strategic Energy Review* presented by the Commission in 2008 (Commission 2008b). It consists of four pages on how the Commission plans that the EU is to achieve its forward-looking agenda on energy issues.

Our next steps involve going into the documents, combining the analytical framework with the empirical material and searching for representations of climate, the environment and energy in the discourses. To this we now turn.

4 The Analysis

The next chapters deal with how Norway and the EU present climate change, the environment and energy within the overall discursive field of the European Arctic. Their representations of the situation can provide a basis for understanding the area of action and give indications as to how they might be willing to act also in the future. Moreover, presenting representations of a discourse helps to make clear the basic assumptions and arguments that bearers of the discourse use in building up their arguments. The analysis will show what different representations consist of and how they may stand in a conflict relationship with each other. Here it should be noted that the representations have been identified and constructed by the author within the scope of this report; and the report will treat the two actors separately, beginning with representations on the environment and energy within the Norwegian discourse, followed by representations on climate and energy from the EU. The reason is that the focus of the report is not on Norway versus the EU. The intention is to show how the European Arctic, with its resources and geographical placement, can have different meanings attached to it. Additionally, it is of course of interest to compare the two actors' viewpoints, as this can indicate how differently representations on the same theme may be coloured by historical and social contexts. A small-scale comparison will therefore be made in the concluding discussion on the security framework.

Each section starts with a presentation of the most frequent representations, concerning the combination of *climate*, *environmental issues* and *energy* with the *European Arctic*. The chapter will present empirical data and analysis throughout, rather than handling these two aspects separately. This is to avoid repetition, but also to enable the reader to follow how the analysis has been performed and how its results have been reached.

4.1 National Environmental Identity: 'Sustainability to the World'

Within this section, the discussion will concern environmental representations found in the Norwegian texts. The reason for concentrating on the environment in the Norwegian part of this report and climate in the EU part is that the Norwegian government has focused broadly on environmental issues in relation to the Arctic whilst the EU has been mainly concerned about the consequences of climate change. That in itself is a topic relevant for discourse analysis, as it shows differing emphasis between the two actors on the issues in the region. One might also claim that 'climate' is but a subdivision of the wider environmental discourse. Nevertheless, this report will operate with 'climate' and 'environmental issues' as two topics, since the intention is to offer a broad empirical contribution and not an in-depth comparative analysis.

4.1.1 *Norway: A Small State with Success in Resource Management*

Within the discipline of IR, several approaches focus on small states and their role in international relations. One direction concentrates on a state's self-perceptions and on how small states are best served with strong international regimes and a strong jurisdictional framework. This creates

an advantageous predictability for small states, indicating that unexpected moves of the type commonly made by larger states would be unlikely. This approach also stresses the importance of a good international reputation for small states, as that gives them credibility and potentially greater power (Neumann and Gstöhl 2006: 24). In the Norwegian documents there is one representation that bears a resemblance to this theory. In this representation, the Norwegian state is presented as a small state on the world scene, a state which should be aware of its international reputation, should promote international regime building and rely heavily on international law. In environmental matters, the Norwegian government has emphasized how NATO and the UN can play important roles and that 'Norwegian credibility and success in climate politics are dependent on effective global cooperation mechanisms' (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2009: 17). Moreover, the role of NATO in the North is not a bygone feature of the Cold War era: 'NATO is and should be present in the northern areas, where the main tasks should be to contribute to stability, predictability and to maintain the low tension, which traditionally have characterized the region' (Norwegian government 2009: 52). For the government, a NATO presence in the North can create the desired appropriate working atmosphere. With climate change described as immediately threatening in a Norwegian perspective, the government sees it as urgent to prevent and change this development. In this situation, Norway can play an important role, and that in turn can strengthen the country's international reputation. 'In the relationship to the EU, Norway has for a long time appeared as an important actor in the area of resource management. The increased interest from the EU helps to further strengthen Norway's role as a responsible steward' (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2009: 47). The Arctic is both part of and close to Norwegian territory, so Norway should continue as the primary protector of the area: '... Norway has been commended for its stewardship in the North and this is something we will continue to build on' (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2006: 16). This quote presents it as being beyond doubt that Norway will be able to fulfil this role in the future due to this historical continuity and perceived successful role as a guardian. Within this representation, the continuity between previous and possible future success is built up: 'it is a question of our ability to continue our tradition of responsible management of resources, predictable exercise of sovereignty and close cooperation with our neighbours, partners and allies' (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2006: 5). According to the government's High North strategy, it is best for the region if the traditionally successful management can be continued – indeed, that is also one of the main purposes of the strategy. Another quote also makes these connections strongly and brings in the national identity of Norway:

As a nation, we are connected to seas and cold coasts, dangerous expeditions, with polar heroes and winter games, snow and ice. Of course, Norway is much more than this, but the parts that separate one from others often help to shape an identity. This identity says at the same time something about the advantages one has and what the external world expects from us. (Norwegian government 2009: 49)

This rhetoric links national identity to good governance and cites examples of where Norwegian management has been foresighted in planning ahead to ensure good management in the future.

Norway intends to be a leading nation as regards environmental policy and will play a long-term and credible role as a steward of the natural and cultural heritage in the High North. This means that we must be in the forefront of efforts to monitor the climate, pollutants and the marine environment in the High North.
(Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2006: 45)

Therefore, 'in event of a conflict between environmental targets and other interests, environmental considerations are to prevail' (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2006: 45). Hønneland writes of how *to be a leading environmental country* and Norwegian images of *sustainability to the world* have become parts of the country's foreign policy identity (Hønneland 2005: 171). That line is evident in this environmental representation as well and functions as an underlying assumption. The representation shows how Norwegian foreign policy is concerned with sustainable development; as this has worked in the past, one assumes it will work in the future as well. It is echoed in arguments such as 'environmental and climate considerations will be taken into account' in everything that will be done in the European Arctic (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2006: 5). Additionally, 'our sound regulatory framework and predictable and effective management have ensured that impact assessments are drawn up, based on the precautionary principle and the need to adhere to strict environmental standards' (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2006: 16).

It is further argued that, with this identity, the government will use the various regional forums to 'seek to increase international understanding of the urgency of addressing climate change' (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2006: 15). The urgency of bringing about change in relation to the environment is again emphasized. The government connects its knowledge building and expertise on environmental and climate issues to influential power in international regimes. Norwegian expertise and knowledge will 'strengthen Norway's role and influence in international cooperation in the North, and will therefore help to ensure that Norway's interests are safeguarded in the best possible way' (Norwegian government 2009: 8–9). This representation paints a picture of what Norway aspires to be and how important it is to strive to be the best, at the 'top of the league' and 'a leader' (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2006: 6, 8). It is assumed that there is a connection between being the best and being an actor that takes on responsibility on behalf of others, and that such an actor will be the most appropriate steward.

In addition, the Norwegian government links the international reputation it can gain in relation to the North to national identity. The consequences are presented as follows: if the government does not manage to act as a responsible steward, or handle the consequences of a situation in the European Arctic, that would lead to damaging pollution as well as having a negative impact on the reputation of Norway, which again could damage progressive developments in the North (Norwegian government 2009: 14–15). Successful management of climate issues in the North is presented as important for the national identity of Norway.

4.1.2 *Norway is a Responsible Actor That Makes Environmental Issues a Foreign Policy Concern*

In the documents from the government, environmental issues in the North are presented as an issue of Norwegian foreign policy. Norway has received this role as a consequence of increased international interest, but also as a consequence of how visible global climate change is in the region. Additionally, the special role of the environment is also shown through comments where environmental and climate considerations will be taken in everything that the government does in the North (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2006: 5). The vulnerability of the Arctic furthermore accords to environmental issues and climate changes increased importance in the foreign policy of an Arctic country (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2009: 22–23). This representation is based on arguments that climate changes in the European Arctic will threaten sustainable development, and that this should be reflected in foreign policy ‘because it is clear that climate change will have an impact on the security of countries and the people all over the world’ (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2006: 14). The Norwegian government places itself in a special role when it comes to climate change and the European Arctic, seeing itself as the ‘prime mover and facilitator’ that has ‘mobilised the whole government apparatus in order to give our overall policy a clearer and more coherent High North focus’ (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2006: 5–6). Additionally, being an Arctic state entails the following:

The government will furthermore ensure the dissemination of new knowledge in a way that raises awareness of climate change at national and international level. Norway and other Arctic states have an important responsibility here, as the Arctic can provide unique insight into the climate change that is already taking place (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2006: 29)

According to the government, the special role of being an Arctic state also includes the importance of being a predictable actor. The point is stated repeatedly: ‘Norway shall be a leading country in the environmental sector, an active cooperation partner with other countries and a long-term, predictable manager of environmental and culture values in the North’ (Norwegian government 2009: 73). Acting in a predictable manner is part of the ‘good steward’ role the government wants to fulfil. Predictability and an open attitude may have spillover effects on other countries as well. The government makes it clear in its 2008-2009 White Paper that it hopes the spillover effects will strengthen its good international reputation and give it power to make an international impact (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2009: 134).

