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Framing Arctic Renewable Energy: A Multi-Stakeholder Analysis

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Abstract

Framing Arctic Renewable Energy: A Multi-Stakeholder Analysis

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This study examines how various actors frame the shift from oil/gas-based energy to renewable energy for the Arctic regions of the United States and Canada, in light of recent federal policy initiatives, and how domestic and international coalitions might form among them. These actors, including state/territorial governments, oil/gas companies, and renewable energy, environmental non-governmental (NGO), intergovernmental, and indigenous organizations, each strive to influence the decision-making process and thus vie to have their voices heard. This study finds that economic conditions are the dominant frame used by most actors on the policy transition to renewable energy, both for and against the transition, even though the environment is generally dominant in Arctic discourse. The type of actor (e.g., indigenous, environmental NGOs, state/territorial governments, and oil/gas companies) and the country of origin affect the perspectives these groups have with regard to the shift in policy. This study relies on public statements from these actors to discern perspectives. The shift to

renewables is informed by efforts that are advanced along national lines, suggesting that national identity is more important than collective identity.

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Chapter 1. INTRODUCTION

The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change provided universal consensus that the release of carbon dioxide from fossil fuel emissions is largely the cause of recent warming and that the rate of climate change in the Arctic far exceeds the global rate, having large ramifications for northern communities (IPCC, 2013). This warming disrupts traditional subsistence food sources and shrinks the area of inhabitable terrain through the thawing of permafrost, the erosion of land, and the melting of ice, among other impacts. Given just this cause-and-effect relationship, the logical conclusion is that increased oil and gas extraction is detrimental to the lives of Arctic citizens.

Politically, the 2016 U.S.-Canada Joint Statement on Climate, Energy, and Arctic Leadership is explicit in its goals to “anchor economic growth in clean development” and to incorporate indigenous perspectives into its climate change decision-making (White House, 2016a). This statement outlines priorities for accomplishing the first of the goals mentioned above: regulating methane in the oil/gas sector, using a science-based approach to oil and gas, developing a plan and timeline for inserting renewable energy into the Arctic energy grid, and improving on the Canada-U.S. bilateral framework on energy cooperation. The sentiment is already encapsulated in the 2017-2022 Outer Continental Shelf Oil and Gas Leasing Proposed Final Program,¹ and the Canadians appointed a Minister’s Special Representative for the Shared Arctic Leadership Model to develop policies from this Joint Statement, with a new Arctic Policy Framework currently in development. A similar statement was also developed between the

¹ It is unclear to what extent this will be reversed by the Trump administration, as the December 2017 tax bill opened the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge to drilling and the Gwich’in are soliciting Prime Minister Trudeau’s help to counter future drilling on the porcupine caribou’s territory

Nordic countries and the U.S. (White House, 2016b), expanding upon the previous Joint Statement from 2013.

Although there is scientific and political momentum residual from the Obama administration, as these joint statements have not been rescinded, local indigenous communities vary in their support for this economic transition. The Joint Statement was largely lauded by northern communities who often feel neglected by the federal government (Simon, 2016) and followed up with the appointment of Mary Simon as the Canadian Minister of Indigenous and Northern Affairs' special representative on Arctic issues. However, many Northern communities are still largely dependent on the oil and gas sector for heating and electricity, employment, social services, etc. The transition to “clean development” for energy provision represents a large paradigm shift for the North. Other actors in the policy process maintain similar diametric views – for example, 85% of Alaska's state budget depends on oil and gas revenues (Alaska Oil and Gas Association, 2014). Due to the recent low in oil prices, Alaska has had to start cutting state services, including funding to higher education.²

1.1 ACTORS IN POLICY PROCESS

Numerous researchers have considered the role of different actors in political decision-making processes. Birkland (2011) divides actors into official and unofficial based on their legal authority. Official actors, such as Congress, the Supreme Court, or Executive Agencies, have a legal obligation to conduct decision-making on behalf of their constituents. This status should also apply to state/territorial, local, and tribal governments as well, although not discussed by

² University of Alaska, Fairbanks, decided to eliminate its economics, geography, sociology, and dental hygiene programs as a cost-saving measure.

Birkland. Unofficial actors, like individuals, interest groups, lobbyists, can participate in the policy process but have no legal obligation and rights (beyond provision of comments during the public comment period) to do so. Although federalism is found in several Arctic countries (e.g., Canada, Russia, and the U.S.), this form of government places state and territorial governments in a unique position, where they are official actors within their regional domain but would be considered unofficial actors when acting at the national level or at the international level. This study is focused on non-federal actors which provide influence at the federal level, to include state/territorial governments, and thus are exclusively unofficial actors for this venue.

This tiered approach to governance can either enhance federal policies, if the state/territorial government agrees with the federal policy, or create tension, where the two sets of policies are discordant. Multiple embedded layers of governance impact the way policies are decided and executed, as Wood (1991) shows. Given a rise in the study of official actors in the 1980s (through neo-institutionalism), Wood examines the role federalism played in how clean air policies reacted to several major political events. The subnational response amplified the national response, demonstrating the role states and territories play in both incorporating and promulgating national policy. After the 2016 moratorium on Arctic oil drilling, however, the premiers of Northwest Territories and Nunavut showed their displeasure at the federal policy and how this leads to tensions in federated structures: “We spent a lot of time negotiating a devolution agreement, and we thought the days were gone when we'd have unilateral decisions made about the North in some faraway place like Ottawa, and that northerners would be making the decisions about issues that affected northerners,” (Van Dusen, 2016). Thus, federal organization makes state/territorial governments an important actor to consider in this context.

Unofficial actors have an important role through their impact on agenda setting. Emerging theories of pluralism in the 1950s and 1960s emphasized the role that unofficial actors play in the policy process (Braybrooke and Lindblom, 1963; Dahl, 1956; Truman, 1971). These theories were later challenged with the rise of plural elitism, which holds that power is concentrated in a multiplicity of competing elites (Lowi, 1979; McConnell, 1966; Olson, 1971; Schattschneider, 1960). This theory still acknowledges the importance of unofficial actors but also recognizes the limited power that they have in most policy processes. McFarland (1987) discusses the history of theories concerning unofficial actors. McFarland argues that pluralism, which developed in the 1960s, is too egalitarian for the current practices, and plural elitism, which developed in the 1970s, never gained coherence as a theory. While McFarland states that a general theory of plural elitism never developed (as Theodore Lowi set the foundational stage), he points out multiple political theorists who ascribe to plural elitism – which then could form the canon of a more general theory and thus negate McFarland’s earlier argument. McFarland offers a “triadic model” – relations between government agency and two opposing advocacy groups – as an alternative. This model is a subset of corporatism, a sociopolitical organization of interest groups. In doing so, opposing advocacy groups should neutralize their influence on the government decision-makers and thus prevent government agencies from becoming captured; however, this side effect clearly happens and thus requires further development in his model. These three models help define the breadth of extents to which unofficial actors are incorporated into political decision-making processes. Given the above criticisms on pluralism and the implications they have for the relative power of unofficial actors, the evolution of the theory on unofficial actors highlights a need for these actors to collaborate for increased political influence.

This study shows how and where unofficial actors in a specific context may gain traction in amplifying their voice and power.

1.2 ACTORS IN THE ARCTIC REGION

In addition to national, state/territorial, local, and tribal governance, actors also act in supranational venues, like the Arctic Council. In these venues, actors who have marginalized voices at the national and state/territorial levels (e.g., indigenous groups) have increased power and influence at the international level, where they collaborate with nation-states in the development of Arctic policy. Thus, these actor dynamics are unique when examined in the context of the Arctic. As Young (2005) was first to point out, transnational cooperation in the Arctic provides regional dynamics that are rare on the greater global stage. Although Young highlights the weaknesses that the Arctic Council and Northern Forum possess (or possessed, as some have since been remedied), he places value in both the support of indigenous peoples that these fora have shown, as well as agenda-setting through scientific reports. The transnational cooperation in the Arctic provides a potential model for other regions or international organizations to replicate.

While the cooperation is a strength, this is not to say that the region is without challenges. Keskitalo (2012) argues that even though the region moved from Cold War securitization to national cooperation, the agenda has not advanced beyond national interests. Thus, even though the region is characterized by its cooperation, the agenda has still largely been determined by official actors.³ Young (2009) explores a range of strategies to improve Arctic governance considering heightened geopolitical rhetoric surrounding the Arctic. Young rightly claims this

³ Possibly due to focusing more on “cooperation” as a concept than on the actual problems that needed to be solved.

rhetoric is exaggerated but addresses a need to improve governance. While many have argued for more formal mechanisms (e.g., a legal treaty, making the Arctic Council a decision-making body), Young argues for more creative, cooperative soft-law approaches, which are in keeping with the general governance philosophy in the Arctic for the past twenty years. These soft-law approaches do not elevate as highly the role of nation-states in the Arctic as would formalized, hard-law approaches, and thus enable cooperation and collaboration with unofficial actors. Similarly, Koivurova (2010) notes that the Arctic Council has been adamant at maintaining its flexible soft-law approach. Koivurova argues that the Council is resistant to change, although it developed a series of guidelines for observers, invited six new non-Arctic countries as observers in 2013 and is developing a 5- to 10-year strategic plan, in response to criticism over its vision.

A wide variety of unofficial actors have also asserted themselves to change the traditional power dynamics with official actors. Private companies have been able to exert economic influence or work in partnership to influence government action. Parente (2015) highlights the role that private actors (e.g., extraction companies) play in the policy process and why neorealistic conceptions of the Arctic are not indicative of reality. Graben (2011) explains that Arctic co-management arrangements provide new forms of governance which innately incorporate stakeholders as partners in decision-making. Thus, this governance structure exists at all levels from local to supranational. Graben is unique in recognizing the role that public-private partnerships can play in these co-management agreements, although she argues that this can be at odds with local values.⁴ Indigenous actors have used the boomerang effect to pressure local governments into providing rights by appealing to higher levels of governance, although this has had varying degrees of success. Shadian (2006) examines how the Inuit Circumpolar Council

⁴ Public-private partnerships are often market-based, and have difficulty commodifying social objectives and values in developing co-management strategies.

became the voice of Inuit, and more broadly unofficial actors, for Arctic policy. Inuit self-determination is largely tied to resource extraction, which allowed them to collectivize through transnational politics. While the article focused primarily on domestic issues within Canada and the U.S. and translated to the international stage, the ICC also has interacted with other Arctic (and non-Arctic) indigenous groups to elevate their status. Novikova (2016) examines the interactions of Russian Arctic indigenous peoples with corporations through legal pluralism (e.g., the intersection of legal studies with anthropology). While there are some regulations in place to provide rights to Russian indigenous peoples, these are not as extensive as in other Arctic nations like Canada or in the greater international community. As a result, regulatory easing trickles down to business norms and regulations for Arctic corporations. In examining solely these formal laws and policies, this study may miss informal actions that better reflect the true nature of this relationship – especially given that regulation is not the typical means of establishing norms within Russia.

