

to it, this paper deals with ‘traditional’ security, military and sovereignty, exclusively and should be read in conjunction with other papers on the matter (such as most recently for example Corgan 2014 or Rothwell 2015). Also here the question arises as to the original contribution of the paper. The student of current legal and political developments will find much information in this paper which has been produced elsewhere.

The last five papers comprise the part *Community: human rights, indigenous politics and collective learning*. Rebecca Bratspies opens up the part with her contribution on human rights as a tool to improve Arctic governance. Her highlighting of the Arctic Council as a forerunner to employ human rights through participatory rights for ‘indigenous groups and other affected local communities’ (page 177) has been a recurring theme in the literature on Arctic governance (for instance Heinämäki 2009 or Byers 2013). Especially the EU trade ban on seal products stands exemplary for the participatory rights (or the neglect thereof) of Arctic communities (Cambou 2013; Sellheim 2013). Once again, this reviewer finds many issues that have been covered in the wider literature. Contrarily, Castro and others provide a deeply insightful empirical case study on community cooperation from the Labrador Innu community Sheshatshiu, feeding into the discourse on resilience, sharing and community development in high latitudes. To this reviewer, the inclusion of ethnography-based studies in a volume like the present is highly beneficial as it puts theoretical and academic discussions in a narrower context, showing how concepts find practical applications in real-world environments. Similarly, the comparative study on Russian and North American experiences in energy and infrastructure projects by Yakovleva and Grover enables the better understanding of the Arctic as a diverse region, yet facing challenges of similar character in different sub-regions. However, an issue hardly covered in Arctic governance and cooperative discourses is that of bureaucracy and locals’ responses thereto. Drawing from experiences from the North Slope in Alaska, Sheehan and Jensen show how locals often feel overwhelmed by the level of bureaucracy and the overall western style of cooperation and capacity building. The authors indeed open new ground especially in the fields of legal and political anthropology which, when linked with other disciplines like in this volume, make the nature and success/failure stories in the Arctic crucially better comprehensible. As the last paper in the book, Osgood and Young provide a brief overview of the development of Arctic area studies in the form of the University of the Arctic ([www.uarctic.org](http://www.uarctic.org)) or the Centre for Circumpolar Studies ([www.circumpolarstudies.org](http://www.circumpolarstudies.org)). While not covering their relevance, also the benefits and challenges in their establishment and maintenance are discussed.

Rebecca Pincus briefly summarises the book in the short *Epilogue*. The most pressing questions she sees to be: ‘How should we manage the final frontiers? Will we repeat history, and to lasting damage to the fragile ecosystems and traditional

ways of life? Or can we create new, durable governance structures [...] and usher in a new era of cooperation at the ends of the earth?’ (page 238). *Diplomacy on ice* certainly provides high level chapters on these questions, making some of the contributions valuable for answering them. The linkage of different disciplines and enable theoretical and empirical reflections on the cooperative structures in the Arctic. It goes without saying that for this reviewer it is especially the inter- and multidisciplinary approaches to Arctic governance which are noteworthy and beneficial in this volume. At the same time, especially Part 2 shows some shortcomings as regards the new information provided in them. While themselves very good articles, frequent consultation of Arctic scholarly literature makes overlaps and repetition visible, robbing the articles of their originality while maybe at the same time exposing weaknesses in the Arctic research field itself...? Although this may be certainly be said with a question mark.

To conclude, while there is some overlap with other publications, in general *Diplomacy on ice* is a volume of high academic value, of challenging finesse in the choice of topics and a multidisciplinary contribution to (Ant)Arctic cooperative discourse. (Nikolas Sellheim, ([nikolas.sellheim@ulapland.fi](mailto:nikolas.sellheim@ulapland.fi))).

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**The geopolitics of deep oceans.** John Hannigan. 2015. Cambridge: Polity. 200 p, illustrated, softcover. ISBN 978-0-7456-8019-4. £14.99.  
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*The geopolitics of deep oceans* written by John Hannigan is a social scientific analysis of the ways in which we understand

and construct the oceans of the world. With a background in environmental sociology and international politics as well as a life-long fascination with the deep oceans, the author draws together and comments on scientific research, media materials, the legacies of adventurers and explorers as well as popular culture – whose fictional representations ‘often swim in the currents of contemporary geopolitics’ (page 78) – in order to trace the historical development and real-world implications

of the discourses of the deep. The outcome is an intriguing contribution to the contemporary discussion on the state and fate of the planet's deep oceans which is highly relevant also in the context of the Arctic, where the decrease in sea ice cover is opening if not the ocean at least the collective imagination to new kind of human activity and intervention.

