Future Governance of the Arctic:

Press, Policy and the Arctic Council

Yelena Yermakova
yy646@cornell.edu

Advisor: Professor John R. Mathiason
jrm534@cornell.edu

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Abstract

The changing situation in the Arctic due to global warming has prompted media coverage of a supposed "scramble for the Arctic," an "Arctic boom," or an "Arctic Bonanza." Some even go further, deploying the rhetoric of a "New Cold War," predicting an inevitable clash between the United States and Russia over interests in the region. The press coverage in both countries over the past decade reflects this new sensationalism. The academic literature unequivocally confirms that the press exerts substantial influence on governmental policy makers, and vice versa. However, while scholars agree that international organizations (IOs) are essential to shaping policies, the existing literature lacks research on media's relationship with IOs, which often struggle to obtain the coverage and publicity they deserve. In particular, the Arctic Council has provided an effective platform for constructive dialogue and decision making involving the United States and Russia. Accordingly, despite disagreements in other regions of the world, the two global powers have managed to cooperate in the Arctic – notwithstanding recent media coverage painting a different and incomplete picture. This project surveys the media coverage of the Arctic over the past decade in Russia and the U.S. and its correlation with the Arctic Council's activities. The analysis draws upon two prominent news organizations in Russia (Kommersant and Izvestiya) and two in the U.S. (the New York Times and the Wall Street Journal), as well as the Arctic Council's press releases and social media presence from June 2006 to June 2017. The paper finds that there is a clear disconnect between media coverage of the region and the Arctic Council's activities, recommending that the media pay more attention to the organization, particularly since it is the only prominent platform for international cooperation in the Arctic. More research should be done evaluating the effectiveness of the Arctic Council's social media presence.

Introduction

Arctic region

(Arctic Council 2016)

Since the 2007 planting of the Russian flag on the North Pole seabed during the Arktika expedition, the prevailing rhetoric in the international arena has been the one of a "New Cold War." Russia has been ridiculed for its actions and accused of being expansionist, with comparisons drawn to the land grabs of colonial times and symbolic plantings of flags on newly discovered territories. A century earlier, however, when Peary allegedly planted the American

flag at the North Pole and telegraphed the American President, William H. Taft, saying "Have honor place North Pole at your disposal," the response was nothing like in 2007. The reply from President Taft did not exhibit much interest in the discovery, stating: "Thanks for your interesting and generous offer. I do not know exactly what I could do with it...William H. Taft" (Emmerson 2010, 96). A lot has changed since then. The Arctic became increasingly important during the 20th century, especially during the World War II, and although the immediate post-Cold-War period marked weakening interest in the region, the North reemerged in mid-2000s in the international arena as a place of strategic importance.

Global warming is a contributing factor to the new focus on the region. Rapidly thawing ice suggests future prospects of longer ice-free periods in the North. That, in turn, has significant implications on natural resources extraction, sea traffic, and security in the region. The changing situation prompted labels such as "bonanza" and "boom" in reference to the new Arctic era. As with other geopolitically important areas, the renewed interest in the region also raises cause for concerns of potential conflict. Given that four of the five littoral Arctic states are part of NATO (the United States, Canada, Norway and Denmark on behalf of Greenland), Russia has been characterized as an outsider and a "wild card" in the future "scramble for the Arctic" (Tamnes 2014).

Although all of the Arctic nations are significant to the future of the region, this paper focuses on the U.S. and Russia. In light of the recent conflict in Ukraine, the annexation of Crimea, and Russia's involvement in Syria, the intended "reset" strategy initiated in 2009 between the U.S. and Russia has been looking a lot more like the infamous "overcharge." Despite this, the Arctic so far has been the region where the two countries have shared mutual

interests and cooperation has prevailed. Opinions about the future trajectory of U.S.-Russian relations in the region are divided. On one hand, there are those who took the planting of the Russian flag on the North Pole seabed as a threat to other Arctic states' sovereignty and a sign of Russian expansionism that must be contained. On the other, there are those who see cooperation as the most likely framework in the region.

Considering the environmental and societal risks that would result from confrontation, cooperation between the U.S. and Russia is essential for sustainable future development of the region. A strong argument in favor of cooperation is the existence of the Arctic Council. Established in 1996, it has been an effective institutional platform that the Arctic nations rely on in addressing societal challenges. In their assessment of the forum's effectiveness, Oran Young and Paula Kankaanpää conclude that the Arctic Council, although in need of structural adjustments in light of the changing climate, has been successful in identifying the emerging issues and bringing them into its policy agenda (Young and Kankaanpää 2012). The forum will most likely maintain its role of bringing the Arctic nations' attention to emerging challenges.

Despite the prevailing history of cooperation in the region between the U.S. and Russia, the press in both countries has been reinforcing the rhetoric of a "New Cold War." There is substantial scholarly research on the role of the press impacting foreign policy. However, there is a lack of research on whether the press has an effect on international organizations and vice versa. Considering the importance of cooperation between the U.S. and Russia in the Arctic, it is vital to understand the role of the press in impacting policy making. Since the Arctic Council is an effective platform in shaping policy in relation to the North, studying the interaction

between the press and the institution might shed light on how to provide more effective coverage of the region to reinforce ongoing cooperation in the Arctic.

This paper analyzes the extent to which the media covers international organizations, using the Arctic Council as a specific example and surveying press coverage in both U.S. and Russia over the past decade. The analysis begins with a short summary of the Arctic Council's history, structure and activities, and then turns to a discussion of the existing literature on the role of international organizations in shaping policy. An overview of research on the media's impact on foreign policy follows, noting the lack of literature on the press's connection to international organizations. Next, the paper provides some historical context for both the U.S and Russia in the Arctic, as well as a summary of how Arctic strategies have been shaped by both countries. In-depth analysis of press coverage in the U.S. and Russia follows, with the subsequent analysis of the Arctic Council's activities and its modifications of its policy agenda. Lastly, the conclusion remarks on the seemingly-limited correlation between press coverage and the Arctic Council's activities, noting broader implications on the role of the press in impacting policy as well as observations specific to the future development of the Arctic.

The Arctic Council

The Arctic Council was established in 1996 as a high level intergovernmental forum to promote cooperation, coordination and interaction among the Arctic states. The member states are: Canada, Kingdom of Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Russian Federation, Sweden and the United States of America. Permanent participants include Aleut International Association, Arctic Althabaskan Council, Gwich'in Council International, Inuit Circumpolar Council, Russian Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North, and Saami Council.

The Chairmanship rotates every two years. SAOs, the Senior Arctic Officials, conduct the work of the Arctic Council in consultation with Permanent Participants between the Ministerial Meetings. In 2011, during a Ministerial meeting in Nuuk, Greenland, the decision was made to establish a standing Arctic Council Secretariat. The Secretariat provides administrative support and is located in Tromsø, Norway.

The organization relies heavily on the work and research of its six working groups. They are: Arctic Contaminants Action Program (ACAP), Arctic Monitoring and Assessment Program (AMAP), Conservation of Arctic Flora and Fauna (CAFF), Emergency Prevention, Preparedness and Response (EPPR), Protection of the Arctic Marine Environment (PAME), and Sustainable Development Working Group (SDWG).

As mentioned in the introduction, the Arctic Council has been a successful platform for cooperation and dialogue among the Arctic states. It has been effectively addressing societal and environmental challenges in the region and bringing policy makers attention to the problems in the North. It is important to note that the forum has been attracting attention in recent years, which can be seen in non-Arctic states applying for observer status. For example, China and South Korea became Observers in 2013. Observers are not only allowed to attend the meetings, but are also permitted to contribute to and even propose projects. The Arctic Council is the only international organization of such scale which encompasses all Arctic stakeholders and global community members. The institution's role in shaping policy in the North cannot be underestimated.

International Organizations and Policy: Arctic Council

Throughout political history, whether in multipolar or bipolar world, the super powers strived to maintain balance of power, conforming to the realist view of the world politics. However, the aftermath of World War One saw the rise and growing importance of international organizations (IOs). During the 20th century and increasingly in the 21st century, IOs have been acting as a global consciousness, creating a platform for dialogue. The Liberal approach holds that IOs, serving as a force for peace and justice, fit the Wilsonian vision of an effective medium for cooperation. Robert Keohane writes that scholars now agree that IOs create venues for collaboration in areas of mutual concern; they "create the capacity for states to cooperate in mutually beneficial ways by reducing the cost of making and enforcing agreements" (Keohane 1998, 86). Jonathan Sanford in his paper on the role of IOs as an instrument of foreign policy also discusses the notion that international institutions create a "framework for discussion and cooperation by states on mutually agreed concerns" (Sanford 1999, 10).