This study examines how different types of unofficial actors view and frame the shift in federal policy in the U.S. and Canada towards renewable energy in the Arctic, and ultimately how these actors may collaborate to further their policy goals based on their framing. The second chapter establishes the analytical framework for this study, explains the case selection used as well as how content analysis was employed in this study. Chapters 3-8 are focused on the individual actor types: state/territorial governments, oil/gas companies, renewable energy organizations, environmental non-governmental organizations, intergovernmental organizations, and indigenous peoples. There are examples from both Canada and the U.S. in each actor type, to highlight national differences that may arise. The final chapter synthesizes these case studies to

examine where coalitions of actors may form, as well as how national and actor-type identity may impact this process.

Chapter 2. METHODOLOGY

2.1 RESEARCH QUESTION AND ANALYTICAL MODEL

Given this background in public policy and Arctic affairs, this thesis addresses how various unofficial actors have framed the shift in policy initiatives from oil/gas-based energy to renewable energy for the Arctic regions of the United States and Canada, and where coalitions may form among these actors with regard to policy solutions. In doing so, this study also explores the various intersectional identities of actors in this region to see what aspects of the actor's collective identity are most important to framing and coalition building. The term "intersectional identity" was coined by Kimberle Crenshaw (1989) to discuss how various types of identities interact within a single person and produce outcomes that may not be reflective of either identity group.⁵ Many of the actors examined exist within a specific country, and thus bear a national identity that is forged through political, legal, and cultural factors. In addition, each actor has a collective identity determined by its "type" of actor – for example, indigenous groups or environmental NGOs share similar characteristics, respectively, regardless of the country in which they are based or their transnational status. By treating each actor as a combination of nationality and actor type and determining how that actor frames the issue, similarities in these framings can show how various types of actors may form coalitions to further influence this policy shift.

⁵ Although intersectionality is usually applied to individuals, researchers have previously applied this concept to organizations (Ruiz Castro and Holvino, 2016).

This study employs frame analysis to study this shift in perspective. Frame analysis derives from discourse theory and social-constructivist epistemology, which reject objective truth and recognize that different perspectives enable actors to interpret data through “competing and even contradictory lenses,” (Fletcher, 2009, 801). By building associations between words and images and repeating them until they become normalized, neural networks will unconsciously activate these frames whenever the trigger words or images are encountered (Lakoff, 2010). By cultivating and activating these frames, actors enable the public to process new information in light of frames which have already been socially constructed and promulgated rather than merely assuming that the facts will speak for themselves, characteristic of most previous scientific communication (Lakoff, 2010).

The act of framing, in the traditional sense, does not try to dispute the facts of an issue but tries to highlight certain aspects for greater salience with a certain audience, fitting into their pre-existing conceptions (Myers et al., 2012). By adjusting the communications on an issue to the “attitudes, values, and perceptions of different audiences,” actors can gain traction through increasing the public’s relationship with the issue and thus further the goal of meaningful and successful action (Nisbet, 2009). Frames are used by all actors, whether policy-maker or public, to understand issues, define policy options, and distill complex information into understandable and relatable segments. This competition plays out in the public sphere, where frames vie for public support on action, at times collaborating to achieve common interests by pooling the constituencies who support various aspects of an issue. This is particularly important in a competitive media environment, where opinion polarization is high and broader messaging has a greater effect on open-minded people (Nisbet et al., 2013).⁶

⁶ Compared with closed-minded people, where this had no significant effect.

Frame analysis focuses on the language and imagery used to mobilize public opinion and incite action among stakeholders. By using metaphors, actors can create a variety of policy issues out of an abstract concept, like renewable energy, to promote their interests. Given the short time horizons for decision-making on energy projects, frames need to be well-grounded in the public sphere for temporary mobilization, as the development of new frames will not be effective at the scale and timeframe needed (Cox, 2010). Furthermore, new words or images must be incorporated within the context of pre-existing frames, which limits adapting frames within the decision-making cycle (Lakoff, 2010). In keeping with its social-constructivist origins, frames can also grow and emerge on longer timescales with shifts in public opinion and new technologies (Nisbet, 2009). For example, Governor Jay Inslee is credited with reframing climate change as an economic issue when he introduced the New Apollo Energy Project Act (H.R. 2828) in 2005 (Fletcher, 2009); similarly, Sheila Watt-Cloutier was credited with reframing climate change as a human rights issue with her 2005 petition to the Inter-American Human Rights Council.

This study combines several of the approaches mentioned by O'Neill and Schäfer (2017) in their synthesis article on frame analysis and addresses several of their concerns for areas of weakness in the field of climate change communication. This research deals with how various unofficial actors frame the shift in federal policy initiatives from oil/gas-based energy to renewable energy in the U.S. and Canadian Arctic, using publicly available documents from different types of actors to ascertain stakeholder framing. While Schäfer and O'Neill highlight dominant actor groups (e.g., NGOs, companies, and movements/campaigns) that are covered in framing analysis studies, there are two ways in which this study addresses deficiencies in the existing literature: 1) lack of studies on political decision-makers and institutions; and 2) all of

the highlighted studies mentioned focus on a single interest group. This research includes both political actors (e.g., state governments) and supra-national organizations (e.g., the Arctic Council – an intergovernmental forum). Furthermore, it focuses on several different actors competing “to position themselves and their views prominently in the public arena and, in doing so, aim to frame the issue accordingly,” (Schäfer and O’Neill, 12). By analyzing the frames of different actor types, one can see where these frames align in the public.

While this study concentrates mostly on stakeholder frames, it also has limited elements of journalistic framing. Journalistic framing analyzes why certain frames or stakeholders are promoted over others. Given the dearth of information available from the websites of indigenous organizations, this study analyzes local media, which incorporates indigenous perspectives, using two newspapers: one local to Nunavut, Canada and one local to Anchorage, Alaska.⁷ Only four of fifty-one articles included indigenous perspectives⁸ in the Alaskan newspaper, whereas 30 of 73 articles in the Canadian newspaper included indigenous perspectives. There are two plausible explanations for this discrepancy. One is due to demographics of the regions: Alaska is 64% white and 15% American Indian (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010), whereas Nunavut is 85% Inuit and 14% non-Aboriginal (Statistics Canada, 2017). The other is due to cultural differences between the two countries: Canada, especially within the last five years, has developed a more pro-Indigenous culture and attempted to rebalance the power dynamic between groups, with its Truth and Reconciliation Commission, the restructuring of government departments to better serve Northern and Indigenous needs, and recent policy initiatives and federal appointments. Thus, it is more acceptable and expected to discuss indigenous issues in Canada, which makes these topics more salient to media coverage.

⁷ Both of which cover areas with substantial indigenous populations.

⁸ Classified as either including quotes from indigenous peoples or written by an indigenous person.

Beyond the drawbacks discussed earlier, there are several issues with conducting frame analysis to examine policy preferences. First, the sources analyzed may not accurately reflect each actor's perspective. Given that actors engage in strategic communication in a highly politicized environment, communications are often created and packaged to achieve certain goals, especially in advocating for positions. Communications are designed more to reflect how actors hope to influence recipients rather than being true reflections of the actors. Thus, it is impossible to make any conclusions about the actor's true perspectives without additional studies. Further studies that include interviews or surveys provide the opportunity for more anonymous and unguarded reflections on these matters, which may contest the official positions. Second, these frames themselves may be societally constrained. Given that list was determined a priori, these frames confine both future usage and research. As actors find success in using these frames, it can restrict future framing to those which have proven workable and prevent the evolution of discourse – especially as new challenges change the policy landscape. In addition, much of the framing analysis centers around manual holistic and manual reductionist analyses, limiting the potential for inclusion of new frames, restricting their efficacy in future studies, and curtailing actual usage.

Despite these challenges, this study still adds to the literature of environmental communication, hopefully broadening how we navigate competing views in the policy arena and emphasizing the importance of multi-stakeholder perspectives to draw informed conclusions for both public policy and for understanding the dynamics of the “deeply contested” communications environment (Schäfer and O’Neill, 12; cf. Anderson, 2009, 166).

2.2 CASE SELECTION

This section addresses case selection of the countries of interest, the types of actors of interest, and the specific actors from each individual unit of study. There are several ways the Arctic can be defined; countries and organizations often scope the Arctic differently to meet their political needs. The Arctic Council defines the Arctic nations as Canada, Denmark (via Greenland), Finland, Iceland, Norway, Russia, Sweden, and the U.S. Additionally, there is precedent for narrowing this down to examining the five Arctic nations that border the Arctic Ocean: Canada, Denmark, Norway, Russia, and the U.S. These five nations met in Illulisat, Greenland in 2008, and in Chelsea, Canada in 2010 (English, 2013), before they developed the Central Arctic Ocean fishing moratorium in 2015. In examining the role of official and official actors in agenda setting and decision-making at the international level, this study focuses on Canada and the U.S. as the countries of concern. As the number of Arctic countries is small, random sampling is not feasible – especially when the concern is over Arctic oil/gas, which is found largely in the coastal waters and outer continental shelves of countries and thus restricts the population of scope to the five that border the Arctic Ocean – Sweden and Finland’s coasts do not enter the physical Arctic as defined by the Arctic Circle and Iceland is just barely above the Arctic Circle. Thus, an information-oriented selection based on expectations of content from prior knowledge of the region is optimal, to enhance the usefulness in small samples (Flyvbjerg, 2006). Given the nature of the research question, an embedded, multiple-case (comparative) study is required. However, as Yin (2003) suggests, the resources needed to conduct such a study will greatly limit the number of cases that can be considered. As such, a comparative case study of Canada and the U.S. was selected, as the two countries are the most similar of the five Arctic countries – politically, legally, and culturally, drawing from Mill’s Method of Agreement (Mill, 2011).