In the book Hannigan identifies four competing (and overlapping) discourses – ‘interrelated set of storylines which interpret the world around us’ (page 5) – of the deep, each of them with their own historical contexts and basic assumptions regarding the roles, responsibilities and relationships of different actors and entities. While the discourses differ in the ways in which they perceive the ‘oceanic commons’ (page 12), they all ‘share a conception of the ocean as a previously empty or ‘smooth’ space that needed to be organized, divided, classified and inscribed’ (page 17). What is interesting is that the author does not identify an economic discourse as an independent narrative in its own right: instead, the idea and potential of economic utilisation of the deep oceans is entangled with all the different discursive constellations within and through which we make sense of the sea.

The chapter *Oceanic frontiers: Harvesting the commons* portrays a discourse that ‘frames the deep as a ‘cornucopia’, a land of plenty whose fabulous mineral and biological wealth is just waiting to be harvested’ and whose commercial potential is ‘soon to be realized’ (page 20). However, this discourse is more than a storyline of economic potential and exploitation: its understanding of the ocean is intertwined with the excitement and adventure of scientific exploration and discovery. The following chapter, *Governing the abyss: Sharing the commons* introduces a legal and normative narrative that is most commonly referred to in contemporary policy discourse: the idea of oceans as a space that needs to be governed in order to regulate and redistribute ‘the resources that abound in the untamed frontier of the deep’ (page 75). The chapter traces the development of the United Nations Law of the Sea Convention through two opposing doctrines – *mare clausum*, ‘the right of individuals rulers and/or nations to assert unchallenged dominion over the sea’ (page 54) towards *mare liberum*, ‘the sea common to all’ (page 54).

Meanwhile, the chapter *Sovereignty games: Claiming the oceans* highlights a discourse that perceives the deep oceans not

(only) as an economic Eldorado, but as ‘a territorial frontier that must be secured for political and military purposes’ (page 77). From this perspective, the oceans become primarily a matter of national security, political interests and military strategy that entangle to a zero-sum game of territorial claims and power politics. The last content chapter of the book is *Saving the oceans: Protecting the commons*. It depicts a discourse that understands the deep sea as the largest ecosystem on earth that has now come under threat as a consequence of human activities. Among others, climate change, ocean acidification, (plastic) marine pollution, biodiversity loss as well as seabed mining and other forms of economic exploitations are now threatening the survival of both individual species and whole oceans as habitats. However, the question remains *why* the deep sea needs to be protected and preserved: is it for the intrinsic value of the oceans and the species that inhabit them or is it to safeguard the essential functions that marine ecosystem services have in maintaining human life?

In the final part of the book, Hannigan concludes the argument by drafting an emergent discourse of the oceans as the ‘canary-in-the-mineshaft’ (page 136) of the changing climate; however, the author does not push this line of thought beyond some brief open-ended remarks. The book ends on a rather grim note on the risk of the world ‘being engulfed in a new geopolitics of the deep that revolves around an escalating competition for oceanic territory’ (page 141). To be honest, after such a comprehensive and conclusive analysis, a bit more detailed insights could have been expected from the conclusions of the book.

While the book as a whole is a wonderfully accessible, well-written, engaging and entertaining read for anyone with an interest in the ways in which we think about the world's oceans, why and with what kind of consequences, the title of the book and its cover might turn away some potential readers that would find its contents enjoyable. The word ‘geopolitics’ in the title combined with the US flag in the cover erroneously imply a traditional ‘realist IR’ focus of analysis, while in the context of this book ‘geopolitics’ refers to so much more – the irreducibly political nature of the ways in which we construct the (oceanic) spaces and places around us. (Hanna Lempinen, Arctic Centre, University of Lapland, PO Box 122, 96101 Rovaniemi, Finland ([hanna.lempinen@ulapland.fi](mailto:hanna.lempinen@ulapland.fi))).