GREEN COLONIALISM OR CULTURAL GENOCIDE?

AN INVESTIGATION OF ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE IN THE ARCTIC NATIONAL WILDLIFE REFUGE

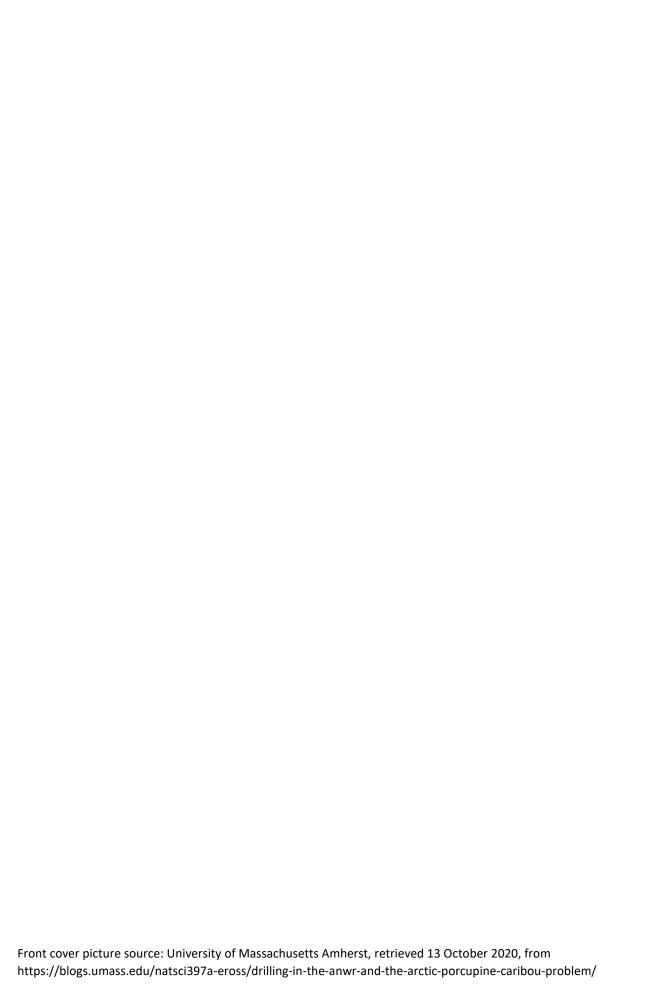


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Acknowledgements

Throughout the writing of this thesis I have received a lot of support and assistance.

I would first like to thank my supervisor Eira Carballo Cárdenas for the support and valuable feedback. Thank you for your patience and motivating words during the many meetings we had. You kept on believing in me, which meant a lot and has helped me to push through.

Furthermore, I could not have completed this thesis without the support of my friends. They have provided happy distractions to rest my mind outside of my research and they always knew how to motivate me. Thank you Isabelle for being my study buddy and for helping me to structure my thoughts when I needed it.

Lastly, I would like to thank my family and boyfriend who have been extremely supportive and understanding in the most stressful moments, and who managed to motivate me every time. Thank you for all the brainstorming sessions that pushed me in the right direction.

Bentelise Kraaijeveld Amsterdam, 2020

Abstract

The Native Alaskan communities of Kaktovik and Arctic Village are closely involved in the debate regarding the authorization of oil development in the Coastal Plain of the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR). Both communities claim to be affected by the possible outcomes of the debate. According to environmental justice (EJ) theory, stakeholders who experience a disproportionate share of adverse risks should be involved in decisions that affect their environment. Therefore, this study aimed to uncover how the communities' perceptions of risk and fate control of drilling in the Coastal Plain of ANWR came to be represented in the US media and politics, in order to make a judgement about EJ in this debate.

A discourse analysis was carried out to examine discourses about risk and fate control. Results showed that perceptions of the communities of Kaktovik and Arctic Village often did not converge with the perceptions of the other stakeholders in the debate, which could lead to policies that do not match the wishes of the communities. Furthermore, the research indicates that the communities perceive high risks and low fate control in the ANWR debate These results suggest that there is no EJ in this case.

The outcomes of this study propose that more attention should be paid to understanding the different perceptions of the actors in the ANWR debate, especially those of the communities of Kaktovik and Arctic Village. Furthermore, the results call for the need of more involvement of these communities in the decision-making process around drilling in the Coastal Plain of ANWR. In this way, more environmental justice can be promoted in the ANWR debate.

Key words: Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, ANWR, Kaktovik, Arctic Village, Native Alaskan communities, environmental justice, risk, fate control.

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	Repor	Reports			
	Webs	Websites			
	Hearii	Hearings used for analysis			
	Media	Media articles used for analysis			

List of Abbreviations

ADHR - Arctic Human Development Report
ANCSA - Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act

ANILCA - Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act

ANWR - Arctic National Wildlife Refuge
ASRC - Arctic Slope Regional Corporation

DOI - Department of Interior

EIS - Environmental Impact Statement

EJ - Environmental justice

EPA - Environmental Protection Agency

HIA - Health Impact AssessmentKIC - Kaktovik Iñupiat Corporation

MLA - Mineral Leasing Act

NGO - Non-governmental organization

UNDRIP - United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples

US - United States
WWII - World War Two

1. Introduction and problem definition

The authorization of oil development in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR, or Refuge) has been a topic of debate in the United States (US) Congress for the past 50 years. The question of whether to permit energy development in the Coastal Plain of ANWR has caused a lot of friction. Roughly two alliances can be identified in the debate; those in favor of drilling in the Refuge and those against. Proponents often emphasize the significant oil and natural gas potential in the Refuge, while opponents underscore its ecological importance (Comay et al., 2018). While these two alliances have dominated the public dispute, however, a much broader pool of actors with varied perspectives are invested in the debate, including two indigenous communities whose ancestors have lived in the Refuge for thousands of years.

Research indicates that communities in the Arctic are facing many challenges. Larsen and Fondahl (2010) noted that climate change is acknowledged as having large scale impacts on the futures of these communities. However, other factors, such as economic and political transformations and changing cultural landscapes, play a more immediate role in the lives of Arctic residents (Larsen and Fondahl, 2010).

When zooming into Alaska, it is stated that the well-being of rural Alaskan communities is challenged by "the effects of climate change, natural resource development, competing land-use needs, and changing social and economic conditions" (Blair et al., 2014). Climatic and environmental changes have a big impact on these communities, because of the close connection of these people to their natural environment through subsistence hunting and gathering (Kruse et al., 2008). Oil development also poses direct threats to the environment of these communities, such as direct contamination of the environment, including wildlife. These impacts threaten the subsistence activities of many indigenous communities in Alaska (Blair et al., 2014).

It has been demonstrated in the literature that Native Alaskan communities are often not being heard when it comes to developments that might impact them. Blair and Lovecraft (2020) argue that "[c]urrent institutional provisions at times fail to equitably include the views of Alaska's Indigenous stakeholders on risks, opportunities, and acceptable trade-offs between the two" (p. 2).

Environmental Justice (EJ) theory states that communities should be involved in decision-making that affects their own lives. The theory states that stakeholders who experience a disproportionate share of adverse risks should be engaged in the risk management process (Kaempf and Haley, 2011). The recognition of worldviews and understandings of development are hereby very important (Camisani, 2018). The EJ approach attempts to determine which voices or perspectives may have been marginalized or silenced, and helps in determining which voices should be empowered (Leonard III, 1997). It asks the question about how unjust distribution of risk and a lack of recognition are tied together in political and social processes (Schlosberg, 2004).

The Native Alaskan communities of Kaktovik and Arctic Village both claim to be affected by any decisions made, regarding oil development in the Coastal Plain of ANWR (Zentner et al., 2019; Standlea, 2006; Pedersen et al., 2015; Wernham, 2007; ourarcticrefuge.org). Because of this, the question comes up in what way their perceptions are being understood and taken into account, and thus in what way environmental justice comes forward in this debate. In order to examine EJ, the concepts of *fate control* and *risk perceptions* were investigated.

This research will focus on the concept *fate control* to achieve more Environmental Justice (EJ) in a certain conflict. Fate control is emphasized in the wider Arctic as "a measure of community

capacity to steer developments towards desired and sustainable futures" (Blair and Lovecraft, 2020: 2). In this research, fate control is conceptualized as "people's ability to guide their own destiny" (Dahl et al., 2010). Fate control is about the extent to which communities have the ability to self-govern within a complex political landscape (Blair and Lovecraft, 2020). In other words, fate control gives communities the freedom to decide whether, and which, risks they are willing to take in order to sustain their own lives. Fate control can thus be seen as control over risk.

In order to investigate fate control, or control over risk, in the case of oil development in ANWR, it is important to understand what possible consequences are perceived as risks by the different actors, because risk perceptions influence the decisions and actions they will, or desire to, take to address these issues (Blair and Kofinas, 2020). The extent to which people feel like they have this ability to make certain decisions and take actions, says something about how much fate control they perceive to have. Consequently, a judgement can be made about EJ, because EJ is determined by how much affected groups have to say about the risks being taken in the environment that could be affected, and of which they are a part.

Numerous articles have been written about the communities of Kaktovik and Arctic Village in relation to the ANWR debate, but it is unclear in what way local perceptions about risk and fate control come forward in practice. In order to fill this gap in knowledge, it is helpful to investigate in what way the communities are represented in the US media and politics in recent years and how perceptions of risk and fate control are articulated in the US media and politics.

This study focuses on US media, because "media can shape perceptions through "agenda setting", which is the ability of the media to focus public attention to key topics" (Lam et al., 2017: 2). In turn, this focus can influence which issues the public learns about and deems important and worthy of directing public resources towards solving. The media can thus influence public opinion, and consequently agenda setting, which provides implications for decision-making and action in addressing certain issues (Lam et al., 2017).

Furthermore, the study focuses on US politics, because EJ is about participation of affected communities in the decision-making process. By looking at how the communities of Kaktovik and Arctic Village are represented in US politics, and what issues they bring forward, relative to other actors, a judgement can be made about their representation in the decision-making process, and consequently about EJ.

This research sets out to investigate how the impact of oil development has been socially constructed and defined by actors associated with the area. The study aims to uncover how the communities' perceptions of risk and fate control of drilling in the Coastal Plain of ANWR come to be represented in the US media and politics. The analysis will focus on how risks are interpreted and which indicators of fate control (Dahl et al., 2010) surface in discussions that dominate public framing around the ANWR debate.

A discourse analysis was carried out to examine perceptions of risk and fate control. A discourse is "a lens through which a phenomenon is viewed or [...] a meaning of a phenomenon shared by a small or large group of people on the local, national, international or global level" (Arts et al, 2012: 912). In order to investigate how the ANWR debate has been socially constructed and defined by different actors associated with the area, it is important to find out which discourse coalitions are present, and which storylines can be found within these coalitions.

A discourse coalition is a small or large group of people sharing the same meaning of a phenomenon. It is the "ensemble of a set of story lines, the actors that utter these story lines, and the practices that conform to these story lines, all organized around a discourse" (Hajer, 1995: 47). A

storyline is a central idea which summarizes and sometimes replaces complex narratives and debates. Their key function is that they suggest unity and a common understanding in the variety of separate discursive component parts of a certain issue (Arts et al., 2012). Formulating storylines that come forth from the data helps organizing the data in a way that differences and commonalities between the different discourse coalitions are revealed.

To be able to say something about how the communities' perspectives matched with the other actors, a distinction between 'insider' and 'outsider' perceptions was made. 'Insider' perceptions were solely analyzed as the perceptions of the communities, and 'outsider' perceptions were analyzed as the perceptions of the other actors involved. By making this distinction, it can be examined where these storylines converge and diverge. This can provide information about which aspects are deemed important and which are excluded from the discussions, and to what extent perceptions of the communities are being represented, which can have consequences for EJ.

Based on a discourse analysis of risk perception and fate control, a judgement can be made about how environmentally just the current situation is for the communities of Kaktovik and Arctic Village. This leads to the following main research question:

In what way do discourses about risk and fate control of the communities of Kaktovik and Arctic Village come forward in US public media and politics concerning the ANWR debate, and what can be said about environmental justice in this case?

The main research question is divided into four sub-questions:

RQ1: Who are the main stakeholders in the debate and how can the communities be characterized?

RQ2: What are the perceptions of the communities of Kaktovik and Arctic Village about oil development in ANWR?

RQ3: How do the communities of Kaktovik and Arctic Village talk about risk and fate control in US media and politics, concerning the ANWR debate, and what storylines do they use in this?

RQ4: How do 'outsider' perceptions converge or diverge with 'insider' perceptions, and what can this mean for environmental justice in this case?

Before the research questions can be answered, a better understanding of the concepts that underlie this question is needed. The following chapter will focus on the conceptual background and discuss the most important concepts in detail (Chapter 2). Chapter 3 will provide a description of the methods used to answer the research questions. After this, a deeper understanding of the context will be provided, whereby the debate and the stakeholders will be discussed, and the communities will be characterized (chapter 4). In Chapter 5 the perceptions about oil development of the two communities will be examined and the findings of the discourse analysis will be provided. The last two chapters will discuss the results and answer the main research question.

2. Conceptual framework

In order to investigate environmental justice in the ANWR debate, the concepts of *fate control* and *risk perceptions* were examined. In order to understand the relationship between these concepts, EJ, fate control and risk perceptions will first be explained. After that, the relation between those concepts will be laid out. Figure 1 illustrates this relationship, which will be clarified in the following sub-sections. In the last sub-section discourse, discourse coalitions, and storylines will be defined.



Figure 1: perceived risks can be managed by having fate control over decisions being made, which contributes to EJ.

2.1. Environmental justice

The concept of *environmental justice* (EJ) was developed in the late 1970s and early 1980s as a reaction to evidence and growing awareness of racial environmental health disparities (Ruhl and Ostar, 2015). The US Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) defines EJ as "equal protection from environmental and health hazards and meaningful public participation in decisions that affect the environment in which people live, work, learn, practice spirituality, and play" (epa.gov). This definition involves two main ideas: fair treatment and meaningful involvement.

Fair treatment means that negative environmental consequences resulting from governmental or private industrial decisions, operations, and policies, should be equally distributed, and that no group should bear a disproportionate share of those consequences. Meaningful involvement means that the public, and specifically those most likely impacted, should have genuine opportunities to participate in decisions that could affect their environment and health. The effects of the decisions may contribute to negative environmental, health, economic, or social conditions within these populations or communities (Ruhl and Ostar, 2015).

EJ does not only consider the equitable distribution of environmental risks, but also the recognition of lifeways embedded in particular ecologies. Justice, then, requires not just an understanding of unjust distribution and a lack of recognition, but, importantly, the way the two are tied together in political and social processes (Schlosberg, 2004).

EJ provides a lens through which to look at struggles over the environment and natural resources. Camisani (2018) states that "[f]rom this point of view, tribal and peasant communities resisting land dispossession or urban communities fighting polluting industries are all protagonists of conflicts appealing to environmental justice" (p. 694). These appeals are about distribution of costs and benefits of environmental change, but also often embrace notions of justice based on participation in decision-making and recognition of different identities, world views, and understandings of development. The author states that these appeals mostly are motivated by the protection of livelihoods threatened by loss of access to land, pollution, new uncertain risks, etc. (Camisani, 2018).

In short, EJ is about a fair distribution of risks and meaningful involvement of communities in decision-making. The EJ approach attempts to determine which voices or perspectives may have been marginalized or silenced, and helps in determining which voices should be empowered (Leonard III, 1997). The approach states that stakeholders who experience a disproportionate share of adverse risks should be engaged in the risk management process, in other words, they should have control over their own fate (Kaempf and Haley, 2011).

As argued by different authors, there is a strong relationship between EJ and the degree to which communities feel they can control their own fate. It is said that fate control has to be present in order to have EJ in a certain conflict (see sub-section 2.4 for a more comprehensive explanation).

2.2. Fate control

The concept of *fate control*, or *self-determination*, covers the right of indigenous people to some form of autonomy within the state in which they live. It includes rights to control their own lands, culture, education, economy and to determine their own future (Forrest, 2006).

Self-determination is formulated in the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP). It means that Indigenous people have the right to "freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development (art. 3). They have the right to "self-government in matters relating to their internal and local affairs, as well as ways and means for financing their autonomous functions" (art. 4). They can maintain their own political, legal, economic, social and cultural institutions, "while retaining their right to participate fully, if they so choose, in the political, economic, social and cultural life of the State" (art. 5). The Declaration thus states that indigenous people have a certain autonomy over their own ways of life, but they also have the right to participate in the political, economic, social and cultural matters of their state (United Nations, Sept. 13, 2007).

The idea of self-determination can be explained as *fate control*. Dahl et al. (2010) describe fate control as "people's ability to guide their own destiny". The concept is linked to the term "empowerment", which is the capacity to turn choices into desired actions and outcomes. Fate control is the outcome of empowerment (Dahl et al., 2010).

In order to control your own fate, you need to have the capacity to make your own decisions, and you need to have the resources to implement these decisions. Fate control, or the lack of it, can be experienced at the personal, household, community, and regional levels. This has to do with a residual dependence on outsiders, who play a major role in administering political, economic, and cultural institutions on different scales (ibid).

Blair and Lovecraft (2020) state that fate control is a measure of community capacity to self-govern, and thus steer developments towards desired and sustainable futures. The desire to determine

their own fate has been frequently expressed by many Indigenous peoples and groups within the Arctic. Dahl et al. (2010) discuss several indicators for collective fate control in the Arctic, and put them into five categories, as shown in table 1.

Category	Indicator
Political power and activism	Political participation
	Perceived political influence
	Resistance
Decision-making power	Proportion of local personnel in key decision-making
	positions
	Local control over place names
	Rights to land and sea resources
Economic control	Self-generated income
	Local control of the economy
Knowledge construction	Knowledge and information
	about politics
	Access to information
	Language retention
Human rights	Recognition of human rights

Table 1: indicators of fate control (Dahl et al., 2010)

The aim of this research is to reveal *perceptions* of risk and fate control. For this reason, discourse analysis was chosen as a suitable research methodology. Because this research is based on a discourse analysis, which only makes it possible to look at indicators that can be expressed via communication, not all indicators from Dahl et al. (2010) are applicable to this study. Some indicators were dismissed because this, and some also due to problems regarding measurability and data collection as pointed out by Dahl et al. (2010). These indicators will shortly be discussed¹.

According to Dahl et al. (2010), resistance, in terms of civil disobedience, is seen as an indicator of a lack of fate control. However, this indicator is difficult to measure due to the lack of comprehensive data, issues of measurability and even definition and interpretation. For these reasons, this indicator was discarded.