On the other hand, the realists merely credit IOs with lacking any independent power. Among most prominent scholars opposing IOs prominence, Mearsheimer concludes that IOs reflect the distribution of power in the world and "have minimal influence on the state behavior" (Mearsheimer 1994/95, p.7). However, Mearsheimer does note that despite lack of evidence that IOs have any tangible impact on policy, they are nevertheless seen as influential force. The paradox is that despite limited effect of IOs on state behavior, they are perceived as a force for peace among scholars and policy makers.

Mearsheimer's assessment of the IOs' role in shaping policy assumes economic development as the driving force behind IOs' formation. However, in the context of the Arctic,

environmental conservation and natural resources management play a crucial role in shaping policy. Among scholars, Oran Young has contributed tremendously to the research on environmental policy, international institutions and the Arctic. In his book *International Cooperation: Building Regimes for Natural Resources and the Environment*, Young emphasizes the importance of IOs for preservation and governance of natural resources and environment (Young 1989). In addition, it is worth keeping in mind that Mearsheimer wrote before the Arctic Council's establishment in 1996 and most importantly, before the Arctic had become an important topic among scholars and policy makers. His analysis does not account for the potential of the IOs that bring both Russia and the U.S. to the table in the post-Cold War world to deal with the challenges posed by the climate change in a region where both states have shared interests.

The world is no longer dominated by two superpowers, and the international arena is much more fluid. The Arctic is not a theater arena to exercise military power and resolve as it was during the Cold War, rather it is a "mosaic of cooperation" (Young 2005). The Arctic is the only region where the U.S. and Russia share a common border. Two states undeniably share mutual interests in sustainable development of the region. Global warming poses societal and environmental challenges that are easier dealt with through joint forces. Oil spills, natural disasters and cruise ship accidents are examples where cooperation will be essential for the safe future of the Arctic (Tamnes 2014). The Arctic Council is the only platform that brings the U.S. and Russia together to deal with challenges the North faces. Despite disagreements in other regions of the world, the Arctic has been a place for cooperation between the two powers. In the case of the U.S. and Russia in the Arctic, it is apparent that the liberal approach applies:

the Arctic Council enables cooperation by creating a platform for dialogue to discuss mutual concerns in the region.

Press and Policy

It is evident from the previous section that IOs play an important role in policy making, especially in the case of the Arctic Council which has been influential in shaping policy agendas over the past two decades. Another influential force to consider when analyzing policy making is the press. There is a substantial research on the subject of media's effect on policy making.

Bernard Cohen's widely cited statement on the role of the press sums up the public-agenda setting hypothesis: "[the press] may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think *about*" (Cohen 1963, 130). The media covers certain issues more than others, and those issues therefore draw more attention, with some becoming a priority for policy makers.

In regards to the media's impact on policy makers, Piers Robinson wrote about so-called "CNN effect." The theory holds that the news make policy by influencing what governments do. Piers Robinson, in his analysis of the "CNN effect," contrasts it to opposing view of "manufacture." Those who adhere to the "manufacture" theory see media as being influenced by government and its policy (Robinson 1999). In a paper written two years later, Robinson argues that two models taken together present a two-way understanding of the interaction between press and policy (Robinson 2001). The media-policy interaction model tries to answer the question "does the media impact policy, or does policy influence the press?" James Hoge, in his article, "Media Pervasiveness," notes that modern day media pressures politicians to respond promptly. He wrote over two decades ago, and the pressure from media has only

increased due to globalization and instant communication channels. Hoge concluded that "the news media may influence but mostly follows the politicians' agenda" (Hoge 1994).

To answer the question which way the media-policy interaction model works is beyond the scope of this paper. However, the literature unequivocally agrees that there is an influential relationship between press and policy making. Yet, the existing literature lacks research on media's impact on IOs. Given that IOs play a role in shaping policies and that there is a relationship between the press and policy, it is essential to study whether the press affects policy making on the institutional level. The objective of this paper is to analyze the correlation between the press's coverage and the IOs agenda. The project looks at the two news sources in Russia and the U.S. respectively as well as the Arctic Council as a specific example of the IO.

Methodology

The press coverage is analyzed by looking at two newspapers in each of the countries, the U.S. and Russia. For the American press, New York Times and Wall Street Journal were chosen, while for the Russian coverage, Kommersant and Izvestiya papers were analyzed. The articles were taken from the world sections, omitting op-eds, tourism, and business sections. The time period covered is from June 15th 2006 until June 15th 2017. The search was made for 'Arctic, Russia' in the U.S. papers, and for 'Арктика, США' (Arctic, USA) in Russian sources. Articles that only have a textual match of one word such as 'Arctic', but were not about the region at all were omitted. For instance, if the article was about pirates off the coast of Africa sailing a ship named Arctic, it was ignored. The articles then were coded based on the topic. The total of articles for each paper averaged between 85 to a 105. The goal was to analyze and compare the U.S. and Russian media coverage of the Arctic based on the prevailing topic in

comparison with the Arctic Council, as well as to evaluate to what degree the organization is covered in the media.

For the Arctic Council coverage, the same time period was chosen. However, not much is available in their archived system until 2011. The total of all documents is over a thousand, which is too large of a data set to manage given the time constraints of this project. The data was limited to coding only the official declarations, task forces reports, expert group meetings reports and official press releases (a total of 67). Additionally, the project looked at the Arctic Council social media presence over the period of a few months.

The main limitations of the analysis is that the Arctic Council does not address defense and security in the region, while the newspapers in both Russia and the U.S. have covered the topic extensively. Given time constraints of the project, the Arctic Council social media presence could not be evaluated properly and further research is recommended.

Historical Background

American Arctic

When the treaty to purchase Alaska from Russia was signed in 1867, most of the American people questioned why the U.S. government would waste $7.2 million on an "ice box." Once ridiculed, the purchase of Alaska gave the U.S. a strategic position in the Pacific and access to the Arctic, as well as sovereignty over an area rich in natural resources. William H. Seward orchestrated the negotiations and the subsequent agreement. Seward believed in Manifest Destiny and saw the purchase of Alaska as a necessary step towards American expansionism across the continent. Acquiring Alaska made the U.S. an Arctic nation (Emmerson 2010).

The whaling industry, the Alaskan gold rush, and increased exploration of the North all drew attention to the region in the second part of the 19th century, but it was not until World War II that the Arctic became strategically important for the U.S. World War II also marked significant American expansion in the region, with increased military presence in the Aleutian Islands, Greenland, and Iceland. During the Cold War, the U.S. further invested in technological and military development in the region. Top secret military projects such as "Project Iceworm" shed light on the strategic importance of the region during that period. After the end of the Cold War, the U.S. downscaled its investments in the region, and for a while the North was not at the forefront (Grant 2011).

However, U.S. interest in the region re-emerged due to the changing climate and future economic potential. The current U.S. Arctic strategy recognizes the transformative potential for the region and aims at cooperation with other nations to ensure the region remains safe and free of conflict. It is important to note that Department of Defense has stressed the notion that militarization in the North could lead to an arms race and that being too aggressive could create mistrust and miscommunication (DoD 2013).

Indisputably, the Arctic has attracted the U.S. government's attention in the last decade. But just how important is the region to the American people not residing in Alaska? Simply looking at the map would suggest that most people do not feel a strong sense of attachment to the region. In a recent interview, Robert Papp, former United States Coast Guard admiral and the U.S. Special Representative to the Arctic, noted that Americans did not consider themselves an Arctic nation and, unlike other Arctic states, the U.S. was not connected to the Arctic and was not part of the culture (Ellis 2015). Although the thawing Arctic and the challenges and

opportunities that come with it might have attracted the U.S. government's attention, there is little evidence to suggest that the American people share Seward's vision of the significance of the far North.

Russian Arctic

Unlike the U.S. public, Russians see the North as "theirs." In the words of Arthur Chilingarov, a Russian explorer and politician who was part of the Arktika expedition in 2007, "The Arctic has always been Russian" (Emmerson 2010, 95). If looking at the map of the Arctic and Alaska suggests low level of importance of the region to the U.S., then looking at the Russian Arctic illustrates how significant the North is to the Russians. Russia has a very large territory north of the Arctic Circle and – unlike Alaska – the northern territory is contiguous with Russia's southern territory.