Furthermore, many of the transnational actors examined (e.g., indigenous groups, environmental NGOs, and oil/gas companies) operate in both countries – which should clearly illuminate any areas where national identity plays a dominant role in influencing an actor’s perspective. As such, this study should bias identity based on actor type as the dominant influence in framing – any deviation would indicate that another factor (e.g., nationality) is responsible for determining influence.

This thesis’ primary data was derived from primary documents such as reports and press releases from various organizations including the state/local government, oil companies, renewable energy organizations, environmental NGOs, intergovernmental organizations, and indigenous organizations (including representation in local newspaper articles that capture local voices) produced and published during the period of study. While there are other actors that carry influence (e.g., Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, the national Inuit NGO in Canada) and other ways to examine the political landscape (e.g., the four sections of Inuit Nunangat, the Inuit homeland in Canada – which encompasses parts of the Canadian territories and two Canadian provinces), some of these did not have equivalents in both countries and thus were omitted from this study for lack of comparison. Where feasible (e.g., renewable companies), this study used random sampling to minimize selection bias (King, Keohane, and Verba, 1994). The intention is to establish commonalities or distinctions among actors in these countries to discern if coalition building could play a role in how the countries engage on the international level regarding Arctic resource management.

As all the data comes from public documents, these documents were culled using word searches on each organization’s website. The keywords used were “Arctic”, “alternative”,

“renewable”, and “energy”.⁹ While some actors refer to this concept as “clean energy,” this term was not included in the keywords due to its alignment with an environmental frame (which would thus bias the results).¹⁰ From the results of these word searches, every document was examined for relevancy to the research question.¹¹ The list of specific cases for each actor type are given below (general websites are listed in Table 2.1; the specific articles coded for this study by actor are listed in Table 2.2):

- State/Territorial Government
 - Alaska
 - Yukon
 - Nunavut
- Oil Companies
 - BP
 - ConocoPhillips
 - Shell
- Renewable Energy Organizations
 - Kodiak Electric (AK)
 - Renewable Energy Alaska Project (AK)
 - Yukon Energy (Yukon)
- Environmental Groups
 - Greenpeace

⁹ For some actors, the keyword “Arctic” was not used, if the actor was known to exist completely in the Arctic. This will be specified

¹⁰ While one could argue that “renewable” also has an environmental connotation, it also implies economic benefit and social/cultural values – thus making it a more neutral term.

¹¹ An article that discusses Arctic fish as a renewable resource would be discarded.

- World Wildlife Fund
- Oceana
- Pan-Arctic and Regional IGOs
 - Arctic Council
- Local and Indigenous Perspectives
 - Nunatsiaq News (Inuit)
 - Alaska Dispatch News (Inuit, Athabaskan, Gwi'chin, Aleut)
 - ICC, AAC, AIA, GCI websites

To avoid a national bias in results, actors were chosen to achieve approximate parity between countries. Of the three Canadian Arctic territories (not including Inuit lands in the provinces), Yukon and Nunavut were chosen for their differences – both in relative age of the territory and in demographics. The oil companies were chosen based on frequency of mention in studies and reports on Arctic oil. Similarly, the renewable energy organizations were also selected based on their relative prominence in discussions of Arctic renewable energy (most renewable energy projects in the Arctic are stand-alone, and thus have little influence outside the locality). The environmental NGOs all have large Arctic operations, and either work with or want to work with countries in the Arctic Council, the sole pan-Arctic intergovernmental entity considered. All the major transnational indigenous organizations representing Arctic indigenous peoples were considered (as most of these encompass U.S. and Canadian lands), as well as the two dominant Arctic newspapers.

The period of study for this project is 2013-2017. The period starts with the 2013 Joint Statement between the Nordic countries and the U.S., which addresses climate change, renewable energy, and the Arctic – one the U.S.'s first major bi-/ multi-lateral declarations to do

so outside of an international organization or forum, which highlighted U.S. national interest in Arctic renewable energy. It encompasses the two 2016 Joint Statements between the U.S. and Canada and between the U.S. and the Nordic countries on clean energy in the Arctic, which denotes the first U.S.-Canadian joint policy on Arctic renewable energy. Furthermore, this period also covers both the Canadian and the U.S. Chairmanship of the Arctic Council, the premier intergovernmental forum that deals with Arctic issues. This timeframe also yields an opportunity to examine any changes the U.S. and Canada have experienced since the recent election, and how framing and potential coalition building may have changed as a result. The study examines any temporal changes that may have resulted from change in federal administrations in the two countries, although the transition of president and prime minister did not coincide. This time period is also important, as the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change's Fifth Assessment Report was released starting in 2013 with the Working Group I report *Climate Change 2013: The Physical Science Basis*. This report has the most comprehensive, internationally-recognized discussion on climate change and mitigation strategies, including renewable energy sources and represents the current global consensus on these issues. Although this report is global in nature, the Arctic is included in the chapter on "Energy Sources", and renewable and non-renewable resource development is discussed in the chapter on "Polar Regions." The confluence of these political and scientific events makes this time period ideal for studying how various actors influence the development of public policy, as these high-level documents are turned into implementable solutions.

2.3 CONTENT ANALYSIS

This study uses content analysis of the primary data to elucidate the "stances" and "frames" provided by each of the actors. Content analysis highlights the set of conditions that support

coalition building on the part of the stakeholders (Gramsci, Hoare, & Nowell-Smith, 1972; Wilmsen & McAllister, 1996). The data was coded to identify implicit but driving framings that influence the shift in policy initiatives toward renewable energy in the Arctic. As far as documenting and analyzing the specific frames, this research looks at three different aspects. It analyzes 1) whether the article is for or against the shift in policy initiatives toward renewable energy, or if there are elements of both perspectives; 2) what reasons for a shift in energy policy are addressed; and 3) how is the geographic extent of this policy problem framed. This draws from several of the methods of framing research discussed in O'Neill and Schäfer (2017). The articles were first coded for their "stance" on the shift in policy initiatives. The stances could be "pro", "mixed", or "anti" (Nisbet, 2009; Dolsak and Houston, 2014). If an article had both positive and negative statements about the transition, then it was classified as "mixed," regardless of the proportionality. A mixed stance could be derived from the same quotation or from different quotes within the same article. Each article was only coded with one stance: pro, mixed, or anti. Examples of each stance are shown below (bold used to highlight relevant parts of each quote):

Pro: "The panels, which cost about \$35,000 and were transported north on the Greenpeace ship Arctic Sunrise last summer, were part of a pilot project led by the environmental organization's Canadian arm and VREC **to promote alternatives to dirty and expensive diesel energy** in the North," (Gregoire, 2017).

Mixed: "The idea of making individuals and companies pay more for energy products derived from fossil fuels is considered by many economists and businesses as an efficient way to nudge people away from fossil fuels and provide an incentive to develop alternative energy technologies. Northern premiers don't like those kinds of ideas. **They**

want help with adaptation to climate change, but they're nervous about measures that could add to the cost of doing business in the North,” (Bell, 2016 March 3).

Anti: “Qujaukitsoq, a former translator who delivered his Dec. 12 speech in flawless English, said that **without revenues from non-renewable resource extraction, including oil and gas, Greenland cannot achieve political independence from Denmark.** ‘Companies from the outside have been exploiting natural resources in the Arctic area for centuries now. The Inuit didn’t. Now it’s our turn,’ Kleist told reporters in 2011 in Ottawa,” (Bell, 2016 December 13).

In addition to stance, each article was also coded by the rationales through which actors portrayed their perspectives. The overall position and rationale are drawn through the manual holistic method. The rationales are drawn from various sources in the literature: economic (Fletcher, 2009; Lakoff, 2010; Myers et al., 2012; Nisbet, 2009; Nisbet et al., 2013; Scannell and Gifford, 2013), environmental (Fletcher, 2009; Lakoff, 2010; Myers et al., 2012; Nisbet et al., 2013; Scannell and Gifford, 2013), social/cultural (Lakoff, 2010; Scannell and Gifford, 2013), logistical (Lakoff, 2010), and health (Myers et al., 2012; Nisbet, 2009; Scannell and Gifford, 2013). An “other” category was included to capture any rationales that were not previously documented in the literature.¹² As Schäfer and O’Neill point out, though, this approach has some drawbacks – namely, it is difficult to reliably code these documents. The coding is somewhat subjective, based on the researcher’s biases in determining what constitutes economic versus environmental or any of the other frames.

Based on themes that emerged from literature on Arctic energy, the primary framings coded for are: economic, environmental, social, logistical, and health. An “other” category was

¹² A number of articles intimated that legal or regulatory issues provided challenges to the shift toward renewable energy. These laws and regulations were not directly related to economics, environment, culture, logistics, or health.

included to accommodate other dominant themes that have not been yet noted or examined in scholarly literature. Examples of the frames are shown below:

Economic: “While the thrust of the project might be economic development and green energy, Tulugak says PowerCo will eventually help lower the cost of living in Nunavik,” (Rogers, 2017).

Environmental: “In a bid to slow climate change, the world is making the transition to renewable energy. Although reliable, diesel energy is dirty, producing greenhouse gas emissions that threaten the environment we depend upon. It’s time to move beyond diesel, to regain self-autonomy, to protect the Arctic environment,” (Crowley, 2016).

Social: “Local planning processes of this type facilitate the inclusion in energy planning of priorities such as cultural identity and values such as connection to the land, and other local needs that are typically not captured by strictly economic calculations,” (Arctic Council, February 28, 2017)

Logistical: “From a Norwegian Arctic perspective, the Bellona report concluded that regional market conditions and practical obstacles, such as area conflicts or the lack of grid connections, limit any further developments in the short and medium term,” (Raspotnik, 2016).

Health: “We believe that your health and welfare should come before the interests of large, multi-national companies who are invading the Inuit Nation,” (Rocchi, 2015).

Other: “Nunavut Premier Peter Taptuna says Prime Minister Justin Trudeau did not consult territorial leaders before announcing new plans for the Arctic Dec. 20 that include an “indefinite” ban on the licencing of oil and gas activity,” (Rogers, 2016).

Unlike stance, multiple frames were possible (and frequently used) within each article. Thus, an article could be coded as both economic and environmental, for example. The inclusion of multiple frames within an article provides an actor with multiple ways to advocate for their stance, and thus increases both the policy solutions as well as the potential for coalition building. Frames are independent of stance – an article could be coded as pro/economic, mixed/economic, or anti/economic.