4.1.3 *Being Better than Russia*

Norway’s relationship to Russia also constitutes a representation in the Norwegian discourse, one that fits in with the idea of *sustainability to the world* and the above-mentioned representations of Norway as a *world champion* in environmental matters. The picture of Russia builds on old perceptions from other discourses. In their book on the new High North policy of Norway, Hønneland and Jensen write of perceptions and presentations of Russia in the Norwegian media discourse: ‘... a picture of

misery has marked Norwegian perceptions of Northwest Russia. The consequences of this have been an establishment of an environmental disaster discourse on the environmental area' (2008: 128). The two researchers do not doubt that there are some weaknesses in Russia's environmental protection compared to Norway's, but they question some of the connections that are offered within this discourse. Nevertheless, this picture still features in the debates, and the 'misery perceptions' can be identified in the White Paper on foreign policy:

Furthermore, a total Russian oil sector does represent an environmental threat to Norwegian Sea areas in the North. The formal environmental standards are at least as high in Russia as in Norway, but objections are often raised against a lack of development and surveillance of the Russian actors' environmental obligations. The totality in the environmental picture is therefore assumed more positive on the Norwegian side than the Russian side. (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2009: 140)

The last sentence in particular sums up the perceptions of an environmental 'other' that the government presents of Russia. This identification of Russia is evident in several other discourses, showing that common perceptions and meanings are articulated across different discourses, thereby strengthening the perception. Neumann writes that identities are relational in the sense that descriptions of *them* always lead to a description of *us* and is often used in studies of states' identities (Neumann 2001: 125). By stating what Russia is, the Norwegian government also gives indications at to what Norway is in comparison to Russia. The role of Russia can be linked to the overall 'othering' discourse on Russia, which has been present in Europe for centuries. Russia has always been placed in juxtaposition to Europe as its negative opposite. Neumann notes: 'The idea of Russia as a learner does of course imply that Russia is becoming more like "us", less "different"; and 'the point is that Russia is "learning" successfully, it is expected to become less of a threat' (Neumann 1999: 107–108). This is a situation we can recognize in Norwegian portrayals and presentations, where the government is more than willing to teach others how to take responsible environmental action. Such 'othering' is also evident in the increased focus on cooperation and bilateral connections with Russia in several areas within a range of sectors. In its High North strategy, the Norwegian government presents how it wants to promote its environmental standards and good practices to Russian authorities and Russian businesses.

Norway will advocate ambitious environmental goals in both countries [Russia and Norway] and seek to promote the establishment of high health, safety and environmental standards for the petroleum activities in the whole of the Barents Sea. Cooperation on health, safety and environmental issues will be further developed together with the Russian authorities, the petroleum industry and the social partners in both countries. We will also build further on the existing cooperation with Russia on maritime safety, oil spill response and emergency and rescue services. (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2006: 19)

Moreover:

Cooperation with Russia

The government will strengthen its broad-based environmental cooperation with Russia. Cooperation on the marine environment will be given high priority. Other important fields of cooperation are environmental protection in areas near the Norwegian–Russian border and building up competence particularly in relation to polluting industries. (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2006: 47)

The distorted relationship presented between Russia and Norway in the North is evident in discussions around management of the resources in the Barents Sea. The Norwegian government acknowledges the need for cooperation with Russia, but presents it as best if this takes place on the basis of the principles of the *Integrated Management of the Marine Environment of the Barents Sea and the Sea Areas of the Lofoten Islands*. This was launched in 2006 together with other documents on environmental standards, sustainable development and resource management; these were translated into Russian immediately after publication (Leira et al. 2007: 29). According to the High North strategy: ‘We cannot expect a Norwegian plan to apply to the entire Barents Sea but the principles and approaches set out in the plan may, in cooperation with Russia, be applied to the whole sea’ (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2006: 18). Here we may assume that the Norwegian government considers Norwegian management and principles to be of a higher standard than those of the Russians. The general standard can then be raised if the Norwegian plan could be made applicable to the entire area.

4.1.4 Summary

As we have seen, representations on environmental matters have coupled the Norwegian national identity to developments in the Arctic region. That creates a situation where the consequences of Norwegian action have an impact on the climate there, and vice versa. The international reputation and role of Norway are closely linked with developments in the High North. Threats coming from climate change in the European Arctic are held to threaten sustainable development – indeed also nature and society in the rest of the world. Consequently, climate issues become a part of foreign policy. On the other hand, the government feels the need to state how important it is to not politicize climate; that ‘it is not right to describe the increased interest for the High North as a race’ (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2009: 46). What is more important is to link the area to international society and establish clear rules for management, as that can give predictability for a small state such as Norway: ‘Norway will continue to fulfil its responsibility in a transparent and predictable way. We expect other actors to comply with national and international rules and regulations.’ (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2006: 17.)

In these environmental representations we can recognize elements of interdiscursivity. The government uses arguments of good governance elsewhere in Norway to build up arguments for good management in the Northern areas. Interdiscursivity is also present when the national identity is brought in, connecting the role of climate management to this. This interdiscursivity builds up stronger arguments and shows how discourses, their representations and their assumptions are reproduced by drawing on elements from other discourses.

The ‘othering’ role of Russia is also taken from other discourses and is coupled to the concept of sustainable development. This linking is related to what Hønneland (2005) calls the *environmental catastrophe* discourse about Russia. By establishing Russia as an environmental problem and Norway as focusing on sustainable development, the government in Oslo creates hierarchical and dichotomous perceptions between the two states.

The representations of Norwegian sustainability to the world and environmentally-friendly Norwegian resource management stand in a relationship of conflict to representations of energy. This will be seen in the next chapter, where the focus is on Norway’s petroleum involvement in relation to the European Arctic. This difficult juxtaposition is evident when the government emphasizes the importance of presenting Norway as a predictable and responsible exporter of petroleum, while at the same aspiring to be among the leading nations with regard to environmental policy in general (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2006: 45, 55).

4.1.5 Story-lines

Story-lines are simplified versions of the representations that seem to work as basic assumptions of the discourses. In the environmental representations, these story-lines can help us to understand the case in a cognitive way.

- A small state needs international regimes and must be aware of its international reputation
- Something must be done now to save the climate and the nature in the North
- Norway is traditionally good at resource management
- Russia is still a pupil when it comes to environmental matters
- Norway can serve as the good example to be followed

It is also possible to say that story-lines create the dramaturgy of the frames of action – that these story-lines create a dramaturgic setting where Norway must act now to help Russia with environmental management and be a good example that the world can follow. This helps to strengthen the national identity of Norway as a climate world champion and creates a further incentive for Norwegian activity.

4.2 Innovative Energy Optimism

The presentation of the two actors makes it clear that energy is vital for the Norwegian state and its economy. The Arctic is believed to contain some 25% of the world’s unexploited energy resources (Offerdal 2009: 3–4), and for the government this aspect plays an important role in discussions on engagement in the High North. In the written strategy documents, it is also presented as working side by side with environmental interests.

4.2.1 *Norway: Environmentally-friendly Energy Management*

This representation brings up the role of Norway's extraction of resources, presenting Norwegian methods as more environmentally friendly than those of other countries. In this representation, these environmental considerations are linked to the potential extraction of oil and gas in the High North and are seen in the way the government presents Norway as the best steward for these resources:

The government's aim is that Norway will be the best steward of resources in the High North, with oil and gas operations that meet very stringent environmental standards, and with continual knowledge generation, research and development in the petroleum sector. (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2006: 55)

An interesting element of this 'best steward' representation is how use of Norwegian oil and gas is held to differ from the case of other oil-exporting countries.

An ambitious climate policy commits us, and we must expect that other countries and other actors are following closely on how Norway balances the role as a climate supporter and as a petroleum nation. Here, Norway parts clearly from other oil exporting countries, which have had less ambitious goals in international climate negotiations. (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2009: 125)

In addition, it is later shown that environmental issues play an important part in the energy representations: 'climate emissions can increase if Norwegian oil and gas are replaced by more polluting production in other places. Export of Norwegian gas can lead to the reduction of Europe's use of coal and further climate emissions.' (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2009: 125). The argument is that use of Norwegian petroleum will lead to a reduction in emissions, whilst the use of resources coming from other places can act to increase emissions. Good environmental arguments for extraction are therefore present in this representation, as Norway's energy use and extraction are portrayed as being more environmentally friendly than the case with other actors.