Proportion of local personnel in key decision-making positions ensures local values to be taken into account and consequently it ensures fate control. This indicator was dismissed "as posing intractable problems in terms of data availability and measurability" (ibid: 135). Local control over place names refers to an act of power and authority by indigenous people in "re-conquering" place names that were renamed in pre-colonial times. This indicator was also dismissed, due to the issue of relevance for fate control, as mentioned by Dahl et al. (2010). Next to these issues, the indicators are also not relevant to this study, because they do not reveal perceptions of the communities.

To measure economic fate control, the indicator of *self-generated income* is mentioned. The relevance of this indicator to fate control lies in the idea of financial autonomy, which encompasses self-employment income or local investment capacity (ibid). However, this indicator is discarded, because of accessibility problems of the kind of data needed, the fact that this data cannot be analyzed

¹ For further elaboration on all the indicators, see Dahl, J., Fondahl, G., Petrov, A., Fjellheim, S.R. (2010) Fate control. In *Arctic Social Indicators – a follow-up to the Arctic Human Development* Report, pp. 129-146.

with the adopted approach in this study, and the fact that this indicator is irrelevant to this study which aims to uncover perceptions.

Knowledge and information about politics was discarded because of the difficulty to access data without surveying, and also due to the doubts about the direct relevance to fate control (ibid). Language retention is argued to be an important measure of fate control. However, measuring this indicator goes beyond the possibilities of the chosen research methods of this study, and therefore this indicator was also dismissed.

The indicators that are applicable to this study are *political participation*, *perceived political influence*, *rights to land and sea resources*, *local control of the economy*, *access to information*, and *recognition of human rights*. These will be shortly explained in the following.

Political participation can be assessed through political representation. It considers the opportunity to exercise fate control via representation in political bodies. Next to the opportunity to participate in the political process, it is also important that people feel that they can make a difference by influencing the process. Perceived political influence therefore plays an important role for fate control (ibid). Assessed through the inclusiveness of stakeholders, participation and the perception of influence are essential in decision-making processes, since they ensure fate control.

Another indicator that ensures fate control is *rights to land and sea resources*, which refers to the rights, of especially indigenous people, to possess, occupy, and use their homelands and resources these contain. The decision-making power such rights entail and the economic benefits they guarantee is a key component of fate control (ibid).

Fate control is also guaranteed through economic control. The Arctic economy is characterized by its inherent duality with the co-existence of a land-based traditional sector, mainly geared towards subsistence, and an export-oriented resource-based sector, mainly based on non-renewable resources. Both are interconnected by their reliance on natural resources and their impact on the existential experiences of Arctic residents engaged in them. An indicator that links to this is *local control of the economy*, which encompasses the power local people can exert over local economies to determine their own economic destiny. More external control over industries would signal less empowerment and control over destiny (ibid).

Fate control is also ensured via *access to information*. This indicator is critical to making informed decisions about fate, and it can increase empowerment. Dahl et al. (2010) consider access to information about politics as a way to improve fate control. A way to measure this, according to them, is by looking at Internet coverage. However, this would be very difficult to do. The assessment of this proxy is unclear, and therefore this indicator is partly rejected. Instead, I decided to use this indicator in terms of *knowledge acquiring*, whereby I look at the kind of knowledge that is adopted (Indigenous Knowledge or scientific knowledge) and how this affects the communities.

The *recognition of human rights*, including indigenous rights, is critical to fate control. There is not a set framework to evaluate the recognition of human rights, but it could include the recognition of key conventions that address human rights, or issues like climate change, rights to access resources, and protection of cultural rights (ibid).

The extent to which the dimensions that comprise the perception of fate control are present among communities, helps them to manage risks that come forth from a certain conflict, in this case the debate around oil development in ANWR. In the next sub-section, the concept of risk will be explained.

2.3. Risk perceptions

The Cambridge Dictionary describes risk as "the possibility of something bad happening" (disctionary.cambridge.org). In this thesis, I use the following conceptualization of risk: risks are unintended, but not necessarily unforeseen, consequences of action, where something of human value (including humans themselves) is at stake and where the outcome is uncertain (Van de Poel & Nihlén Fahlquist, 2013; Rosa, 2003).

The perception of risk is a social and cultural construct which goes beyond the individual. It reflects values, symbols, history, and ideology (Weinstein, 1989). Socially and culturally structured conceptions and evaluations of the world, what it looks like, what it should or should not be, determine actions and understandings about risks. Consequently, the concept of risk can mean different things to different people (Boholm, 1998). Blair et al. (2014) state that, because risk is a social construction, there often is a difference in values between public and expert risk managers. Society and governing bodies can thus have different ideas about what a risky situation is.

Unlike many other political issues, environmental risks must be clearly brought to consciousness to be recognized as a social threat. The risks have an invisible and highly technical nature, which makes the politics of risks intrinsically a politics of knowledge, expertise and counterexpertise. Risks must be deduced by active causal interpretation, and therefore their existence is open to processes of social definition and social construction (Fischer, 1998).

Ulrich Beck (1992) writes about the modern society as a *Risk Society*: it is "a society in which the unknown and unintended consequences come to be a dominant force in history and society" (Beck, 1992: 22), and "it is a 'catastrophic society' in which the exceptional condition threatens to become the norm" (Beck, 1992: 24). These unknown and unintended consequences are the risks that are created in a Risk Society.

With the rise of Risk Society, risks became *manufactured risks*. These kind of risks are risks created by the progression of human development, especially by scientific and technological progression. Few aspects of the physical world are nowadays untouched by human intervention (Giddens, 1999). Because of this increased control over the environment, the concept of risk is closely linked with responsibility, because the idea is that risks depend on decisions (Van de Poel & Nihlén Fahlquist, 2013).

Responsibility presumes decisions, because the decisions being taken have certain consequences. Voluntariness is linked to responsibility in a way that when someone is not responsible, or cannot take responsibility for certain risks being taken, but to which someone is exposed beyond his/her will or control, these are perceived as larger and less acceptable (Giddens, 1999). Voluntariness is therefore an important factor in the perception of risk.

Fate control can be explained as a measure to manage risks (Blair and Lovecraft, 2020), because it allows communities to control which risks are being taken, and which not. In other words, fate control gives communities the freedom to decide whether, and which, risks they are willing to take in order to sustain their own lives.

2.4. How do the concepts relate to each other?

The possible outcomes of the debate around oil development in ANWR bring forth certain risks for the different stakeholders involved, including the communities of Kaktovik and Arctic Village. Environmental justice is determined by how much affected groups have to say about the risks being

taken in the environment that could be affected, and of which they are a part. Fate control can be seen as a measure for communities to manage risks, and therefore it can be stated that fate control is needed in order to achieve EJ. Figure 1 shows that in order to have EJ, fate control is needed. And in order to have fate control, there needs to be control over risk.

Authors often emphasize the connection between EJ and fate control. Leonard III (1997) explains the link between the two concepts in a way that only decisions made with all the appropriate information and with all the stakeholders involved can tribes be said to determine their own destiny.

Ishiyama (2003) writes about fate control as sovereignty, which means "the power or authority to rule" (disctionary.cambridge.org). The concepts are connected, because they are both about having control over decisions. Ishimaya argues that sovereignty, or fate control, is necessary to achieve environmental justice, because EJ requires the participation of communities in decision-making processes. Ishiyama (2003) states that:

[..] environmental justice depends on tribes' sovereign capacity to pursue politically, economically, and ecologically sound options for sustainable development. Accordingly, reinforcement of both political and economic sovereignty of tribes will lead to the long-term accomplishment of environmental justice (p. 303).

The concepts of EJ and fate control are closely connected, and it can be stated that if fate control is perceived to be low in a certain conflict, EJ will also be perceived to be low.

Risk perceptions and fate control are related in a way that most modern risks come forth from decisions being made. Depending on who makes the decision about what is going to happen (in this case in the Coastal Plain of ANWR), certain risks are being taken. The amount of fate control a community has thus determines to what extent they can decide which risks, and in what magnitude, they are willing to take. Because risks are perceived differently by different groups, depending on who has most control, certain risks are being taken and others not.

Discourse analysis is a useful tool to locate different perceptions, and therefore this method will be adopted for this study. In the following sub-section discourses, discourse coalitions, and storylines will be defined.

2.5. Discourse analysis

A discourse is "a lens through which a phenomenon is viewed or [...] a meaning of a phenomenon shared by a small or large group of people on the local, national, international or global level" (Arts et al, 2012: 912). Dryzek (2013) states that discourses frame problems in particular ways:

A discourse is a shared way of apprehending the world. Embedded in language, it enables those who subscribe to it to interpret bits of information and put them together into coherent stories or accounts. Discourses construct meanings and relationships, helping define common sense and legitimate knowledge. Each discourse rests on assumptions, judgments, and contentions that provide the basic terms for analysis, debates, agreements, and disagreements (Dryzek, 2013: 9).

Discourses frame problems in a way that they point out some aspects of a situation rather than others. Discourses thus provide tools with which problems are constructed, and at the same time form the context in which things are understood (Hajer, 1995).

Dryzek (2013) and Hajer (1995) both write about discourses in relation with environmental issues. Dryzek states that "the contention of language matters, that the way we construct, interpret, discuss, and analyze environmental problems has all kinds of consequences" (2013: 11). Everyone that finds themselves in positions where they are handling environmental issues, are part of an environmental discourse (Dryzek, 2013).

Environmental discourse should not be seen as one coherent whole. On the contrary, a discussion about an environmental problem often involves many different discourses. Environmental politics brings together a variety of actors and social power is exercised in a certain context. Discourse theory can teach us about the shifting conceptualizations of environmental problems (Hajer, 1995).

2.5.1. Discourse coalitions

An analysis of isolated discourses is not enough to identify differences and commonalities between perceptions of several actors. To assemble the available discourses, the study is operationalized under the framework of discourse coalitions (Hajer, 2005).

A discourse coalition is "the ensemble of a set of story lines, the actors that utter these story lines, and the practices that conform to these story lines, all organized around a discourse" (Hajer, 1995: 47). A storyline is "a generative sort of narrative that allows actors to draw upon various discursive categories to give meaning to specific physical or social phenomena" (Hajer, 1995: 56). A storyline is a central idea which summarizes and sometimes replaces complex narratives and debates. Their key function is that they suggest unity and a common understanding in the variety of separate discursive component parts of a certain issue. Storylines become a discursive symbol for coalitions of actors (Arts et al., 2012). Thereby, storylines play a key role in the positioning of subjects and structures (Hajer, 1995).

A discourse coalition is a small or large group of people sharing the same meaning of a phenomenon. This group tries to "empower its definition of reality on the basis of credibility, acceptability and trust" (Arts et al., 2012: 912). Discourse coalitions direct attention to the presence of similar socially shared understandings. The intention of the discourse coalitions framework is to reconstruct the thought or belief system of a group of actors. Discourse coalitions allow for identifying adopted or rejected storylines as part of discourses. This framework helps to identify alignments of actors through storylines that explain their mode of thinking (Ortega Alvarado et al., 2020).

3. Methodology

This research is a case study, in which qualitative research methodology was used. The ANWR debate was chosen, because at the time of writing this report, the Trump administration was attempting to open up the area for natural resource development. Because this debate has been going on for decades, and the end of the debate could be near, this was a very topical subject. Because of the two communities that live in or adjacent to the area, an investigation of EJ is relevant. This research focuses on two North Alaskan villages: Kaktovik and Arctic Village. These villages were selected, because they are the only two communities that are in and adjacent to ANWR (see Chapter 4).

In order to answer the research questions, first a literature review was conducted to chronologically map the main developments in the debate and the main stakeholders, as well as to characterize the two selected communities. After this, the perceptions of the communities about oil development were examined by consulting literature and two 'community reports'. Finally, a discourse analysis was conducted of secondary data from newspaper articles and recorded hearings.

The study is a desk research, because the researcher was not able to collect data on location. Fortunately, a lot is written about this topic by several media sources, and recorded US hearings are available on the Internet.

Since the research focuses on two Native Alaskan communities, of which the researcher is not a part, nor lives in the area, this research needed to be done with a lot of sensitivity and respect for the communities under examination. As Nielsen and Gould (2007) point out, in research about indigenous peoples, researchers have often been disrespectful of their rights. This disrespect, they argue, is an extension of colonialism or a general feeling of superiority common among academics and/or people of European ancestry (Nielsen and Gould, 2007). In this study, the researcher tries to be as sensitive as possible when writing about the communities, and aims to get as much of an understanding of them as possible. However, the researcher also acknowledges that she will always be an outsider, and never fully understand their worldviews.

3.1. Discourse analysis

In order to identify perceptions of risk and fate control, the purpose of this study was to find out which discourse coalitions were present, and which storylines could be found within these coalitions.

As discussed in Chapter 2, analyzing isolated discourses is not enough to identify differences and commonalities of the perceptions of several actors. Therefore, the discourse coalition framework was used in this study. Discourse coalitions help to identify socially shared understandings of a group of actors. The framework helps to identify alignments of actors through storylines that explain their way of thinking. By identifying the different storylines, perceptions about risk and fate control of the communities and where these converged and diverged with those of other stakeholders became clear. Consequently, a judgement could be made about EJ of the communities in the debate, based on the assumption that perceptions of risk and fate control influence the decisions and actions people will, or desire to, take. Decisions coming forth from perceptions that do not match those of the communities would therefore not promote EJ of the communities in the debate.

To be able to say something about how the communities' perspectives matched with the other actors, a distinction between 'insider' and 'outsider' perceptions was made. 'insider' perceptions were

solely analyzed as the perceptions of the communities, and 'outsider' perceptions were analyzed as the perceptions of the other actors involved (see sub-section 4.1.2).

3.2. Data collection

Language is important for social researchers, because knowing how words are used is crucial to understanding how the social world being studied is viewed by its members (Bryman, 2012). Within discourse research, language plays a central role. It can be applied to forms like texts, such as newspaper articles, or speeches (Bryman, 2012).

This research used different kinds of data sources in order to answer the research questions. In the first part of the findings section (Chapter 4), academic and grey literature was conducted in order to gain a good understanding of the debate, the main stakeholders and the two communities.

In the second part of the findings section (Chapter 5), scientific literature written in close cooperation with the communities of Kaktovik and Arctic Village, and two reports (referred to as 'community reports') that were written by the people of both communities were looked at in order to gain a better understanding of their own ideas about oil development in ANWR.

Also in this part of the analysis video recordings of two US hearings were watched and analyzed in order to gain a better understanding of how different actors interacted with each other and which arguments they brought forward. Furthermore, articles of two national and two international newspapers were analyzed to gain a better understanding about how the communities were presented in the US public media. See table 2 for an overview of the data sources. Table 3 shows which data sources were used to answer the research questions.

Data source	Name
Academic and grey literature	As cited in Chapter 4 and 5
Community reports	- "A Moral Choice For The United States" (2005)
	- "In This Place" (2003)
US hearings	 Recorded video (4 hours, 51 minutes) of "Full Committee Hearing to Receive Testimony on the Potential for Oil and Gas Exploration in the 1002 Area" (November 2, 2017) Recorded video (3 hours, 18 minutes) of "The Need to Protect the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge Coastal Plain" (26 March, 2019)
Newspapers	National: - The New York Times - The Washington Post Local: - Alaska Dispatch News - Alaska Public Media

Table 2: The data sources used in this research, see reference list for exact referencing.

	Lit. review	Document	review	
		Reports	Hearings	Media
RQ1: Who are the main stakeholders in the debate and				
how can the communities be characterized?				
RQ2: What are the perceptions of the communities of				
Kaktovik and Arctic Village about oil development in				
ANWR?				
RQ3: How do the communities of Kaktovik and Arctic				
Village talk about risk and fate control in US media and				
politics, concerning the ANWR debate, and what				
storylines do they use in this?				
RQ4: How do 'outsider' perceptions converge or diverge				
with 'insider' perceptions, and what can this mean for				
environmental justice in this case?				

Table 3: Data used to answer each research question

3.2.1. Literature review

To characterize the communities of Kaktovik and Arctic Village and to find out how oil development is perceived by the two communities, research that has been done in cooperation with the communities of Kaktovik and Arctic Village was examined. These articles were selected based on the fact that they were written in close contact with the two communities: the articles all either mention that there was active participation and support by the local communities, and/or they conducted personal in-depth interviews or surveys in the communities. Thereby, the website of the Gwich'in Steering Committee was also seen as a reliable source, because the committee speaks as a unified voice for the whole Gwich'in Nation (ourarctigrefuge.org).

3.2.2. Community reports

To gain insights in the way that the people of Kaktovik and Arctic Village look at oil development in the coastal plain, two reports written by, and on behalf of the communities were examined. These 'community reports' are a valuable addition to the research, because they show their own arguments and what they want to bring out as their standpoint in the debate. The report "A Moral Choice For The United States" (2005) was chosen, because this report is recommended on the website of the Gwich'in Steering Committee, and it was written on behalf of the Gwich'in Steering Committee, which represents the whole Gwich'in Nation. The report "In This Place" (2003) was chosen, because this document specifically represents the ideas of the people of Kaktovik about oil and gas development.

The two 'community reports' do not match the time period of 2017-2019 (which is used for the selection of the US hearings and newspaper articles, see below), because there are no such documents that were written during this time. However, these documents give a valuable insight into how the two communities look at oil development on the Coastal Plain. Because these reports have an important added value in understanding the perceptions of these communities, these documents are included in this study.

3.2.3. US hearings

Before President Trump signed into law P.L. 115-97 (Tax Cuts and Jobs Act), which directs the Secretary of the Interior to establish and administer a competitive program for leasing, development, production, and transportation of oil and gas in and from the Coastal Plain, there was a hearing held in the U.S. Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, on November 2, 2017, named "Full Committee Hearing to Receive Testimony on the Potential for Oil and Gas Exploration in the 1002 Area". The purpose of the hearing was to receive testimony on the potential for oil and gas exploration and development in the 1002 Area.

The hearing was led by Chairman Senator Lisa Murkowski, accompanied by Ranking Member Senator Maria Cantwell. Witnesses present were the following: Don Young (US Congressman), Bill Walker (Governor of Alaska), Dan Sullivan (US Senator), Byron Mallott (Lieutenant Governor of Alaska), Greg Sheehan (Principal Deputy Director, Fish & Wildlife Service of US Dep. Of the Interior), Samuel Alexander (Tribal Member, Gwichyaa Zhee Gwich'in Tribal Government), Matthew Rexford (Tribal Administrator, Native Village of Kaktovik), Aaron Schutt (President and CEO, Doyon, Ltd.), Lois Epstein PE (Arctic Program Director, The Wilderness Society), Richard Glenn (Executive Vice President, Land & Natural Resources, Arctic Slope Regional Corporation), Pat Pourchot (former Special Assistant to the Secretary of the Interior of Alaska Affairs), Dr. Matthew Cronin (Biologist and Former Research Professor) (website US Senate Committee on Energy & Natural Resources).