The geographic extent was documented through a linguistic approach. Framing issues like climate change as “geographically local” can reduce the distance to the problem and increase action (Scannell and Gifford, 2013). Word counts were conducted for the following keywords: “Arctic,” “Canad*,” and “Alaska*,” where the * allows for the possibility of derivative words (e.g., Canada, Canadian; Alaska, Alaskan). These keywords were intentionally chosen to investigate several expected phenomena. The key words were chosen to have one word from each country and one from the larger regional context. This selection was done to determine whether each country framed the issue as specific to that country, or whether they recognized the broader context of the shift in policy initiatives. The individual words were chosen based on previous experience in both locations. Alaskans view their identity as distinct and often separate from their nationality as American, and thus Alaska* was chosen over U.S. and America*.¹³ Canadians, however, tend to have a stronger association with their national identity – and thus even residents of one of the territories view themselves as Canadian over any regional descriptor.

Alternatively, a similar construction could be derived through surveys, interviews, or natural experiments; however, none of these approaches are optimal. In the case of a natural experiment, a village that had transitioned from oil/gas to renewable energy would need to be

¹³ The differences in self-identification may affect the ability to advocate at the national level. This is an area for future study.

analyzed near real-time¹⁴ and likely not all the actors considered in this study would be involved with this local decision (Babbie, 2016). In the case of surveys, some respondents are not likely to reply based on their official government positions, even with the understanding of anonymity. Interviews suffer similar issues as surveys and with additional weaknesses – the time and monetary constraints of conducting interviews likely would yield a representative sample of the seven actor types in both countries.

Chapter 3. STATE/TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENTS

Both the U.S. and Canada are federal countries which have separation of powers between three branches: executive, legislative, and judicial. As such, sub-national entities (e.g., states, territories, provinces) have a similar governmental structure. For the purposes of this study, only actors in the executive branch will be examined. While the legislature is responsible for policy-making and the judiciary is responsible for interpreting policies, the executive branch is tasked with enacting policies and develop the ways through which policies operationally reach the public.¹⁵ As such, the work of the executive branch is more tangible to most actors than that of the legislative or judicial branches.

3.1 ALASKA

Alaska contains the only Arctic U.S. territory, having been acquired from Russia in 1867 through “Seward’s Folly.” Given its small population and geographical separation from the Lower 48, Alaska and the Arctic tend to get little attention from the federal government. When President Obama travelled there in 2015, he was the first president ever to visit the North American Arctic,

¹⁴ This might be difficult to find examples in both countries within the timeframe of the research project.

¹⁵ The heads of government (e.g., governor, premier) also have policy-making capacity through executive orders.

although several other presidents had visited regions in lower Alaska (Eilperin, 2015). One of the main sources of contention in this region deals with drilling for oil. Oil was discovered in Prudhoe Bay in 1967; and with the construction of the Trans-Alaskan Pipeline System in the 1970s, Alaska became a large economic interest for the federal government. Since the pipeline was completed, oil revenues have provided on average 85% of Alaska's unrestricted revenue, with 92% in 2013 (Alaska Oil and Gas Association, 2014). As mentioned in the introduction, the decline in oil prices has led to state budget woes. Both the federal and state governments have pushed for increased drilling for economic reasons, but environmental and indigenous pushback routinely prevents expansion of drilling in the offshore and Arctic National Wildlife Refuge.¹⁶

This study focuses on several agencies within the executive branch: Office of Governor Bill Walker; Office of Lt. Governor Byron Mallott; Department of Commerce, Community, and Economic Development; and Department of Environmental Conservation. Other departments and other branches also deal with renewable energy: for example, the 30th Legislature (2017-2018), 29th Legislature (2015-2016), and 28th Legislature (2013-14) have produced 995, 796, and 827 documents, respectively, which pertain to renewable energy (Alaska State Legislature, 2018). However, these executive actors were chosen as they are largely responsible for either creating or executing policy around renewable energy. Most of the documents were in favor of the transition to renewable energy, largely promoting it as a cost-effective way to provide energy to remote villages (see Table 3.1). Those documents presenting mixed perceptions were largely realistic about the limitations of renewable energy (e.g., insufficient capacity, unpredictable) or the deleterious effects of renewable energy (e.g., health impacts from biomass burning). The

¹⁶ This power dynamic has shifted with the current U.S. administration.

framings are largely economic, with only a few that discuss the environmental, logistical, or health aspects of this transition.

One of the initiatives that is housed in the Department of Commerce, Community, and Economic Development and run by the Alaska Energy Authority is the Renewable Energy Fund. The mission of this fund, which was established in 2008 and extended for ten years by the legislature in 2012, is:

...To benefit Alaskans by assisting communities across the state and to reduce and stabilize the cost of energy. The program is designed to produce cost-effective renewable energy for heat and power to benefit Alaskans statewide. The program also creates jobs, uses local energy resources, and keeps money in local economies. (Alaska Energy Authority, 2018).

Given the mission of this organization alone, it largely frames renewable energy as an economic issue, as was evident in the Fund's Status Reports over the past four years. Each of the projects submitted for funding undergoes an economic review, in addition to general programmatic reviews, thus ensuring that state funds are spent optimally to maximize return on investment. Unfortunately, the amount of money the Fund has been able to give away has decreased over the time period of study, from \$25M in 2013 to \$11.5M in 2015. In 2016, the legislature did not appropriate any funds for the Renewable Energy Fund, and so no projects were awarded. As a result, there was no Request for Applications in 2017, and the Alaska Energy Authority resubmitted the same 39 projects from 2016 for funding consideration (Alaska Energy Authority, 2016). This was likely spurred by the decline in oil revenues, which has gutted the state budget – the source of funding for the Renewable Energy Fund.

3.2 NUNAVUT

Nunavut is the newest territory in Canada, having split off from Northwest Territories in 1999. While not an indigenous territory per se, Nunavut as a distinct region was created through the 1993 Nunavut Land Claims Agreement Act, which provided the Inuit a region of Northwest Territories. Despite this formality, approximately 84% of the population is indigenous, and the consensus government in Nunavut is based on the traditional way Inuit have made decisions (Nunavut, 2018). There has not been substantial public discussion of renewable energy by the government, with only seven instances in the past five years (see Table 3.1). Much like Alaska, the dominant framing is economic, although there is less disparity with the frequency of other framings (e.g., environmental and cultural). Most of the documents which reference renewable energy are based around collaborative efforts between the other northern territories (e.g., “Working together to build a better north,” “Premiers advance their Pan-Territorial Vision for Sustainable Development”). This suggests that Nunavut may be relying on the other territories for leadership in renewable energy while addressing other domestic issues, especially as most of Nunavut is still reliant on diesel.

One of the unique aspects of Nunavut’s discourse surrounding renewable energy is that this topic is prominently featured in the territory’s science curriculum in elementary and secondary schools. Renewable energy is included in learning objectives in 8 of 12 grades (see Table 3.2). The learning objectives are scaffolded to build students up through higher cognitive skills, from recognition and identification to explanation and synthesis. In these learning objectives, there is substantial focus on comparing differences between renewable and non-renewable energies, evaluating different types of renewable energy, and exploring different frameworks for these evaluations. By expecting students to consider alternative options, this

focus on renewable energy in the science curriculum demonstrates a strong desire to shift to a renewable-based system through a rational and critical approach.

3.3 YUKON

Yukon is the smallest and least populated of Canada's three territories. The territory became a separate entity in 1898, when it separated from Northwest Territories through the *Yukon Territory Act*, those powers were never officially devolved until the 2003 *Yukon Act* (Yukon, 2018).¹⁷ Most of the territory's energy comes from hydroelectric sources, with most stations in operation since the 1950s-70s (as discussed in chapter five). As a result, the government is largely in favor of additional renewable energy (see Table 3.1). The only mixed response indicates that diesel is still needed for load continuity, especially during peak times or winter, and as a backup source of power. Economics is the dominant driver for the shift to renewable energy, although the longevity with which Yukon has operated with renewable energy has made logistical matters far more prevalent than in the other two governments. With Yukon Energy, who is discussed in chapter five, as a large proponent in favor, Yukon has overcome the debate around whether or not to have renewable energy and now can debate the technical details of implementation within the public sphere. Environment was also a large driver. Although there are large First Nations populations within Yukon, many of which have their own land claims agreements, culture featured less prominently in Yukon's framing than in Nunavut's. Possibly this is because First Nations still represent a minority of the population in aggregate.

Renewable energy was also included in several of the mandate letters to Yukon's Departmental Ministers. When Justin Trudeau became the Prime Minister of Canada, he wrote a

¹⁷ This also removed "Territory" from the territory's name.

series of mandate letters to his Departmental Ministers. While this practice was common for previous prime ministers, Trudeau was the first to make these letters public – so the public could hold their Ministers accountable for their duties and responsibilities. In a similar fashion, Yukon’s Premier Sandy Silver wrote mandate letters for his Department Ministers, to provide guidance for executing their jobs. Three of these (Minister of Energy, Mines, and Resources/Minister responsible for the Yukon Development Corporation and the Yukon Energy Corporation; Minister of the Environment; and Minister of Highways and Public Works) explicitly obligate these ministers to work toward renewable energy projects. The applicable sections of each mandate letter are below:

Minister of Energy, Mines and Resources/Minister responsible for the Yukon

Development Corporation and the Yukon Energy Corporation: “Increase the availability of renewable energy solutions, while reducing the reliance on non-renewable sources and lessening energy consumption...,” (Silver, 2017b).

Minister of Environment: “Diversifying the economy will require more energy; this need is to be balanced with lessening our carbon footprint through expanded use of renewable energy sources and lowering energy use,” (Silver, 2017a).

Minister of Highways and Public Works: “Work with the Ministers of Environment and Energy, Mines and Resources to decrease energy consumption through retrofits to government buildings, investments in renewable energy for government operations and mitigating greenhouse gas emissions,” (Silver, 2017c).

These mandates highlight several key themes: 1) renewable energy is an important goal for the Yukon government, and an objective that is common throughout the government; 2) renewable energy is framed in both economic and environmental terms with a need for a balanced approach

to its implementation; and 3) the development of renewable energy must be a cooperative and collaborative process, congruous with Arctic cooperation discussed by Young (2005).