4.2.2 *Norway as Energy Nation and Superpower in Energy Relations*

The second representation connects energy with the role of the Norwegian nation and state. In the documents, it is several times stated that Norway is an energy nation and that recent Norwegian history is very much about the energy resources found on Norwegian territory. These resources are a central element in the creation of wealth in modern Norway; they benefit the whole population, so petroleum has become a central aspect of the national identity itself (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2009: 61). This creates a framework of understanding where the energy business is a natural business for Norway, and here extraction in the European Arctic fits in well. The representation draws on long historical traditions, underlining the image of Norwegians as knowing best how to handle petroleum issues. In addition, when the European Arctic is connected to energy: 'The focus of Norwegian energy policy is thus continuing its historical shift towards the north' (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2006: 14). It is recognized that the Northern resource areas will involve

more challenges than other resource areas in Norway – but it is also held that it is both possible and indeed necessary to further develop the knowledge developed in the North Sea to enable Norway to operate in the Barents Sea as well (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2006: 28). Moreover: ‘to make the most of the possibilities in the North is one of the most important parts of the government’s strategy’ (Norwegian government 2009: 67).

The government’s focus on the High North will promote the further development of expertise and technology that will enable petroleum exploration and production in the High North to be carried out in a responsible and efficient way. The considerable technological developments in the recent decades have increased the efficiency of petroleum activities on the Norwegian continental shelf and reduced their environmental impact. (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2006: 27)

The Norwegian state is also presented as being a credible actor, working as a strong power in international energy relations, and this is connected to the desire and goal of being the first to develop knowledge of the area. The government uses arguments from other work areas to support its role as the natural steward of the resources in the North, and the role as an energy-exporting country is used as an argument to increase Norway’s impact on the international energy market (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2009: 65). The role as an exporting country also puts pressure on energy supplies, and the government mentions how it has to fulfil various expectations and use foreign policy advantages with wisdom; otherwise, the power deriving from energy supply will be to no avail (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2009: 62). Interestingly, the relevance of being an energy power varies in the documents. The government talks of the power related to the energy-supply role and Norway’s importance in relation to this. However, the government also sees Norway as a small country and then as the perfect negotiator between energy-exporting and -importing countries, which can be recognized from the environmental representation of Norway as a small state. According to the 2008–2009 White Paper:

We [Norway] have trust because we are a small, stable and political predictable country, and a significant exporter of oil and gas. Norway is close to both Europe and the US. We have a common border and interests with Russia. Furthermore, Norway is a western OECD country with considerable respect in the Middle East, the Gulf region and developing countries with oil economies. We are also fully integrated in the world economy, but with an administration model with solid national control over Norwegian base. We have a partly state owned oil company (2/3 of the shares), but with a broad participation of all the big international companies. (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2009: 65)

Here the government emphasizes the advantages of being a small state and having what is presented as the perfect placement in the world economy. Norway should be the ideal country for negotiating and mediating between other countries on energy issues. One thing is clear: Norway’s firm belief in itself in relation to energy issues.

Another aspect of this role is the Norwegian government's willingness to assist international society toward a more stable and environmentally-friendly use of resources. With its expertise, the government wishes to help the rest of the world to avoid overuse of valuable resources. The following quote presents the main goals set out in the government's 2006 strategy document:

We will take advantage of the opportunities the Barents Sea presents as a new European energy province in accordance with the principles of sustainable development. ... It is a question of our ability to continue our tradition of responsible management of resources, predictable exercise of sovereignty and close cooperation with our neighbours, partners and allies (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2006: 5)

Principles of sustainable development and the tradition of responsible management of resources are important and emphasized throughout the documents. This can also be viewed in relation to the *sustainability to the world* discourse discussed in the previous chapter.

4.2.3 *Europe Wants Norwegian Resources*

A third representation is constructed from the Norwegian texts where international society plays an important role. This representation has its basis in the assumption that Europe wants Norwegian-extracted resources. Their demand is then presented as one argument for exploring and drilling for oil and gas. Concerning the growing international interest in the North, the government writes: 'the driving forces are first of all the global shortage of energy resources, combined with the assumptions of large deposits of oil and gas in the Northern areas' (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2006: 44). In addition, 'the question of how large the Norwegian petroleum resources are is not just a national affair, but it is also important in terms of meeting the increasing international demand for energy' (Norwegian government 2009: 23). Furthermore:

Norway has won respect for a long-term and sustainable management of the petroleum resources. Energy importing countries and oil companies will often be interested in a quick extraction of oil and gas, but do respect the rules of the game the government and the Norwegian democracy lay as basis for the oil politics. (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2009: 127)

This representation presents a growing international demand for Norway's petroleum resources – a demand that can and should be met with resources from the Barents Sea. The reason behind this growing international demand is the heightened international focus on energy security. In this representation, it is also assumed that the world specifically wants gas and oil from Norway, as energy-importing countries are seeking to reduce their dependency on supplies from the Middle East. This paints a picture of Norway as a 'good' and 'kindly' nation that exports oil and energy because other countries want it, without reference to what the Norwegian state earns from all this. Leira et al. (2007) identified the same characterizations in investigating Norwegian foreign policy and the presentation of national identity and self-perceptions. They concluded that the self-perception of Norway in the Northern areas is that of a responsi-

ble custodian: one who takes a more altruistic and community-oriented line than could have been obtained by a multilateral solution (2007: 29). In this framing, Norwegian deliveries of oil are held to be more stable and predictable than Middle Eastern export and will provide more sustainable solutions:

It is also likely that the Barents Sea will become increasingly important in the global energy supply context due to the political will in many countries to reduce dependency on supplies from the Middle East. The resources in the Barents Sea could provide long-term secure energy supply to the markets in Europe and the US within an environmentally sustainable framework. (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2006: 55)

The 2008–2009 White Paper on foreign policy also brings Russia into this debate: ‘correspondingly the conflict between Russia and Ukraine has led to insecurity around security of supply. ... Norway’s reply must be to act as a predictable energy supplier.’ (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2009: 61). The representation builds up the impression of an unstable Russia, which must be handled with caution in order not to provoke any potential conflict. This image may be a part of the heritage of the Cold War period, where the power struggle between the Soviet Union and the West created unstable international relations.

The security challenges in the north underline, not least, the importance of prioritizing cooperation with Russia, including defence cooperation, to create trust and dismantle opposition. In addition, other types of cooperation with Russia have a security political aspect, when local, regional and international cooperation contributes to trust and prevents opposition. (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2009: 91)

It is, however, still unclear how Russia will develop in a number of areas of interest to the surrounding world. ... We will maintain a candid dialogue with Russia and will be clear about Norway’s views on human rights, the principles of the rule of law and political rights. (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2006: 18)

The government’s rhetoric draws connections between these perceptions and Russia’s ability to deliver oil and gas. The arguments about Russia as an energy nation are taken from several discourses and present an image of Russia as an unreasonable and non-environmentally-friendly user of petroleum resources. In contrast to the ‘unstable’ perceptions of Russia, Norway sees itself as a stable, secure supplier of resources. Whereas Russia is headed towards greater insecurity, Norway can help to bring more security for the EU and continue as a stable exporter of resources. This can prevent global insecurity and more use of polluting resources. This argument makes the development of petroleum fields in the North an obvious step to take (Jensen 2006). The government presents Norway as a secure and safe supplier of oil and gas to hungry markets in Europe that cannot wait for Norway to start drilling.

Energy security is also being brought into the strategies, as more and more countries are concerned about energy deliverances. The energy security concept is evident in this representation, especially in relation to petroleum and gas exports. The focus is on the importing countries’ concern for security of supply and the role that Norway can play.

Concerns around the security of energy deliveries can lead energy-importing countries to make efforts to reduce their consumption of oil and gas, turning instead to sources like coal. Norway's answer must be to act as a predictable supplier of energy. (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2009: 61)

This internationalization of Norwegian resources is also connected to discourses on geo-politics. It becomes important for the government to act within the strategic scope of national security and economic interests, as emphasized here: 'Norway's strategic efforts in the North must be seen in a geo-political context' (Norwegian government 2009: 7), and 'at the same time, one can expect that international pressure to develop new sources quickly can come with higher oil prices and more acute global energy scarcity' (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2009: 127). This argumentation presents factors outside Norway as 'forcing' the country to start drilling and exporting its energy resources from the North. The external factors are presented as global climate changes, which are assumed to create a greater need for resources. Since Norway wants to be a part of the international community through energy export it should take advantage of these external factors. A potential rapid development of new energy fields in the North can help to meet the interests of great powers like the EU and the USA in reducing energy insecurity (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2009: 130). The increased interest in the North, and in Norway's export potential, is used to support arguments for drilling in the North. In this way the external factors are used as arguments behind internal politics, and arguments for petroleum drilling are wrapped in foreign policy discourses.