On 26 March, 2019, a subcommittee hearing was held in the Natural Resources Committee of the US House of Representatives, named "The Need to Protect the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge Coastal Plain". This was a legislative hearing to amend the Public Law P.L. 115-97 (Tax Cuts and Jobs Act) to repeal the ANWR oil and gas program, with an act that was named "Arctic Cultural and Coastal Plain Protection Act".

The hearing was led by Chairman Mr. Lowenthal, accompanied by Ranking Member Mr Gosar. Witnesses present were the following: Bernadette Demientieff (Executive Director, Gwich'in Steering Committee), Galen Gilbert (Chief, Arctic Village Council), Samuel Alexander (Board Member, Gwich'in Council International), Dana Tizya-Tramm (Chief, Vunit Gwichin First Nation), Victor Joseph (Chief/Chairman, Tanana Chiefs Conference), Fenton Rexford (Advisor to the Mayor of North Slope Borough, Tribal Member, Native Village of Kaktovik), Rev. Mark A. Lattime (Bishop of Alaska, The Episcopal Church), Chad Brown (Founder, Soul River, Inc.), Dr. Steven Amstrup (Chief Scientist, Polar Bears International), Richard Glenn (Executive Vice President, External Affairs Arctic Slope Regional Corporation), Matthew Rexford (Tribal Administrator, Native Village of Kaktovik).

These hearings were chosen because the first hearing was held in the first year that Trump was president of the United States and the debate about opening ANWR was put back on the table. The 2019 one is a follow-up meeting of the one in 2017. These two hearings were analyzed together, because the subject of the meetings is similar, and the participants and their backgrounds are also similar. Video recordings of both hearings are available on the internet (energy.senate.gov; naturalresources.house.gov). Both recordings were watched twice, while summarizing key points and transcribing relevant quotes.

A lot of the same arguments were used in both hearings, and therefore both were grouped and coded together. They give a valuable insight in the way different actors present themselves and their concerns, and in the interaction between different actors.

3.2.4. Newspaper articles

Since the beginning of 2017, when Trump became president of the United States, the debate about drilling in ANWR sparked up again. Because of the events that followed since President Trump took his seat in Washington, the hearings that were held, and the media that replied to this, the researcher has chosen to look at articles between January 2017 and December 2019. 2020 is left out, because that year was not finished yet while writing this research, which would cause continuously changing data.

ANWR is of both local and national political importance, because the Refuge is managed by the federal government, and is public land, but its use also directly affects local people and ecosystems. To investigate how risk and fate control of the communities is presented in the US media, two national and two local newspapers were chosen. The two national newspapers that were chosen are the Washington Post and the New York Times, because these newspapers were in the top 10 most read daily newspapers in the US (cision.com). These two were selected out of that list, because they came out of the search in LexisNexis to be the two national newspapers that provided the most articles about the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge.

The two local news sources that were selected, are Alaska Dispatch News and Alaska Public Media. Alaska Dispatch News (known under the name Anchorage Daily news) was chosen because it is the most widely read newspaper and news website in the state of Alaska. Alaska Dispatch News uses multiple media platforms, like TV and radio, and provides articles on their website. The other news source, Alaska Public Media, states on its website that "Alaska Public Media and its affiliates deliver content that reaches 97% of the population of Alaska" (alaskapublic.org). Because of its reach, this media source was chosen to gain insights in the local news.

Another important reason for choosing these four news sources, is because of their online availability. The Washington Post, New York Times, and Alaska Dispatch News could all be consulted via the LexisNexis online search machine. Alaska Public Media provides free articles on their website.

Articles from the two national newspapers, the New York Times and the Washington Post, were selected based on the timeline 2017-2019, and furthermore they were selected by searching for "Arctic National Wildlife Refuge". After using the search term, the articles were selected by having ANWR as the main subject, or at least focusing a significant part of the article on ANWR, not just one or two sentences. This resulted in 19 articles from the New York Times, and 10 articles from the Washington Post that were analyzed.

Articles from the two local newspapers, Alaska Dispatch News and Alaska Public Media, were selected based on the timeline 2017-2019, and they were selected by searching for "Arctic National Wildlife Refuge". Because this research focuses on the communities of Kaktovik and Arctic Village, within the results that came out of the search, the articles were selected based on the following search terms: "Arctic Village", "Kaktovik", "Iñupiat", "Gwich'in". This resulted in 20 articles from Alaska Dispatch News and 21 articles from Alaska Public Media.

The reason for not using community specific search terms for selecting the articles from the national newspapers, was because these newspapers did barely mention these search terms, whereas the local newspapers did. In order to get an understanding of what the national newspapers did talk about instead, the decision was made to only select them by using "Arctic National Wildlife Refuge" as the search term. The national and international news sources thus talk about different levels of the debate. In order to promote consistency in the data that was analyzed, opinion pieces were left out. Not all of the newspapers provided opinion pieces, and interpreting the data would have been very complex. See table 4 for an overview of the search terms and number of articles per newspaper.

Source	Search terms	No. of articles
New York Times	"Arctic National Wildlife Refuge"	19
Washington Post	"Arctic National Wildlife Refuge"	10
Alaska Dispatch News	"Arctic National Wildlife Refuge", searched within these articles for: "Arctic Village", "Kaktovik", "Iñupiat", "Gwich'in"	20
Alaska Public Media	"Arctic National Wildlife Refuge", searched within these articles for: "Arctic Village", "Kaktovik", "Iñupiat", "Gwich'in"	21
Total		70

Table 4: search terms used per newspaper, and number of articles analyzed

3.2.5. Operationalization of the conceptual framework

In order to discover discourse coalitions and storylines in the debate, US hearings and newspaper articles were coded. A code is a "word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data" (Saldana, 2016: 3). It represents and captures the primary content and essence of a datum (Saldana, 2016).

The goal of coding is that the researcher finds patterns in data and groups them together: "Codes ... serve as shorthand devices to label, separate, compile, and organize data" (Charmaz, 1983: 186, as cited in Bryman, 2012). Data can be grouped because patterns are (very much) alike, but also because they might have something in common, even if that commonality consists of patterns. Coding can thus help to organize and group similarly coded data into categories because they share the same characteristic (Saldana, 2016).

In qualitative data analysis, coding tends to be in a constant state of potential revision and fluidity: "The data are treated as potential indicators of concepts, and the indicators are constantly compared [...] to see which concepts they best fit with" (Bryman, 2012: 568). How data is perceived and interpreted depends on the researcher's analytic lens. Next to this, it is also in a certain way a judgement call, since we always bring our own subjectivities to the process (Saldana, 2016).

The data was coded in order to discover discourse coalitions and storylines about risk and fate control. To uncover storylines about risk, the relevant content of the resources was coded based on an inductive approach. Inductive coding is a data-driven process, which requires careful reading and rereading to identify common themes, or discourses. Thomas (2003) states that "[t]he primary purpose of an inductive approach is to allow research findings to emerge from the frequent, dominant or significant themes inherent in raw data, without the restraints imposed by structured methodologies" (p. 2). All codes thus arise directly from the data. Because of the inductive approach, words or phrases that could be linked with risk were discovered during the coding of the data.

Risk is portrayed in many ways in the data. The following words were identified when talking about risk: 'hurt', 'threat', 'disrupt', 'harm', 'being affected', 'devastate', 'impacts', 'vital', 'endanger', 'fear', and the like. Sentences that used these words were detected to be about risk.

In order to look at how actors communicated about fate control issues, the data was looked at by juxtaposing the indicators suggested by Dahl et al. (2010) (see sub-section 2.2). These indicators were revealed from the different storylines. The analysis focused on which indicators of fate control

surfaced in discussions around the ANWR debate, in order to make a judgement about the degree of fate control.

Because the fate control indicators (Dahl et al., 2010) were known before the analysis was conducted, the approach used for coding the texts was more of an iterative process, whereby both an inductive and deductive² approach was used. Deductive in a way that the indicators were used as a lens to look at the data and to reveal fate control perceptions in the text, and inductive in a way that the statements that linked with those indicators came forth from the data. Table 5 shows the subjects of the statements that were found in the text that linked to the different indicators.

Indicators	Statements about:
Political participation	Representation
Perceived political influence	Inclusion/being heard
	Taken seriously
Rights to land and sea resources	Homeland
	Who should be able to make use of land and resources
	Who should be involved in the decision-making process
Local control of the economy	The amount of control a community should have over the local
	economy
Access to information (Knowledge	What kind of knowledge is, or should be, used
acquiring)	
Recognition of human rights	To what extent the communities' human rights are being respected or
	should be respected
	Survival

Table 5: indicators of fate control (Dahl et al. 2010) and statements coming forth from the data

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² Deduction is "an approach to the relationship between theory and research in which the latter is conducted with reference to hypotheses and ideas inferred from the former" (Bryman, 2012). In the case of deduction, theory drives the process of gathering data.

4. The ANWR debate and characterization of the communities

Before presenting the findings of the 'community reports' and the discourse analysis of the hearings and newspapers, a better understanding of the ANWR debate, the main stakeholders and the communities is needed. This chapter will answer the first research question: Who are the main stakeholders in the debate and how can the communities be characterized?

First some background information about the ANWR debate will be provided, including a chronological overview of ANWR and a description of the main stakeholders in the debate. The passage of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) will also be discussed, because this is important to understand more about the land rights of the communities of Kaktovik and Arctic Village, and consequently about their fate control. In the last sub-section, the two communities will be characterized.

4.1. Background

The Arctic National Wildlife Refuge is a 19-million-acre area in northeastern Alaska, and it is the largest protected area in the US. It extends from the Beaufort Sea to the north and borders Canada's Yukon Territory to the east, as shown in figure 2. The area covers a varied and diverse terrain, and the multiple ecosystems support a variety of flora and fauna, including polar bears, porcupine caribou, musk oxen, numerous species of fish, sea animals and migratory birds (Banerjee, 2003).

Under P.L. 115-97 the Department of Interiors' (DOI) Bureau of Land Management (BLM) is to administer the oil and gas program in the 1.57-million-acre Coastal Plain, also known as the "1002 Area", which is a part of the 19-million-acre Refuge. The 1002 Area is seen as a promising onshore oil prospect, but it is also an important area for caribou and other wildlife (Comay et al., 2018).

The area is designated as critical habitat for polar bears under the Endangered Species Act (ibid). Furthermore, the Coastal Plain is the calving ground of the Porcupine Caribou Herd, which migrates annually more than 800 miles between Canada and the United States. This is the longest mammal migration in the world (Delcomyn, 2004).

The political controversy around drilling for oil in the Coastal Plain of ANWR has led to a decades-long debate in the United States.

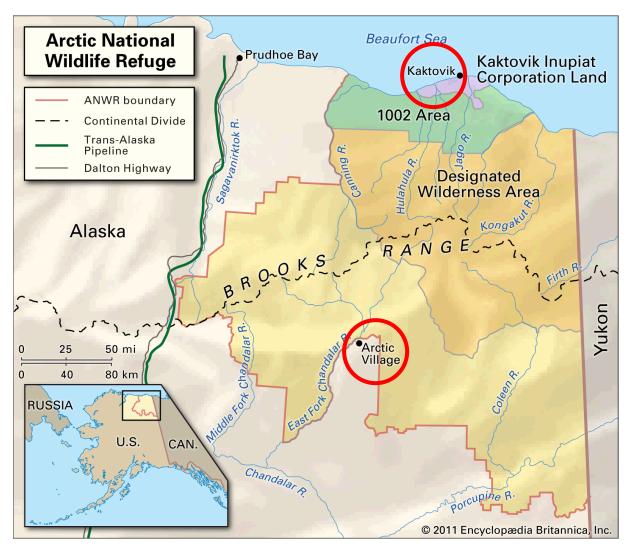


Figure 2: The Arctic National Wildlife Refuge. Source: Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc. Retrieved from britannica.com

4.1.1. Chronological overview of ANWR

The history of ANWR is intertwined with efforts from Congress to settle land claims of Native Alaskans (Comay et al., 2018). In this sub-section a chronological overview of events is provided, to give a more comprehensive idea of the ANWR debate.

In 1960, the National Arctic Wildlife Range was established under the Public Land Order 2214. At this time there was already a debate going on about the use of the land; to use it purely for wilderness and conservation, or for oil and gas exploration (nrdc.org). The State of Alaska attempted to appropriate its share of federally granted lands for resource development. Alaska Native people were concerned about the selection of federal lands, targeted especially for oil development, and they were worried about preserving their subsistence ways of life (Standlea, 2006).

In 1968, oil was discovered in Prudhoe Bay, and several oil companies requested permission to build a pipeline from Prudhoe Bay to the Gulf of Alaska (Trans-Alaska Pipeline system, or TAPS). The proposed TAPS would need to cross over land that various Alaska Native groups claimed and permission of this depended on the result of these long pending land claims (ancsaregional.com; Inoue, 2004).

In 1971, Congress enacted the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) to resolve Native claims against the US. A purpose of this act was to distribute land to Native corporations, which were created in the act, as well as to stimulate economic development throughout Alaska. The idea behind it was that the Native Alaskans would have to become a part of the capitalist system in order to survive (Haycox, 2006) (see par. 4.1.2. for a more extensive explanation).

In 1980, president Carter signed the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act (ANILCA; P.L. 96-487, 43 U.S.C. §§1601 et seq.), expanding the range to 19.3 million acres and renaming it the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge. ANWR was expanded to the south and west by 9.2 million acres of public domain lands. The act designated 8 million acres of the original Wildlife Range as a wilderness area. The remainder of the original refuge was not included in the wilderness designation. This area was defined in Section 1002 of ANILCA as the Coastal Plain and constituting 1.57 million acres (Comay et al., 2018).

At the time there was debate over the use of the area, with one group wanting to designate it as wilderness, and another group (led by Alaska's two senators) favoring energy development. Congress postponed decisions about this, but Section 1002 of ANILCA directed that all of the resources of the Coastal Plain be studied. A report following a study by the Department of Interior (DOI) recommended full energy development. However, an important part of ANILCA was Section 1003, which prohibited oil and natural gas production in the Refuge as a whole, as well as leasing, unless authorized by an act of Congress (ibid). From this point on, Congress had the power to decide, what turned the fate of ANWR into a decades-long debate (nrdc.org).

In 1987, the US and Canada signed an international agreement for management and long-term protection of the Porcupine Caribou Herd. On March 24, 1989, Exxon Valdez had an oil spill of at least 11 million gallons of crude oil into Prince William Sound. The cleanup showed the difficulties of remedying a major oil spill in Alaskan waters, and the limitations of available technology. A week prior to the disaster, a Senate committee had approved oil production on the Coastal Plain, but the spill increased scrutiny on drilling in ANWR (ibid).

In 1995, pro-oil legislators attempted to open ANWR to drilling. Republican Congress passed an appropriations bill that could not be filibustered. However, on December 6, 1995, president Clinton vetoed the bill (Balanced Budget Act), which kept the Coastal Plain closed for oil companies (nrdc.org).

In 2015, DOI recommended designating 12 million acres of the refuge, including the Coastal Plain, as wilderness. President Obama called on Congress to move forward with the designation to make those protections permanent. In 2016, the House of Representatives voted on the Arctic Refuge Wilderness bill. The legislation did not pass, but it was the first time Congress had ever voted on an ANWR bill (ibid).

On December 20, 2017, President Trump signed into law P.L. 115-97 (Tax Cuts and Jobs Act), which directs the Secretary of the Interior to establish and administer a competitive program for leasing, development, production, and transportation of oil and gas in and from the Coastal Plain. It amends ANILCA to provide that Section 1003 does not apply to the Coastal Plain, which means that oil and gas development are no longer prohibited in that area. It also amends ANILCA to add the provision of an oil and gas program on the Coastal Plain as a Refuge purpose (Comay et al., 2018).

At least two area-wide lease sales in the Coastal Plain are required by the law, with the first one within four years of the bill's enactment, and the second within seven years of enactment. The law directs that 50% of revenues derived from oil and gas leases go to the State of Alaska, and the other 50% to the U.S. Treasury. This is different from the standard revenue arrangement for Alaska

established by the Mineral Leasing Act of 1920 (MLA), under which the division is typically 90% for the State of Alaska and 10% for the U.S Treasury (ibid).

On September 12, 2019, DOI issued the final environmental study for its plan to open up drilling in ANWR. In this environmental impact statement, DOI states that it favors offering for lease all 1.57 million acres of the Coastal Plain (Gardner and Groom, Sept. 12 2019). On that same day, the US House of Representatives passed the Arctic Cultural and Coastal Plain Protection Act, which would halt the efforts to pursue oil drilling in ANWR and restore protections that were stripped with the 2017 Tax Cuts and Jobs Act (nrdc.org). The Act states that "[p]roduction of oil and gas from the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge is prohibited and no leasing or other development leading to production of oil and gas from the range shall be undertaken until authorized by an Act of Congress" (16 U.S.C. §3143) (H.R. 1146, Sept. 12 2019). However, the measure is not expected to gain traction in the Republican-led Senate, and thus will probably not be heard (Gardner and Groom, Sept. 12 2019).

4.1.2. The main stakeholders in the debate

Before a discourse analysis is carried out, it is important to identify the main actors in the debate. The debate about whether to drill for oil in ANWR has formed a clear divide between those 'for' and those 'against'.

In favor of drilling are the Trump administration and Republican politicians, state politicians in Alaska, and the oil and gas industry. The current Trump administration argues that it is important to reduce US dependence on foreign oil imports by increasing the production of domestic oil and gas. Dependence on foreign oil is seen as a national security threat. Money and jobs thereby also go to foreign countries, which are sometimes hostile to the US interests, and don't always have strict environmental laws regulating the oil industry (Schlosser, 2006).

The oil and gas industry is the largest component of the Alaskan economy. Nearly 85 percent of the state's budget comes from oil revenues and the industry accounts for one-quarter of Alaska jobs (alaska.gov). Drilling is therefore largely an issue of economic security for the people of Alaska. The majority of Alaskan politicians favors oil drilling in ANWR, because it will reduce dependence on foreign oil and create jobs (Schlosser, 2006). This same argument is used by pro-development organizations such as Arctic Power, the Resource Development Council of Alaska, Inc., and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (ibid).