Selling Alaska to the U.S. was a logical step for the Russian Empire after the economic losses of the Crimean War. The territory was too distant and, upon the discovery of gold in Alaska, the land would have been most likely lost to the British or Americans regardless of Russian presence there. Considering Russia's strained relationship with the British Empire as a result of the Crimean War, it was in Russia's interest to sell the territory to the U.S. rather than risk another loss to the British (Grant 2011). The Arctic did not present as much value in the 19th century to Russia as it eventually did later on. While the tsarist Russia did not see much prospect in the North, development of it became a priority during the Soviet time. Stalin envisioned a shift of economic power to the Northeast. Moving the capitol to Moscow away from Leningrad, which was too close to newly-formed Finland and thus the European border, was the first step towards the transition (Emmerson 2010). Industrialization of the Arctic was an

essential aspect of the economic development. Developed by Gulag labor and explored by Soviet scientists, the Arctic has become part of what it means to be Russian.

The Soviet Union's Arctic legacy survived the end of the regime. In an interview with Emmerson, Victor Boyarsky, the director of the Museum of the Arctic and the Antarctic and famous Polar explorer, says: "The memory still keeps them [Russians] going. It's passed from generation to generation." Emmerson calls the North "a Russian preserve, built by Russians, and inhabited by Russians [...], a national back yard" (Emmerson 2010, 68). Besides the cultural value, the Arctic is significant to Russia from an economic perspective. Thirty percent of the nation's gas reserves and thirteen percent of its oil reserves are located in the Arctic. The region contributed to twenty-two percent of export earnings in 2012. In fact, Putin stressed the importance of natural resource development in his candidate thesis at St. Petersburg Mining Institute that he defended in 1997. Natural resources extraction, development of infrastructure and the importance of the Northern Sea Route are part of "Putinism," a policy aimed at economic development (Josephson 2014).

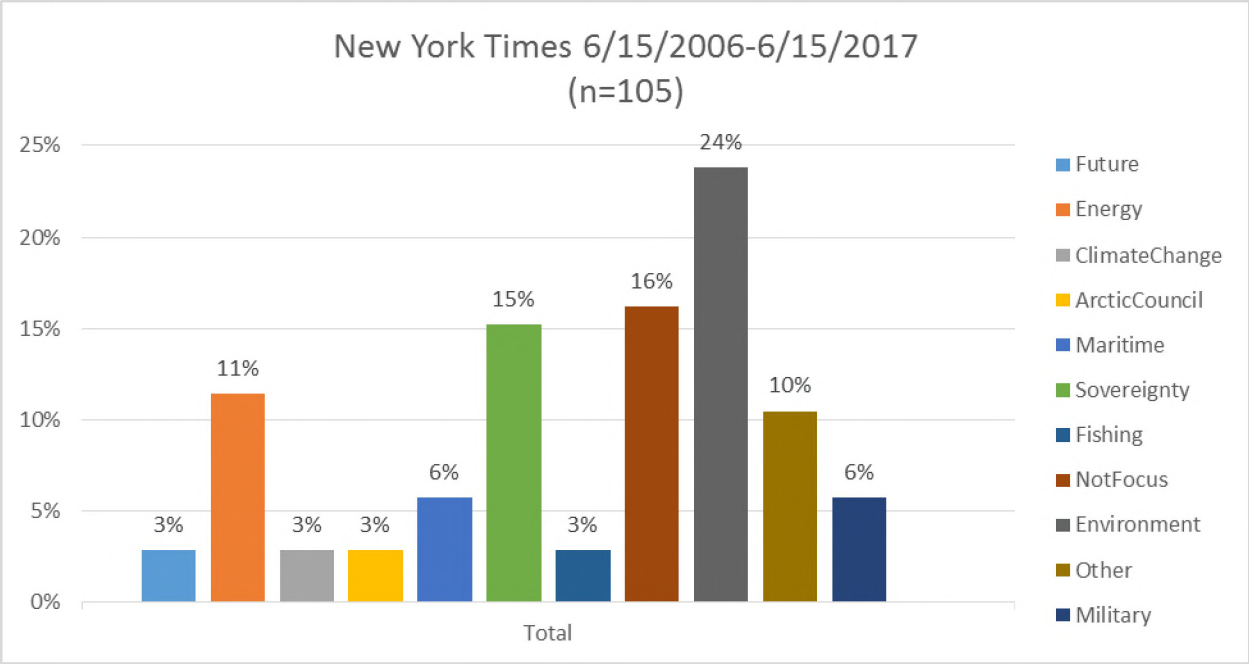
Current Russian Arctic policy recognizes the importance of the region and prioritizes economic, scientific, technological and infrastructure development in the North as well as protection of the fragile environment. However, unlike Chilingarov's rhetoric and vision for the region, the policy emphasizes the need for international cooperation and stability in the region (Kremlin 2013).

Analysis

Press in the U.S

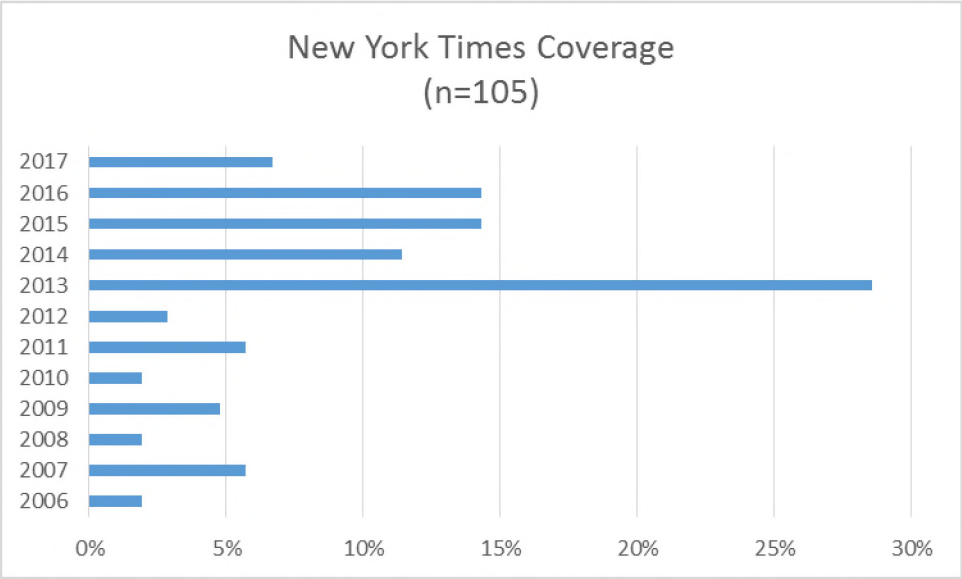
New York Times coverage over the past eleven years yields a total of 105 articles (n=105), see Graph 1. The coverage of environmental issues is most prominent at almost 25%, however this can be attribited to the Greenpeace protests and arrest of activists in 2013. So, this high percent of environmental discussion is not reflective of media's attention to the topic but rather to the scandal of arrested actvists in Russia. The topic of sovereignty and maritime boundaries represents 15%, with the subject of energy and resources being the next most frequent. There is a relativley high number of articles in which the Arctic is mentioned briefly but is not a focus at all. Overall, over the past decade the New York Times have covered the region's issues predominantly by looking at energy and resources, and legal boundaries. The coverage of climate change and the Arctic Council is quite limited.

Graph1.



Graph 2 shows the distribution of coverage of the Arctic overall in the past decade. 2007 had an increase in coverage of the region, which is due to Russia planting a flag on the North Pole in August, 2007. 2013 had a susbtantial spike in coverage of the region, but once again this was mostly a coverage of Greenpeace activists arrest, and a trial that followed and lasted almost a year. Overall, there is a clear increase of the region being covered in New York Times. Almost half of the articles about the Arctic were written in the past three years.

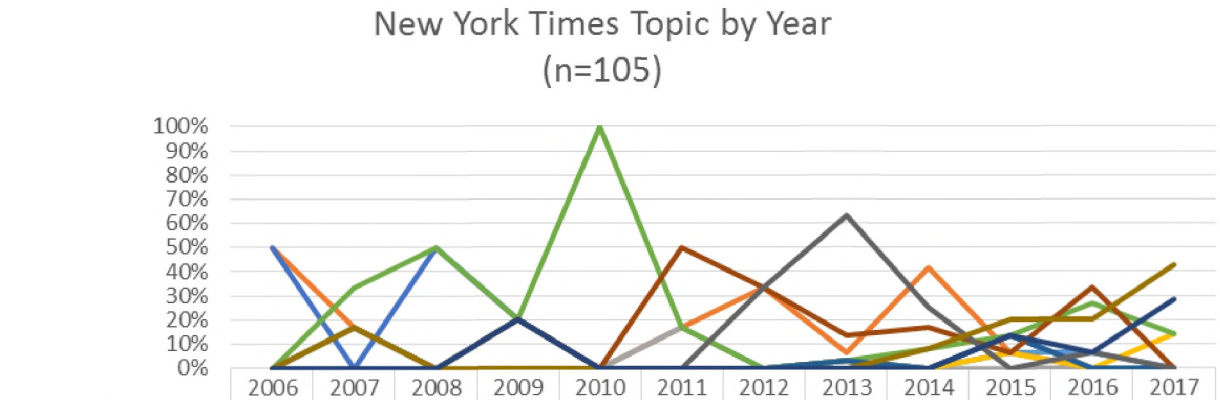
Graph 2.