Chapter 4. OIL COMPANIES

Few oil companies operate in the North American Arctic, let alone have operations in both Alaska and Canada. The three oil companies examined in this study (ConocoPhillips, BP, and Shell) each has or had a substantial footprint in Arctic oil and were selected based on their frequency of mention in studies and reports on Arctic oil. As these companies deal with oil (of which renewable energy represents a potential competitor), there is very little discussion of renewable energy in the Arctic by these actors.

4.1 CONOCOPHILLIPS

ConocoPhillips is a U.S.-based oil company with six major geographic divisions and which operates in 17 different countries (ConocoPhillips, 2017). The company has a notable interest in the Arctic, as the company has both Alaskan and Canadian divisions. However, there is little acknowledgement of renewable energy by the company. The company has one website which references both renewable energy and the Arctic, and six other websites that discuss renewable energy. Renewable energy is framed as a threat to business operations; one that is driven by technological, legislative, and public opinion. The company developed a renewable energy policy in 2005, and it has not been amended since. This policy is cautious towards renewable energy, without explicitly dismissing the technology: “Investments in technology development will be disciplined and commensurate with the likely returns...and technology risk inherent in renewable energy projects,” (ConocoPhillips, 2005). ConocoPhillips indicates that any efforts put into renewable resources must be consistent with current business practices: “Renewable

energy opportunities that complement our existing processes will be prioritized,” and “...focus our efforts on renewable technologies that directly leverage our experience in energy development and markets,” (ConocoPhillips, 2005). Given that renewable energy is a rival commodity for oil/gas as an energy source, it is doubtful, based on these assertions, that renewable energy will be taken seriously as an alternative.

The Canadian division of ConocoPhillips is headquartered in Calgary, Alberta, near its major ventures in the Athabaskan oil sands and oil fields of northeastern British Columbia. Although the Canadian division has the lowest output of all the company’s divisions and its operations are largely centered in the subarctic, ConocoPhillips still maintains a presence in the Arctic: 49 significant discovery licenses and one exploration license in the Beaufort Sea/Mackenzie Delta region; 13 significant discovery licenses in the Arctic Islands; and five significant discovery licenses in the Labrador region of Atlantic Canada (ConocoPhillips, 2018b). Consistent with the discussion above on ConocoPhillips renewable energy policy, there is no mention of renewable energy on the Canadian division’s website. The division does frame its current operations in terms of environmental impacts (e.g., air and water quality, biodiversity), health impacts, and social/community impacts. However, these issues largely rely on improving technological processes to minimize emission of greenhouse gases, rather than diversifying their portfolio.

The Alaskan division is headquartered in Anchorage, although all of the division’s operations are on the North Slope in Prudhoe Bay and the adjacent Kuparuk and Alpine oil fields. While the Alaskan division’s output is significantly larger than the Canadian division (ConocoPhillips, 2018a), it is still the second smallest producer within the company. Consistent with the global company’s policies, there is no mention of renewable energy on the Alaskan

division's website, either. The Alaskan division does address environmental impacts, although this is largely through the coproduction of environmental studies and efforts to improve energy efficiency. The division does discuss relinquishing the offshore oil leases to the Bureau of Ocean Energy Management, but this was done primarily due to economic concerns.

4.2 BP

BP's (formerly British Petroleum) northern North American holdings are almost exclusively in Alaska. While BP does have exploration licenses offshore in Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, as well as oil sands in Alberta, these are all subarctic. BP has maintained presence in Alaska for over 50 years, as one of the dominant lessors in Prudhoe Bay and helped construct the Trans-Alaskan Pipeline System in the 1970s. Most of BP's reports, press releases, speeches, etc., focus on the economic benefit BP has provided Alaska through its Prudhoe Bay holdings. These focus especially on retrospectives (given the recent 40th anniversary of the pipeline) as well as the community outreach that BP can conduct given the profits it has made in the area. BP is more forthcoming about its environmental impacts than ConocoPhillips is, with explicit discussions of emissions and spills (BP Alaska, 2016). Unfortunately, they do not actively address how they are working to improve these issues, instead stating that trends are improving for environmental hazards. Although BP recently sold several of its claims on the North Slope, BP is working actively with the State of Alaska to help develop LNG infrastructure to ensure Alaskan financial viability in light of declining oil returns.

Although BP has some investments in renewable energy, including biofuel manufacturing in Brazil, 14 wind farms in the U.S., and a new partnership with a solar manufacturer (BP, 2018), none of these efforts intersect with the Arctic. As a result, there

appears limited discussion of Arctic renewable energy¹⁸ – with the almost exclusive focus of Arctic discourse on the Prudhoe Bay oil field. In a 2013 speech at the Royal Norwegian Embassy Conference, Executive Vice President Dev Sanyal discussed the prospects for Arctic oil and gas in a changing global energy landscape. While examining the future of Arctic oil and gas, Sanyal argues that market forces will drive both economic and environmental decisions – with energy efficiency and natural gas as the dominant focus areas for the near-term. In contrast, he claims that renewables are not a worthy alternative (or at least not yet): “Renewables, by contrast, have required government support to be competitive and that has limited their deployment – and arguably the pace of their development...temporary support for renewables should continue in order to help them towards competitiveness longer term,” (Sanyal, 2013). While this speech suggests that BP may have a more proactive view of renewables than did ConocoPhillips, the lack of discussion on Arctic renewable energy still implies that this is not yet considered a viable alternative and a threat for their business practices.

4.3 SHELL

Shell is a Dutch company which is headquartered in The Hague. Of the three companies examined, Shell has the most pro-renewable energy stance of the three as well as the largest number of documents that address renewable energy and the Arctic (five). Ben van Beurden, Shell’s Chief Executive Officer, tried to reframe the company as also being a renewable energy company,¹⁹ stating that “We are in renewables: we are the biggest supplier of biofuels and produce ethanol from Brazilian sugar cane...When it comes to solar and wind, we’ve tried to be successful but it did not work for a company with our particular skills and expertise,” (Shell,

¹⁸ Only one speech referenced both the Arctic and renewable energy.

¹⁹ Much like BP tried to do in the 2000s with its revamped logo.

2014). Despite this attempt to rebrand, most of the company's materials on its work in Alaska used the same framings as this study examined – but towards oil. A report to stakeholders, issued months before Shell's 2015 decision to pull out of its Alaskan drilling leases, discusses the economic gains of Shell's activities, the regulatory work that Shell both engages in and advocates for, the social investment in local communities and attempts to engage stakeholders, scientific studies commissioned, hazard mitigation for oil spills, etc. (Shell, 2015a). As Shell is a business, the majority of its framing surrounds economics.

Shell is a unique case to study, as it is famously associated with its 2015 decision to pull out of its Alaskan drilling leases, after halting exploration activities early in 2012, 2013, and 2014, and the grounding of the Kulluk drilling rig on December 31, 2012. Shell claims insufficient output, high costs, and challenging regulatory environment forced the cessation of continuing Arctic operations (Shell, 2015b). Since this event, there has only been one major company release that addresses the Arctic, which surprisingly focused a lot of attention on renewable energy. In January 2016, van Beurden, reflected on the market downturn and how Shell will make itself salient in the emerging green economy. Van Beurden sees renewable energy as a potential complementary product to oil/gas, recognizing the eventuality of shifting energy sources: “The investment case for oil and gas will remain strong, despite all the renewable energy growth and energy efficiency improvements that are also needed... There is no doubt that we also need more renewable energy. In fact, we will need as much possible,” (Shell, 2016) and “As I said earlier, gas is the natural ally to renewables,” (Shell, 2013). This argument for the coexistence of oil/gas and renewable energy is more apparent in his pleas to bundle the two options together: “I think we could also play a really important role in making the use of renewable energy more effective by bundling it up with more conventional lower-carbon energy

sources like gas,” (Shell, 2016). For a company that is hurting from financial losses due to low world oil prices, having recently given up its Alaskan leases which represents tremendous sunk costs, this sounds like a company trying to justify its existence. This reflection marks a significant change in approach from what appeared before the September 2015 decision. Unfortunately, there has been no further public discussion of Arctic energy to determine whether this trend is lasting.

Chapter 5. RENEWABLE ENERGY ORGANIZATIONS

Communities develop stand-alone microgrids to support renewable energy. These microgrids are unique to the community’s needs and geography, as well as the existence of renewable resources (e.g., not all locations can support wind, solar, hydro, biomass, etc.). By pooling together with other communities pursuing this route, they are able to advocate for more resources for developing these microgrids as well as establish cohorts of renewable energy professionals to share best practices and lessons learned.

5.1 KODIAK ELECTRIC

Kodiak Electric Association (KEA) is a not-for-profit electric utility cooperative which covers the villages of Kodiak and Port Lions and surrounding areas on Kodiak Island. KEA serves approximately 4000 members, as of 2011 (KEA, 2011). KEA has been the primary utility on Kodiak Island since 1941. In its mission statement, “KEA is committed to providing safe, reliable energy and a high level of service excellence to enhance the quality of life and its members and of the community,” (Kodiak Electric Association, 2008). In addition to the residents of Kodiak, KEA also partners with the US Coast Guard, which has a base in Kodiak and a Liaison on the KEA Board of Directors. While it is not explicit in the mission statement,

Kodiak has been one of the success stories for renewable energy development in Alaska.²⁰ Given its remote nature – on an island that is far from any major urban area, Kodiak has had to rely on its own sources of energy. With no competing commercial energy providers, the community had formed a cooperative so that consumers could create the policies surrounding energy generation and distribution, ensuring stakeholder participation is achieved. Hydroelectric and wind power both are significantly cheaper for consumers, and largely spurred the decision to generate power through renewable means in order to “cut diesel costs to community members,” (KEA, 2010). Through the use of wind farms and hydroelectric projects, Kodiak has received over 95% of its energy from renewable sources since at least 2012, with diesel generators used only for extreme surges or during maintenance periods.

