

Republic, the latter approaches the same issue in Norway's Finnmark. The reader is therefore able to gain insight into two Arctic regions which face the interest of oil companies, but with significantly different outcomes. In Komi Republic, there appears to be distrust between the local population and the regional branch of *Lukoil*, especially since the 1994 oil spill, despite the company's official policy of consultation of the local population. In Finnmark, on the contrary, the Italian *Eni Norway* and four municipalities affected by the development of the Goliat oilfield have established a climate of trust between one another—however, also out of strategic motivations.

But not only empirical elements are tackled under the umbrella of 'sustainability', also theoretical ones. Particularly noteworthy in this respect are Rasmus and Ulturgasheva's chapter on peer observation of research, meaning collaborative anthropological research, as well as Gordon's chapter on community-based participatory research. Both chapters aim to counter the 'traditional' fly-in, fly-out type of research and emphasise the need for community inclusion. Indeed, I had up to this point not come across the concept of peer observation of research, which essentially frames the linking of observations and experiences of two or more researchers of the same social

situation. The concept appears to be a necessary approach to 'diversify' and thus legitimise anthropological observations and findings.

The present volume is an impressive one. Particularly since the chapters make the reader fully understand that there is simply not one type of sustainability in the Arctic, but that there are many. Hence the title of the book is very well chosen. One might criticise the short scope of the chapters which in some provides merely a snapshot of the topic addressed. Nevertheless, if the chapters were longer, neither the geographical nor topical scope would have been covered. In this sense the book is an extremely rich source of inspiration for further research and for further reading. I am fully convinced that particularly for social scientists dealing with Arctic issues *Northern sustainabilities* is recommendable, but also for policy-makers and natural scientists the complexity of northern societies within modern market economies and within current and developing Arctic discourse becomes apparent upon study of this book. (Nikolas Sellheim, Polar Cooperation Research Centre, Graduate School of International Cooperation Studies, Kobe University, Rokkodai-cho 2-1, Nada-ku, Kobe 657-8501, Japan (nikolas.sellheim@people.kobe-u.co.jp)).

International politics in the Arctic. Contested borders, natural resources and Russian foreign policy. Geir Hønneland. 2017. London: I.B. Tauris. 401 p, illustrated, hardcover. ISBN 978-1784538989. £75.00.

doi:[10.1017/S0032247418000049](https://doi.org/10.1017/S0032247418000049)

Currently, the geographical space of the Arctic is one of the potential geopolitical grounds on which major world powers have focused their attention and developed national strategies for the region. One of the main reasons underlying a particular Arctic interest of the leading countries is the vast hydrocarbon energy reserves which are concentrated beneath the Arctic sea ice.

Under the influence of globalisation in the Arctic space, there is an intensification of international cooperation in the oil-extracting sector of the economy and commodity exchange between the Arctic countries is strengthening. In the course of my own experience as a political scientist, it is usually revealed that Russian Arctic policy seems controversial and mysterious for many Western countries. The work of Geir Hønneland illustrates the content of Russian Arctic policy and shows the socio-cultural characteristics of life in the Russian north.

The book consists of seven major parts and 13 chapters. The work is a collection of scientific observations of the author, published at different times: from 'early tentative reflections on potential cultural conflicts' in Chapter 1 (originally published in 1998) to increasingly well-documented observations of the same concerns in Chapters 2–3 (published in 2003 and 2004), Chapters 6–7 (published in 2004 and 2005), Chapters 8–9 (published in 2010) and Chapters 12–13 (published in 2016) (p. 5). The book represents a collection of short stories, which can be read separately and in any order for the convenience of readership with different backgrounds.

We can already get from the book's title that the author devoted his research to Russian international policy in the Arctic. However, in the first part of the book the object of the study is

not the entire Arctic region of Russia, but only the northeast of the country. For the Western reader the interviews with residents of the Russian north might be of special interest because respondents answer questions such as 'how to be a Northerner' and 'how to be a Russian'. These interviews illustrate the stereotypes in use by and of Russian northerners: well educated, hardworking, calm, considerate and friendly. According to the author the level of education, the high living standards and the harsh northern climate are represented by the four Cs of Russian northernness: competent, cultured, calm and considerate (p. 182).

Throughout the entire book, we can observe the author's attempts to understand and explain the peculiarities of the Russian approach to the Arctic, caused by a special Russian mentality and Russia's eternal fate. The author assumes that the Arctic for Russia is more than just a region. The Arctic is the shrine of Russia's national idea, a new political and spiritual continent, a promised land, Russian destiny. At the same time, the declared goal of publishing this work corresponds with the trend of modern anti-Russian rhetoric in the West: 'Above all, the book aims to show the Janus face of Russian foreign policy, in relation to the Arctic as elsewhere' (p. 5).

Direct analysis of the history of Russia's contemporary Arctic policy is presented by the author in the final seventh part 'Arctic talk, Russian politics'. Russia was the first Arctic state to file a claim with the Continental Shelf Commission, as early as 2000. According to the author, planting a metal Russian flag into the sea bed at the North Pole proved the starting shot for the 'race for the Arctic'.

Analysing the large number of Russian articles, the author comes to the conclusion that Russia is preparing for a global battle in the Arctic (p. 267). The author mentions that the common theme in foreign-policy oriented media articles is the perception that the other Arctic states are 'actively flexing their muscles' and that Russia must necessarily respond. The other Arctic states are not only fighting to defend their own rights in the Arctic, they are actively mobilising to wipe Russia off the

board. Interspersed with these accounts of Western aggression, the author found many stories in the Russian media depicting Russia as a peace-loving nation: 'The past of Russian north is proud and it's future bright' (p. 290).