Graph 3 shows yearly coverage by topic. The topic of sovereignty spiked in 2010, but the total of articles that year was only 2, so this increase is not adequately representative. The NY Times covered the Arctic Council in 2013, when the forum added new six oberservers, in 2015 when the Council held a meeting despite growing tensions between the West and Russia, and in 2017, regarding the upcoming new chairmanship of Finland starting in May, 2017. The

2015 article is reflective of the positive infuence the Arctic Council has had in creating a platform to dicuss the challenges the North faces.

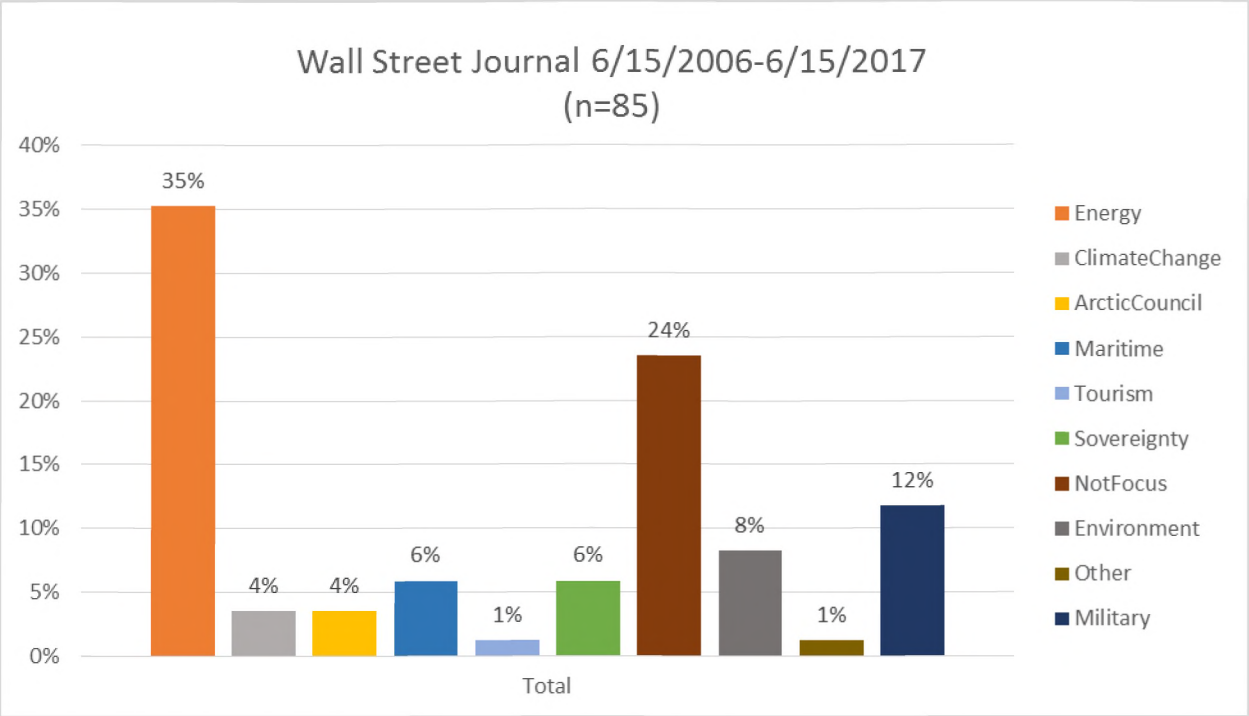
Graph 3.



	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Future	0%	0%	0%	20%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	7%	7%	0%
Energy	50%	17%	0%	0%	0%	17%	33%	7%	42%	7%	0%	0%
ClimateChange	0%	17%	0%	0%	0%	17%	0%	3%	0%	0%	0%	0%
ArcticCouncil	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	3%	0%	7%	0%	14%
Maritime	50%	0%	50%	20%	0%	0%	0%	3%	0%	13%	0%	0%
Sovereignty	0%	33%	50%	20%	100%	17%	0%	3%	8%	13%	27%	14%
Fishing	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	3%	0%	13%	0%	0%
NotFocus	0%	0%	0%	20%	0%	50%	33%	13%	17%	7%	33%	0%
Environment	0%	17%	0%	0%	0%	0%	33%	63%	25%	0%	7%	0%
Other	0%	17%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	8%	20%	20%	43%
Military	0%	0%	0%	20%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	13%	7%	29%

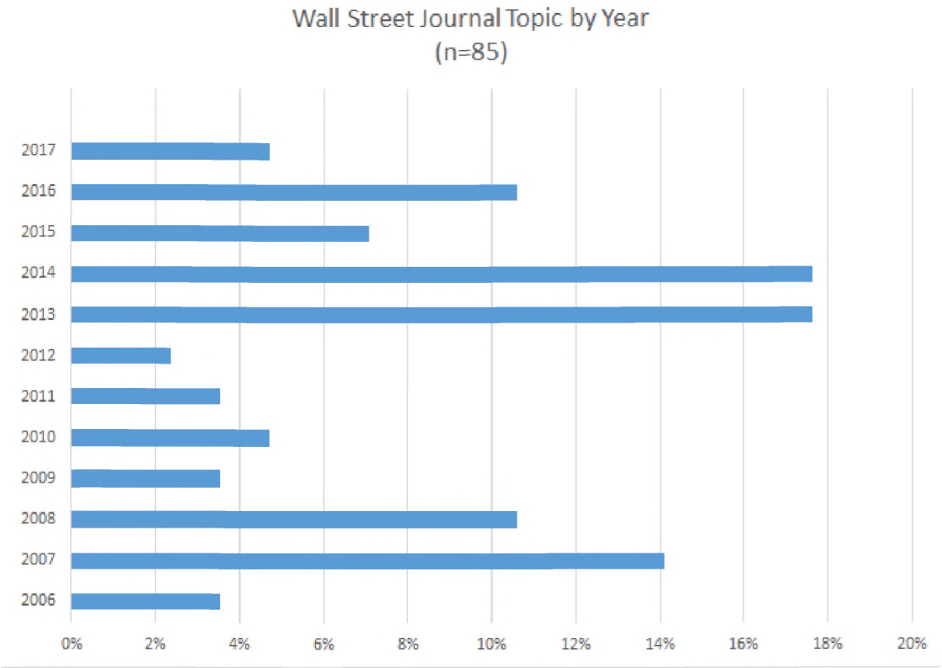
The Wall Street Journal has a total of 85 articles, with energy and resources being a predominant theme (Graph 4). Given that the paper is well read in business circles, it is not surprising that the topic of the Arctic resources is covered the most. While the New York Times mainly covered energy and sovereignty, Wall Street Journal focused on energy and touched upon military issues. Climate change, environment, and Arctic Council are barely addressed.

Graph 4.



Graph 5 shows that in 2013 and 2014 there was an increase in coverage of the Arctic similar to the New York Times; more than half of the Wall Street Journal articles were written in the past few years. Although it dropped in 2015, coverage picked up again in 2016 and considering that 2017 only covers half of the year, it is safe to assume the coverage might keep going upwards. Interestingly enough, the Wall Street Journal had a higher number of articles in 2007 compare to the New York Times, about twice as much. Most of them were on energy, and not sovereignty as might be expected considering the Russian expedition to the North Pole. Overall, there is a clear trend that the Arctic is gaining attention among the press.

Graph 5.