Given that renewable energy has been a focus of the KEA – the percentage of energy derived from renewable sources is revealed every year at the Annual Membership Meeting – and that the cooperative represents the views of all of its members, it is not surprising that all the stances were positive (see Table 5.1). In addition to the Annual Membership Meeting, the cooperative also reveals their renewable statistics in the annual community outreach event, where they fly two members to the Terror Lake Hydro Facility for a tour and education about the cooperative’s functioning. Given the vision of “endeavor[ing] to maintain 98% of energy sales with cost effective renewable power solutions for the future of our members and the community,” (Kodiak Electric Association, 2008), the focus on energy sales and cost effectiveness prompted most of the discourse toward the economic framing. “Cost effective”-ness appeared in 12 of the 16 economic framings, indicating the importance of this concept, which is consistent with why the cooperative was initially formed, as discussed above. Although

²⁰ Although Kodiak is sub-Arctic, this is considered the standard for renewable energy development in Alaska, including in the Arctic.

there was minimal reference to the environment in these documents, environmentalism was incorporated into the company's logo, which provides an outward appearance of the cooperative's values. KEA unveiled their current logo at the 2013 Annual Membership Meeting, "evoking a sense of our environment and progressive wind and water renewable resources through color and design, featuring the silhouette of a wind turbine with mountains and water," (Kodiak Electric Association, 2013). Logistical framings were the second most frequent, beating out environmental. Most of the logistical framings focused on technologies and the ability to provide peak loads through surge capacity. Neither health nor social/cultural factors were discussed in the documents.

5.2 RENEWABLE ENERGY ALASKA PROJECT

Renewable Energy Alaska Project (REAP) is "a coalition of energy stakeholders working to facilitate the development of renewable energy in Alaska through collaboration, education, training, and advocacy," (REAP, 2016). As previously discussed with Kodiak Electric, the geographic expanse of Alaska makes it unfeasible to connect multiple communities to a common grid, like in the Lower 48. This coalition is comprised of various Alaskan Native corporations, business, NGOs, local governments, and utilities across the state. REAP's Board of Directors has near-equal membership from each of these sectors. The organization was founded in 2004; however, the organization's website was created on July 12, 2016 and does not contain any material prior to this date. Hence, the results from this section only comprise a year and a half of the study period.

As shown in Table 5.1, the stance was overwhelmingly positive for the transition to renewable energy. The three instances that had a mixed response were largely couching their

advocacy efforts in reality: one recognized that hydro projects often have detrimental environmental effects that may ultimately make that project undesirable; the second commented that the state's dependence on oil revenues and the slump in oil prices has made it impossible for the state to provide additional funding for renewable energy projects, which hinders their development; and the third recognized that the future development and integration of renewable energy is largely dependent on increased financing and technology development, that is not predictable. However, given the variety of backgrounds of REAP members, the limited objections to renewable energy is promising for the future of renewable energy within Alaska.

Consideration of framings leads to several interesting findings in the REAP case. As with other actors examined, economics was the dominant framing, doubling environmental framings in number of documents. This makes intuitive sense, especially as the Alaskan state budget is tied to oil revenues and the lack of a widespread electrical grid makes traditional means of electricity cost-prohibitive for many. Microgrids using renewable energy represents a way for small remote villages to control their own pricing and divest themselves from being reliant on oil prices. Although the organization is named the *Renewable* Energy Alaska Project, many of the articles did not use the term "renewable," instead opting for "clean energy." Thus, a large number of articles that specifically address forms of renewable energy were not included in the analysis, since they did not specifically address "renewable" or "alternative" energy. "Clean energy" has a pre-existing environmental connotation, which does not necessarily reflect the relative distribution of framings for the terms "renewable energy" and "alternative energy," as shown in Table 5.1.²¹ Including these articles would have likely adjusted this balance. Although native corporations are members of REAP, cultural and social factors did not factor heavily in

²¹ An extension of this study could look at the difference in frames between "clean" and "renewable" energy among these stakeholders, to determine what the optimal terminology should be to maximize stakeholder engagement.

the discourse. The few mentions largely focused on ensuring stakeholder engagement in development processes and building community resilience. Similarly, REAP had the lowest percentage of logistical framings of the three organizations examined. As REAP is not the entity that would be directly managing or installing these projects, this is plausible – though it is surprising that even discussions of logistical necessities would not emerge in advocacy efforts.

5.3 YUKON ENERGY

Yukon Energy is a public utility that provides electricity directly to consumers around Dawson City and indirectly through retailers to the rest of the Yukon. Most of their power comes from hydro, with smaller amounts from wind and solar, and diesel/LNG as a back-up and for peak demand during winter months. This is consistent with the utility’s mission: “To enable Yukon’s prosperity with sustainable, cost-effective and reliable electricity,” (Yukon Energy, 2017b). The Board of Directors includes several representatives of First Nations and numerous mentions of collaborations with partners in energy provision.

Yukon Energy frames this shift to renewables differently than the previous two actors. As shown in Table 5.1, only a little more than half of the documents were strictly pro-renewable energy. Almost 40% were mixed, and one article was against the transition to renewable energy. Most of the mixed articles morally support the transition to renewable energy but comment on the excessive costs, logistical difficulties, and side-effects of development projects as potential deterrents. The one article that was against the transition tried to highlight past general failures as evidence for staying on traditional energy sources:

The subsidies are backbreakingly expensive and utterly useless. No matter how much money governments throw at wind power, solar power or other alternate energy sources, the results are always the same: little or no new energy is produced and there is no

reduction in carbon emissions despite the billions thrown at green projects (Yukon Energy, 2013).

While there may be some truth alluded to by this statement, the use of emotionally charged phrases (e.g., “backbreakingly expensive,” “utterly useless,” and “billions thrown at green projects”) detracts from any rational argument the document tried to make. Despite this fact, Yukon Energy shows much more skepticism overall toward renewable energy than either of the other actors.

The distribution of framings was also distinct from the previous two actors – and from Yukon Energy’s assessment of Yukon’s priorities. Economics was still the dominant frame, though it comprised a smaller proportion than the other renewable energy companies. This contrasted the 2016 Resource Plan, which put economic factors much lower on the priority list: “A key finding was that in terms of future energy projects, Yukoners are most concerned about environmental protection, then cost, then reliability, and finally social responsibility,” (Yukon Energy, 2017a). While environmental factors (predominantly reduction in greenhouse gas emissions) were higher than the two Alaskan organizations, they still trailed economic and logistical framings. There was one mention of health in the articles; however, this was based on a hospital which received its energy from renewable sources, not due to the health benefits obtained by switching from diesel to renewable sources – and thus does not have the same impact as the intent of that frame.

Chapter 6. ENVIRONMENTAL GROUPS (NGO)

6.1 ENVIRONMENTAL NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS IN THE ARCTIC

Non-governmental actors play a number of roles within civil society: advocacy NGOs try to influence public policy, non-profit organizations provide goods to the underprivileged, hobby groups provide club goods, and community groups try to manage common-pool resources (Dolsak, 2017). Environmental NGOs largely fall within this first group. Their tactics range from shaming organizations and countries and protesting to lobbying and engaging in legal action. This study examines three different NGOs: Greenpeace, Oceana, and World Wildlife Fund. While all of these NGOs are global in scope, they have specific ties to the Arctic – which make them prime choices for consideration. The World Wildlife Fund has been an Observer NGO in the Arctic Council since 1998, while Oceana was just added as an Observer in 2017. Greenpeace has applied to be an Observer on the Arctic Council on several occasions, but its petition has been denied, largely due to a series of conflicts with the Inuit over sealing policies. Greenpeace has tried to repair this relationship recently, by assisting Inuit in the village of Clyde River, Nunavut in their legal battle over the right of consultation with oil exploration activities. In addition, all three have been active advocates at both the national and international level for a variety of Arctic issues: climate change, industrial fishing, shipping, pollution, and oil and gas extraction (Oceana); climate change, polar bears, biodiversity, oil and gas, and shipping (World Wildlife Fund); and climate change and oil and gas extraction (Greenpeace).

While all three have similar funding mechanisms (donor-based), the three NGOs have different missions, which impacts their views and advocacy on behalf of the energy shift and, ultimately, what policy solutions they find acceptable. Greenpeace identifies itself as “a global, independent campaigning organization that uses peaceful protest and creative communication to

expose global environmental problems and promote solutions that are essential to a green and peaceful future,” (Greenpeace, 2018). While the nature of Greenpeace’s protests may be non-violent, they frequently employ tactics that prove controversial or of questionable safety. Greenpeace’s anti-sealing campaign caused severe cultural and financial impacts to the Inuit over the last 40 years, a position Greenpeace has only recently reversed. In 2013, Greenpeace activists aboard the *Arctic Sunrise* were detained and arrested for claimed acts of “piracy” and “hooliganism” in the Russian exclusive economic zone. In 2015, Greenpeace activists hung from a bridge in Portland, Oregon for 40 hours to block a Shell Oil vessel from leaving for the Arctic. Oceana was founded relatively recently, in 2001, as “an international organization focused solely on oceans, dedicated to achieving measurable change by conducting specific, science-based campaigns with fixed deadlines and articulated goals,” (Oceana, 2018). While Oceana has developed legal and activist arms through incorporation of other ocean-related organizations, Oceana is primarily focused on preserving and restoring the oceans. As a result, while much of its work in the Arctic is focused on eliminating drilling for off-shore oil and gas, it is not followed up with alternatives for energy or financial livelihood. Thus, after conducting the analysis, little of Oceana’s advocacy was germane to this study (Table 6.1). Including Oceana as a case study highlights the role relative importance plays for actors when trying to form coalitions, as Oceana is not as likely to join a coalition on Arctic renewable energy as it falls outside their main purview (even though they might have similar visions for the end state of their advocacy work). The World Wildlife Fund’s (WWF) mission is “to conserve nature and reduce the most pressing threats to the diversity of life on Earth,” (World Wildlife Fund, 2018). WWF is largely associated with protecting endangered species and other ecological causes. With increased evidence of the impacts of climate change, WWF has shifted its focus to include more

systemic threats to global biodiversity, addressing climate change and policy solutions through the establishment of 35 priority places that either are home to numerous threatened species or represent an area of great conservation potential (World Wildlife Fund, 2008).²²

This study examined the press releases of the three environmental NGOs, as official statements from the organizations. Since the organizations are global in nature and deal with many environmental issues, the keyword search was for “Arctic renewable energ”*, where the * allowed for the possibility that energy would be listed in the plural (i.e., “energies”). The results are shown in Table 6.1. Although each of the NGOs has operations specific to each country to create honed messaging and advocacy, only Greenpeace yielded different search results from each country’s website. This is one of the reasons Greenpeace has a much higher total number of search results, with 18 results from Greenpeace – U.S. and 26 results from Greenpeace – Canada. As previously mentioned, Oceana’s work is not largely solution-based, so while there were many articles about reducing offshore oil and gas extraction, the proposed solution to the problem was merely to stop drilling. Thus, renewable energy was discussed little.²³ Unsurprisingly, all of Oceana’s press releases were in favor of shifting to renewable energy and almost exclusively for environmental reasons. However, the vast majority of articles produced by Oceana did not speak directly about Arctic issues; the Arctic was largely included as a location in which certain activities were *also* taking place. For example, four of the five included articles addressed issues of seismic airgun usage or off-shore drilling expansion. In each of these articles, the primary focus was on impacts in the Atlantic Ocean, but the Arctic was added as an additional location subject to the same effects.