4.2.4 Energy in the North to Boost a Dying Region

The last representation on energy presented here concerns energy optimism. This connects the potential for resource discoveries in the North to possibilities for increased innovative activity that could give a much-needed boost to this region. In this representation, there is euphoria surrounding these resources and the positive consequences. 'By turning the map, we can place the High North in the centre. The High North is sort of a new centre, not only on the map, but also as a resource area. ... Now we see that oil and gas opens the Barents Sea as a new European energy province' (Norwegian government 2009: 67). This representation presents the consequences of petroleum activity as positive for the region, and the Snøhvit field in the southern part of the Barents Sea, where development is already well underway, is described thus: 'the Snøhvit development shows how local spin-off effects can be created by petroleum activities in Northern Norway. The prospects for the petroleum industry in the North are good, and several new developments are being considered.' (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2006: 8.) Moreover, 'there is now considerable interest and optimism regarding petroleum activities in the southern Barents Sea ... this area may become an important petroleum province in the future. This can have important spin-off effects on local and regional business development.' (ibid: 55). It is assumed that the expansion of the petroleum industry in the area will automatically give a boost to dying towns and settlements and can thereby contribute to the government's regional policy. The 'positive consequences of petroleum' (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2009: 127) can work as a justification for

developing new petroleum industries. Indeed, petroleum expansion is presented as something that can benefit not just the Northern region but the whole of Norway.

Experience has shown that the petroleum industry generates substantial economic growth at the national, regional and local levels. There is now considerable interest and optimism in our northern counties related to the development of the High North as a petroleum province. ... The petroleum industry is a source of innovation and motivation for onshore maritime industries. (Norwegian government 2009: 18)

Here, environmental issues are downplayed, in an attempt to make it more justifiable to start exploring for oil and gas in the European Arctic by creating a situation where *not* drilling would seem to involve more negative consequences than would drilling. This has also been apparent in the fears that more coal and other polluting energy resources could be used if Norway should decide not to export its resources. Connected to the previous representation, the government has established a strong argument in support of drilling. However, these views have encountered opposition, especially from environmental protection groups.

4.2.5 Summary

The main argument within the Norwegian energy representations is that extraction of petroleum and gas resources in the Northern areas can lead to a new boost for the region while also increasing Norwegian exports.

Interestingly, possible pollution problems from this sector are wrapped in environmental arguments. Use of arguments from the discourse on *sustainability to the world* and its frame of understanding help to indicate how Norwegian drilling might be more environmentally friendly than that of other countries. The Norwegian government has announced its desire to be a world champion in environmental matters, but at the same time it presents a national energy identity. This makes the concept of *sustainable use of energy resources* important (Jensen 2006).

This 'energy optimism' representation is evident in every Norwegian document where the government speaks about the potential petroleum resources of the High North. The basis for these assumptions is a research finding from the US Geological Survey from 2000, which the government's 2006 strategy presents thusly: 'The High North is emerging as a new petroleum province, and as much as a quarter of the world's undiscovered oil and gas resources may be located in the Arctic areas.' (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2006: 13–14). However, the US Survey prognoses are rather vague, imprecise and airy, as well as being not exactly new (Offerdal 2009: 4). On the other hand, in discourse analysis the focus is on how presentations and story-lines create a framework for the discourse and how certain premises are used – not necessarily whether they are based on the 'truth' or not.

Within the energy optimism representation, it is claimed that the world outside of Norway is keenly interested in the potential resources of the North, and this makes energy policy more internationalized. Their interest

is closely connected to energy security and: ‘at the same time, one can expect that international pressure to develop new sources quickly can come with higher oil prices and more acute global energy scarcity’ (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2009: 127). This links Norwegian energy policy to foreign policy, as energy policy can be used as an element to boost Norway’s international reputation; and in political practice, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has increased its competence and knowledge on energy and has been given increased jurisdiction over this area. That, however, has been on the condition that the country meets the growing global demands for energy and prevents an energy security spiral from evolving. Secondly, the representations portray the development of the potential petroleum industry as having positive effects on Northern Norway as a region. Since the petroleum industry is seen as having had positive effects on other areas of Norway, as well as on the country’s general prosperity, this is expected to happen in the North of Norway as well.

References to other discourses occur in both the environmental and energy representations, especially the linkage between Russia and environmental matters. An image of Russia as an environmental catastrophe features in the Norwegian debate, whereas the Oslo government apparently never takes into account the prominent role of Russia as an energy superpower and its long experience in extraction. Russia is the leading petroleum exporter in the world, with 55% of its GDP coming from petroleum export, and it has lengthy experience and expertise in drilling and conducting petroleum activities in a colder climate than that of Norway – starting back in the 1930s, and with West Siberia as its major petroleum region (Hønneland and Jensen 2008: 59). But no, the role of Russian industry as polluting and unstable was ready to be picked up from discourses from the Cold War and the ensuing years, and has served to maintain the frame of understanding of Russia as an ‘other’. The Norwegian viewpoint focuses more on how the drilling expertise gained in the Norwegian sector of the North Sea can be further developed in the Barents Sea, and how this know-how can be imparted to the Russians. Here it is important to add that very little of the Norwegian sector of the Barents Sea has yet been opened for drilling and exploration, and the potential for finding petroleum seems much greater on the Russian side than the Norwegian sector (Rottem, Hønneland and Jensen 2008: 13).

Also an ‘othering’ of the Middle East and relations to the meta-discourse of Orientalism can be identified in representations about energy. This is a well-established discourse where the East in general is seen as the opposite of the West, for example as being more exotic and less rational. This discourse usually includes a hierarchical relationship between the East and the West, with the latter on top (Eriksen 1994). In the Norwegian White Paper from 2009, the Middle East is presented as an unstable provider of resources, being the defining contrast to predictable Norway, which is a stable supplier of oil and gas to the EU.

By identifying and pointing at interdiscursivity, it is easier to see how certain ideas, representations and discourses are reproduced and help to give strength to new discourses and new arguments. Some elements from other discourses were ready to be picked up and employed by the government – like Russia’s role as the constituting ‘other’, and the Middle East

as ‘unstable’. Taken together, these representations provide incentives for Norway to drill for oil and gas. The consequences of drilling are presented as positive, while the negative aspects are downplayed and wrapped in environmental arguments. In this way, the government has created strong incentives for developing Norway’s petroleum resource in the North.

4.2.6 *Story-lines*

The story-lines identified in relation to energy in the overall discourse can help us to understand the positive approach towards petroleum developments in the European Arctic. Recognizable energy-related story-lines are:

- The region contains 25% of the world’s untapped energy reservoirs
- There will be a global scarcity of non-renewable resources
- Development in the European Arctic might not be sustainable if Norway fails to engage economically with the region
- Russia is an ‘other’ in both environmental and energy affairs

The role of the Norwegian state can be recognized from the environmental section. Both environmental and energy representations show a story-line focused on the importance of ensuring a Norwegian presence and engagement in the North. Otherwise, the development or protection of the area and its resources might not be sustainable. Another prominent feature is the role of Russia as an ‘other’ in relation to energy, climate and environmental issues. Further, Europe and the West are given the role of demanding Norwegian management of resources, as Norway has proven itself historically reliable.

4.3 **Climate Change as a Threat Multiplier**

One of the monumental texts in the EU’s discourse on Arctic engagement is the document from the High Representative on climate change and security. Viewed in comparison with the Norwegian side, this paper sets the premises for a climate-oriented approach more than an environmentally-focused one.

4.3.1 *EU – Global Fighter and Manager of Environmental Action in the European Arctic*

This first representation is identified as dealing with how the EU perceives itself as an actor in connection with climate change. The presentation is of a potential leader in activities in the European Arctic, a leader who is not afraid to take responsibility in order to make a change. This is first seen in the document from the High Representative. ‘The EU is in a unique position to respond to the impacts of climate change on international security, given its leading role in development, global climate policy and the wide array of tools and instruments at its disposal’ (High Representative 2008: 2). This is additionally referred to later in the Arctic communication:

Addressing the root causes of Arctic changes requires a global response. Impacts resulting from climate change represent a challenge of paramount importance for the region at present and also for the future. The EU is a leader in fighting climate change and in promoting sustainable development. (Commission 2008a: 3)

The EU thus sees itself and its involvement in the Arctic as natural, and justifies this by referring to its geographical and historical links to the region.