Environmental groups and Congressional Democrats are generally against the drilling. These groups often emphasize the importance of the ecosystem of ANWR and argue that oil development would destroy this (ibid). See figure 3 for an overview of the actors.

In favor of drilling

- Trump administration + Republicans
- Alaskan politicians
- Oil and gas industry

Against drilling

- Democrats
- Environmental groups

Figure 3: actors in the ANWR debate, excl. Kaktovik and Arctic Village

As mentioned before, the Gwich'in of Arctic Village and the Iñupiat of Kaktovik are also actors in the debate. The Iñupiat in general are often aligned with the pro-drilling side of the debate. The Iñupiat corporations ASRC and KIC own land rights in ANWR, and the Iñupiat, and Kaktovik residents in particular, stand to profit from oil development, which would have a positive effect on their standard of living. Therefore, the Iñupiat are often placed on the pro-drilling side of the debate (ibid).

The Gwich'in of Arctic Village are most of the time represented by the Gwich'in Steering Committee, which speaks with a unified voice for the whole Gwich'in nation (ourarcticrefuge.org). The Gwich'in will not profit from oil development and they argue that drilling will impact the Porcupine Caribou herd, on which they rely for subsistence and cultural identity. For this reason, they are generally placed on the anti-drilling side of the debate (Schlosser, 2006).

4.1.3. Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act

Because this research focuses on discourses of risk perceptions and fate control of the communities of Kaktovik and Arctic Village, it is important to understand more about ANCSA, because this had an impact on the fate control of the communities.

In 1971, ANCSA was passed by Congress to bring Alaska Native land claims to an end. ANCSA extinguished aboriginal land claims in Alaska and land title came under corporate ownership (ancsaregional.org). Alaska Native villages were meant to be transformed into economic entities, based on their village corporations of which Alaska Native people became shareholders (Inoue, 2004).

ANCSA divided Alaska into twelve regions, based on common heritage and shared interests of the indigenous peoples within these areas (see figure 4). Twelve private, for-profit, regional corporations were established that were to serve the people, villages, and communities within these boundaries. These boundaries, however, do not represent land ownership, but they define areas in which each corporation could select lands to be conveyed under the provision of ANCSA. Next to the twelve private corporations, over 200 village Native corporations were created. These regional and village corporations had to enroll shareholders within two years from the date that ANCSA was signed into law (ancsaregional.org).

The regional and village corporations received nearly 44 million acres of land to be selected by the corporations themselves. However, the federal government had already claimed large parts of land across all twelve regions for strategic purposes or gave away to other entities. As a compensation for these lost lands, the corporations received around \$1 billion (ancsaregional.org).

The Alaska Native village corporations could only select lands on which any part of the village was located, and they received title to the surface rights of those lands. Alaska Native regional corporations could select any lands within the regional boundaries, and they received title to the surface and subsurface estate of much of the land they selected. For this reason, many corporations based their land selection partly on areas that had significant cultural or subsistence value, and partly on areas that had potential economic value because of the natural resources available. Up until this day, some Alaska Native corporations still have not received their full conveyance of land and some corporations have engaged in land transfers with state and federal agencies and other Alaska Native Corporations (ancsaregional.org).

Because some regions were higher in natural resources than others, and therefore had more potential for economic development, revenue sharing provisions were included in sections 7(i) and 7(j). The idea behind this was that all Alaska Native corporations, and their shareholders, could benefit from revenues derived from natural resource development on ANCSA lands (ancsaregional.org).

Section 7(i) states that 70 percent of revenues that an Alaska Native regional corporation receives from ANCSA lands must be dispersed to the other Alaska Native regional corporations. The remaining 30 percent is kept by the corporation that developed the natural resource. Section 7(j) states that corporations should also share their revenues from natural resource wealth with Alaska Native village corporations. 50 percent of the in Section 7(i) revenues they receive should be dispersed to Alaska Native village corporations in the region (ancsaregional.org).

The 229 Alaskan tribes are federally recognized as sovereign entities, and have a government-to-government relationship with the federal government. Even though the tribal nations have the power to self-government, which means that they can make up their own governance structures and enforce laws (tribal nations), because of ANCSA their rights are limited to authority over people and not place. The rights over place and territory are since ANCSA in the hands of Alaska Native corporations. These lands once were used and occupied by tribes. ANCSA thus resulted in the loss of tribal governance authority over lands, and consequently Alaskan tribes cannot regulate hunting, fishing or gathering anymore, on which they rely heavily (Kimmel, 2014).

According to Chaffee (2008), ANCSA diminished Alaska Native peoples' sovereignty, because they weren't able anymore to decide how their lands and resources were used. As a consequence of this, they couldn't choose their own governance structures anymore, which resulted in limited opportunities for self-determination (Chaffee, 2008). In sum, because of ANCSA Alaska Native tribes lost control over their lands, which resulted in loss of fate control, because they could not determine the future of their communities anymore.

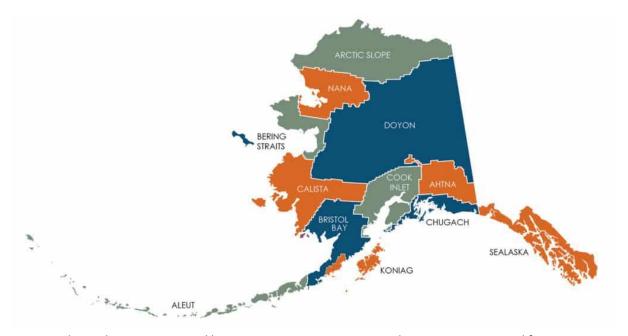


Figure 4: The twelve regions created by ANCSA. Source: ANCSA Regional Association. Retrieved from ancsaregional.org

4.2. Characterization of the two communities

This research focuses on two North Alaskan villages: Kaktovik and Arctic Village. Kaktovik is a small village located on the north shore of Barter Island, between Okpilak and Jago rivers on the Beaufort sea coast. It is located about 80 miles west of the Canadian border, and lies in the Arctic National

Wildlife Refuge (Kofinas et al., 2016). Kaktovik is the only village within ANWR and also lies within the 1002 area. Arctic Village is located south of ANWR, just outside the Refuge, and about 200 miles south of the coastal plain of the Refuge. The village lies between hills on three sides, just on the south side of the Brooks Range (Standlea, 2006). In the following sub-sections, the two communities will be characterized.

4.2.1. Kaktovik

Kaktovik is one of the eight Iñupiat villages on the North Slope of Alaska (see figure 5). Iñupiat, which means "the real people", are the Alaska Native residents of these villages, and they are also known as the "Iñupiat Eskimo" peoples. The Iñupiat call themselves the "People of the Whales", and they depend on the bowhead whale for sustenance and cultural meaning. Their survival relies upon the right to hunt the whales and for thousands of years Iñupiat worldviews have evolved around the whales that they revere, hunt and consume. The bowhead whale remains central to Iñupiat life and sustains traditional rituals and ceremonies (Sakakibara, 2011).

Historically, the North Slope Iñupiat would trade bowhead whale meat and blubber and dried caribou skins with coastal and inland peoples in Northern Alaska. Through this trade, partnerships and cooperative partnerships were formed. When Captain James Cook led an exploration along the Arctic Coast in 1778, the Iñupiat people of the North Slope first started interacting with white explorers, and commercial whaling began in 1848. The arrival of commercial whalers brought alcohol and diseases, which led to a period of cultural change. Starvation among Alaska Native people was also common in that time, because a lot of food was decimated by and for the whaling industry (Kofinas et al., 2016).

Due to a substantial decreased demand for baleen by 1907, the whaling industry came to a close, and the Iñupiat people returned to a transformed way of life. The Iñupiat people had been exposed to Western traditions and as time went on, some Iñupiat started to engage with the wage economy, while maintaining their subsistence way of life. Other agents of change followed, like the reindeer industry, the fur industry, and the arrival of missionaries, which also brought in new diseases (ibid).

After WW II, the federal government took a strong interest for energy resources on the North Slope, which increased wage employment opportunities and sparked economic growth in the North Slope region. In 1971, the Arctic Slope Regional Corporation (ASRC) was formed under ANCSA, and every North Slope community also founded their own local village corporation (ibid).

In 1974, the North Slope borough became a home-rule government with taxing authority, which enabled the borough to tax Prudhoe Bay oil infrastructure. This enabled them to build public service facilities, which also created a lot of jobs for the residents of the North Slope. However, in spite of this, the Iñupiat maintained their subsistence way of life and cultural tradition of sharing: "[t]he wage economy was used to satisfy the need for material goods, while subsistence activities provided traditional foods and strengthened cultural ties" (ibid: 41).

The subsistence activities of the Iñupiat involve harvesting of fish and wildlife resources, the organization of processing and storing, the distributive methods of sharing and the consumption patterns of the resources. Next to this, payments are a very important part of their subsistence livelihoods. All residents of the state of Alaska receive annual oil dividend checks, and the ASRC stakeholders receive oil revenue dividends. The Iñupiat Corporation of Kaktovik also provides dividends to its local residents (ibid).

Kaktovik is one of the eight Iñupiat villages on the North Slope of Alaska, but it is the only village that lies in the designated 1002 area of ANWR. Kaktovik means "the seining place". It used to be the traditional site of trade and cultural exchange between Canadian Inuit and other Inuit/Iñupiat groups across the Arctic Slope region. Kaktovik became a permanent settlement in the 1950s, but life in the village remained quite similar to its past (ibid).

In 1923, the community was introduced to the fur trapping market and cash economy, which ended in the late 1930s. After WWII, the US Air Force developed an airstrip and hangar facility in the Kaktovik area, as well as a Distant Early Warning radar station. This development destroyed two village sites, but also provided employment for local residents. In 1951, the increasing availability of jobs and the establishment of a school caused a grow in population (ibid).

Kofinas et al. (2016) found that the community of Kaktovik has a high dependence on subsistence resources, and therefore a significant change in the availability of these resources could have big consequences for social, cultural, and economic well-being. They showed that all households consume subsistence food (either gathered by themselves or received from others). Next to this, almost 90% of households of Kaktovik had at least one person who was employed for at least one month of the year (ibid).



Figure 5: Map of the North Slope Borough, Alaska, with its eight Iñupiat villages. Source: Sakakibara, 2011.

Kaktovik and ANCSA

Under ANCSA, the Kaktovik Iñupiat Corporation (KIC) was created as the Native village corporation of Kaktovik. The Arctic Slope Corporation (ASRC) was created as the regional corporation of the North Slope. KIC had, as allowed by ANCSA, selected the surface estate of certain lands near the northern boundary of the Refuge. The areas selected by KIC were, however, excluded from the 1002 Area.

ANILCA further authorized KIC to select more lands within the 1002 Area. In total, KIC owned more than 92,000 acres of surface estate in ANWR (Comay et al., 2018).

Under the provisions of ANCSA, ASRC was not allowed to select any subsurface estate in ANWR, because the Refuge was created before ANCSA. However, in 1983, ASRC and the United States entered into a land exchange agreement, known as the *Chandler Lake Agreement*, which gave ASRC title to the subsurface estate beneath the KIC lands, which are within ANWR (and the 1002 area). The agreement prohibited development of the ASRC lands in ANWR unless Congress opened ANWR (Comay et al., 2018).

Kaktovik can profit from oil development in the 1002 Area, because KIC has surface rights to certain areas, and therefore they can tax activities happening on their lands. ASRC has subsurface rights in parts of the 1002 Area, and can thus earn money from oil development happening on their lands. Consequently, ANCSA and KIC stakeholders will benefit, and the two corporations will have money to provide extra services. Development in the 1002 Area will therefore bring in money. Important to note here, is that, even though Kaktovik can benefit from oil development in the region, ANCSA resulted in a loss of control over their lands, which had consequences for their fate control.

4.2.2. Arctic Village

Arctic Village is one of the fifteen Gwich'in villages, which are scattered across an area extending from northeast Alaska in the U.S. to the northern Yukon and Northwest Territories in Canada. The Gwich'in are an Alaska Native and Canadian First Nations people. The Gwich'in in Alaska live in nine communities, which are organized under tribal governments with elected chiefs and councils. "Gwich'in" means "people of the land" and conventional belief indicates that the Gwich'in have occupied their homelands as long as 20,000 years (ourarcticrefuge.org).

The Gwich'in call themselves "caribou people". They live in or near the migratory route of the Porcupine Caribou herd, and have depended on caribou for their subsistence way of life for thousands of years (see figure 6). Caribou are still very important to them, because they provide food, clothing, tools, and are a source of respect and spiritual guidance (ibid). The Gwich'in thus rely on the caribou for both physical and cultural subsistence.

Arctic Village is a Gwich'in Athabascan village in the South of ANWR and the Coastal Plain of the Refuge is 200 miles north of Arctic Village. It is the farthest North Indian village in the US and it is historically known by the Gwich'in as "Vashraii K'oo", which means "Steep Bank by the Creek". The Nets'aii Gwich'in used to be semi-nomadic hunters, gatherers and fishers. They were structured in small groups and bands known as "Restricted Wanderers" (Standlea, 2006).

Arctic Village was their first permanent residence, founded in 1908 or 1909. This shift from a nomadic lifestyle to a more settled communal environment was a consequence of introduced social change by Europeans in the 19th century. The creation of schools and the requirement that all children attend them was an important reason for the settlement process of the community. Fur trade also played a role in the decline of their nomadic lifestyle (ibid).

Politicization of the Alaska Gwich'in interests increased in the 1950s as the community struggled to protect and maintain its traditional lands. They wanted to increase the amount of land beyond the Venetie Reservation. Instead of surrendering land, the US government implemented her Great Society-War on Poverty initiative. The Gwich'in of Arctic Village presumably benefitted from this plan, in a way that houses and buildings were constructed. However, the programs also helped to

foster increased dependence on the government, and greater participation in the cash, wage labor economy (ibid).

Inoue (2004) found that, even though they are much involved with the monetary system and are affected by the industrial culture, the Gwich'in living in rural communities still conduct their traditional subsistence activities such as hunting, trapping, fishing and gathering. Around half of the people living there also have a wage earning employment, but almost all of the Arctic Village households pursue some sort of subsistence activities (Dinero, 2005).

Dinero (2005) also observed that the Gwich'in of Arctic Village desire modern technology and services, but at the same time they want to stay rooted in their land and their culture, and they are determined to be autonomous and self-sufficient. The community is thus not strictly a subsistence economy, but it still is very important for the Gwich'in living in Arctic Village to be able to maintain their traditional subsistence activities.

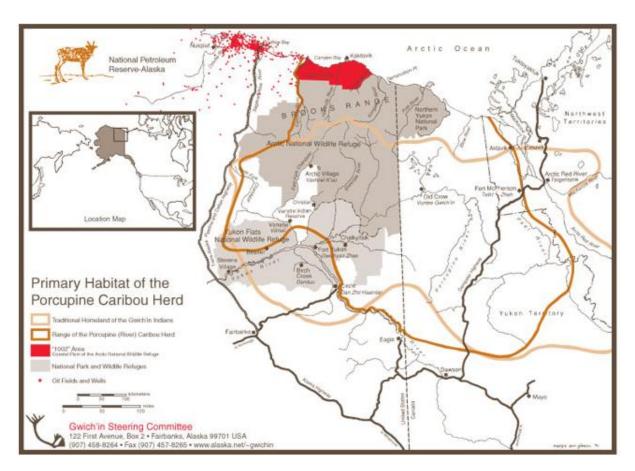


Figure 6: Primary habitat of the Porcupine Caribou, and Gwich'in homeland. Source: Gwich'in Steering Committee. Retrieved from ourarcticrefuge.org

Arctic Village and ANCSA

In 1971 ANCSA was signed, but Arctic Village and Venetie did not agree to the terms of ANCSA; they refused to give up their aboriginal land rights and did not incorporate (Standlea, 2006). Instead, they wanted to take title of their own reserves and they opted for title to the 1.8 million acres of land in the former Venetie Reservation. ANCSA provided them the option to take title to the former reservation land, in return for forgoing the statute's monetary payments and transfers of non-reservation land. Subsequently, the US conveyed fee simple title to the land, constituting the former Venetie

Reservation to the two villages, after which they transferred title to the land to the Native Village of Venetie Tribal Government (Supreme Court of the United States, Feb. 25, 1998).

The Gwich'in villages of Venetie and Arctic Village would have been included in the Doyon Native Regional Corporation, but because these villages did not participate in ANCSA, they are independent of the Doyon Regional Corporation, and Doyon has no obligation to them (Dinero, 2005). The land is therefore owned by a tribal government, and not by a corporation.

In *Alaska v. Native Village of Venetie Tribal Government*, the Supreme Court decided that lands held in fee simple by a tribal government did not constitute Indian Country. For this reason, the tribal government could not tax activities of a nonmember private contractor doing business on that land (Supreme Court of the United States, Feb. 25, 1998).

Under ANCSA, Arctic Village is thus not part of corporation land, and therefore they cannot benefit from natural resource extraction revenues, neither from Doyon Ltd., nor from ASRC. Because oil development on the Coastal Plain will not economically benefit the Gwich'in, they do not have any reason to support it for monetary reasons.

4.3. Conclusion

After characterizing the two communities, a few similarities and differences can be defined. First of all, both communities have a mixed-economy in which subsistence and cash income co-exist. However, both communities equally value subsistence activities and a traditional way of life above everything else. They both have a strong connection to their lands and waters, for which they feel responsible, and on which they depend for survival. Both communities' well-being is linked to the natural environment, and subsistence food is important for both nutritional and spiritual well-being.

Under ANCSA, Arctic Village is not part of corporation land, and therefore they cannot benefit from natural resource extraction revenues, neither from Doyon Ltd., nor from ASRC. Because oil development on the Coastal Plain will not economically benefit the Gwich'in from Arctic Village, they do not have any reason to support it for monetary reasons.

On the contrary, Kaktovik can profit from oil development in the 1002 Area, because KIC has surface rights to certain areas, and therefore they can tax activities happening on their lands. ASRC has subsurface rights in parts of the 1002 Area, and can therefore earn money from oil development happening on their lands. Consequently, ANCSA and KIC stakeholders will benefit, and the two corporations will have money to provide extra services. Development in the 1002 Area will thus bring in money. Important to note here, is that even though Kaktovik can benefit from oil development in the region, ANCSA still resulted in a loss of control over their lands.