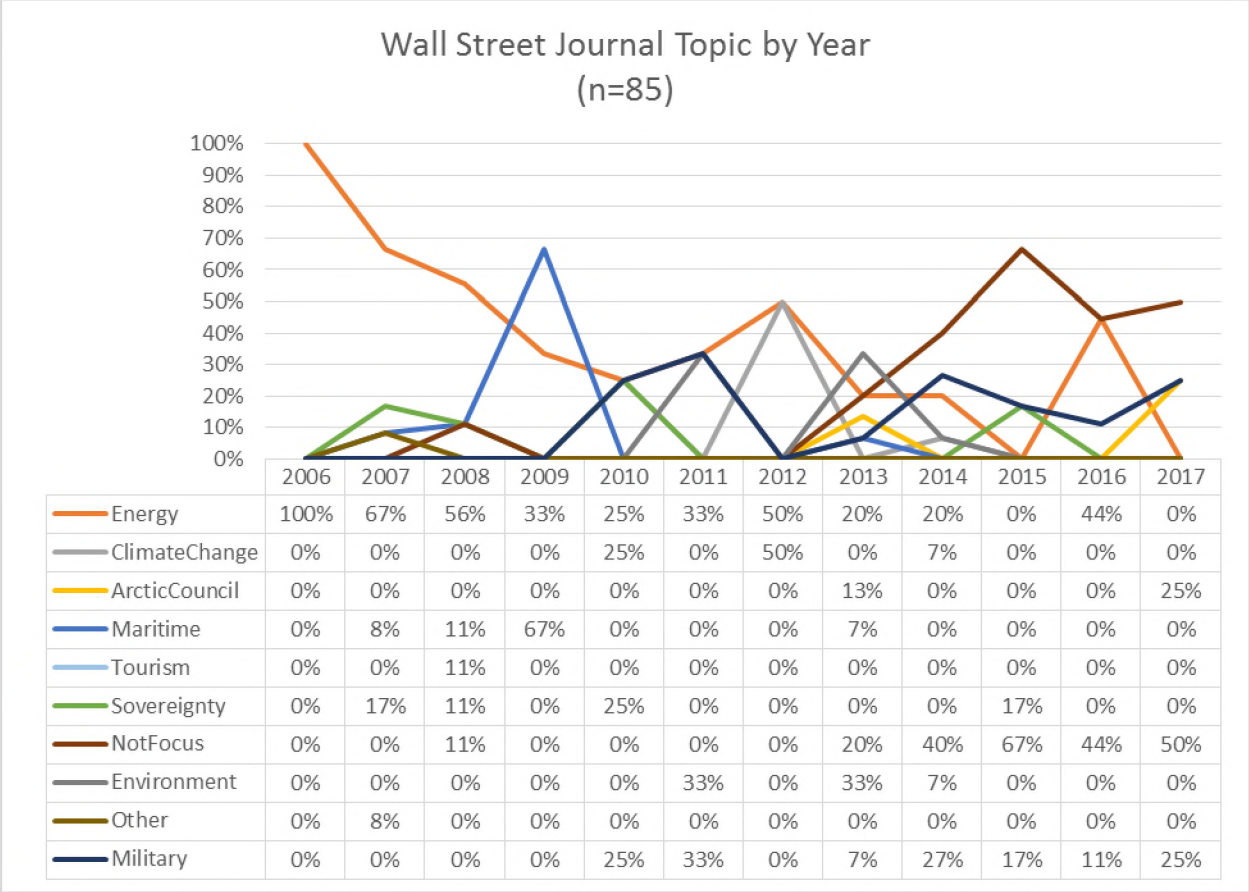


Graph 6 shows a breakdown of each year by a subject covered. Although energy and resources is a predominant theme, it has been decreasing in relation to the overall coverage in a year. This might be explained by a growing interest in renewable energy sources and low oil prices, which make oil and gas extraction in the Arctic less profitable. The articles that are not focused on the Arctic represent a high proportion, almost half in the last two years. This can be explained by coverage of Rex Tillerson becoming the United States Secretary of State. In these articles, Arctic is mentioned due to Mr.Tillerson's work in the oil industry and a long-time connection with extraction of resources in the Russian Arctic. Although tourism only was covered in 2008, it is important to note that it was covered at all, unlike in the New York Times.

The only years when Arctic Council is mentioned were in 2013, when China gained an oberver status in the forum, and in 2017, covering the Arctic Council meeting in Alaska for the new chairmanship. Climate change and environment were not covered at all untill 2010, with

climate change being covered in 2010 (25% of all articles on the Arctic that year), 2012 (50%), and 2014 (7%) and environment in 2011 (33%), 2013 (33%), and 2014 (7%).

Graph 6.



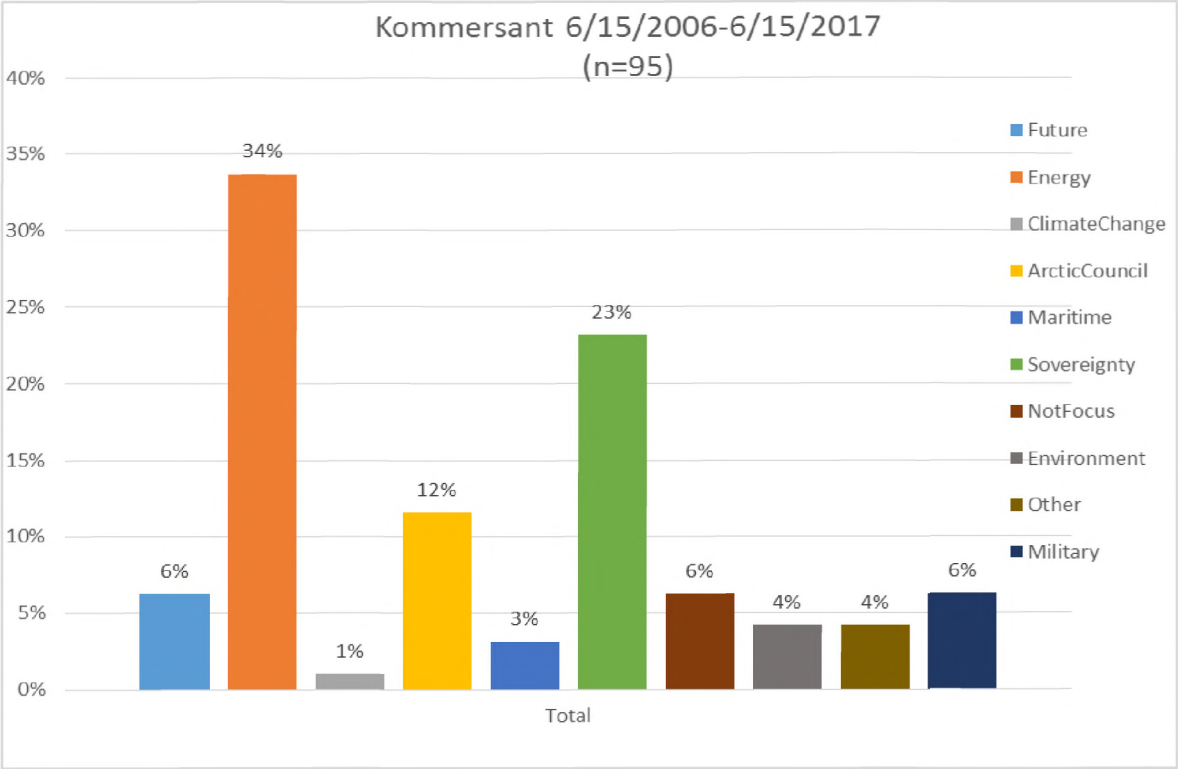
	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Energy	100%	67%	56%	33%	25%	33%	50%	20%	20%	0%	44%	0%
ClimateChange	0%	0%	0%	0%	25%	0%	50%	0%	7%	0%	0%	0%
ArcticCouncil	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	13%	0%	0%	0%	25%
Maritime	0%	8%	11%	67%	0%	0%	0%	7%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Tourism	0%	0%	11%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Sovereignty	0%	17%	11%	0%	25%	0%	0%	0%	0%	17%	0%	0%
NotFocus	0%	0%	11%	0%	0%	0%	0%	20%	40%	67%	44%	50%
Environment	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	33%	0%	33%	7%	0%	0%	0%
Other	0%	8%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Military	0%	0%	0%	0%	25%	33%	0%	7%	27%	17%	11%	25%

Overall, the press in the U.S. focuses on energy and resources, and sovereignty. The coverage of the region overall has increased in the past few years, which is a good indicator for possible future attention to the North from the press. However, the topics of environment and climate change do not represent a high number of articles. Arctic Council only gets 3-4% of coverage, indicating that the press does not pay the level of attention that the forum deserves.

Press in Russia

Kommersant has a total of 95 articles, with a third of articles focusing on energy and resources, and almost a quarter on sovereignty (Graph 7). Climate change and environment only represent 1% and 4% respectively, which is even lower than in the American press. Arctic Council gets better coverage compare to the U.S., 12%.