The European Union is inextricably linked to the Arctic region ... by a unique combination of history, geography, economy and scientific achievements. Three Member States – Denmark (Greenland), Finland and Sweden – have territories in the Arctic. Two other Arctic states – Iceland and Norway – are members of the European Economic Area. Canada, Russia and the United States are strategic partners of the EU. (Commission 2008a: 2)

The EU here adduces arguments from situations outside Arctic matters to build up the impression of being a natural actor in the area. The rhetoric around the EU being on top of global management and of fighting climate change makes it impossible not to consider the EU when it comes to management of climate in the Arctic. Therefore the EU seeks to create an image of being indispensable in the Arctic – a point underlined by its application to the Arctic Council, described in the Arctic communication. Here the EU stated that it wished to apply for permanent observer status in order to enhance input to the Council in accordance with the role and potential of the European Community (Commission 2008a: 11). Observer status in the Arctic Council is open to non-Arctic states, as well as to inter-governmental, inter-parliamentary, global and regional, and non-governmental organizations (Arctic Council 2009). However, the Arctic Council turned down the EU application in spring 2009. One comment from Russian authorities was that ‘there is no EU member state among the Arctic states’ (Euractiv 2009), which shows that not everyone sees the EU as being a natural player in the Arctic game.

The representation of the EU as a global climate fighter also builds on arguments of an altruistic engagement. Having taken upon itself the role as a global fighter, the EU wants to take responsibility and act on behalf of the rest of the world. This representation is in line with the *sustainability to the world* mindset in the Norwegian strategies, but now we are given to understand that the world is best served with EU engagement and stewardship. The arguments presented to underline the importance of EU engagement are reminiscent of Hardin’s *tragedy of the commons* (Hardin 1968: 1243–1248). This is the fear of over-extraction of resources in the North if the area should remain unregulated in resource management (Østerud et al. 1997: 12). This argumentation can be seen in the EU documents, where it is claimed that the multiplying factor of climate change in the Arctic might have an effect on other areas and conflicts in the world, and that the EU should ‘assess the effectiveness of EU policies and of multilateral environmental agreements in responding to Arctic environmental challenges’ (Commission 2008a: 3).

4.3.2 *EU Affects the Arctic and Vice Versa*

The EU sees the Arctic region as distinctly affected by various EU policies, in areas such as the environment, energy, research, transport and fisheries. According to the Arctic communication, they ‘have a direct bearing on the Arctic’, and ‘activities in the EU member states – as in most other countries – leave an environmental footprint in the Arctic’ (Commission 2008a: 2–3). Conversely, climate changes in the North also have potentially deep impacts on European as well as international stability and security (High Representative 2008: 8), and the EU therefore considers it necessary to act now to prevent negative developments.

On the whole, Arctic challenges and opportunities will have significant repercussions on the life of European citizens for generations to come. It is imperative for the European Union to address them in a coordinated and systematic manner, in cooperation with Arctic states, territories and other stakeholders. (Commission 2008a: 2–3)

The EU uses a broad base of referent actors, those who are threatened, as the potential changes will affect Europe ‘for generations to come’. Seen through the lens of this representation, the zone that is affected is vast, and it is urgent to act now. The need for action is also seen in the proposal that ‘where strategies and projects of the EU affect the Arctic [the EU should] take account of environmental impacts before decisions are made.’ (Commission 2008a: 3). This way of framing an issue will affect the EU policies for years to come, since the environmental considerations are, as in the case of Norway, accorded higher importance than energy relations and other policy areas. The EU therefore holds that it can and should act, since it both affects and is affected by climate changes in the European Arctic.

4.3.3 *Climate Change Can Lead to Increased Multilateral Governance*

Another representation in the EU documents has a more positive sign: it presents climate changes as a possible factor in the transformation and development of the international atmosphere for global governance. This builds on the assumption that no current treaty regime is valid for the Arctic and that laws for the region can be improved. Within this representation, one of the EU’s main goals as stated in the Arctic communication is to contribute to enhanced multilateral governance in the region (Commission 2008a: 3). ‘The main problems relating to Arctic governance include the fragmentation of the legal framework, the lack of effective instruments, the absence of an overall policy-setting processes and gaps in participation, implementation and geographic scope.’ (ibid: 10). Therefore:

The EU should work to uphold the further development of a cooperative Arctic governance system based on the UNCLOS which would ensure:

- Security and stability
 - Strict environmental management, including respect of the precautionary principle
 - Sustainable use of resources as well as open and equitable access
- (Commission 2008a: 10)

The assumption is that this perceived lack of a stable legal framework can be improved with help from the EU. It is important to mention the European Parliament's proposal in its resolution, where

[the Commission] should be prepared to pursue the opening of international negotiations designed to lead to the adoption of an international treaty for the protection of the Arctic, having as its inspiration the Antarctic treaty ..., but respecting the fundamental difference represented by the populated nature of the Arctic and the consequent rights and needs of the people and nations of the Arctic region; believes, however, that as a minimum starting-point such a treaty could at least cover the unpopulated and unclaimed area at the centre of the Arctic Ocean. (European Parliament 2008)

However, the Commission in its communication did not follow this wish. The Commission rather puts the emphasis on existing treaties and holds that those should be assessed before establishing any new treaties (Commission 2008a: 10).

4.3.4 *The Need for Rapid Action*

One of the representations on climate in the EU documents stands out as the main representation, supported by the others. The focus here is on climate change as a threat multiplier and the urgent need for immediate action. This representation builds on assumptions that

climate change is best viewed as a threat multiplier which exacerbates existing trends, tensions and instability. ... It is important to recognize that the risks are not just of a humanitarian nature; they also include political and security risks that directly affect European interests (High Representative 2008: 2)

The representation is referred to and repeated in the Arctic communication, where it is summed up as follows:

In view of the role of climate change as a 'threats multiplier', the Commission and the High Representative for the Common, Foreign and Security Policy have pointed out that environmental changes are altering the geo-strategic dynamics of the Arctic with potential consequences for international stability and European security interests calling for the development of an EU Arctic policy. (Commission 2008a: 2)

The Arctic communication is presented as one of the EU's steps towards securing its interests. This representation also refers to potential changes in the Arctic as consequences of climate changes. This could mean a threat to stability: 'a further dimension of competition for energy resources lies in potential conflict over resources in Polar Regions which will become exploitable as a consequence of global warming' (High Representative 2008: 4). 'In addition, the increased accessibility of the enormous hydrocarbon resources in the Arctic region is changing the geo-strategic dynamics of the region with potential consequences for the international stability and European security interests' (High Representative 2008: 8). The Commission therefore underlines the potential to increase stability through cooperation:

The present Communication should also lead to a structured and coordinated approach to Arctic matters, as the first layer of an Arctic policy for the European Union. This will open new cooperation perspectives with the Arctic states, helping all of us to increase stability and to establish the right balance between the priority goal of preserving the Arctic environment and the need for sustainable use of resources. (Commission 2008a: 12)

According to this representation, the effects of climate changes are already becoming evident, and they affect security and stability. The High Representative starts by noting: 'the risks posed by climate change are real and its impacts are already taking place' (2008: 1). Moreover, the consequences are affecting international security: 'the impact of climate change on international security is not a problem of the future but already of today and one which will stay with us' (High Representative 2008: 8). With this rhetoric, the EU builds up a situation and creates incentives where it becomes necessary to act now in order to prevent further damage. Moreover, action now means security for the future: 'investment in mitigation to avoid such scenarios, as well as ways to adapt to the unavoidable, should go hand in hand with addressing the international security threats created by climate change; both should be viewed as part of preventive security policy' (High Representative 2008: 1). Also the European Parliament echoes this assumption: '... the time for diagnosis is over and the time for action is now' (European Parliament 2008). Climate changes are furthermore presented as arguments behind the development of the EU Arctic policy. This can be seen in the paper from the High Representative, where it is argued that one possible action for the EU is to 'develop an EU Arctic policy, based on the evolving geo-strategy of the Arctic region, taking into account i.a. access to resources and the opening of new trade routes' (2008: 11). As a potential consequence of climate change, the polar ice will melt, opening up new waterways in the Arctic and making accessibility to resources in the North easier. The High Representative here puts forward a scenario where climate changes will lead to geo-political changes, as the possibilities for extraction of resources will be improved due to the opening of new waterways. For the EU, it then becomes important to follow up on this development and take into consideration the consequences this might have for European security.