5. Perceptions in the ANWR debate

5.1. Introduction

In this chapter, research questions 2 and 3 will be answered. In the first sub-section of the chapter (5.2), RQ2 what are the perceptions of the communities of Kaktovik and Arctic Village about oil development in ANWR?, will be answered by doing a literature review and examining the two 'community reports'. In the following sub-sections, RQ3 how do the communities of Kaktovik and Arctic Village talk about risk and fate control in US media and politics, concerning the ANWR debate, and what storylines do they use in this?, will be answered by carrying out a discourse analysis of two US hearings and local and national US newspaper articles. Sub-sections 5.3 and 5.4 focus on risk perceptions and sub-section 5.5 focuses on fate control perceptions.

Through an analysis offered of the different discourses employed in spoken and written materials, I identify perceptions of the different actors about risk and fate control. Discourse analysis was executed to discover discursive themes and discourse coalitions, and the storylines that are part of them. In this way, perceptions about risk and fate control became clear.

I identify three discursive themes which are common to all stakeholders: *Wilderness, Wasteland or Homeland; Subsistence, Economy and Energy Security*; and *Recognition and Inclusion*. The storylines used within these themes take very different forms.

Within the discursive themes the differences between 'insider' and 'outsider' perceptions are highlighted in order to get a better understanding of how different actors talk about the area. In this way, perceptions of the communities ('insiders') can be compared with those of the other actors ('outsiders'), in order to say something about how those converge and diverge. Consequently, an answer can be given to RQ4 how do 'outsider' perceptions converge or diverge with 'insider' perceptions, and what can this mean for environmental justice in this case?, which will be discussed in chapter 6.

In order to investigate risk perceptions, it is important to find out how different actors talk about the Coastal Plain, to be able to say something about how they value the area. Sub-section 5.3 focuses on what the human value of the area is, that might be at stake. The discursive theme that relates to this is *Wilderness*, *Wasteland or Homeland*.

Sub-section 5.4 focuses on the consequences of action, in this case drilling, or not drilling, for oil in the Coastal Plain of ANWR. This sub-section goes deeper into how different actors talk about what is at stake, and how they value the consequences of drilling. Consequently, it will become clear how risk is interpreted by different actors. The discursive theme that relates to this is *Subsistence, Economy and Energy Security*.

Sub-section 5.5 focuses on how the actors talk about fate control. I looked at how the communities view their own roles in the debate in order to find out how they perceive the amount of control they have over what happens in the area. The discursive theme that relates to this sub-section is *Recognition and Inclusion*. In order to be able to assess the amount of fate control that is identified in how the communities communicate about issues that can be linked to fate control, the storylines were looked at by juxtaposing the indicators suggested by Dahl et al. (2010) in Chapter 6.

5.2. Local communities and oil development in ANWR

5.2.1. Kaktovik and ANWR industrial development

Pedersen et al. (2015) researched the relationships between petroleum development and subsistence on the North Slope. They state that the Iñupiat villages on the North Slope still depend on subsistence activities, and that subsistence use and industrial development overlap on the North Slope. In their research they look at "Iñupiat perceptions of threats to subsistence posed by petroleum development" (Pedersen et al., 2015: 212). Direct damage to subsistence species, dislocation of them, and loss of access to them would lead to less subsistence food, which is very important for Iñupiat culture, because of its nutritional and spiritual importance.

Pedersen et al. (2015) mention the following issues associated with onshore development communicated by North Slope communities: "deflection of marine mammals, oil spills, damage to subsistence species, sea and ice hazards to development, loss of subsistence foods, cultural change, local control, and social impacts" (ibid: 234). Some additional concerns that were mentioned include "pipeline heights, aircraft traffic, inability of small communities to adequately respond to the volume of planning documents and EISs, contamination, and [...] oil spills" (Pedersen et al., 2015: 236).

Wernham (2007) reports on a Health Impact Assessment (HIA) for proposed oil and gas development on the North Slope, which was done with high-level participation in the process by the Iñupiat communities. The author states that Iñupiat residents of the North Slope have shown concerns about industrial development causing health problems, and ultimately swallow up the subsistence way of life, which would have big consequences for health and well-being. This fear has been an important cause of tension in Iñupiat communities, according to Wernham (2007).

The author argues that often a political division develops within local communities on oil development issues, because people struggle to find a balance between potential economic gains and inevitable impacts. However, he found that the health issue transcended political divisions in the Iñupiat community (ibid).

Possible health outcomes include "increases in diabetes and related metabolic conditions as a result of dietary change" (ibid: 500) due to the possible decline of subsistence foods and a necessary transition to more unhealthy store-bought foods; and "rising rates of substance abuse, domestic violence, and suicide" (ibid: 500) due to rapid sociocultural change and strain because of the impacts oil development has on a region that is of great cultural and political importance to the communities (ibid).

Wernham also mentioned "more frequent asthma exacerbations; and increased exposure to organic pollutant, including carcinogens and endocrine disruptors" as possible health outcomes of oil development (ibid: 500). The author, however, also mentions potential benefits of oil and gas development on the North Slope, such as "funding for infrastructure and health care; increased employment and income; and continued funding of existing infrastructure" (ibid: 500).

"In This Place"

In 2003, the people of Kaktovik prepared a document named "In This Place: A Guide for Those Who Would Work in The Country of The Kaktovikmiut³. An Unfinished and On-Going Work Of the People of Kaktovik, Alaska". This document is written by the people that live in Kaktovik, and it represents "the

³ The Kaktovikmiut are the residents of Kaktovik

thoughts and wishes of the Kaktovikmiut" (In This Place, 2003). Therefore, this document is very useful to gain a more comprehensive idea of the perceptions of the people that live in Kaktovik.

In the beginning of the document, the authors make clear that they want their thoughts understood, because they feel like they have been misunderstood and misrepresented often. They explain that the thing that matters most to them, is their country. And they state that they have a responsibility to their land and their people and the future of both. In order to be able to live there as they have forever without harm, they state that they need to regain control over what happens on their lands and "to be at the heart of things and not on the outer fringes" (p. 2). They believe that no one else than them can be trusted to fight for them, their country and their place in it. Their country is what defines them, and losing it would mean losing much of their human reality (ibid).

The goal of this document is to suggest a manner by which outside people should behave when they are in the homelands and waters of the Kaktovikmiut. The reason for this, is that they have experienced that their lands and waters have received much attention from outside interests: those who want to search for oil and those who aim to make it into a wilderness. Both of these interests are seen as potentially destructive and dangerous for their interest and well-being. With this document they want to make clear what the interests and perspectives of the people of Kaktovik are about this (ibid).

They state that they are more concerned about the federal government and those who want to make it into a wilderness than about the oil industry. They explain that none of the lands that they occupy is wilderness, because it has continuously been occupied by them and their ancestors. Wilderness is defined as a place without people, which they find deeply insulting, because it assumes that they are not considered to be real people (ibid).

In the document they argue that they have rights to their lands that they have occupied since time immemorial, but that these rights have not been recognized. By making their land into a wildlife refuge, and setting aside parts of it as wilderness, without telling them, made them feel like they were declared nonexistent. They state that a wildlife refuge cannot be declared on lands that are already possessed by somebody else, but by doing so, their people were denied the use of their homeland (ibid).

Experience with the oil industry suggests that the people of Kaktovik can work with them and exert a certain amount of control over their activities. They have experienced that the oil industry is respectful of the Kaktovikmiut, and they have also brought them many benefits. They state that they have come to lead a good life, which is in large part because of oil revenues from North Slope oil development. Thereby, they argue that the oil industry does not intend to stay on their lands forever, unlike others that aim to stay and drive the people from Kaktovik out of their homeland (ibid).

In one chapter, risks that the Kaktovikmiut are facing are discussed. They first state that the worst risks from oil development are not the worst risks that they face, because they believe that the country would likely survive for the reason that oil development is a temporary thing. They are more concerned about the loss of their lands by people that intend genocide, other than the "oil people" (ibid).

They are not so much concerned about the oil development, but more about the infrastructure it requires. Traffic would cross whale grazing areas, which could impose massive damages on the whales, which mean so much to the Kaktovikmiut. Roads also pose a risk to the free north-south movement of the Kaktovikmiut as well as the migratory route of caribou. Another risk that oil development brings with it is different diseases, of which alcoholism is feared the most by the

Kaktovikmiut. Another risk that is mentioned, is that of scientists harming nature by doing research on animals (ibid).

The document points out that being "for" or "against" oil development are outsider opinions, which they reject both. They do not choose to be for or against oil development, because its impact is still unclear. Instead, they choose to be responsible for the well-being of their people and country, by controlling and gaining from any activity that they permit on their land. If they have oversight of the management of industrial activity, they can make sure that it is properly done within terms of good stewardship of the lands and waters (ibid).

The Kaktovikmiut do not argue that oil development does not come with risks, but that these risks can be managed. Of bigger concern are the people that pretend to be protectors:

We are fearful of the damages that may come to us from oil development, but we have to say that much of the damage is already upon us, upon our land. And much of it comes in the guise of protection. We are determined to stop it. The oil industry we think we can control. We have had far less effect protecting our country and our people from those sent here as protectors. But we shall find the means to do that (ibid: 3).

It is clear that the people of Kaktovik have written this document because they are very concerned about outsiders coming into their country. They are concerned about their land and consequently their survival. However, they also believe that they can benefit from these interactions with outsiders, but this can only happen if they keep control over what happens on their lands. They state that they cannot hand over the responsibility to protect them and their lands and waters, which are essential to their survival (ibid).

They recognize that oil development is a potentially dangerous activity and that they do not want to risk their future in this place, because they do not have a future anywhere else. They are very clear about the fact that they want their lands and waters protected and that they want no damages done to them. Furthermore, they do not want any restrictions on their use of their lands and waters. The best way to achieve this according to them, is to participate in whatever happens there and to make sure things happen "the way they should happen" (ibid).

5.2.2. Arctic Village and ANWR industrial development

Zentner et al. (2019) write that of particular significance for the Gwich'in people is the 1002 Area, or Coastal Plain, which is seen by them as the biological heart of the Refuge, and which serves as the calving grounds for the Porcupine Caribou Herd. The Gwich'in call the Coastal Plain "lizhik Gwats'an Gwandaii Goodlit": The Sacred Place Where Life Begins (Zentner et al., 2019).

The Gwich'in people are opposed to drilling in the Coastal Plain, because they argue that this would put the future of the Porcupine Caribou Herd at risk, and consequently also that of the Gwich'in people that rely on them for their subsistence. They state that the caribou rely almost exclusively on the thin band of land along the coast of the Refuge to birth and nurse their young. According to them, disruptions that come with oil drilling could drive the caribou away from their calving grounds (ourarcticrefuge.org).

In 1988 the Gwich'in Steering Committee was formed during a traditional gathering with the chiefs of all Gwich'in villages. It was unanimously decided that they would speak with one voice against

oil and gas development in the Refuge. They also formed a resolution, named the "Gwich'in Niintsyaa" (2012), in which they state that the issue is a human rights issue for the Gwich'in (Gwich'in Steering Committee, 2012).

In this document, the Gwich'in state that they have the inherent right to continue their way of life, and that:

[t]he health and productivity of the Porcupine Caribou Herd, and their availability to Gwich'in communities, and the very future of our People are endangered by proposed oil and gas exploration and development in their calving and post-calving grounds in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (Gwich'in Steering Committee, 2012).

They end with asking for their rights to be respected, and to make the 1002 area wilderness to protect the birthing place of the caribou herd.

Zentner et al. (2019) point out that, according to the Gwich'in, impacts to their culture, livelihoods and futures are more tangible and significant than any monetary consideration. They put a strong emphasis on the continuation of their traditions and culture and on the protection of the land for future generations, especially now when climate change is impacting their adaptation and mitigation abilities now and in the long-run (Zentner et al., 2019).

The authors describe that the Gwich'in feel like they have a certain responsibility to protect the land. They survive off the land and threats to the health of the land pose direct threats to Gwich'in culture and identity. According to the authors, they feel responsible to protect these lands for future generations (ibid)

Standlea (2006) argues that the Gwich'in have been used and exploited by many anti-drilling individuals and groups to further personal and interest group gain. The author writes that, in order to fight oil development and their loss of aboriginal land rights, the Gwich'in had to develop allies and work within the system. However, Standlea states that the history of indigenous alliance in the ANWR debate shows the difference between the positions of the environmental and indigenous campaigns, because the Native Alaskans are not urban environmentalists, and seeing them in the same light as environmental groups is not right (Standlea, 2006).

Standlea (2006) found that the Gwich'in in Arctic Village do not only see oil development as a threat to the animals and Gwich'in subsistence, but also masses of people that are coming into ANWR, changing the land with the human footprint. The problem is not just oil, but too many non-native people invading the landscape, according to the Gwich'in. The migration route of the caribou always came through Arctic Village, but the patterns are changing dramatically, because of oil industry and hunters, but also scientists that are tracking the animals with radio collars. The Gwich'in are thus caught in between the dominant global commercial culture, the resource extractors, and the resource managers, which are the scientists (ibid).

"A Moral Choice for the United States"

In 2005, the Gwich'in Steering Committee in cooperation with Richard J. Wilson, Professor of Law and Director of the International Human Rights Law Clinic at American University, published a report named "A Moral Choice for the United States: The Human Rights Implications for the Gwich'in of Drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge". Because this report is published by the Gwich'in Steering Committee, which represents the whole Gwich'in community, this is a very valuable document to gain more insight in the perceptions of the Gwich'in about natural resource development in ANWR.

The report explains that the Gwich'in are tied to the caribou in a way that they are an essential part to the Gwich'in diet, but they are also central to the culture and spirituality of the Gwich'in: "The [Gwich'in] believe that a bit of human heart is in every caribou, and that a bit of caribou is in every person. Any threat to the animal is a threat to the Gwich'in' (Gwich'in Steering Committee, 2005: 4).

In the document it is stated that the Gwich'in people's knowledge makes them highly sensitive to changes in herd biology and they argue that drilling in the Coastal Plain would almost certainly lead to the long-term decline of the herd. They state that scientific studies have shown the potential for a serious long-term problem for the Porcupine Caribou Herd if the 1002 area is developed (Gwich'in Steering Committee, 2005).

It is stated that oil and gas drilling would inevitably interfere with the Porcupine Caribou Herd's use of their calving grounds and insect relief areas. They argue that the caribou respond to industrial development by shifting their concentrated calving almost entirely away from the calving areas. The calving grounds and insect relief areas in the Coastal Plain are argued to be critical for the Porcupine Caribou Herd. This herd has the lowest capacity for growth and the 1002 area is critical to calf survival and thus the long-term health of the herd. If oil development would displace caribou calving away from the Coastal Plain, the baseline mortality would likely increase because of reduced access to the best forage, but also because of higher predator concentrations outside of the area. Thereby, the area also provides important insect relief habitat to the herd. Insect harassment will lead to less foraging opportunity, which will have consequences for the health of the herd (ibid).

The document thus foresees a long-term decline in the Porcupine Caribou Herd, if the Coastal Plain of ANWR would be opened to oil drilling. A change in herd distribution, which could lead to a different migration route which no longer passes Gwich'in villages, and the declining population of the herd could force the Gwich'in to cut down on the harvest, which is critical to Gwich'in physical and cultural survival (ibid).

The last part of the document focuses on the statement that oil and gas exploitation in the Coastal Plain of ANWR would violate the human rights of the Gwich'in. In the document is stated that although the Gwich'in do not occupy the Coastal Plain as a living area, its protection is critical for Gwich'in human rights. The right to culture is argued to be threatened, because damage to the herd would endanger the very identity of the Gwich'in as a people, because the spiritual connection to the herd is so central to the Gwich'in culture. Next to this, the right to their own means of subsistence is said to be threatened, because opening up the Coastal Plain for oil development would lead to a decline in the Porcupine Caribou Herd, which would prevent the Gwich'in from satisfying their subsistence needs by harvesting from the herd (ibid).

Furthermore, the right of the Gwich'in to health is also argued to be threatened, because a decline in the herd would lead to a shortage of subsistence food. Replacing these foods with store-bought food would have health consequences, because that food is not nearly as nutritious for the Gwich'in as traditional foods. Lastly, the right of the Gwich in to practice their religion is threatened, because the Coastal Plain plays a central role in the spiritual life of the Gwich'in. It is a sacred place, and the Porcupine Caribou Herd that depends on the Coastal Plain as a birthing ground, plays a critical role in Gwich'in spiritual life. Degradation of this natural area, and harm to the herd would violate the right of the Gwich'in to practice their religion (ibid).

The rights of the Gwich'in to culture, subsistence, health, and religion are argued to be intertwined with the Porcupine Caribou herd and Coastal Plain. Protecting the human rights of the Gwich'in thus requires protecting the Coastal Plain of ANWR. The document concludes with saying that

if the Coastal Plain would not be protected from oil drilling, it would be comparable to a genocidal act (ibid).

5.2.3. Conclusion

After identifying the perceptions of both communities about oil development in ANWR, some similarities and differences can be found. Both communities' well-being is linked to the natural environment, and subsistence food is important for nutritional and spiritual well-being. Furthermore, health concerns are mostly related to the availability and health of subsistence food, but the North Slope villages also express health concerns coming forth from oil development.

An important difference between the two communities, is that the Gwich'in of Arctic Village see oil development as a big threat to their subsistence way of life, and they express that they are against it. The Iñupiat of Kaktovik, however, do not choose to be in favor or against oil development, but they express that they do not see it as the biggest threat. They believe that their subsistence way of life can co-exist with oil development, and that they can even benefit from it, as long as they have control over what happens on their lands. They also state that oil development is a temporary thing, and they believe that the country will survive.

The Gwich'in want to see the Coastal Plain protected, and made into a protected wilderness area. The Iñupiat, however, see people that want to protect them and their land, and want to make it into a wilderness, as the greatest threat to them, much more than the "oil people".

Lastly, another difference between the two communities has to do with their (claim to) land rights. The community of Kaktovik puts a great emphasis on the fact that the Coastal Plain is their homeland and that they should have the right to decide what happens to it. The Gwich'in, on the other hand, recognize that they do not occupy the area, but that it is critical for their survival, and therefore, they should have a say about it.

As expressed in the document "In This Place", the Kaktovikmiut have big concerns about how their land is managed, which could have devastating consequences for their survival. According to them, the only way to make sure that their land is managed in the right way, is if they regain control over what happens on their lands.