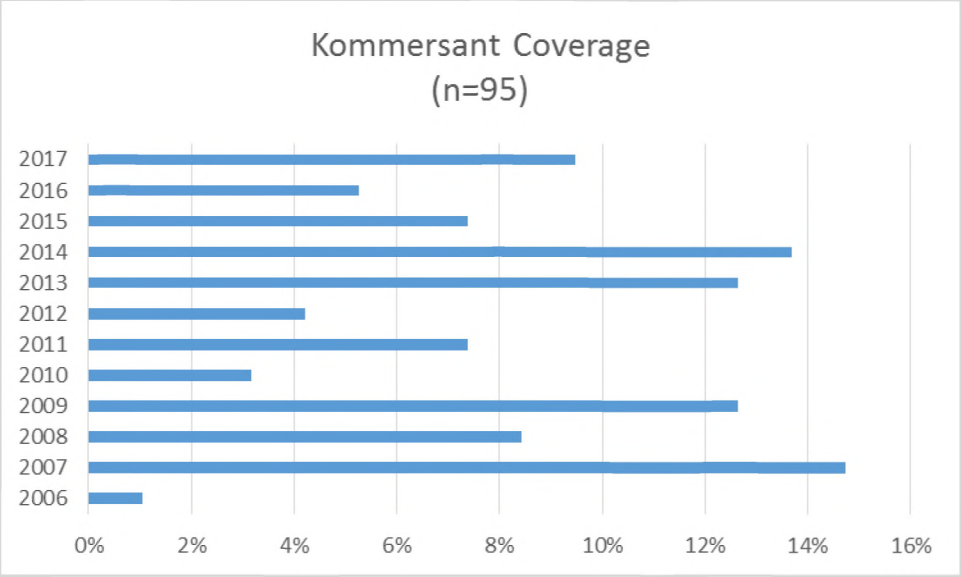
Graph 7.



Graph 8 illustrates overall coverage of the Arctic throughout the past decade. Similar to the American press, there was a decrease in coverage for a few years starting 2010. 2007 coverage is explained by the Arktika expedition, and 2009 increase is due to new Russian foreign policy strategy 2020, which identified the Arctic as a potential place of a conlfict. The 2014 increase in coverage is mainly due to sanctions imposed on Russia as a result of the

conflict in Ukraine. Sanctions' negative impact on resources extraction and infrastructure development in the Russian Arctic are the focus of 2014 coverage.

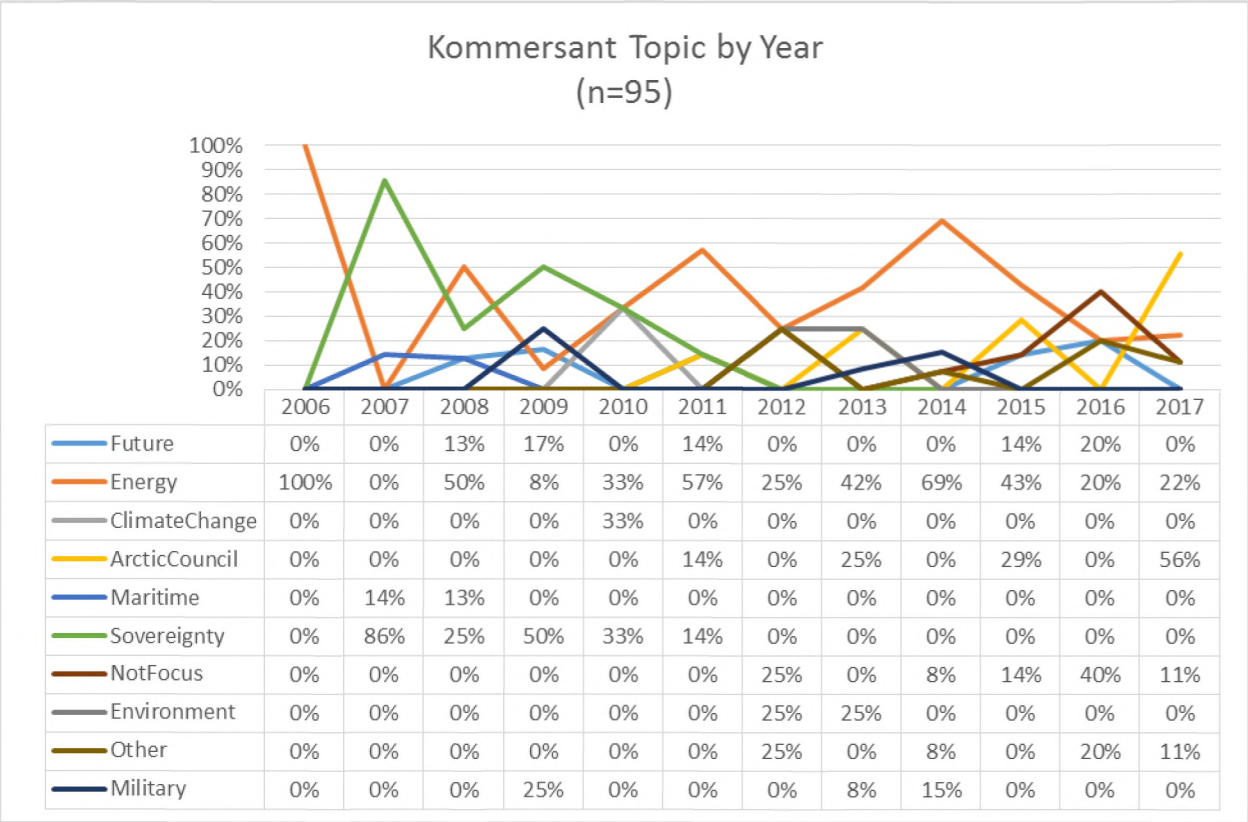
Graph 8.



Graph 9 shows distribution of topics in each year. The issue of sovereignty has became less prevelant since 2011. Energy and resources are given consistent attention from the press. Climate change was only covered in 2010 (33% of total articles in 2010) and environment was covered in 2012 (25%) and 2013 (25%). Arctic Council was covered in 2011, 2013, 2015 and 2017. 2013 coverage was about the European Union involvement in the forum and NATO development in proximity to Russian borders. 2013, similar to the American press, covered new observers in the forum. The article from May 16, 2013, specifically covered an agreement on oil spill recovery discussed during the Arctic Council meeting. 2015 coverage of the Arctic Council was in relation to a 'spill-over' effect from the war in Ukraine. The article argued that the events in other parts of the world should not affect cooperation in the region. Once again, the Arctic

Council is seen as a platform for cooperation in the region despite tensions between Russia and the West. More than half of the articles in 2017 have been about the Arctic Council in relation to Finland's new chairmanship and ongoing scientififc cooperation.

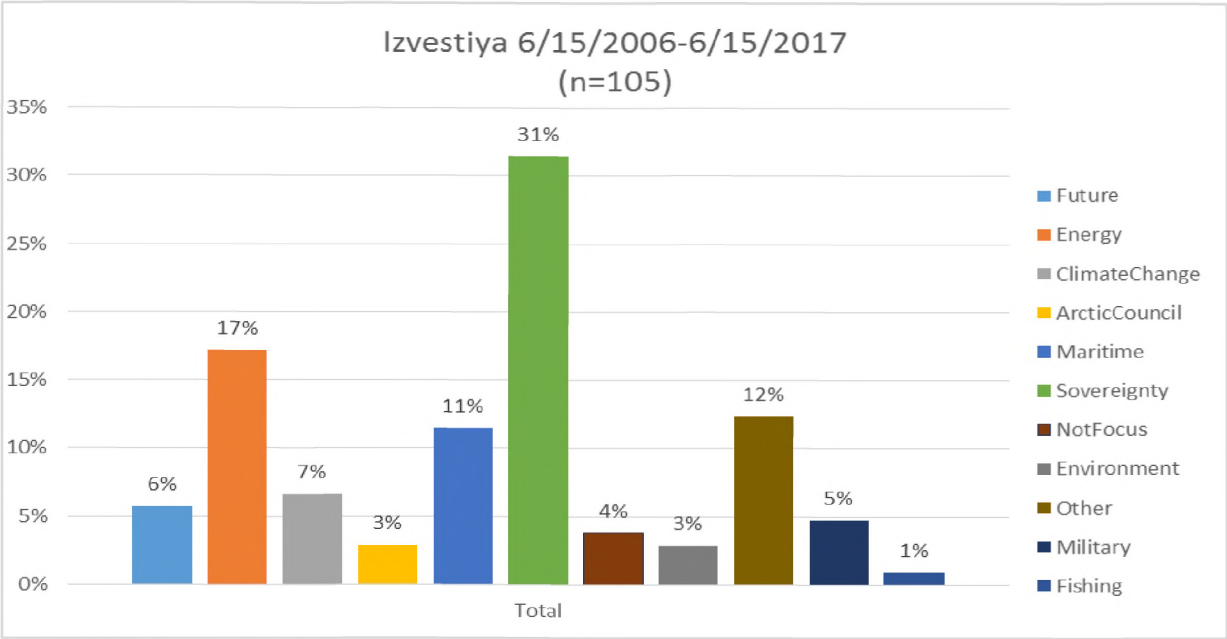
Graph 9.



