

Supplementary Data File

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This file is the documentary corpus and supporting analytical documentation referred to in the manuscript's Data Availability statement. It contains three parts: Appendix A, the complete corpus of documents underlying the study together with each document's role in the analysis, the historical phase it evidences, and a stable access link; Appendix B, the qualitative coding scheme (the analytical criteria and the evidence sought against each); and Appendix C, the protocol used to select and bound the corpus. Together they give the editors and referees direct, self-contained access to the material and procedure behind every claim in the Findings.

Appendix A – Documentary corpus: role in the analysis and historical phase

This table lists every document forming the study's evidentiary corpus, states specifically what each document was used to establish, and identifies the historical phase (construction, reproduction, or erosion) it evidences, so that its use in the Findings can be checked directly against the text.

Document	Role in the analysis	Phase	Access link
Gorbachev, Murmansk speech (1987)	Opens the critical juncture; shows a security-inclusive design was a real, proposed alternative	Construction	marxists.org/.../sovietnews_6395_1087.pdf
AEPS / Rovaniemi Declaration (1991)	Civilian-only harvest of the Murmansk menu; sets the precedent that cooperation would rest on non-military foundations	Construction	library.arcticportal.org/1542/1/artic_environment.pdf
Ottawa Declaration (1996)	The constitutive rule itself; the military-security footnote is the codified exclusion under study	Construction	oaarchive.arctic-council.org/handle/11374/85
Iqaluit Declaration (1998)	Evidence of institutional thickening (AEPS programmes folded in as working groups)	Reproduction	oaarchive.arctic-council.org/handle/11374/86

Barrow Declaration (2000)	Further institutional thickening (new working group)	Reproduction	oaarchive.arctic-council.org/handle/11374/87
Reykjavik Declaration (2004)	Commissions the Arctic Climate Impact Assessment; boundary maintained under a growing mandate	Reproduction	library.arcticportal.org/1266/1/Reykjavik_Declaration.pdf
Ilulissat Declaration (2008)	Boundary-maintenance test: coastal states decline to create a new comprehensive regime after the 2008 shock	Reproduction (2008 test)	arcticportal.org/.../3429-ilulissat-declaration-2008
SAR Agreement (2011)	Cooperation deepens (first binding agreement) despite the 2008 Russo-Georgian war	Reproduction (2008 test)	oaarchive.arctic-council.org/handle/11374/531
Marine Oil Pollution Agreement (2013)	Continued deepening of binding cooperation	Reproduction	oaarchive.arctic-council.org/handle/11374/529
Scientific Cooperation Agreement (2017)	All eight states, including Russia, sign despite the 2014 Crimea annexation — the 2014 stress test	Reproduction (2014 test)	oaarchive.arctic-council.org/handle/11374/1916
Inuit Circumpolar Council Declaration (2009)	Documents an alternative, human-security register and the distributional effects of the state-defined boundary	Reproduction (context)	inuitcircumpolar.com/.../circumpolar-inuit-declaration-on-arctic-sovereignty/
Arctic Council Strategic Plan 2021–2030	Reaffirms the bounded mandate immediately before the rupture	Reproduction (end point)	oaarchive.arctic-council.org/handle/11374/2601
US Secretary of State, Rovaniemi remarks (2019)	A boundary-strain episode: security rhetoric intrudes on the Council's antechamber without breaching the mandate	Reproduction (strain)	2017-2021.state.gov/looking-north-sharpening-americas-arctic-focus/
US Dept of State Joint Statement, 3 March 2022	Primary evidence of legitimacy withdrawal: the seven states pause	Erosion	2021-2025.state.gov/joint-statement-on-arctic-council-cooperation-following-russias-invasion-of-ukraine/