²² The Arctic Seas and Associated Boreal/Tundra is one of the priority places.

²³ Oceana has produced other articles on marine renewable energy but never in the context of the Arctic.

While Arctic renewable energy was addressed more in the advocacy of the World Wildlife Fund than of Oceana, the organization resembled Oceana in its framing strategies. Almost all of the articles were in favor of transitioning to renewable energy. The one outlier took a neutral stance on the issue: “If there is going to be a rush for oil in Alaska, rather than a switch to renewable energy, it’s critical to do what we can to ensure that spills are prevented or, if spills do happen, we are prepared to respond to them,” which does not highlight downsides to the implementation of renewable energy as much as to suggest mitigation efforts if that is not the chosen path. Most of the framings are environmental, although some articles did promote economic incentives (e.g., cost savings, financial incentives to implement, and investments). Both Oceana and World Wildlife Fund represent the stereotypical framing of environmental NGOs.

6.2 GREENPEACE

Greenpeace is a unique case in this study, as they are a much larger organization and focus more on direct action than on political advocacy. Compared with the other two NGOs, Greenpeace had a significantly larger percentage of framings focused on economic issues (e.g., cost savings, investments) and smaller percentage of framings focused on environmental issues. Greenpeace also had a small number of articles which included cultural framings (e.g., social costs, eliminating racial and gender inequity) as well as logistical ones (e.g., capacity, autonomy). This suggests a more holistic approach to advocacy, which may explain why, despite the brazen tactics, Greenpeace is successful in achieving its mission. Furthermore, this message is unified across operations within the larger organization. The framings in both the U.S. and Canada had similar percentages (Table 6.2), which yielded no statistically significant difference by a Difference of Proportions test.

Although the two countries had similar framings, the content through which they discussed these framings were vastly different. In the U.S., many of the articles (both those included in this study, and those rejected in screening due to lack of relevance) focused on the *Arctic Sunrise* incident. While there was one U.S. citizen aboard the *Arctic Sunrise*, CAPT Peter Henry Willcox, there were two Canadians on board, Bosun Alexandre Paul and First Mate Paul D Ruzycki. This incident, however, received little press coverage within Greenpeace-Canada. Instead, Greenpeace-Canada focused predominantly on domestic oil/gas issues, like the Alberta tar sands or the Clyde River oil exploration activities. Given the geopolitical history and current tensions between the U.S. and Russia, it is surprising to see this discourse also emerge from the press releases of an environmental NGO.

Chapter 7. PAN-ARCTIC INTERGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

7.1 ARCTIC COUNCIL OVERVIEW

There are numerous entities that serve to provide some level of governance for Arctic nations and Arctic peoples. Some are sub-regional in focus (e.g., Barents Euro-Arctic Council), while some have a narrow focus (e.g., North Atlantic Marine Mammal Commission). Others are global in nature (e.g., United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change), and thus their ability to deal with Arctic issues is diluted among other issues. The Arctic Council is the most germane body for this study. The Arctic Council is an intergovernmental forum, founded in 1996, whose mission is to:

provide a means for promoting cooperation, coordination and interaction among the Arctic States, with the involvement of the Arctic indigenous communities and other

Arctic inhabitants on common arctic issues, in particular issues of sustainable development and environmental protection in the Arctic (Arctic Council, 1996).

The Arctic Council is comprised of eight Member States (Canada, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Russia, Sweden, and the U.S.), six Permanent Participants (Aleut International Association, Arctic Athabaskan Council, Gwich'in Council International, Inuit Circumpolar Council, Russian Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North, and Saami Council), and 39 observers, intergovernmental organizations, and NGOs. The Council is chaired by one of the nation-states, which rotates every two years. Finland serves as the current Chair, with Canada and the U.S. as the most recent past-Chairs.

Although the Arctic Council developed as an expansion of the Arctic Environmental Protection Strategy (which was later absorbed into the Arctic Council), its foundational precursors date back much further. Mayor Eben Hopson, in his speech at the first Inuit Circumpolar Conference in 1977, laid the foundation for the tone of the Arctic Council. Throughout his speech, he addressed the major challenges the Inuit were facing (resource development and environmental security) and called for consensus and agreement in combatting this challenge: “It is important that our governments agree about the status of these rights... To secure this agreement, we must organize to negotiate for it... We badly need to be able to cooperate and plan with the industry,” (Hopson, 1977).

Although this challenge often places the Inuit on the defensive for procuring their rights, as he alludes in his discussion of conversations with the lawyers, his speech contains multiple references to the strength of the Inuit communities with respect to outside entities: “We can safely share our sub-surface wealth with others more in need of it... The oil industry should regard strong local government in the Arctic to be a good business investment,” (Hopson, 1977).

Hopson also recognized that transnationalism is one of the primary ways to overcome in inefficiencies of federal government: “We must elevate our Inupiat Arctic claims to the status of an international effort to secure equal justice all across the North American Arctic,” (Hopson, 1977). Lastly, his speech also addressed one of the major themes that Mikhail Gorbachev addressed ten years later – the Arctic as a zone of peace: “I’m hoping we can place peace with the oil industry at this conference,” (Hopson, 1977).

Much like Hopson, Mikhail Gorbachev focused on the challenge he was facing (Soviet-Western tensions from the Cold War and nuclear proliferation) and called for a more cooperative way of dealing with it: “A new, democratic philosophy of international relations...A new mode of thinking with its humane, universal criteria and values...it is appropriate to examine the idea of cooperation between all people,” (Gorbachev, 1987). While Gorbachev’s 1987 Murmansk speech largely addressed Cold War tensions with the West, in his shift to focus on the Arctic he decried these tensions as anathema to the region. To resolve these tensions and establish a “genuine zone of peace and fruitful cooperation,” (Gorbachev, 1987), he enumerated a plan to reduce security concerns in the Arctic (e.g., establishing a nuclear-free zone, restricting naval activity) and focus more on environmental protection and economic development – the two main pillars of the Arctic Council. His speech was one of the first times a world leader used the environment to frame security (Keskitalo, 2007). Furthermore, this speech was also instrumental in recognizing the role of Arctic indigenous groups: “Questions bearing on the interests of the indigenous population of the North, the study of its ethnic distinctions, and the development of cultural ties between northern peoples require special attention,” (Gorbachev, 1987). This statement foreshadowed the development of Permanent Participants in the Council: “Affirming our commitment to the well-being of the inhabitants of the Arctic, including recognition of the

special relationship and unique contributions to the Arctic of indigenous people and their communities,” (Arctic Council, 1996).

Although Hopson did not live to see the Arctic Council, or even the Arctic Environmental Protection Strategy, come to fruition, his work in forming the transnational Inuit Circumpolar Conference (later Council) can still be seen in the mandate of the Arctic Council. The Ottawa Declaration describes the common philosophical principles on which the Council is based and then lays out the framework for the Council’s future activities. In this initial principle section, the Council describes the two main pillars: environmental protection and sustainable development. These concepts comprised four of the six recommendations of Gorbachev’s action plan in his Murmansk speech. In addition, the Declaration echoed Hopson’s speech and call for circumpolar cooperation: “Desiring further to provide a means for promoting cooperative activities to address Arctic issues requiring circumpolar cooperation, and to ensure full consultation with and the full involvement of indigenous people and their communities and other inhabitants of the Arctic in such activities,” (Arctic Council, 1996). The Ottawa Declaration largely follows the vision set out by Hopson and Gorbachev in creating a region characterized by cooperation and peace, showing the power that individual leaders have in shaping a vision for the future.

Canada and the U.S. both served as the most recent Chairs of the Arctic Council, which covers the period of this study (2013-2017). As the Chair of the Arctic Council, each country is responsible for setting the priorities for the Council over the following two years. As a result, national priorities influence what the broader international community considers, albeit over a shorter period. Canada established an overall theme of “‘Development for the people of the North,’ with a focus on responsible Arctic resource development, safe Arctic shipping, and

sustainable circumpolar communities,” (Government of Canada, 2013). Renewable energy development cross-cuts a number of the priorities in these focus areas, including creating the Arctic Economic Council, taking action on the recently signed Agreement on Cooperation on Marine Oil Pollution Preparedness and Response in the Arctic, limiting short-lived climate pollutants (e.g., methane and black carbon), and mitigating and adapting to climate change. The U.S. established an overall theme of “One Arctic: Shared Opportunities, Challenges, and Responsibilities,” which focused on Arctic Ocean safety, security and stewardship; improving economic and living conditions for Arctic communities; addressing the impacts of climate change; and raising awareness of the Arctic (which was much more domestic in focus), (U.S. Arctic Council Team, 2015). The U.S. specifically highlighted the Council’s emerging work on energy in its discussion of Arctic communities, further prioritizing renewable energy within the Council. Thus, the Arctic Council provides a unique venue to examine how official and unofficial actors interact in policy formation.

7.2 ARCTIC COUNCIL ANALYSIS

This study examined the Arctic Council’s website, which serves as a repository for the Council’s official documents. In particular, the document archives for Senior Arctic Official (SAO) meetings, Ministerial meetings, as well as press releases during the period of study were included. The Ministerial and SAO meetings are the two highest levels of intergovernmental meetings held within the Arctic Council; and as such, these two meetings represent a clearer vision for the Arctic Council’s position on renewable energy than at the Working Group or Task Force level. As these documents are all Arctic in origin, the keyword search was for “renewable energ”* and “alternative energ”*, where the * allowed for the possibility that energy would be listed in the plural (i.e., “energies”). The results of the search are presented in Table 7.1. The

results were broken down by the period in which each country held Chairmanship of the Arctic Council: Canada (May 15, 2013 – April 24, 2015), U.S. (April 25, 2015 – May 11, 2017), Finland (May 12, 2017 – present). While Sweden held Chairmanship of the Arctic Council in 2013 prior to Canada, there was no discussion of renewable or alternative energy in any of the documents associated with the Kiruna Ministerial or the Stockholm SAO meeting. Given that there has only been one SAO meeting during the Finnish Chairmanship, Finland appears to be on par with the U.S. in its inclusion of renewable energy in discussion.