4.3.5 Summary

The main picture of climate issues within the EU documents is that climate change is a threat multiplier and therefore threatens Europe's security and the international society. This wraps climate changes in security concepts and words. Climate changes are presented as security threats, and the EU takes a security approach towards the issue. A second dimension with these perceptions is that climate changes are presented as anthropogenic and already existing. This way of framing the theme and the area gives some indications of how to act and creates a certain space for action where some actions are more possible and better suited than others. The EU set the standard for its action by presenting the paper *Climate Change and International Security*, which explains how it intends to approach the area of climate change. Among the claims made by this document is that 'unmitigated climate change beyond 2° C will lead

to unprecedented security scenarios as it is likely to trigger a number of tipping points that would lead to further accelerated, irreversible and largely unpredictable climate changes' (High Representative 2008: 1). This creates an urgent situation requiring action in the North, as the changes are already evident and could have an immediate effect on security. This way of framing states that action needs to be taken now, before it is too late. The main goal for EU policy in the Arctic is further: '... to prevent and mitigate the negative impact of climate change as well as to support adaptation to inevitable changes' (Commission 2008a: 3). The EU also points out the potential for increased multilateral governance in framing climate changes in security discourses. Such framing is seen as having positive consequences, as attention can be drawn to the problem by linking it to security. This approach can be related to the theory approach whereby security is linked to an issue in order to get the desired 'political effect of attaching priority, urgency and drama to it' (Wæver 1993: 226).

Actors use interdiscursivity in order to establish their own discourse or meaning as hegemonic within a field, since the use of arguments from other discourses can bolster one's own arguments. Some interdiscursive elements in the EU documents can be noted here. Firstly, the EU builds up its self-perception concerning the European Arctic by reference to other areas where it has been active. Since the EU has managed to establish peace and stability within its own borders, it might also manage to establish peace and stability in other areas, and this linkage is presented in relation to the North. All this helps to create a situation where action from the EU is seen as indispensable.

The second identified interdiscursive element is the use of the idea of the *tragedy of the commons*. The EU draws on this when presenting the altruistic and good solution for everyone: namely, that the EU should assume responsibility for taking care of these resources in order to prevent misuse, here over-exploitation (see Østerud et al., 1997: 12).

4.3.6 *Story-lines*

The story-lines in the EU presentation sum up the situation of urgency and the role of climate change as an overall threat, which can lead to even greater insecurity if nothing is done.

- Climate changes threaten the EU's security, political and economic power, and the security of its citizens.
- Climate changes have started already; now is the time for action, not diagnosis
- Climate changes are threat multipliers.
- The EU can and should act to prevent the negative development of climate changes.

We can now identify the space for action that is created. According to this group of representations, there is both a need and an incentive to act now, and to act quickly.

4.4 EU Energy Security

The EU has prioritized energy security as an important goal for the whole Union (Commission 2008b: 1–2). As the EU member states need to import energy to maintain consumption levels, the EU has made it clear with the *Strategic Energy Review* that it must seek to develop an effective external energy policy. Furthermore, as noted in the presentation in section 3.2.1, the EU imports approximately 15% of its gas from Norway. This makes it relevant to look at the representations of energy present in the EU's texts about the Arctic.

4.4.1 Increased Energy Security

Within the EU documents, the relationship between energy and security can be identified readily enough. A central issue for the EU in the European Arctic is presented as to prevent insecurity in relation to energy and due to the impact of potential energy resources on the geo-strategic role of the area: the role of the region is linked to geo-politics.

The first representation identified concerns the concept of energy security – a concept much used by the EU. This representation builds on the assumption of scarcity of non-renewable resources connected to the politicizing of energy resources (High Representative 2008: 8). Within these assumptions, energy security involves the desire for stable energy deliveries, as well as the fear of political use of energy imports and exports to influence the power potential. The question of energy security surfaces when the need for energy is on the increase, combined with a scarcity of resources. Scarcity of energy resources creates the acknowledgement that security of energy supply is a main energy objective of the EU as a whole, not only for individual member-countries (Commission 2008b: 1). The European Arctic can then help to secure the EU's energy interests due to its presumed vast reservoirs of energy. This representation builds on the assumption that there are resources in the region that are ready to be developed:

The Arctic contains large untapped hydrocarbon reserves. Known Arctic offshore resources are located inside the Exclusive Economic Zone of Arctic states. Arctic resources could contribute to enhancing the EU's security of supply concerning energy and raw materials in general. However, exploitation will be slow, since it presents great challenges and entails high costs due to harsh conditions and multiple environmental risks (Commission 2008a: 6)

The EU therefore perceives the region as an area that can counter possible problems of energy insecurity. Since energy security is such an important goal, the EU is logically bound to act to secure its interests. The securitizing move made by the EU creates a framework of action in relation to its security interests.

4.4.2 Energy Conflicts and the Conflict Potential of the Area

In relation to the previous representation, we can also identify a representation on energy conflicts. The conflict potential of energy resources in the Arctic lies in the possible opening of areas previously inaccessible

because of ice. This representation holds as a premise that global warming will melt the ice in the Arctic, providing easier access to the region and thereby opening up areas for extraction of energy resources. In the paper from the High Representative, the potential for increased competition for natural resources is noted. 'The European Security Strategy recognized the link between global warming and competition for natural resources' (High Representative 2008: 2). Interestingly, the region is presented as a potential conflict area, but at the same time it is held that the region can help to build down insecurity. This representation is based on assumptions of rational national interests in energy resources which can lead to conflicts. The area, with its potential resources, might then help states to build down their insecurity – but: 'a further dimension of competition for energy resources lies in potential conflict over resources in Polar regions which will become exploitable as a consequence of global warming' (High Representative 2008: 4). As a consequence of the increased interest and potential conflict-filled relationships concerning resources, the EU claims this can change the geo-political situation in the area and give it increased importance. This can be related to Buzan and Wæver's concept of 'speech act': an area can be linked to security by calling the region an energy province and by expressing worries as to conflicts in relation to global scarcity of non-renewable energy resources.

In addition, the increased accessibility of the enormous hydrocarbon resources in the Arctic region is changing the geo-strategic dynamics of the region with potential consequences for international stability and European security interests. (High Representative 2008: 8)

One of the most significant potential conflicts over resources arises from intensified competition over access to, and control over, energy resources. That in itself is, and will continue to be, a cause of instability. ... This has the potential to feed back into greater energy insecurity and greater competition for resources. (High Representative 2008: 5)

In this argument, climate and energy representations are intertwined. This in turn feeds into an argumentation whereby climate change will affect the Arctic so as to facilitate resource extraction from the area.

The conflict representation is also evident in the resolution of the European Parliament, which 'remains particularly concerned over the ongoing race for natural resources in the Arctic, which may lead to security threats for the EU and overall international stability' (European Parliament 2008). It thus

calls on the Commission to include energy and security policy in the Arctic region on its agenda, and to propose, in particular, in its expected communication on the region, suitable subjects and joint working procedures for the EU and the Arctic countries in the fields of climate change, sustainable development, security of energy supply and maritime safety. (European Parliament 2008)

The representation builds up a situation of energy scarcity where there might be competition for the last remaining non-renewable resources, and the Parliament wants to connect the region and energy issues to security policy – a securitizing move. The representation presents a situation as

one of urgency, as the race for the last non-renewable energy sources in the world is already underway. Also here, the role of the Arctic, with its potential hydrocarbon resources, becomes to aid the EU with its security interests in relation to energy supply.

Russia's flag-planting at the North Pole is recognized as an illustration of the heightened geo-strategic interests in the region. In relation to this, the EU calls for a need to 'address the growing debate over territorial claims and access to new trade routes by different countries which challenge Europe's ability to effectively secure its trade and resource interests in the region and may put pressure on its relations with key partners.' (High Representative 2008: 8). The EU feels challenged and bound to act in order to secure its interests, as the increased interest is portrayed as a rush for claiming territorial claims and since there remain some unsettled border issues, disputes and clashing interests that might lead to disagreements over resources in the North. This again is assumed to have an impact on EU's role in the region, so it is important to pay attention to developments in the area. Based on this assumption, the EU's Arctic communication of 2008 was developed as a step towards an Arctic policy.