	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Future	0%	0%	13%	17%	0%	14%	0%	0%	0%	14%	20%	0%
Energy	100%	0%	50%	8%	33%	57%	25%	42%	69%	43%	20%	22%
ClimateChange	0%	0%	0%	0%	33%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
ArcticCouncil	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	14%	0%	25%	0%	29%	0%	56%
Maritime	0%	14%	13%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Sovereignty	0%	86%	25%	50%	33%	14%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
NotFocus	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	25%	0%	8%	14%	40%	11%
Environment	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	25%	25%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Other	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	25%	0%	8%	0%	20%	11%
Military	0%	0%	0%	25%	0%	0%	0%	8%	15%	0%	0%	0%

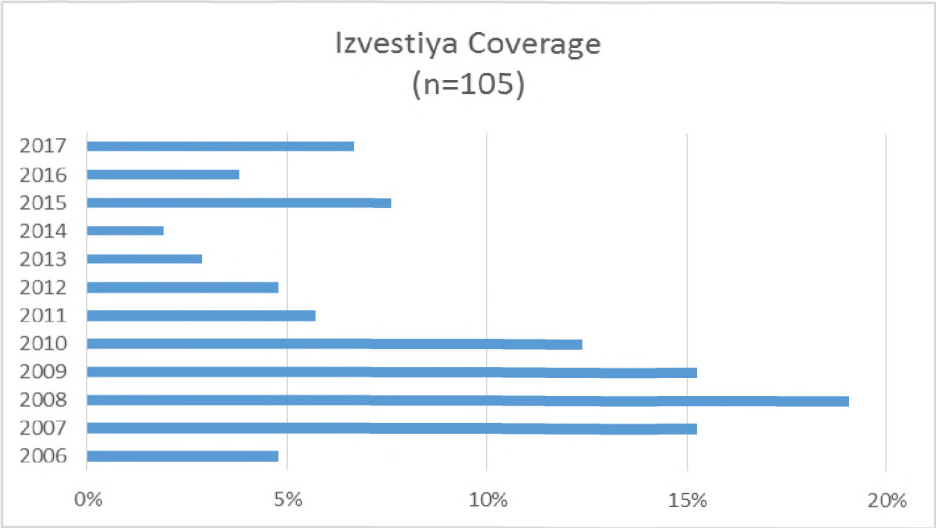
Izvestiya has a total of 105 articles, Graph 10. One third of the articles are on sovereignty issues, while energy and resources constitute to 17% of total coverage over the past decade. Although environment still does not get a high coverage, climate change is 7% of all topics, which is the highest among all papers. Unlike Kommersant, Izvestiya does not focus on the Arctic Council; the forum is only covered in 3% of all articles.

Graph 10.



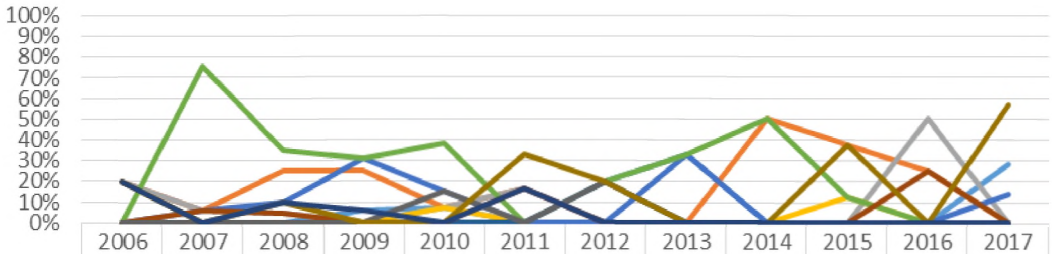
Similar to the three other papers, Izvestiya covered the region the most in 2007-2008, following the planting of the Russian flag on the North Pole. Unlike the other papers, Izvestiya does not have a significant increase in coverage of the region in the last few years, (Graph 11).

Graph 11.



Graph 12 breaks down each year by topics. The issue of sovereignty spiked in 2007 and then again increased in 2014. In 2014, Russia resubmitted its claim to the UNCLOS for an extension of the maritime boundary, hence the increase in coverage. Energy and resources, although a lower percentage, follow the same pattern, with coverage increasing in 2008 and 2014. The Arctic Council was covered in 2006 due to the 10-year anniversary of the forum, and then in 2010 in relation to China's involvement in the Council. Similar to Kommersant, in 2015 the coverage was about a 'spill-over' effect and needed cooperation in the Arctic.

Graph 12.



	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Future	0%	0%	0%	6%	8%	0%	20%	33%	0%	0%	0%	29%
Energy	20%	6%	25%	25%	8%	17%	0%	0%	50%	38%	25%	0%
ClimateChange	20%	6%	5%	0%	8%	17%	0%	0%	0%	0%	50%	0%
ArcticCouncil	20%	0%	0%	0%	8%	0%	0%	0%	0%	13%	0%	0%
Maritime	0%	6%	10%	31%	15%	0%	0%	33%	0%	0%	0%	14%
Sovereignty	0%	75%	35%	31%	38%	0%	20%	33%	50%	13%	0%	0%
Fishing	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	20%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
NotFocus	0%	6%	5%	0%	0%	17%	0%	0%	0%	0%	25%	0%
Environment	0%	0%	0%	0%	15%	0%	20%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Other	20%	0%	10%	0%	0%	33%	20%	0%	0%	38%	0%	57%
Military	20%	0%	10%	6%	0%	17%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

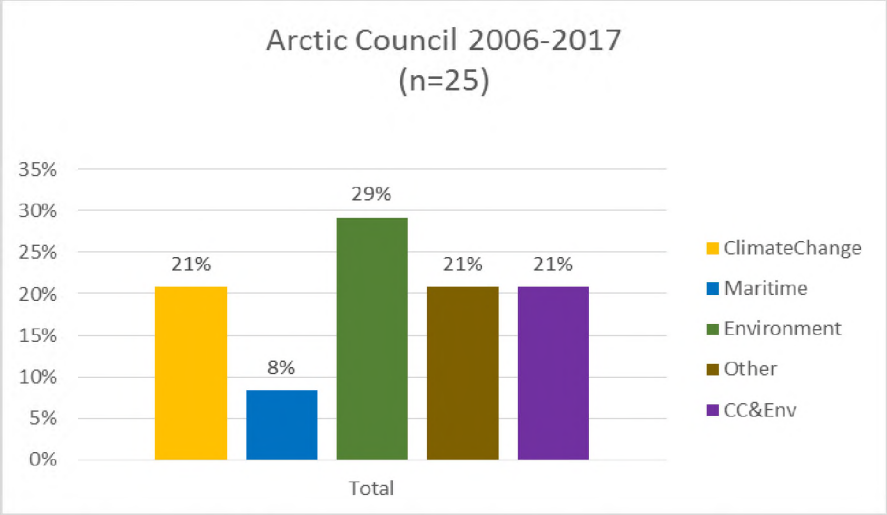
Overall, Russian press is concerned more about sovereignty, energy and resources compared to American coverage. This can be explained by Russia's commitment to gain more territory in the North based on the Law of the Sea. The U.S. has not ratified the convention, so a lower coverage of sovereignty is to be expected. Only after ratification, a littoral state can submit a claim to extend the maritime border. In addition, the North is economically much more significant to Russia than in the U.S., in that Russian Arctic provides one fifth of Russian GDP (Soroka 2016).

Environment is more covered in the American press, while more attention is given to climate change in Russian coverage. Despite a comparatively higher coverage, it still represents a very small propotion of all of the articles. Furthermore, climate change coverage in Russian press is associated with future economic development due to easier access to resources. In terms of the Arctic Council, it is barely covered in the American press consituting only 3-4% of the total articles about the Arctic. Russian media, Kommersant specifically, seems to pay more attention to the forum, with a clear increase in coverage every two years when the forum rotates the chairmanship, e.g. in 2013, 2015, and in 2017.