Interesting, but not entirely justified, is the author's hypothesis that in modern conditions Russia sees Canada as the main geopolitical enemy in the Arctic and is preparing for an active confrontation with this state (p. 274). The author assumes that Arctic debate in Russian media outlets mainly focuses on Canadian intentions in the Arctic and that Canada is largely depicted as the aggressor in the region. Overall, the author asserts that the Russian media portray a model of the world where NATO is surreptitiously preparing for the rush for the Arctic, while Russia insists on international cooperation and open dialogue. Canada is the main villain, with its harsh rhetoric and unilateralism (p. 321).

There are minor inaccuracies in the work. For example, at the beginning of the book the author mentions the Russian scientific expedition to the North Pole of 2007 (instead of 2009), during which, for the first time in history, people reached the sea floor at the geographical North Pole point (p. 3).

Overall, this book is of special importance to the representatives of the social sciences, politicians, anthropologists, polar historians, indigenous researchers, educators, the public and government officials. However, we should remember that this work is somewhat biased and generally reflects the author's perceptions. This book can serve as a good resource to understand the specificity of the Russian northwest and provides supplementary references to any Arctic science course at a college and university level. (Gutenev Maxim, Sociology and Political Science department, South Ural State University, Lenina ave. 76, Chelyabinsk 454080, Russia (gutenevmi@susu.ru)).

Greenland and the international politics of a changing Arctic: postcolonial paradiplomacy between high and low politics. Kristian Søby Kristensen and Jon Rahbek-Clemmensen (editors). 2018. London and New York, NY: Routledge. xi + 164 p, illustrated, hardcover. ISBN 978-1-138-06109-5. £105.00.

doi:[10.1017/S0032247418000116](https://doi.org/10.1017/S0032247418000116)

This book is a comprehensive and interdisciplinary volume about Greenland's international relations seen through the external and internal relationships Greenland has with Denmark and foreign powers. Following an introduction where the editors set the stage, the book is divided into ten varied chapters including different perspectives concerning Greenland and its international relations. The volume ends with a concluding chapter where the editors tie up the loose ends and provide the reader with the main thread of the analyses discussed in the book.

The first chapter, written by Marc Jacobsen and Ulrik Pram Gad, looks at interrelations between Greenland, the Inuit world, Nordic connections, the UN, the USA and the EU through the lens of the narrative of Greenland using its national self-image in combination with symbolic elements of indigenous cultural traditions in order to envision future independence (p. 11). The focus is on Greenlandic identity narratives and how these are used within the scope of international relations. The authors conclude that Greenland has become a player in international relations and that the island is fully aware of how to play its cards with other stakeholders in the Arctic. Sometimes this might have positive and at times more negative consequences. It all comes down to the context and the matter at hand.

In his contribution, Jens Heinrich gives us a historical tour of Greenlandic international politics from 1900 to the advent of Home Rule back in 1979. In the beginning, Denmark had the ultimate power in relation to foreign affairs (which, although still the case, is now more moderate as a consequence of increased self-government since 2009). During World War II, the German occupation of Denmark handed Greenland *de facto* and *de jure* its own power over foreign relations. However, the Danish consul, Henrik Kauffmann, became a key player since the Greenlandic politicians were inexperienced in handling international relations. This led to the 1941 defence agreement with the USA. After the war Greenland became integrated as a

country within the Danish realm. In the 1960s and 1970s a more nationalistic awakening period started in Greenland as a result of decolonisation, which led to the introduction of Home Rule in 1979. The chapter reflects these historic pathways accurately and some further details are outlined.

In the third chapter, the editors focus on the Greenlandic discourse within the political, economic and the environmental sector through the lens of the so-called Copenhagen School within international relations. The uranium controversy is used as an example; this has been a heated debate since 2013–2014 between Denmark and Greenland, as well as internally in Greenland and in relations with other external actors. In the subsequent chapter, Jon Rahbek-Clemmensen takes on Danish foreign policy with a focus on the Arctic area. He calls this the *Arctic turn* (p. 54) with reference to the changes in Danish foreign policy between 2006 and 2014. Increased attention towards Greenland and the High North has forced Denmark to become more active in Arctic affairs.

Chapter five, written by Mikkel Runge Olesen, elucidates the triangular relationship between Greenland, Denmark and the USA from a reputation perspective. Olesen uses the countries' reputations as a point of departure for how these three actors affect each other in order to pursue their own national interests in this specific relationship.

In chapters six and seven the focus is on China as a rising power. There has been a lot of media attention regarding Chinese investments in Greenland and elsewhere in the Arctic; however, there has been a lot of hype with no relation to reality. China has not invested as much as has been speculated, merely attaining its relationships on a bilateral level between various Arctic states.

Chapters eight and nine elucidate Greenland's relationships with international organisations with a focus on the Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC) and the Arctic Council. Greenland is very active in the ICC because of its majority of Inuit peoples. There are various visions and strategies between the Government of Greenland and the ICC, but sometimes there are disagreements as well. Fundamentally different views surround the issue of sovereignty, where the Government of Greenland is aiming for a Western state approach and the ICC wants to address sovereignty as a non-state affair. Greenland and Denmark have had some disputes within the Arctic Council regarding representation and the 'missing chair' policy. The Arctic Council has moved in the direction of becoming a more