4.4.3 The Need for Sustainable Use of the Resources

One of EU's main policy objectives for the Arctic is 'promoting sustainable use of resources' (Commission 2008a: 3), and this representation is present throughout the documents examined. As representations on energy generally assume that resources in the area should be exploited, there are references to sustainable use of the resources, and this builds on arguments from the field of the environment and environmental protection. The combination of extraction of resources and sustainable use links together areas previously kept separate. In relation to Fairclough (1972) and the concept of interdiscursivity, this combination indicates the changes that are taking place within the field of energy. It is no longer enough merely to promote economic arguments behind the use of resources. It is also crucial to promote environmental arguments in conjunction with the economic arguments, as the overall energy discourse has changed – as was also evident in the Norwegian documents. According to the EU's Arctic communication:

Support for the exploitation of Arctic hydrocarbon resources should be provided in full respect of strict environmental standards taking into account the particular vulnerability of the Arctic. The EU edge in technologies for sustainable exploitation of resources in polar conditions should be maintained. (Commission 2008a: 7)

We can note the assumptions that it is possible to combine sustainable use with exploitation of energy resources and that the EU knows how to work with this. Within the field of energy, the EU sees itself as a leader 'in promoting sustainable development' (Commission 2008a: 3). Moreover, the EU puts forward as a policy objective that it will work for 'sustainable use of resources as well as open and equitable access' (Commission 2008a: 10). A fair and reasonable access can be well connected to the EU's perception of increased international interest in the area. With states rushing towards the area, clutching their territorial claims, it can be fruitful for the EU to promote a non-conflictual right to use resources.

4.4.4 *Summary*

The representations on energy in the EU context are linked to security. The EU is concerned with energy security and fears that climate change can lead to greater instability and sharper competition for resources. Within these representations, the working premise for the EU is to develop an Arctic strategy that can explain and present the EU's interest in the area. Further, showing such interest can help the EU to raise its potential for shaping developments in the area (Council of the European Union 2008). Another element from the energy representations can help us to understand why the EU is so keen about the European Arctic. Since energy resources are assumed to have an impact on security and on creating conflicts, the EU can justify its involvement, as the EU has a proven record in conflict prevention: '... the security challenges play to Europe's strengths, with its comprehensive approach to conflict prevention, crisis management and post-conflict reconstruction' (High Representative 2008: 2). Energy security representations are therefore presented as the EU's main factor for involvement. They can be linked to an overall EU identity, which includes a comprehensive security approach with emphasis on civilian power, peacekeeping and the values of multilateral governance (Rieker 2007).

Additionally, energy representations become part of an overall security discourse in the European Union, as the EU presents concerns about the instability and insecurity to which the energy resources might lead. Parallels can be drawn to the widened security concept and how new issues might be perceived as threatening to the subjective actor. This is related to concerns about the European Arctic as a potentially conflict-filled area, not least since, as pointed out by the EU, it suffers from a lack of well-functioning treaties.

Elements of interdiscursivity are visible in how the concept of sustainable development and sustainable use of resources is conjoined with discussions of utilization of resources in the area. Thereby the energy representations borrow elements from environmental arguments and enfold the discussions in them. This in turn shows that there are other elements connected with energy resources than just economic profit.

4.4.5 *Story-lines*

The story-lines that sum up the role of energy in the European Arctic in the EU's documents are as follows:

- The new European energy province – a helping hand to reduce European energy instability.
- The EU as the relevant actor in the High North in relation to energy.
- Potential energy resources also have the potential to cause conflict.

These story-lines create a dramaturgy of EU support for the extraction of resources in the region, as this will be good for security for energy supply in the EU. However, as the energy resources might also have the potential to cause conflict, it is important for EU involvement to promote multilateral governance and the establishment of laws and regimes, and this is presented as a policy measure.

5 A Region of Security?

The next step is to see whether representations of energy and climate can be characterized as embedded in overall security discourses. Do the strategies contain any securitizing moves, and if so, what are the consequences of this potential framing? In this part of the report, contributions from Norway and the EU will be treated together, as this will make it easier to see the differences and nuances more clearly.

The theoretical chapter noted that security is a speech act and securitizing moves are self-referential ways of speaking. This means that the securitized issue need not necessarily be a real, existential threat to the actor: only that it is subjectively perceived as being a threat. A securitizing move occurs when central actors feel the need to characterize something as being an existential threat to referent objects (Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde 1998: 3, 25). According to the Copenhagen School, this process should also include the necessity of implementing extraordinary measures. However, as Furuseth writes, ‘the problem concerning this criterion is that “extraordinary measures” are quite problematic to propose in democratic and bureaucratic institutions like the EU, because such measures require the circumscribing of regular proceedings’ (Furuseth 2003: 62). She further notes that one may speak of issues being framed as security issues without necessarily leading to extraordinary emergency measures – a point relevant for this study, where the focus is on the framing of an issue and since we do not delve into the political activity that might follow the strategies.

This part of the analysis is divided into three sections. Firstly, we examine how the widened security concept is present in the strategies. Secondly, we identify potential threats presented in the documents. Thirdly, there is a discussion of the *scramble for the Arctic*.

5.1 The Widened Security Concept – Linking Areas or Issues to Security

In discussing the widened security concept in relation to the European Arctic, we need to see whether there are in the strategies any areas or issues that are linked to security discourses. This is evident in the linkage made between environmental matters and security. While environmental matters were previously considered to be domestic issues, both in the EU and in Norway (Tranøy and Østerud 2001: 27; Lavenex 2004: 691), in the strategies they have become part of external foreign policy. This bears witness to a change in the handling and discussion of environmental issues, and the words used are linked to security. For example: ‘climate change will have impact on the security of countries and people all over the world’ (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2006: 14) and

The climate crisis and the threats towards the global ecosystem are challenges for Norwegian interests and make it even more important to conduct an active international environmental policy. ... our responsibility to secure a sustainable development of the Arctic includes important foreign policy tasks for Norway. (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2009: 14)

We can see this also in the EU documents, with the clear statement of a link between climate change and security implications (High Representative 2008). The use of words like *crisis*, *threats* and *risks* reinforces the significance of connecting climate change and environmental matters to security, and creates associations to concepts of survival.

New security concerns are also apparent in the increased focus on energy security in the strategies, though with varying emphases. The concept has different meanings depending on the role of the country in question. For an energy-exporting country like Norway, the importance lies in secure markets, security of demand and stable prices of petroleum and other resources. This has also been the focus in the strategies: ‘the resources in the Barents Sea could provide long-term secure energy supply to the markets in Europe and the US within an environmentally sustainable framework’ (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2006: 55). For importing actors like the EU, energy security is a question of stable supply of resources and security of deliveries, as discussed in the previous chapter. The role of energy security is reflected in the Norwegian government’s High North strategy, where it is stated that Norway must be aware of the increased importance of energy security when implementing its foreign and security policy, as ‘energy issues are acquiring a foreign policy dimension as energy supply and security become increasingly important in international relations. In many countries, energy is becoming more clearly defined as a part of security policy.’ (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2006: 14). For both the EU and Norway, an important question is how the region, with its potential resources, can influence energy security for importing and exporting actors. Nevertheless, both actors indicate through their presentations that it is best to *avoid* politicizing the issue of energy resources.

5.2 The Threatening Consequences of Climate Change

Another way of pointing at the security dimension is to identify the potential threats that are presented, and here the role of climate change is important. The EU documents accord to climate change a role as threat multiplier, enhancing or reinforcing other threats and conflicts rather than being threatening in itself:

In view of the role of climate change as a ‘threats multiplier’, the Commission and the High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy have pointed out that environmental changes are altering the geo-strategic dynamics of the Arctic with potential consequences for international stability and European security interests calling for the development of an EU Arctic policy. (Commission 2008a: 2)

A security dimension mentioned in the work of Buzan and Wæver is the *point of no return*. As security is about survival, this *point of no return* means that the discourse or speech act creates and describes a situation where the issue must be handled or dealt with immediately. If one waits too long, there will be no new opportunity to tackle the matter (Wæver 1995b: 229). This construction demands rapid action and an approach to the area that includes the element of urgency. Such a situation of *point of no return* can be identified in the EU documents: ‘Impacts resulting from climate change represent a challenge of paramount importance for the

region at present and also for the future' (Commission 2008a: 3). The Parliament '... underlines that additional warming of about 4–7 ° C in the Arctic is predicted for the next hundred years; believes, therefore, that the time for diagnosis is over and the time for action is now' (European Parliament 2008). The EU therefore calls for immediate action, to include sustainable use of resources and integration of environmental considerations at all levels (Commission 2008a: 3). The precautionary principle is also mentioned as one policy objective, as the EU calls for 'strict environmental management, including respect of the precautionary principle' (ibid: 10). This increasingly recognized principle means action should be taken if there is a suspicion or fear that activities cause damage, even if there is no clear evidence or scientific proof of the consequences (Hønne-land 2003: 44). This underlines the importance of and urgency for action at the expense of scientific proof. To prevent such escalations of conflicts and threats, the EU presents environmentally-friendly activities as a major type of actions in relation to the European Arctic. Also the Norwegian government focuses on preventive action to hinder the development of the climate changes, and focuses on how environmental considerations are to be taken in connection with every decision related to the North. This extraordinary role of climate change and environmental solutions indicates a greatly heightened focus on environmental issues in political discourses, at the expense of more business-related issues. It also means taking environmental policy out of its normal sphere of politics, as an overall concept that always must be taken into consideration. That in turn can be linked to the security move 'that takes politics beyond the established rules of the game, and frames the issue either as a special kind of politics, or as above politics' (Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde 1998: 23). However, it is important to add that environmental politics continue to unfold within the normal sphere of politics without use of extraordinary measures.