Arctic Council

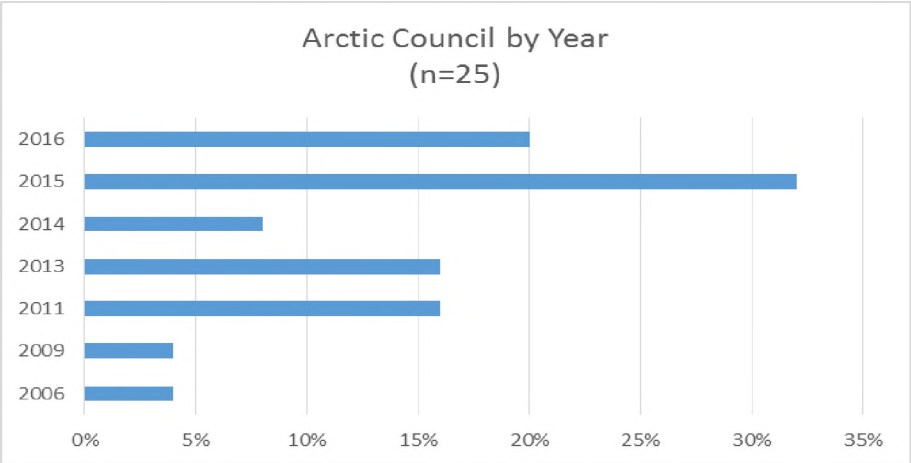
Graph 13 illustrates that the Arctic Council's reports and meetings main focus is climate change, environment or both. Another topic, coded as 'Other' is primarily about infrastructure, which is not addressed much in the press. Maritime articles are mainly about search and rescue capabilities, which is not covered in the media either.

Graph 13.



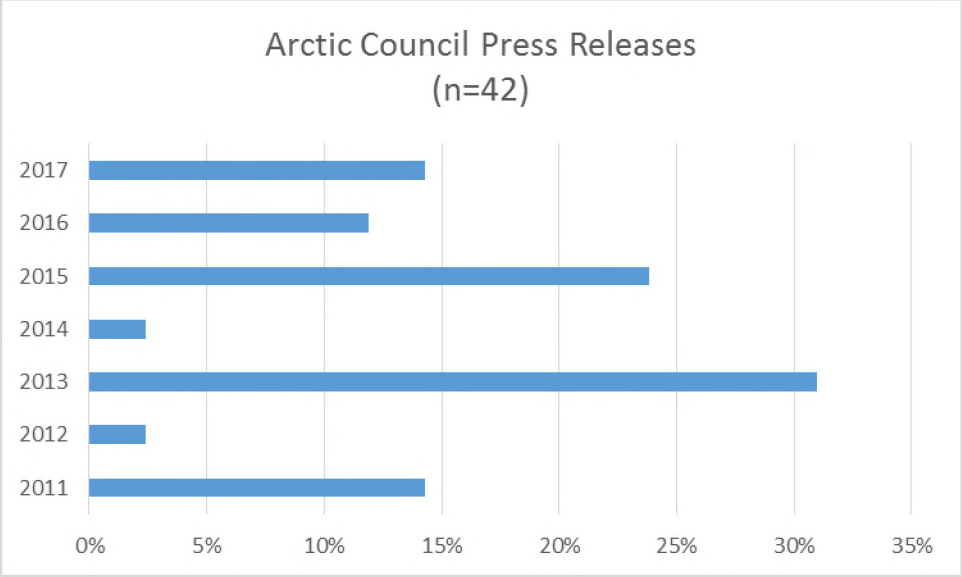
Graph 14 shows Arctic Council published documents such as expert group and task forces reports. There is a clear increase of reports since 2011, with a substantial increase in 2015. In 2015, the reports on black carbon and methane, as well as infrastructure in the North, dominated. Overall, the Arctic Council is concerned with climate change and environmental issues. Since the forum never meant to address militarization of the region, there is zero coverage of that.

Graph 14.



Graph 15 shows the forum's press releases history. The total is 42 press releases and the distribution has increases every two years during the chairmanship rotation. They mainly address upcoming meetings and videos and photos from the meetings that have happened.

Graph 15.

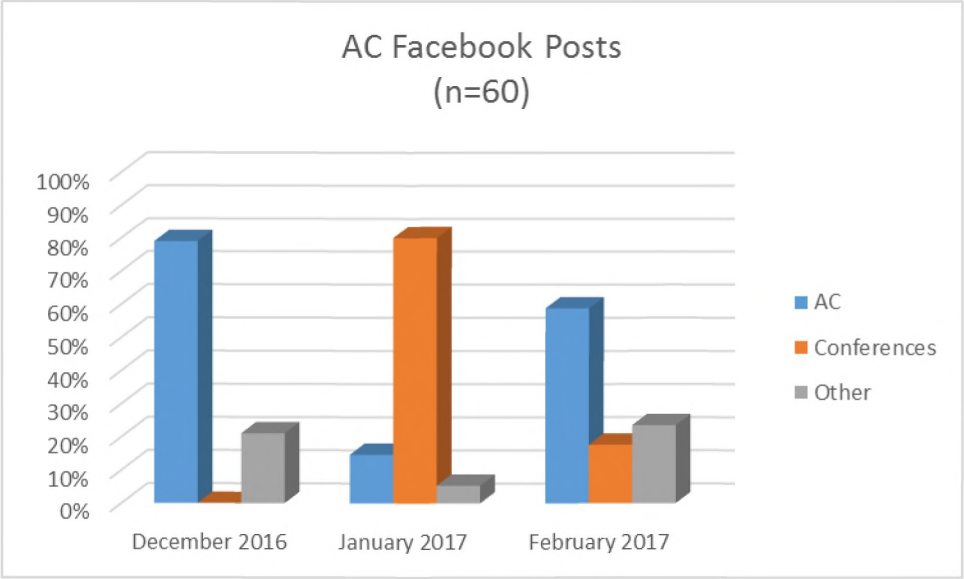


Overall, the Arctic Council press releases increases are ony reflected in the coverage of the Kommesrsant. As discusssed above, the paper has covered the chairmanship's biannual rotation and ministerial meetings. Although the forum is not covered as much as the topics of sovereignty and energy, it is important to note that all papers have had an increase of articles about the Arctic Council in the last few years. It does not appear that the increase is connected to the forum's press releases, and perhaps can be attributed to a growing interest in the region in general.

Lastly, the Arctic Council social media was evaluated. Specifically, the project looked at the Facebook posts of the forum over the period of few months from December 2016 through

February 2017. The forum has almost daily activity with posts covering the organization itself as well as conferences related to the Arctic. For instance, Graph 16 shows posts solely about conferences in January 2017. These posts were about an upcoming conference in Norway called Arctic Frontiers. The months of December and February have posts that mainly are educational about the Arctic Council and its activities. Although the posts on Facebook are frequent, the outreach impact is questionble. There are around 5,600 users who follow the Arctic Council page, and the most amount of 'likes', which was 48 and represents less than 1%, was for a job posting. On average, the number of 'likes' is half of that.

Graph 16.



The media might not be paying enough attention to the Arctic Council, but the forum itself is not being the most effective in press and public outreach. It is yet to be seen whether the organization will change its strategy to attract more attention or the press will start writing more about the forum in light of increasing interest in the region.

Conclusions

Overall, there is a clear disconnect between the media coverage in both Russia and the U.S., and the Arctic Council. While the media in both countries predominantly covers issues of energy and sovereignty, and with a lesser extent military, the Arctic Council publishes reports on its own activities, climate change and the environment. This should not come as a surprise, as the organization was established to address these issues. However, the fact that the media barely writes about the only organization that brings Arctic states together to cooperate and to address issues in the North is unfortunate. The press in Russia and the U.S. can and should do more to educate the public about the role of the Arctic Council. Additionally, the media can highlight important issues that the forum brings into its agenda.

It is important to note that the recent trend of increasing coverage is a hopeful sign that the press will start paying more attention to the Arctic Council. The Russian paper, Kommersant, is a leading example, but as discussed above the Arctic represents to Russia a lot more culturally and economically than it does to the U.S. Nonetheless, due to the global warming, it is possible that the North will also be attracting more attention and getting more coverage in the American press. Lastly, more research should be done evaluating the effectiveness of the Arctic Council's social media presence. The data presented in this paper is limited, and it is important to study the ways that the organization can be more effective in its outreach.

The Arctic Council is the only and a very prominent platform for creating dialogue in the North, and it is essential that the press pays more attention to the organization. Increasing the number of articles about the environment and climate change and shifting focus away from sovereignty issues and energy potential can help to shape policies about the fragile Arctic

environment. Highlighting the Arctic Council's activities is a necessary step towards more effective publicity that the organization deserves. Mainstream media coverage of the organization will reinforce an ongoing cooperation in the Arctic.

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