5.3. Wilderness, Wasteland or Homeland

Blair and Kofinas (2020) state that when it is clear how people believe society should function and how society and nature should interact, you can identify the threats to these ideals or worldviews. One interesting distinction between the different actors comes forward in the way that they describe the Coastal Plain, and in the way that they describe their relationship with the natural area. *Wilderness, Wasteland or Homeland* is a discursive theme that came forward in the hearings and newspapers. Three discourse coalitions can be found within this theme, who use their own storylines.

The 'outsider' perceptions can be divided into two discourse coalitions. The first coalition is formed by Democrats and environmentalists, who often talk about the area as a pristine wilderness and emphasize its ecological importance. The storyline that is used by this coalition is *The Coastal Plain is a pristine wilderness*. The second coalition is formed by Republicans, Alaskan politicians and industry representatives, who do not talk about the area as pristine, but rather as an empty flatland, and some even call it a wasteland. The storyline that is used by this coalition is *The Coastal Plain is a wasteland*.

The 'insider' perceptions can be linked with one discourse coalition, which is formed by Gwich'in and Iñupiat representatives. They present a third view of the area, namely of it being their homeland on which they rely for subsistence and cultural survival. The storyline that is used by this coalition is *The Coastal Plain is our homeland*. In the following sub-sections, the storylines will be further elaborated on.

5.3.1. Outsider perceptions

The Coastal Plain is a pristine wilderness

This storyline links to the discourse coalition that is formed by Democrats and environmentalists. These actors often talk about the area as a very special place that needs to be protected. The reason why they argue it to be so special, is because it is a very important natural area in the ANWR. They say that it is the biological and ecological heart, home to many different species, and a calving ground for different animals, specifically caribou and polar bears. It is seen as a pristine wilderness, because the area is said to be untouched by humans and human infrastructure (US hearing, November 2, 2017; 26 March, 2019).

In the hearings, as well as the media, environmentalists and Democrats often used romanticizing names for the Refuge and the area was often referred to as wilderness. What is interesting to note here, is that these groups talk about the area often in relation to its national importance. Examples of this, cited from the hearings and media, are: "the crown jewel of our nation's national wildlife system" (US hearing, November 2, 2017), "national heritage" (US hearing, November 2, 2017), "one of America's greatest national treasures" (Alaska Dispatch News, 2017), "our nation's most important and irreplaceable public lands" (Alaska Dispatch News, 2018), "America's last great wildlands" (Washington Post, 2019).

Next to this, it is also remarkable that the Coastal Plain is often described as wilderness, because it is said to be untouched by humans and human infrastructure. One New York Times article spoke about 'the last great stretch of nothingness in the United States': "aside from a Native village at its Northern tip, civilization has not dented its 19 million acres" (New York Times, 2018).

Democrats and environmentalists value the Coastal Plain as an important natural area. Taking risks that might have negative consequences, would have an impact on a bigger area than just the Coastal Plain, because it is seen as the biological heart of the Refuge. If something happens to the heart of the Refuge, it will have consequences for the rest of ANWR. Therefore, a lot is at stake. Democrat

Sen. Heinrich explained this issue in one hearing: "1002 is the flatland, around are mountains. This is the spring. If you lose the spring, you lose the whole river" (US hearing, November 2, 2017). And Democrat Cantwell stated that "[w]ildlife cannot exist in the same way with this development" (US hearing, November 2, 2017)

Although the above mentioned actors do not so much seem to fear for the consequences for their own lives, they emphasize the value of the area and therefore they feel like it is their duty to take care of the natural environment that is at risk.

The Coastal Plain is a wasteland

This storyline links to the discourse coalition that is formed by Republicans, Alaskan politicians and industry representatives. These actors did not often talk about the Coastal Plain as a special place. It was said to be a frozen tundra with nothing in it, and that it is only a small, insignificant part of the whole Refuge. Some politicians have even referred to the Coastal Plain as a wasteland.

In the hearings, the people in favor of the drilling often emphasized the fact that the 1002 area is a relatively small area in the ANWR and that it is not a wilderness, because there's people living in the area. Furthermore, it is also argued that it is not a pristine area, but just empty flatlands. Two Alaskan politicians, Young and Walker, stated that the 1002 area is an area set aside for development, not preservation (US hearing, November 2, 2017). Furthermore, it was stated by Young that "it's never been a wilderness, it's meant for drilling" (US hearing, 26 March, 2019). By this same politician, the 1002 area was explained as an insignificant small area: "it is so small, it is like a dot on my nose" (US hearing, November 2, 2017). Another Republican politician, Graves, stated that the Refuge was far from pristine: "you can't even frickin' visit the place. Because it's a frozen tundra. It's not mountains. It's not trails" (US hearing, November 2, 2017).

Former Alaska legislator Gail Philips was cited in The New York Times, stating that it is a "frozen wasteland" (New York Times, 2017) and Republican Murkowski was cited in the Washington Post, stating that the 1002 area is a non-wilderness area (Washington Post, 2017).

This coalition seems to mainly emphasize the fact that the area is, opposite to what Democrats and environmentalists are saying, not at all pristine. It was set aside by Congress for drilling, not for protection. By Republicans, Alaskan politicians and industry representatives it is often set aside as being an insignificant small part of the ANWR, instead of 'the biological heart' that Democrats and environmentalists refer to. Thereby it is argued that the Coastal Plain is not a wilderness, because there is already infrastructure, and there are people living in the area.

For these actors, the Coastal Plain is set aside as insignificant and not specifically an important natural area. Therefore, taking risks that might have negative consequences is easier, because they argue that it is already a wasteland with nothing in it, so there is not much at stake. These actors also do not seem to fear for the consequences for their own lives if something would happen to the area.

5.3.2. Insider perceptions

The Coastal Plain is our homeland

This storyline is presented by the discourse coalition that is formed by Gwich'in and Iñupiat representatives. People from both the Gwich'in and Iñupiat communities describe the Coastal Plain as a special place that they feel strongly connected to.

The Gwich'in people that were present at the hearings described their relationship to the land as an interconnected relationship and that it is therefore their duty to protect the area. Samuel Alexander (Gwich'in representative) stated:

The land is tied to our language and understanding of the world. We are connected to caribou. The locals are the caribou and they don't have a voice. That's why we're here. It is our responsibility and duty to take care of the land and animals. Because they have taken care of us for thousands of years (US hearing, November 2, 2017)

Gwich'in representatives describe their strong relationship to the caribou, and that the survival of the Gwich'in is interconnected with the survival of the caribou (US hearing, 26 March, 2019). They also describe the way that they treat the land. Alexander stated: "we are stewards of the land. Humans are not above the other creations" and "the new (outside) world [...] seeks domination over the lands, animals, resources versus ours; a respectful relationship" (US hearing, 26 March, 2019).

In one of the hearings one person also talked about a displacement of value, because they see the caribou as a renewable energy resource (US hearing, 26 March, 2019). Furthermore, the 1002 area is described as a sacred place and a foundation of their way of life for the Gwich'in (US hearing, 26 March, 2019).

When looking at things being said about the Coastal Plain by Gwich'in people in the news articles, a Gwich'in representative, Demientieff, is quoted in one of the articles: "This is our home. This is where our ancestors migrated for thousands of years" (Alaska Public Media, 2019). Their link to the place is explained through their connection to the caribou that give birth in the Refuge. In one article, a Gwich'in leader says that the Gwich'in try to protect a resource that is vital for their culture and survival (Alaska Public Media, 2019). In an Alaska Public Media article Demientieff was quoted: "I know it's hard for people who live in a city like Houston to understand what our lives are like, or why this place means so much to us" (Alaska Public Media, 2019).

It is explained how the Gwich'in people are tied to the caribou (Alaska Dispatch News, 2018) and that the land is essential to their way of life and that they view it as sacred (Alaska Public Media, 2017). They represent the animals, says Demientieff: "I wouldn't be standing here today if it wasn't for that Porcupine Caribou Herd, if it wasn't for the tsook-cho, the king salmon" (Alaska Public Media, 2018). In one of the Alaska Public Media articles it was said that it is painful for the Gwich'in to hear people talk about their sacred land as wasted, because for them it is their home, where their ancestors have migrated for thousands of years (Alaska Public Media, 2018).

Iñupiat representatives also talk about a special relationship with the land. In one of the hearings, M. Rexford (Kaktovik resident, KIC representative) stated that the Iñupiat of Kaktovik care about the environment more than anything, but that they have a lot of experience with natural resource development, and that they will be making sure that development will keep the land and subsistence resources safe (US hearing, November 2, 2017). He stated that the Iñupiat are stewards of the land (US hearing, 26 March, 2019). M. Rexford also commented on the fact that the area has been called a wilderness, because he argues that "the lands have not and never will be wilderness, because wilderness means a land without people", but the Iñupiat have been living in the area for thousands of years (US hearing, 26 March, 2019).

Glenn (Iñupiat, ASRC) said that all the land is sacred land, and they bear the bones of his ancestors. He said that his people (the Iñupiat) depend on the land for both food and resource

development (..). However, he also stated that the Coastal plain is not a pristine area, because there's already a lot of development in the area (US hearing, 26 March, 2019).

Both the Iñupiat and Gwich'in representatives describe the Coastal Plain as a very important area to them. They both have a strong relationship with the land, which they describe as interconnected. For the Gwich'in, this means that they depend on the survival of the Porcupine Caribou Herd for their own cultural and physical survival, which depends on the Coastal Plain as a birthing ground. The Iñupiat also describe a strong relationship with the land. They call themselves stewards of the land and they feel responsible for keeping the land and waters safe.

Compared to the other actors, these two groups talk about a more personal relationship with the land. They describe a relationship where they are part of their environment and they feel responsible for taking care of it. Because of this personal and interconnected relationship, it would not only be risky for the wildlife that lives in the area if something would happen to the land, but also for the Gwich'in and Iñupiat that depend on the area for subsistence and cultural survival.

5.4. Subsistence, Economy and Energy Security

This sub-section goes deeper into how different actors talk about what exactly is at stake, and how they value the consequences of drilling. Consequently, it will become clear how risk is perceived by different actors. *Subsistence, Economy and Energy Security* is a discursive theme that came forward from the data, which can be linked with the consequences of oil development. Four discourse coalitions can be found within this theme, who use their own storylines.

The 'outsider' perceptions can be divided into two discourse coalitions. The first coalition is formed by Republicans and Alaskan politicians, who talk about the need for oil development for the national security of the US, and also to tackle climate threats. Two storylines are used by this coalition: We need oil development in Alaska for the national security of our country, and Alaska needs finances form oil development in order to tackle climate change effects. The second discourse coalition is formed by Democrats and environmentalists, who argue that oil development will only make global warming worse and add to local climate threats. The storyline that is used by this coalition is Oil development will add to global warming and local climate threats.

The 'insider' perceptions can be divided into two discourse coalitions. The first coalition is formed by the Iñupiat representatives, who argued that oil development can have a positive effect on their way of life. The storyline that is used by this coalition is *Drilling for oil in the Coastal Plain of ANWR will ensure our (quality of) life*. The second coalition is formed by Gwich'in representatives, who argued that oil development will have a negative impact on their way of life. The storyline that is used by this coalition is *Drilling for oil in the Coastal Plain of ANWR will destroy our (quality of) life*. In the following sub-sections, the storylines will be further elaborated on.

5.4.1. Outsider perceptions

We need oil development in Alaska for the national security of our country

In the hearings, Republicans and Alaskan politicians often talked about the importance of oil drilling in Alaska for the national security of the US. The explanation for this is that the US would become energy independent, and therefore does not have to export oil from other (unfriendly) countries that do not share the same values as the US. It is also mentioned a couple of times that it is important to stand up

against Russia, and that there is a fear of otherwise becoming a second rate nation. In one hearing, Alaskan politician Mallott was quoted: "due to climate change and changing security interests, the state and nation need security, which can be achieved by being energy independent" (US hearing, November 2, 2017).

In the media the idea of energy security is mentioned often, citing Republicans and Alaskan politicians. In both national articles, Ryan Zinke, Secretary of the Interior, was cited, stating that "The only path for energy dominance is a path through the great state of Alaska" (Washington Post and New York Times, 2018). Another Washington Post article cited Erik Milito, from American Petroleum Institute (API): "responsible access to the Arctic region is in our national security interest, with other nations like Russia, Canada and Norway already actively exploring the area" (Washington Post, 2019).

For the coalition supporting this storyline it is very important to drill for oil in ANWR, because not drilling could have great consequences for the national security of the US. In this case the decision not to drill is seen as a risky decision, because the country could become a second rate nation and dependent on oil from other unfriendly countries that do not share the same values as the US.

Alaska needs finances from oil development in order to tackle climate change effects

Another subject that has been spoken about a lot in the hearings, is about the relationship between oil development and climate change. In the hearings, Republicans and Alaskan politicians supporting this statement make claims such as "we need finances from oil development to respond rapidly to climate change conditions", "environmental standards in the U.S. are higher than those of other countries, and therefore drilling in Alaska will help protecting the global environment", and "due to minimal environmental impact and the ability to respond to climate change impacts, it is in the world's interest" (US hearing, November 2, 2017; 26 March, 2019).

This coalition thus states that, when choosing to drill in a US state, other than importing oil from other countries, will have a positive impact on global climate change, because the US has higher environmental standards than most other countries when it comes to natural resource development. If oil development would not take place in Alaska, the country would have to import oil from other countries that might have lower environmental standards. Keeping oil development in the country therefore ensures that the environment is less harmed than when other countries do it.

Moreover, the income that the drilling generates will provide the Alaskan government tools to rapidly respond to climate change effects. The Alaskan government has a high dependency on income from oil development. Almost 50 percent of state revenue comes from oil development. It is argued that if oil development in ANWR does not happen, the state will have no money to prevent or deal with climate change impacts, such as floods etc.: "Alaska has been impacted by climate change, but it needs to exploit its natural resources to pay to deal with it" (US hearing, November 2, 2017)

In Alaska Dispatch News a few arguments were cited why oil development in ANWR would not contribute to climate change. Balash, Interior Department's assistant secretary, said in one article that the small scale of oil production from the Arctic Refuge would not make a difference on a global scale (Alaska Dispatch News, 2019), and Moriarty, President of the Alaska Oil and Gas Association, said that the contribution of Alaska to climate change is minuscule and it would continue to be small even when new drilling will occur in the Refuge (Alaska Dispatch News, 2017).

For the coalition supporting this storyline it is very important to drill for oil in ANWR, because not drilling could have great consequences for global climate change and Alaska's climate security. The decision not to drill is therefore seen as a risky decision.

Oil development will add to global warming and local climate threats

In the hearings, Democrats and environmentalists supporting this statement say things like "protecting will give animals a chance to survive the changing climate", "environmental stresses make protection even more important", "drilling will exacerbate these changes", "we have to work together (incl. animals) to prepare for climate change", "climate change has consequences on human spirituality and identity", "oil development will add to global warming and threats", "it is important for the survival of polar bears to conserve the onshore habitats", "climate change has an impact on caribou", "we are continuing our reliance on fossil fuels", and "we need a cautionary approach, because it is not clear what the climate change impacts will be" (US hearing, November 2, 2017; 26 March, 2019).

This coalition states that oil development will only make the circumstances in the Arctic worse, and it will add to climate change. They argue that wildlife and Native Alaskan villages already have to deal with the stresses from climate change, and more stresses due to oil infrastructure and drilling would be added, which will make the living situation even harder. Thereby, they state that the oil industry is responsible for a lot of greenhouse gas emissions, and drilling for more oil will therefore worsen climate change.

It is, according to these actors, important to protect the area from drilling, which will give the animals a chance to survive climate change conditions. Otherwise, oil development will increase climate change conditions and the consequences of this are unknown. Democrat Franken (US hearing, November 2, 2017) stated in one of the hearings that:

climate change has deeply impacted Alaska. I think that we need to curb emissions and provide support for communities to help them adapt to climate change, but not by drilling in the habitat of the food source for an indigenous people (US hearing, November 2, 2017).

In the media it is also stated that oil development will add to global warming, and that climate change is more visible in the Arctic than in other parts of the world. In an Alaska Dispatch News article, it is stated that warming temperatures because of oil development and greenhouse gas emissions has made the ice softer, which makes it more difficult for hunters to travel on frozen rivers and ocean (Alaska Dispatch News, 2019). In a New York Times article, environmentalists are quoted, saying that climate change has already led to significant changes in the area, "like polar bears that are now more active on the Coastal Plain than ever before, because the sea ice they rely on is receding" (News York Times, 2017).

For the actors supporting this storyline, drilling in ANWR would pose risks, because it would add to global climate change and it will make living conditions for animals and Native Alaskan people even harder.

5.4.2. Insider perceptions

Drilling for oil in the Coastal Plain of ANWR will ensure our (quality of) life

Actors that supported this statement in the hearings, which were Iñupiat representatives, used sayings in the hearings like "we need to move forward, away from third-world conditions", "we are dependent on these resources", "we need an economy", "it provides schools, houses, roads, clinics, toilets", "we utilize the land for the benefit of our community", "the quality of life improved dramatically", and "the impact is for our benefit" (US hearing, November 2, 2017; 26 March, 2019).

This coalition argued that industrial development has a positive effect on their way of life, because it will provide basic infrastructure. Having an economy and income will improve their quality of life. M. Rexford (Iñupiat, KIC representative) emphasized the risk of not opening up the area for resource development:

Making it into a national park means a fate with no economy, jobs, reduced subsistence and no hope for the future of our people. We are already impacted by restrictions for access for subsistence purposes (US hearing, November 2, 2017).

In the local media, the Iñupiat from Kaktovik are often spoken about in relation to economic opportunity. It is mentioned that oil will bring jobs and a better standard of living for the people of Kaktovik. Natural resource development is not only spoken of as an opportunity, but also as a need.

It is said that the community of Kaktovik depends on the natural resources of the area, including oil and gas. The argument made is that oil has provided a basic infrastructure in Kaktovik and Richard Glenn, Iñupiat and spokesperson from ASRC, stated: "oil development provides the cash that allows the Iñupiat to continue to live in the Arctic and teach future generations how to hunt on ice", and it "has allowed the Iñupiat people to continue to practice their culture while also providing warm homes, sanitary water and sewer systems, better education outcomes, good health and substantially longer lives" (Alaska Public Media, 2019).

One Washington Post article also brought forth the same link between the Iñupiat from Kaktovik and oil development: "many residents in Kaktovik have endorsed the idea of drilling on the refuge, on the grounds that they would receive a share of royalties from any discoveries" (Washington Post, 2019). In an article of Alaska Public Media, it is stated that the Iñupiat depend on the richness of the Refuge (Alaska Public Media, 2017). In another article, however, it is mentioned that the people of Kaktovik that support the drilling want to make sure that development doesn't jeopardize resident's ability to harvest both caribou and whale (Alaska Public Media, 2019).