5.3 The Fear of Scramble for Resources

In relation to climate change, there is a fear that access to scarce resources will lead to a scramble for these resources. This fear is evident in both approaches, but is spelled out differently. The Norwegian government argues in its White Paper: the 'Northern areas will be one of the main challenges or more correctly, set of challenges and opportunities in Norwegian security politics' (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2009: 46). Despite this, the government does not see it as 'expedient to seek solutions on several challenges in the North with military means; what is needed is broad civilian cooperation' (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2009: 46). The government also claims that the changing geo-political situation in the area will lead to more focused sovereignty demands from coastal states in the North (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2009: 44). However, it does not want to characterize the increased attention as a 'race', but uses phrases focused on cooperation and positive interaction to describe the area. 'Developments in the High North have become more dynamic as a result of the stronger international focus on energy and the environment. The static Cold War situation has been replaced by a vision of broad international cooperation' (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2006: 14) and 'our vision is that the Barents Sea should become a "sea of cooperation"' (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2006: 16). This way of framing helps to moderate any

possible securitization of the region by emphasizing cooperation rather than competition.

While the Norwegian government has sought to characterize the region in positive terms, the EU's view on the *scramble for the Arctic* is a different one. The EU writes much about how climate changes can affect the right to use resources. This may occur through both the opening and the closing of access; 'as previously inaccessible regions open up due to the effects of climate change, the scramble for resources will intensify' (High Representative 2008: 5). In the eyes of the EU, this region has the potential to act as a stabilizer, by providing energy resources: 'Arctic resources could contribute to enhancing the EU's security of supply concerning energy and raw materials in general' (Commission 2008a: 6). Conversely, it might also cause instability and 'the potential to feed back into greater insecurity and greater competition for resources' (High Representative 2008: 5). This is also emphasized earlier where the High Representative claims that 'a further dimension of competition for energy resources lies in potential conflict over resources in Polar regions which will become exploitable as a consequence of global warming' (High Representative 2008: 4). The fear of insecurity as a consequence of opening access to resources is also to be found in the resolution from the European Parliament, which states that it 'remains particularly concerned over the ongoing race for natural resources in the Arctic, which may lead to security threats for the EU and overall instability' (European Parliament 2008).

For the EU's part, the area is characterized closer to an unregulated 'Wild West', without any good legal regimes or solutions securely in place. The EU therefore fears there will be conflicts and a situation like the *tragedy of the commons* if nothing is done now. The EU wants a change in this situation, and this is shown through one of the main goals of 'contributing to enhanced multilateral governance', as presented in the Arctic communication:

There is no specific treaty regime for the Arctic. No country or group of countries have sovereignty over the North Pole or the Arctic Ocean around it. There are several maritime borders where Arctic coastal states have not agreed upon the delimitation of Exclusive Economic Zones. Submissions to the UN Commission on the Limits of the Continental Shelf may result in overlapping claims. (Commission 2008a: 9)

The two different actors have various approaches to the situation concerning access to potential resources. The Norwegian government has more outspoken self-interests, but has sought to present the region in a non-antagonistic manner while at the same time promoting multilateral governance through support for different international organizations and councils. The phraseology used gives associations to cooperation rather than conflict and survival. By contrast, the EU is building on what might be called an 'EU identity', focusing on multilateral measures and the use of normative power to prevent clashes. However, the words used are reminiscent of concepts of survival, threats and risks that can affect security. In their use of language, then, the two actors reveal the nuances in the framing of the Arctic.

6 Concluding Remarks

The report has discussed and analysed different representations that come into play in the overall discourse on involvement in the European Arctic. Here the main purpose has not been to conduct a comparative analysis of Norwegian and EU positions, but to provide an empirical contribution to studies of the European Arctic, with special attention to environmental, climate and energy issues. However, the concluding discussion on security employed a comparative approach, to better show the nuances in the discourse.

In the analysis, different perceptions have been revealed through a discourse analysis of political strategies. For Norway, the region is an important energy province, with assumed vast potential energy reservoirs that may help to maintain the country's energy exports and dampen international energy insecurities. As to environmental matters, it was noted that the world is best served with clear international rules on involvement in the area, but also that the Norwegian government intends to continue its efforts at sustainable management – bluntly put, that that resource and environmental management is held to be safer and more stable under Norwegian governance than with other arrangements. It also became clear that arguments for extracting and developing these energy resources have been 'packaged' in environmental arguments, to create the impression of environmentally friendly and harmless drilling for oil and gas in the European Arctic.

By contrast, the EU presents the region as a European energy province, and indeed one that can help to ensure energy security for its member-states. However, the arguments for drilling are also wrapped in arguments of multilateral governance and sustainable development. On climate issues, the EU enfold the region in a security dimension and characterizes climate change as a threat multiplier. Climate changes are already evident in the European Arctic, and this recognition influences the EU's desired course of action in the region.

The purpose of this report was to investigate how two actors – Norway, and the European Union – have discussed and presented climate and energy in their strategies for the European Arctic, and to examine whether they have framed these issues within a security framework. The intention was not to investigate whether securitization had taken place, but rather to examine various moves that might serve as steps leading to a securitized framework for the region.

As noted in chapter 5, the new and widened security concept was found to be present in their strategies. Energy security in particular has an important role in the documents from both actors, and is even identified as one of the main goals of the European Union. As the EU is dependent on energy import, connections may be drawn between this and the increased concern expressed by the EU. As an energy exporter, Norway needs security of demand, but wraps the arguments in a focus on meeting the demands of others. The strategies examined also showed the internationalization of once-domestic environmental issues. The European Arc-

tic seems to be showing the consequences of climate change more rapidly than the rest of the world, and security concerns relate to preventing further damage.

Chapter 5 also discussed how the EU characterizes climate change in the Arctic as a threat multiplier, with an impact on conflicts and threats elsewhere in the world. As it was the High Representative of the CFSP who brought this up in his paper, it may be assumed that this view will form the basis for the CFSP approach to the area.

Lastly, we have seen how the combination of climate change and energy indicates how the European Arctic region has the potential to become a resource province, but also to cause conflict. This was again most evident in the documents from the EU, while the Norwegian government has emphasized that it does not want to politicize or militarize the region, or let its energy resources become a security concern.

On the whole, our discussion has shown that the EU's approach to the area has closer links to a security framework than does the Norwegian approach. This may lead to further uneven moves from the two actors, as the EU emphasizes the region as good for the interests of the Union and its member-states, while at the same time promoting an altruistic identity that stresses the need for multilateral governance to prevent conflicts or disputes. In fact, the language employed by the EU in its documents is reminiscent of concepts of urgency and survival. The discursive framework therefore creates a situation of urgency where the time for observation is indeed over and there is a need for action. In light of this, further EU involvement towards the European Arctic can be expected. Moreover, the vast, if potential, energy reserves in the area are presented as a way of ensuring stable deliveries to Europe. If drilling is to begin, a positive attitude and support for further exploitation and extraction also appears likely, from these documents. However, new linkages in the discourses on the North bring in concepts of 'environmentally-friendly drilling' in the documents issued by both actors, and an increased focus on environmental issues can be expected in the debates on extraction of these resources.

The Norwegian government has stated that it does not want to connect the region to conflict, and supports multilateral cooperation in various fora. At the same time, the self-interest of this energy nation comes into play, and the power gained from this role may well be relevant in other areas as well. A study conducted by Halvard Leira and colleagues showed that Norway perceives itself in the North as a custodian with a more altruistic approach and results than would have been the case with a multilateral solution (2007: 29). That point is relevant for comparison with this report, where the Norwegian idea of 'sustainability to the world' becomes evident, and with similar perceived results.

Finally, it should be noted that Norway is a uniform state, while the EU is a multilateral international organization which throughout this report has been treated as one unified actor. Another study with a more in-depth focus on the different countries within the EU and their approaches to the area might have revealed a different perspective towards the European

Arctic. Moreover, the findings and the representations identified here are based on an analysis of ‘monumental papers’ from two important actors, but these documents are only one part of the overall discourse on involvement in the North. If complemented with media input, or with another country’s documents, the picture would also have been different. Furthermore, the underlying theoretical framework of the widened security concept has shaped the analysis here. This report has given views based on written strategies; a next step could be to look at the further political moves made by the two actors in relation to the European Arctic, as deduced from these strategies.

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