	participation, citing extra-regional conduct		
US Dept of State Joint Statement, 8 June 2022	Evidence of reorganisation around Russia's exclusion while the constitutive text remains unamended	Erosion	2021-2025.state.gov/joint-statement-on-limited-resumption-of-arctic-council-cooperation/
Russian Federation Arctic policy amendments (2023)	Reciprocal Russian withdrawal of the cooperation commitment, read from Russia's own policy text	Erosion	en.kremlin.ru/acts/news/70570
Russia halts Arctic Council payments (2024)	Further reciprocal withdrawal, evidenced independently of the Western-side suspension	Erosion	themoscowtimes.com/2024/02/14/russia-halts-annual-payments-to-arctic-council-a84074
Arctic Council Secretariat press release (2024)	Evidence of drift: technical/virtual activity resumes while ministerial-level engagement does not	Erosion	arctic-council.org/news/arctic-council-advances-resumption-of-project-level-work/
NATO 2022 Strategic Concept	Confirms the military sector remained fully securitised throughout (never desecuritised)	Context	nato.int/.../strategic-concepts/nato-2022-strategic-concept
Boulègue (2019); Paul & Swistek (2022); Østhagen (2023)	Contextual evidence of continuous Russian and allied military posture, used to test the desecuritisation rival explanation	Context	see manuscript reference list for full links
2019 Rovaniemi ministerial meeting (no joint declaration issued)	Evidence of a boundary-strain episode absorbed without breach; discussed in the Findings via secondary literature rather than a standalone primary URL	Reproduction (strain)	no separate primary URL in the manuscript; see Rottem 2019 and Gricius and Fitz 2022 in the reference list

The peer-reviewed academic literature (books and journal articles) that supplements this corpus is standard published scholarship, already fully cited with publisher details and, where applicable, DOIs in the manuscript's own reference list; it is not relisted here since this appendix is confined to the primary evidentiary corpus specific to this study. For completeness, one item named in the manuscript's Methods section — the 2019 Rovaniemi ministerial meeting — is included above with an honest note on its citation

status: the manuscript discusses it through secondary literature rather than a standalone primary URL, and no additional document exists to disclose beyond what is shown here.

Appendix B – Analytical criteria and the evidence searched for (qualitative coding scheme)

The study uses no numerical coding scheme, since it is an interpretive, qualitative analysis. Its functional equivalent is the set of four jointly necessary criteria defining the concept under study, stated in full in the manuscript's Theory section. Each criterion was applied to the corpus by searching for the specific type of evidence below.

Analytical criterion	Evidence searched for in the corpus
Codified constitutive exclusion	Explicit textual reference excluding military security from an institution's mandate (e.g., the Ottawa Declaration footnote)
Retained securitisation elsewhere	Evidence that military or security activity continued, undiminished, in parallel venues (defence-staff meetings, NATO documents, national military-posture reports)
Feedback-driven reproduction	Evidence of institutional investment and thickening (new working groups, binding agreements, commissioned assessments) and of boundary-policing when the mandate was tested (declined proposals, security dialogue routed to separate venues)
Legitimacy-dependent effectiveness	Explicit statements linking or withdrawing cooperation on the basis of conduct outside the regional mandate (the 2022 joint statements; the reciprocal Russian policy changes)

Appendix C – Document selection protocol

The corpus was assembled through the following sequence, exactly as specified in the manuscript's Methods section:

- 1. Initial search for documents defining, testing, or contesting the mandate of circumpolar governance institutions between 1987 and 2025.
- 2. Constitutive and programmatic documents — founding speeches, environmental strategy declarations, the Ottawa Declaration, and ministerial declarations.
- 3. Binding agreements — the three legally binding Arctic Council agreements and the Ilulissat Declaration.
- 4. Post-2022 record — joint statements, chairship transition statements, and the Russian Federation's reciprocal policy record.
- 5. Contextual security documents — NATO and national/independent-institute material evidencing continuous military posture, used to test the desecuritisation rival explanation.

Excluded from the corpus, and not used as evidence for any claim in the Findings:

- Working-group technical outputs and assessment reports, which document activity within the boundary rather than the boundary itself.
- National strategy documents without boundary-relevant content.
- General media commentary, except where a specific statement (e.g., the 2022 joint statements) is itself a direct constitutive act and is cited as such.

The selection criterion throughout was constitutive or boundary-relevant status: a document was included only if it defines the mandate of a circumpolar institution, tests that mandate in crisis, or records its contestation, as stated in the manuscript's Methods section.