In one of the Alaska Public Media articles, however, two sides of oil development for the residents of Kaktovik were pointed out: "Kaktovik's residents are positioned to be among the biggest beneficiaries, and to experience some of the biggest disruptions" (Alaska Public Media, 2019), and in an Alaska Dispatch News article, it was mentioned that a poll conducted by Kaktovik's city government found half in favor of oil development, 30 percent against and the rest undecided (Alaska Dispatch News, 2019).

In the national newspapers, the Iñupiat were shortly mentioned, but emphasis was put more on the benefits oil drilling would have for all of the residents of Alaska. It was stated that money from oil and gas development is a critical source of income for Alaska, because it has improved schools, roads and hospitals, and because Alaskans receive annual dividends from the revenue (New York Times, 2018).

Drilling for oil in the Coastal Plain of ANWR will destroy our (quality of) life

Actors that supported this statement in the hearings, which were Gwich'in representatives, used sayings like "money can't buy our wealth", "we don't want money", "there is a displacement of value: caribou are a renewable energy resource", "our survival depends on the protection of the caribou herd", "our livelihood is tied to the caribou", "caribou provides basis for our identity", "it is needless development that leads to cultural genocide" (US hearing, November 2, 2017; 26 March, 2019).

This coalition argued that industrial development has a negative impact on their way of life and that it is not necessary. Demientieff (Gwich'in representative) stated: "it's not a risk we can afford to take. Our very survival depends on [the caribou herd's] protection" (US hearing, 26 March, 2019). The Gwich'in representatives state that they do not need any money, because they cannot buy anything with it. They live off the land and they already are wealthy, so they do not need anything other than things to stay the way they are. Alexander (Gwich'in representative) stated: "we already recognize the wealth that we have as people. There's nothing that you can give us" (US hearing, November 2, 2017).

Other than the Iñupiat from Kaktovik, the Gwich'in (from Arctic Village) are often spoken about in relation to the negative consequences of oil drilling on the Coastal Plain. It is often mentioned that they are concerned that drilling will threaten the Porcupine Caribou herd, on which the Gwich'in depend for their subsistence and cultural way of life. An example of such a quote, by Gemmill (Gwich'in representative) is:

Any impacts to the Porcupine Caribou Herd from changes in migration patterns, lower fertility rates, and loss of habitat will have significant adverse social, cultural, spiritual, and subsistence impacts on our people (Alaska Public Media, 2019).

Risks related to the impacts drilling would have for the Porcupine Caribou herd, and consequently for the Gwich'in, are repeatedly mentioned in all the articles. It is said that it will destroy the lifestyle of the Gwich'in:

The very existence and identity of the Gwich'in are under threat. [...] We want to continue to live our cultural and traditional life with the Porcupine Caribou Herd. Any development to the Refuge or the Coastal Plain would be a human rights violation. Our identity is not negotiable. (Alaska Dispatch News, 2017).

[Drilling] disrespects the Gwich'in Nation and all people in the Arctic and world who suffer the impacts of climate change and nonstop exploitation, while formally scratching the backs of those who seek to desecrate land and dishonor human rights to fill their pockets (Washington Post, 2019).

The dependence on the caribou herd and the consequence of not being able to live the same way, is brought forward as the most important issue for the Gwich'in in the news articles.

Both Iñupiat and Gwich'in representatives argue that whatever happens in the Coastal Plain could bring forward a lot of risks for them. Even though they express opposing views about whether drilling or not drilling could affect their lives, the consequences that it could have for their communities seem to be equally devastating, because it can determine whether they can keep living the way they do, or whether their lives will drastically change.

5.5. Recognition and Inclusion

This sub-section will look at how the two communities value their own roles in the debate in order to find out how they perceive the amount of control they have over what happens in the area.

Consequently, it will become clear how the fate control indicators (as mentioned by Dahl et al., 2010) come forward in the debate. *Recognition and Inclusion* is a discursive theme that came forward from the data. Two discourse coalitions can be found within this theme, who use their own storylines.

The 'outsider' perceptions can be linked with one discourse coalition, formed by Democrats, Republicans, Alaskan politicians, environmentalists and industry representatives. These actors expressed why Native Alaskan people should be listened to in the debate. The storyline used by this coalition is *We should listen to Native Alaskan people*. The 'insider' perceptions can be linked with one discourse coalition, formed by Gwich'in and Iñupiat representatives, who talk about their rights to be involved in the process, about them often not being heard, about their Indigenous Knowledge not being recognized, and about their human rights being threatened. Four storylines, which can be linked with fate control indicators from Dahl et al. (see Chapter 6), are used by this coalition: *We should have the right to decide what happens in the area, We are not being heard, Our Indigenous Knowledge is not being recognized,* and *Our human rights are being threatened*. In the following sub-sections, the storylines will be further elaborated on.

5.5.1. Outsider perceptions

We should listen to Native Alaskan people

When looking at how the Gwich'in and Iñupiat communities were represented in the media, it was found that Democrats, Republicans, Alaskan politicians, environmentalists and industry representatives often speak for the Alaska Native communities. In the local newspapers, Democrat politicians and environmentalists were cited, stating things like "the tribes there and species there are counting on us to make sure it doesn't happen" (Alaska Dispatch News, 2018), "this effort is wholly incompatible with your responsibility to move forward in a way that is compatible with protecting the wilderness and wildlife values of the Refuge and needs of the Gwich'in people" (Alaska Dispatch News, 2018), and "House Democrats and our new majority will work to protect Native Americans and Alaska Natives in every part of our country" (Alaska Public Media, 2018).

Kolton, from the Alaska Wilderness League, stated in an article: "This is a land grab, pure and simple, and the individuals responsible care little about impacts to wildlife or the damage they would be inflicting on Alaska Native people whose subsistence depends on the Arctic Refuge" (Alaska Dispatch News, 2018).

In one of the hearings, Democrat Cantwell made a statement about how the area is viewed by Native Alaskans: "Individual tribal members [...] don't support this kind of development because they believe in the wildlife nature that God has given us and that we are stewards of Mother Earth" (US hearing, November 2, 2017). In another hearing, Democrat Huffman stated: "are we going to honor the communities that depend on this special place or is our government going to be responsible for its destruction? It's a question of who's side we're on: indigenous people or industrial profit" (US hearing, 26 March, 2019). And Democrat Joseph made a statement that it is about all Native people: "it's not about who lives closer to the area on the map. We're talking about the full impact on all the Native people that rely on the resources in the area" (US hearing, 26 March, 2019).

In the local newspapers, Republican and Alaskan politicians, and industry representatives were also cited, talking about Native Alaskan people. Balash, former assistant secretary of the Interior Department, stated that he wants to make sure to listen to the people mostly affected, "Kaktovik and the North Slope Borough generally" (Alaska Disptach News, 2018). Murkowski, Alaskan Senator, said in a statement in Alaska Dispatch news that she appreciated the time and attention the Department

of the Interior had dedicated to gather feedback from all Alaskans, "particularly the Iñupiat and other stakeholders in the Alaska Native community" (Alaska Disptach News, 2018).

In the hearings, Republican Daines stated: "I just think it's a bit arrogant for Washington, D.C. to be in some way dictating the future of what Alaskans want to do" (US hearing, November 2, 2017), and by Alaskans he did not mean the Gwich'in people. Alaskan Republican politician Don Young was cited in an article: "they [the Gwich'in] say it'll hurt the people. [..] The people where ANWR is, that live there, support the development of ANWR. That's who we should be listening to" (Alaska Dispatch News, 2017). And in the hearing of 2019 the same politician stated: "I want to believe the people, not the Gwich'in, because they are not the people. They live 400 miles away. [...] Think when you say 'we want to save the culture'. Save the culture of the people, not foreigners living away of the area. Those are not the directly affected" (US hearing, 26 March, 2019).

Republican Gosar made the statement that "the Coastal Plain does not contain wilderness – it has been occupied by the Iñupiat people. Iñupiat people's voices are crucial to this hearing. They are directly impacted" (US hearing, 26 March, 2019). And Republican Lee made a similar point:

it is supported by the people of Alaska. In particular the Iñupiat who actually live in that part of the Refuge. Local input should play an outsize role in land management issues. They should have the most significant say in it. The people closest to the land deserve to have their voices heard and wishes respected (US hearing, 26 March, 2019).

5.5.2. Insider perceptions

We should have the right to decide what happens in the area

Both Gwich'in and Iñupiat representatives claim that they should be listened to, because they are the ones directly affected by what happens in the Coastal Plain. The representatives of the Iñupiat often state that they are the ones directly impacted, because they live on the North Slope, and the Iñupiat village of Kaktovik is the only village in the 1002 Area. The Gwich'in villages are far away from the Refuge. Thereby, the Iñupiat representatives are saying that they are the native land-owners, so they should be able to make decisions about what should happen with their land.

In a few Alaska Dispatch News articles, it was described that ASRC supported and represented the Iñupiat from Kaktovik. Patkotak, a representative from ASRC, stated that drilling is an Alaska Native rights issue, which will benefit Alaskans with jobs and a better economy. He said that "the Inupiaq [Iñupiat] are the rightful owners of the resource", and therefore they have the right to develop it (Alaska Dispatch News, 2019).

In the hearings, Richard Glenn, representative of ASRC, stated that "people from Alaskan Native landowners, Kaktovik and Arctic Slope Region cannot realize their right to self-determination if Congress doesn't open up the area. The people from Kaktovik are the only indigenous people that should be listened to the loudest" (US hearing, November 2, 2017), and "I ask that this committee respect the indigenous land owners within the Coastal Plain and their rights to improve the quality of their lives" (US hearing, 26 March, 2019). M. Rexford, Iñupiat representative, showed his irritation about the fact that they have to ask for permission to have development on their own land: "it's our own land. Nowhere else in the world do you need an act of Congress to have development on your own land" (US hearing, 26 March, 2019).

The representatives of the Gwich'in community say that the discussion should not be about who lives closer to the area, because their survival is interconnected with the caribou. Therefore, they will be the first to be impacted (US hearing, 26 March, 2019).

We are not being heard

In the hearings, Iñupiat representatives expressed that they feel like their culture is often ignored, because when people are speaking about "protecting Arctic culture" they mostly are talking about Gwich'in culture. In the hearing of 2019, the feeling of not being taken into account also came forward when Iñupiat representatives articulated their concern about the fact that the refuge protection bill did not mention the Iñupiat of the North Slope, or Kaktovik, nor were they informed about this bill. Glenn (ASRC) stated that "the only residents of the Coastal Plain were not consulted about this bill. [...] people who live in ANWR are not given proportionate consideration, if any in this bill" (US hearing, 26 March, 2019).

In an Alaska Public Media article it was described that there is frustration by Kaktovik proponents of drilling about what they see as a tendency by outsiders to defer to the views of the Gwich'in, even though the Iñupiat have lived on the North Slope for thousands of years, as mentioned by Lampe, a resident of Kaktovik:

They try and just blatantly tell us: 'No, you cannot do this on your own land. We have more of a right to what you do in your own community, in your own village. They think that we're trying to make it to where it's just going to be a big oil field out there. That's not what we're trying to do (Alaska Public Media, 2019).

The feeling of being left out also comes forward in an article of Alaska Dispatch News, in which was stated by Kayotuk, a resident of Kaktovik, that the village's needs were being skipped over, because no Congressionally mandated provisions were included in the 2017 bill to divert any of the oil revenue in Kaktovik, or to accommodate the village's subsistence practices (Alaska Dispatch News, 2019). In this same article, another resident from Kaktovik, Burns, shared similar concerns: "no matter what we say or do, I think they're going to try to go where the oil is easily extracted" (Alaska Dispatch News, 2019) – which makes it hard for residents to control where drilling will be happening.

The Gwich'in also talked about the fact that they are not being heard. In one of the hearings, Tizya-Tramm, a representative, said that they feel like the decision about whether to drill for oil and gas in the Refuge is beyond their control (US hearing, 26 March, 2019). In the local newspapers, Gwich'in people also expressed concerns about not being heard in the process, like Garnett (Gwich'in): "I just really feel like their minds were already made up before they came into this" (Alaska Public Media, 2019), and Potts (Gwich'in): "our government that is supposed to represent all of us equally and freely is preventing us from properly commenting, and I think that needs to be justified" (Alaska Dispatch News, 2019).

Our Indigenous Knowledge is not being recognized

Something that was discussed quite frequently in the hearings, was the question of what knowledge is available and most importantly, which knowledge should be relied upon in order to find out what the consequences of drilling will be on the wildlife. Alexander (Gwich'in) stated that the caribou run away from development (US hearing, November 2, 2017). Republican Cronin however, said that "development can be done with minimum impacts to caribou as long as mitigation measures are

implemented; limit activities during the calving period", and Glenn, from ASRC, stated that "the caribou will be undisturbed" (US hearing, November 2, 2017).

In the hearing of 2019, Demientieff (Gwich'in) said: "our science tells us that it will damage the calving grounds", and Alexander (Gwich'in) explained that they use their traditional knowledge to "understand animal behavior, and drilling will devastate the caribou. Without the caribou the Refuge dies; the entire Refuge" (US hearing, 26 March, 2019).

Not everyone seemed to agree with the idea of traditional knowledge as a reliable source. Republican Gosar challenged this idea and asked representatives of the Gwich'in community if the caribou herd is growing. Alexander replied with: "Yes, because [...] [they] live under the stewardship of the Gwich'in", after which Gosar stated that that is not a scientific fact; "you got to give me something more on science" (US hearing, 26 March, 2019). Demientieff replied that it is their traditional knowledge, but Gosar did not believe it "because the herd is increasing" (US hearing, 26 March, 2019).

Not only Gwich'in representatives stated that their science is more reliable. M. Rexford (Iñupiat) said that "science is political. We are the experts. [...] We care about the land. Political science is in our way" (US hearing, 26 March, 2019). He is implying here that science is used for the benefit of environmental corporations at the expense of the Iñupiat from Kaktovik. However, he argues that this kind of science is incorrect, and that his people are the real experts.

Our human rights are being threatened

In the hearings, human rights were described in the sense of "the right to exist as indigenous people", "the protection of our freedom", "the protection of a way of life or identity", "the protection of physical, spiritual and cultural survival", "respect of all people", "being able to live the life we choose", "the right to food security", "keep land and subsistence resources safe", "the right to (economic) self-determination", and "the right to improve our quality of life" (US hearing, November 2, 2017; 26 March, 2019).

The representatives of the Iñupiat community, that were speaking in favor of the drilling, said that their human rights are being threatened if there will be no drilling in the Refuge, because the improvement of their quality of life would be reversed. They are dependent on the resources and the income that the industry generates and they call upon their right of economic self-determination. They mention that making the Refuge into a protected wilderness, would be an act of "green colonialism", whereby outside groups show interest in their land and develop environmental legislation that causes Indigenous people to move, or even die, because of, for instance, hunting regulations. This would force the Iñupiat people to become 'conservation refugees' (US hearing, 26 March, 2019).

M. Rexford, Kaktovik resident and KIC representative, stated that:

We, 200 plus residents of Kaktovik, exist. We experience a lot of injustice. It erases our existence on the land and it threatens our human rights and self-determination and ignored our culture (US hearing, 26 March, 2019).

He also stated:

Even our basic human rights are being impeded upon by the US Fish and Wildlife Service. It is being managed as a wilderness. All those restrictions are stopping the people from getting to their private Native allotments (US hearing, 26 March, 2019).

The representatives of the Gwich'in, that were speaking against the drilling in the hearings, say that their human rights are being threatened if there will be drilling in the Refuge, because they cannot continue their traditional way of life, and their right to food security will be threatened. They state that their identity is at stake and their right to exist as indigenous peoples is being undermined. If the drilling will take place, it would mean a "cultural genocide" for the Gwich'in people. Alexander stated: "at the heart of the issue is freedom: the freedom for us to exist as indigenous people" (US hearing, November 2, 2017).

6. Discussion

The objective of this study was to uncover how the communities' perceptions of risk and fate control of drilling in the Coastal Plain of ANWR come to be represented in the US media and politics, in order to make a judgement about environmental justice. Based on the results of this study it can be concluded that risks are perceived in different ways by different people and that the communities experience risks that affect their own lives. Two interesting findings about risk perceptions came forward from the analysis. The first was that one 'insider' coalition perceives risks if drilling would not take place. The second was that one 'outsider' coalition argued that drilling for oil is necessary in order to combat climate change.

Furthermore, the results indicate that there is no environmental justice in this case, because the communities expressed that they do not feel like they are engaged in the process in a way that they can decide which risks are being taken and which not. This is in agreement with the literature, because it states that communities in the Arctic are often not being heard when it comes to decisions that could affect them. However, in this literature it is stated that these communities should have fate control in order to promote their well-being. These results and limitations and recommendations for further research will be discussed in this chapter.

6.1. Implications of the results

In the following sub-section, the implications of the results will be discussed. First, risk perceptions will be discussed, and two interesting findings coming forth from the analysis of risk perceptions will be pointed out. Second, perceptions of fate control as coming forth from the data will be examined. Third, a judgement about EJ in the debate will be made. Finally, some attention will be paid to how the communities are being portrayed in the US media and politics.

6.1.1. Risk perceptions

On a practical level, the study sheds light on the different risk perceptions of oil development in ANWR as expressed in US media and politics. From this research it can be concluded that the discourses around risk of the 'outsiders' (see chapter 4) did not per se converge with those of the communities ('insiders'), because these 'outsiders' did not recognize all the issues mentioned by the communities as risks, and also talked about some that were not recognized by the communities as risks.

Lam et al. (2017) argue that examining risk perceptions can provide insight into understanding individual risk-averting behavior and management strategy preferences (Lam et al., 2017). Steg and Sievers (2000) thereby state that "environmental policy as well as the perceived acceptability of this policy is to a large extent based on risk perceptions and risk judgements of various groups of experts and laypersons' (251). These authors state that risk perceptions are linked with policy and perceived acceptability of a policy. When, in this case, the risk perceptions of other actors in the debate do not converge with those of the communities, there is a chance that policies will not fit the wishes of the communities, because they come forth from different risk perceptions.

No drilling as a risk

An interesting finding is that in the data risks were not only associated with the drilling. Representatives from Kaktovik expressed their concerns about the risks of not drilling for oil. It was said that not drilling would jeopardize the quality of life of the Iñupiat, because they are dependent on income from the oil industry for their basic infrastructure, which allows them to live in the Arctic and continue to practice their culture. No drilling was therefore seen as a risk by these actors.

Authors such as Blair and Lovecraft (2020), Pedersen et al. (2015) and Wernham (2007) have written about risk perceptions of communities living on the North Slope, which includes Kaktovik. In these articles, industrial development is often linked to risk for these communities. Subsistence resources are very important to the Iñupiat, and industrial development might threaten those resources. However, it is sometimes stated that oil development can also support the communities, because of oil revenues, as long as subsistence resources are safe (Wernham, 2007).

The risk of not drilling for the Iñupiat of Kaktovik, brought forward in the media and hearings, is not compatible with this literature. An explanation for this, is that in the hearings the representatives of the Iñupiat people all had ties with either ASRC or KIC, which are the Native Corporations that own land rights in the 1002 area. These companies want to drill for oil in the area, because they can benefit greatly from it due to these land rights. In the (local) media, company representatives were often cited; however, different voices were also brought forward that expressed concerns about drilling.

What can be concluded from this, is that the idea that not drilling for oil is risky for the community of Kaktovik could be an argument used by company representatives to emphasize the need for drilling, for the benefit of the Native corporations. To speak for the community of Kaktovik seems to help in order to make their point stronger. However, as seen in the literature and "In This Place", they do not per se represent the communities' perspectives. It can therefore be argued that these company representatives use this rhetoric mainly for their own interest.

Combatting climate change by drilling for oil in the Arctic

The idea brought forward by an 'outsider' coalition that drilling for oil would be good for global climate change and the local environment is new. A lot has been written about negative consequences of resource extraction for local communities in the Arctic and for the global climate. However, not much can be found about this argument. The question can be raised to what extent this argument is true. Can drilling for oil in the Arctic have positive effects for local climate threats and the global climate, or is this only a rhetoric used to gain support for a certain policy?

6.1.2. Fate control

The link with fate control indicators from Dahl et al. (2010)

In order to make an assessment of how fate control came forward in the data, the storylines expressed by the communities are linked with the fate control indicators of Dahl et al. (2010).

First of all, both communities often spoke about the importance to have rights over their lands and resources, which can be linked with the fate control indicator *rights to land and sea resources* (Dahl et al., 2010). Dahl et al. (2010) state that for indigenous people "the rights to possess, occupy, and use their homelands and the resources these contain is intrinsic to their identity". Being able to enjoy these rights, and to have the decision-making power and economic benefits that come with it, are a very important component of fate control.

The Iñupiat from Kaktovik expressed that they feel like they should have the rights to decide what happens in their homeland. They stated that they are the Native landowners and that they will be the ones directly impacted by whatever happens on their lands. However, they feel like they have lost control over their lands and in order to secure their quality of life, they need to regain this control. The Gwich'in from Arctic Village claimed their rights to the resources in the area, specifically the caribou, that live on the land, because they rely on them for subsistence and cultural survival. Because of this, they also stated that they are the ones most affected by whatever happens in the Coastal Plain.

Both communities express that they are not able to enjoy rights over land and/or resources, and to have the decision-making power and economic benefits that come with it, and therefore it seems like this important component of fate control is lacking for both of them. Iñupiat representatives also expressed that they need to be incorporated in the management of industrial development on their land, in order to ensure that it is properly done, and because they own the land. This can be linked to the fate control indicator *local control of the economy* (Dahl et al., 2010). According to Dahl et al. (2010), it is important for the fate control of Arctic communities to be able to exert sufficient power over local economies to determine their own economic destiny.

Furthermore, according to Dahl et al. (2010), it is important for people's fate control to feel like they can make a difference by influencing the political process and to experience that they have the opportunity to exercise fate control via representation in political bodies. This links to the indicators *perceived political influence* and *political participation*. Having the opportunity to participate in the political process without having the idea of making a difference does not add to fate control.

Both communities expressed feelings of not being taken into account in the political process. The Iñupiat from Kaktovik feel like their views are being ignored and the Gwich'in are more often listened to instead of them. The Gwich'in representatives also expressed feelings of not being in control over the decision. However, the Refuge protection bill over which a hearing was held in 2019, did mention the Gwich'in, but not the Iñupiat from Kaktovik. Because both communities expressed feelings of not being heard and misrepresented, and therefore it can be argued that their *perceived political influence* and *political participation* is probably low, which does not add to their fate control.

The struggle of the indigenous communities not experiencing traditional knowledge (or Indigenous Knowledge, IK) being accepted in politics can be linked with the indicator *knowledge acquiring*. Dahl et al. (2010) did not specifically mention this indicator, but during the hearings there were discussions about which knowledge should be looked at. Both Gwich'in and Iñupiat representatives argued that they rely on their traditional knowledge. They care about the land and animals and believe that they understand them the best. However, both groups seemed to struggle to convince politicians that they should rely on their knowledge.

Latulippe and Klenk (2020) explain that Indigenous Knowledge is "the embodied expression of traditional moral codes and institutions, such as ethical relationships and responsibilities in relation to other beings in the world" (Latulippe and Klenk, 2020). The World Intellectual Property Organization states that it often is part of a community's cultural or spiritual identity. Latulippe and Klenk (2020) state that IK is "inextricably linked to indigenous self-determination, rights and responsibilities, which includes respect for the obligations of all beings of creation, not only human" (p. 10). Ignorance or rejection of IK does therefore not aid to fate control for the communities.

Finally, Dahl et al. (2010) state that *recognition of human rights*, including indigenous rights, are critical for fate control. The Iñupiat from Kaktovik expressed that their human rights are being threatened by people trying to make the area into a protected wilderness, which would make them 'conservation refugees'. For them it is about the fact that their existence is being ignored. The Gwich'in

representatives stated that their human rights are being threatened in the way that their right to exist as indigenous peoples is undermined if the drilling would take place, which would be a 'cultural genocide' to them.

For both groups it is about existing as a people and deciding how they want to live in relation to the land. According to the communities, the decision about what is going to happen in the Coastal Plain of ANWR could have devastating consequences for both of them.

Fate control of the communities in the literature

The analysis suggests that the degree of perceptions of fate control among these communities is very low, based on the indicators from Dahl et al. (2010). This links with literature about fate control of Alaskan communities, which states that these communities are often not taken into account in the decision-making process.

Blair and Lovecraft (2020) state that "[c]urrent institutional provisions at times fail to equitably include the views of Alaska's Indigenous stakeholders on risks, opportunities, and acceptable trade-offs between the two" (p. 1-2). Furthermore, Wernham (2007) argues that health concerns of Alaskan communities are often not taken into account in environmental management strategies. Other authors argued that many communities in the Arctic are dependent on outsiders, who play a major role in administering political, economic, and cultural institutions at the local level and on a higher scale (Dahl et al., 2010).

Authors mention different reasons for the lack of fate control of these communities, which link with some of the indicators from Dahl et al. (2010). The main argument for the lack of fate control of Arctic communities is, according to Kimmel (2014), that tribal governance does generally not have authority over a place. According to the author, the loss of territorial governance over land, as a result of the Alaska Statehood Act (1959), ANCSA and ANILCA, led to the loss of fate control by communities (Kimmel, 2014).

The author explains that consequences of the loss of territoriality for Alaskan tribes is that they cannot manage subsistence resources. Furthermore, they also lack the authority to regulate environmental quality and they lack the ability to tax and regulate activities that impact climate change. And finally, they do not have legal authority to regulate public safety (Kimmel, 2014).

Mengden (2017) argues that in order to promote self-determination (or fate control) among Native Americans, there needs to be a change in the way that the US consults with tribes, because even though the tribes are partially sovereign entities, there has been ambiguity regarding the power dynamics between the US and Native tribes. The author explains that currently tribes are being consulted when their lands and resources are impacted. However, even though this process includes the affected tribe, it does not offer any mechanisms for tribes to oppose any decisions that are made by the federal government. Giving Native Americans an actual vote in the consultation process is needed to foster self-determination and self-governance of indigenous peoples (Mengden, 2017).

Ellis (2005) states that the promotion of the recognition and use of traditional knowledge in environmental governance advocates an increased role for the holders of traditional knowledge. In turn, this increased role will empower aboriginal people. However, the author also states that "environmental decision making has historically been the domain of government bureaucrats and managers trained in the scientific tradition, who may have little understanding of the cultural context in which aboriginal people live" (Ellis, 2014: 67).

From his research about incorporating traditional knowledge into environmental decision making in Canada, he concludes that traditional knowledge is often ignored, misunderstood, or

transformed into something that fits conventional environmental governance. At the same time, the author argues, "the values and practices associated with traditional knowledge are commonly discarded or ignored because they are incompatible with science and dominant in Euro-Canadian values" (Ellis, 2014: 75).

In the literature it is stated that the lack of fate control of Arctic communities must be resolved in order to protect the well-being of these communities. Blair and Lovecraft (2020) argue that "[t]ensions from contrasting perspectives about appropriate action across levels of government inhibit self-governance and fate control and negatively affect adaptation outcomes". According to them, it is therefore important that bottom-up perspectives are taken into account in the decision-making process. Dahl et al. (2010) argue that "fate control is of critical importance to the sense of well-being and human development in Arctic areas" (p. 129). They argue that Arctic residents are dependent on the resources of their lands, the health of their lands and the right to use their lands, and that their power over the use and protection of these lands should not be compromised by outside factors (Dahl et al., 2010).

In the Arctic Human Development Report (Einarsson et al., 2004) fate control was mentioned as one of the three main areas that determine well-being in the Arctic. Furthermore, the UNDRIP underlines the significance of fate control as a key aspect for the well-being and human development of indigenous peoples. In the case of ANWR, measures should thus be taken to improve fate control of the communities, in order to protect their well-being and human development.

6.1.3. Environmental justice

As we have seen, all actors expressed risks in relation to drilling and not drilling. When talking about the importance of the area as well as the risks of drilling, the communities of Kaktovik and Arctic Village explain a personal connection to the land in which they rely on the land, and also risks that have personal consequences. Therefore, it can be concluded that the two communities experience high risks in the debate about whether to drill for oil in the Coastal Plain of ANWR.

When looking at how fate control perceptions of the communities come forward in the debate, it can be stated that both communities perceive a lack of fate control on all indicators that were spoken about. The consequence of perceiving high risk and low fate control, is that the communities – instead of being able to decide which risks, and in what magnitude they are willing to take – are being exposed to certain risks beyond their will or control. Because of this, these risks will be perceived as even larger and less acceptable (Giddens, 1999) (see figure 7).

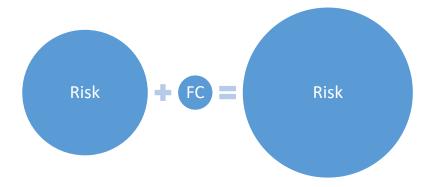


Figure 7: high risk and low fate control leads to larger and less acceptable risk

The EJ approach states that stakeholders who experience a disproportionate share of adverse risks should be engaged in the risk management process, in other words, they should have control over their own fate (Kampf and Haley, 2011). Environmental justice is determined by how much affected groups have to say about the risks being taken in the environment that could be affected, and of which they are a part. The communities perceive that they do not have a capacity to self-govern, and thus do not have the capacity to steer developments towards desired and sustainable futures (Blair and Lovecraft, 2011). At the same time, they perceive high risks for their own lives. Based on these outcomes, it can be argued that there is no EJ in the case of ANWR, because the communities express that they do not feel like they are engaged in the process in a way that they can decide which risks are being taken and which not (see figure 8).

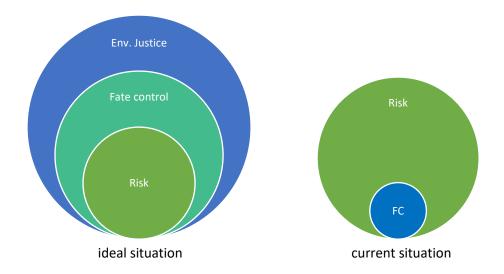


Figure 8: ideal situation versus current situation in which the communities perceive more risk than fate control, and therefore EJ is absent

6.1.4. How are the communities portrayed?

Representatives from both communities were invited to the US hearings, and they were spoken about in the media. However, they expressed that they often feel unheard and misrepresented. Even though other actors often take side of either one of the communities, they often form an image that does not match the thoughts of the communities. This misrepresentation comes forward in a few different ways.

First of all, as seen in the previous sub-sections, risk perceptions of outsider groups often did not converge with those of the communities. Therefore, the concerns of the communities were often not being represented.

Second, the people from Kaktovik and Arctic Village are often put on opposite sides of the debate by politicians and media, while they actually express a lot of commonalities in their views on the ANWR debate. Democrats often emphasized that they were supportive of the Gwich'in community that is against oil drilling in ANWR, and Republicans often said to be in support of the Iñupiat of Kaktovik that support drilling. The communities were often put on opposite sides of the debate as the politicians emphasized strong dichotomies between the two. However, as seen in the literature and 'community reports', more nuance in this can be found.

The Gwich'in take a clear stance in 'A moral Choice for the United States' (2005) that they reject oil drilling in the Coastal Plain of ANWR, which links with what has been said in the media articles and hearings. However, as the results show, their standpoint in the debate cannot simply be linked with that of Democrats and environmentalists, as often stated in the news articles and hearings, because differences were found in perceptions of risk between those 'outsider' coalitions and the Gwich'in representatives.

The ideas brought forward in the report 'In This Place' (2003) do not converge with how the people from Kaktovik are often being portrayed in the media and politics. As mentioned in 'In This Place', the people from Kaktovik do not choose to be for or against development. They state that these are outsider opinions, which they reject both. Outside interests to search for oil as well to make their land into a wilderness are both seen as potentially destructive.

Lastly, a difference can also be found between how the national and local newspapers represent the communities. The local media articles mention both communities often in their articles about ANWR, whereas the national media articles mainly focus on Democrats versus Republicans in the debate. In both national newspapers, the Refuge is often described as a special environmental area, and the environmental aspect is much more often highlighted than the role that the two communities play in the debate.

The local newspapers mention the communities often in the ANWR articles, and representatives from both communities are often quoted. They provide more inside information into the perspectives of the communities. The difference between the national and local media can be explained by the fact that local media is more involved with local issues, while the national media focuses on the bigger picture and national interests. Both national newspapers can be seen as left-wing papers, which explains their focus on the environmental issue.

6.2. Limitations and recommendations for further research

In this sub-section, some limitations of this study are discussed and recommendations for future research are provided.

Since this study aimed to reveal different perceptions of drilling for oil in ANWR, a discourse analysis was executed. The focus of discourse analysis is on how participants' versions of events are constructed in both spoken and written social contexts (Gray, 2014). It aims to understand how language is used in real life situations. By carrying out a discourse analysis, certain themes and patterns were revealed. By dividing actors into different storylines, based on how they talked about the issue, a clearer image was shaped about where their ideas converged and diverged in relation to other actors.

A disadvantage of discourse analysis, however, is that it is a qualitative and interpretative method and therefore the data is prone to interpretation by the researcher. For this reason, the judgement about EJ in this debate is also prone to the interpretation of the researcher, and therefore a certain caution is required when drawing conclusions. Nevertheless, this approach fits best with the research questions asked in this study.

Not all fate control indicators from Dahl et al. (2010) were applicable to this study. The main reason for this is because the research methodology, namely discourse analysis, only makes it possible to look at indicators that can be expressed via communication. The choice of only using this type of methodology was made because of the focus of this research on *perceptions* of the communities of risk and fate control. However, a valuable addition to this study could be to research the fate control

indicators from Dahl et al. (2010) that could not be looked at in this research, by using different research methods, in order to gain a more comprehensive image of the fate control of the two communities.

In this study, the researcher has tried to be as sensitive as possible when writing about the Alaskan Native communities. However, the researcher also acknowledges that she will always be an outsider, and never fully understand their worldviews. Due to the current pandemic, all the information had to come from written content available on the internet, and the researcher was unable to talk to the stakeholders directly. Therefore, interpretations to the data are based on the analytical frameworks. A valuable addition to this research would be to conduct interviews with different stakeholders from the communities, to gain a more in-depth understanding of their perceptions.

Because this research only focuses on the time period of 2017-2019, it might be interesting to research another time period in order to compare if there are similarities and/or differences in perceptions of risk and fate control. In this way, it can be examined why these similarities and/or differences are present, in order to gain a better understanding of what could affect these perceptions in a positive or negative way. This could be used to inform policy-makers about better practices when incorporating Native communities in the political process.

7. Conclusion

This research aimed to uncover how the communities' perceptions of risk and fate control of drilling in the Coastal Plain of ANWR come to be represented in the US media and politics, in order to make a judgement about environmental justice. With the use of a discourse analysis of political hearings and media articles, perceptions of different stakeholders were revealed. Particular storylines as expressed by different discourse coalitions reflect the way actors perceive oil development in ANWR and illuminate existing discourse.

This research demonstrates that the communities of Kaktovik and Arctic Village perceive many personal risks of the outcomes of the debate whether to permit energy development in the Coastal Plain. Therefore, according to EJ theory, they should be involved in the decision-making process. In other words, they should have fate control over what happens in the area. However, both communities perceive low fate control in the ANWR debate. Thereby, the research showed that risk perceptions of the communities of Kaktovik and Arctic Village often did not converge with the perceptions of the other stakeholders in the debate, which could lead to policies that do not match the wishes of the communities. Based on these findings, it can be argued that there is no environmental justice in this case.

Next to this, it can be concluded that the image brought forward in US media and politics about the communities of Kaktovik and Arctic Village is incorrect. Both communities are often presented as being on either side of the debate, supporting the same views as other rivaling actors in the debate. Nonetheless, it can be stated that this paints an incorrect image of the perceptions of the communities, because the two communities actually express a lot of commonalities in their views and can therefore not simply be put on either side of the debate.

The outcomes of this study call for the need of more involvement by the communities of Kaktovik and Arctic Village in the decision-making process around drilling in the Coastal Plain of ANWR. In order to better incorporate the communities' perceptions in the decision-making process, more attention should be paid to the different perceptions present in the debate, to make policies more inclusive. Thereby, the communities should get a more prominent role in deciding what should happen in the area, and how this should be implemented. In this way, more environmental justice can be promoted in the ANWR debate.

Although EJ is a good approach to discover inclusion of communities in a certain case, the framework is not a tool for finding solutions. The study therefore recommends future research that focuses on finding solutions for the challenges that these local communities face.

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