One interesting trend from these documents is the emergence and explosion of renewable energy discussion within the past two years in the Arctic Council. While sustainable development is one of the pillars of the Arctic Council and discussions around energy have previously existed,²⁴ renewable energy did not appear in the higher levels of the Arctic Council during 2013 and much of 2014. This is partly due to the establishment of several projects within SDWG that focus exclusively on renewable energy: Arctic Renewable Energy Atlas and Arctic Renewable Energy Network Academy. Even the Arctic Energy Summit's focus has increasingly turned toward renewables in contrast to the traditional oil/gas focus of earlier convenings of the Summit. This emergence coincided with the priority of the Canadian Chairmanship on *Responsible Arctic Resource Development*. Previous chairs of the Arctic Council have largely prioritized the environmental protection pillar of the Arctic Council, and so there was not likely as much traction for turning the low-level discussions of renewable energy into Council-wide projects. As previously discussed, the shift to renewable energy is largely framed in economic terms – and so the Canadian Chairmanship provided the momentum to make actionable progress

²⁴ The Arctic Energy Summit – one of the projects of the Sustainable Development Working Group (SDWG) – was held in 2007, 2013, 2015, and 2017.

on this issue. The U.S. Chairmanship's priority on *Addressing the Impacts of Climate Change*, as well as the Joint Statement, provided the continued momentum to push these objectives.

Given that renewable energy has become an important issue to the Arctic Council, it is not surprising that all the discussions surrounding this issue have been positive. What is, perhaps, more revealing is that environmental framings were slightly more prevalent than economic framings on this issue. Given the Council's large focus on the environment, this is not unexpected but still represents a departure from the general trends in most other sectors. Also, in light of the previous argument behind why renewable energy emerged when it did, it is interesting to note that the environmental and economic framings were consistent during each Chairmanship. Only in logistical framing was there a statistically significant difference between the two Chairmanships, indicating a potential shift from theoretical discussions around renewable energy to more practical, operational implementation. This is not to say, however, that individual Chairs did not influence the rhetoric surrounding this issue.

As shown in table 7.2, the spatial framing of this issue varied depending on which country was serving as the chair. During the Canadian Chairmanship, there were more frequent references to "Canada;" similarly during the U.S. chair, there were more frequent references to "Alaska." Finland has the highest predominance of the issue as an "Arctic" issue, which is likely consistent with its geopolitical stature as a middle power country. Thus, within the Arctic Council, the rhetoric around renewable energy from both Canada and the U.S. is largely consistent and similar. However, the change in U.S. administrations was largely evident at the most recent Ministerial meeting (in which consensus on the Ministerial Declaration had still not been reached when the U.S. Secretary of State Rex Tillerson left for the Ministerial meeting). In Tillerson's speech at the meeting, he failed to mention any of the Council's work on renewable

energy and left a fairly ominous message about continued cooperation on these issues during the Trump administration:

In the United States, we are currently reviewing several important policies, including how the Trump administration will approach the issue of climate change. We are appreciative that each of you has an important point of view, and you should know that we are taking the time to understand your concerns. We're not going to rush to make a decision. We're going to work to make the right decision for the United States. The Arctic Council will continue to be an important platform as we deliberate on these issues (U.S. Department of State, 2017).

It is still unclear how the U.S. will continue its level of participation on these efforts within the Arctic Council.

Chapter 8. INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

8.1 NON-GOVERNMENTAL, TRANSNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Within the U.S. and Canada, there are a number of Arctic non-governmental organizations that are designed to support the political will of indigenous groups at the national and international level. This study considers the Aleut International Association (AIA), Arctic Athabaskan Council (AAC), Gwich'in Council International (GCI), and the Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC). Each of these organizations is transnational, representing the interests of their indigenous groups within several nations: AIA (Russia and U.S.), AAC (Canada and U.S.), GCI (Canada and U.S.) and ICC (Canada, Denmark, Russia, and U.S.). As a result, these organizations are required to negotiate with different sets of national law, depending on where their beneficiaries live. Each of these organizations is a Permanent Participant within the Arctic Council, as discussed above. In

addition, each of these organizations is an observer to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change and three of these organizations (AIA, AAC, and ICC) are part of Many Strong Voices, an international climate change advocacy organization that has observer status in the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change. Thus, all of these organizations operate at the international level of policy. They are also challenged with implementing these policies and advocating at the national and local levels. For some of the larger organizations (e.g., ICC), there are national sub-bodies that can translate the international organization's work to the domestic level. However, many indigenous groups are incredibly resource strapped and must balance international and domestic action with the same limited staff.

This study examined the websites of these organizations (including both the American and Canadian versions for ICC), as their websites serve as repositories for official documents (e.g., declarations, press releases, speeches, reports, and news articles). As these organizations are all Arctic in origin, the keyword search was for “renewable energ”* and “alternative energ”*, where the * allowed for the possibility that energy would be listed in the plural (i.e., “energies”). The results of the search are presented in Table 8.1. The most notable result is the small sample size from each organization. As previously mentioned, these organizations are incredibly resource-limited, and their websites are often sparse representations of the organization. Maintaining a large web presence is likely not the highest of priorities, although given the increasing connectedness of the Arctic – this may be an important improvement for increasing advocacy efforts in the future. The amount of material on each website was fairly consistent with the small number of staff members working for the organization, and thus reflective of the organization's overall capacity.

Since the sample size is so low, it is impossible to derive meaningful conclusions from statistical analysis alone, or to conjecture on the reasons for absence of this subject matter (e.g., compared with other topics). A cursory look at the results shows that economic, environmental, and cultural framings were more frequent in comparison with logistics, health, or other reasons. Much of the discussion within the ICC referenced “A Circumpolar Inuit Declaration on Resource Development Principles in Inuit Nunaat,” one of the ICC’s three declarations. This declaration was developed largely in response to increasing pressures for oil, gas, and mineral extraction in the Arctic, to provide a set of values and principles for asserting the right of self-determination afforded by the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, which both Canada and the U.S. initially voted against but now have either adopted fully or acknowledged the intent to abide by the UN Declaration. The ICC Declaration, which was signed in 2011 and thus outside the time scope of this study, acknowledges that, “While the focus of this Declaration is on the development of non-renewable resources, it must be understood that (a) issues surrounding the appropriate use of non-renewable and renewable resources are inextricably linked, and (b) the principles set out in this Declaration are, in many ways, applicable to the use of renewable resources,” (ICC, 2011). Given that this Declaration was largely a response to non-renewable resource extraction, this is the only reference within the document that could potentially refer to renewable energy sources (although far more likely, the inclusion of renewable resources was intended for animal populations in the context of subsistence hunting and fishing). The insistence on consultation and playing an active role in decision-making on resource development argued in this Declaration was consistent throughout the relevant materials on the organizations’ websites.

8.2 THE MEDIA IN ARCTIC COMMUNITIES

Given the diversity of perspectives on resource extraction throughout the Inuit diaspora (Wilson & Smith, 2011), examining Indigenous organizations alone would not be sufficient to capture the range of opinions and rationales behind this policy shift. Public media was included as a second source of data for indigenous perspectives – as a means of obtaining the viewpoints of citizens and local leaders that would not be captured at the level of national and international organizations. Furthermore, the websites of indigenous organizations did not provide a robust collection of data on indigenous perspectives, so this provided an additional opportunity to develop a more substantial dataset for analysis. Alaska Dispatch News and Nunatsiaq News are two independent newspapers, both located in Arctic regions and therefore have a decidedly Arctic focus in their news reporting. Both are also situated where there are large indigenous populations. This should imply that there would be a greater representation of indigenous perspectives within the media as a whole – compared with newspapers either in southern areas of the U.S. or Canada²⁵ or with newspapers from other Arctic countries that do not have large indigenous populations (e.g., Iceland).

For these two sources, the search terms were “renewable energ”* and “alternative energ”*, where the * allowed for the possibility that energy would be listed in the plural (i.e., “energies”). The words did not have to be contiguous in this search, as often “renewable energy” was reduced to “renewables” throughout an article. In each case, any embedded links within news articles that led to other stories within the same newspaper were also included for consideration. Alaska Dispatch News would only display ten results per query, with no ability to

²⁵ Where there are small proportions of Arctic indigenous.

look at results outside of the top ten results. To get around this, searches also included the years (e.g., “2013”, “2014”, “2015”, “2016”, and “2017”) as a means to provide articles from the entire time period in question. Given the disjoint nature of this search, it is entirely possible that this search was not exhaustive. The articles were initially filtered to ensure that they were relevant to this study.²⁶ These articles were also coded as “indigenous” if they were written by or included quotes from an indigenous person, regardless of which indigenous group.²⁷

The media, unfortunately, also did not prove as robust a source as desired. Nunatsiaq News had 73 articles which met the search criteria; of these, 30 articles were coded as “indigenous.” The Alaska Dispatch News had 51 articles which met the search criteria, but only four articles were coded as “indigenous.” There are several potential explanations for this disparity. One possibility is that the actual number of “indigenous” articles in the Alaska Dispatch News is likely higher than indicated in this study, but most quotes did not give a personal affiliation. Designations were made on this author’s prior knowledge of leaders within each indigenous community. Nunatsiaq News was proactive at associating people with their indigenous heritage. Canada has been largely pushing to reconcile relations between the government and indigenous populations, which may have produced this as a cultural byproduct of that effort. A similar effort in Alaska does not exist. Another possibility is that these ratios are indicative of the actual level of activity in the political process. Within the international organization of the Inuit Circumpolar Council, as opposed to the regional sub-bodies (e.g., ICC-Alaska, ICC-Canada), Canadians are far more active; and the ICC’s viewpoints tend to be more aligned with Canadian interests than with their counterparts in Greenland, Alaska, or Chukotka.

²⁶ E.g., removing articles that referred to “energy” in the context of people having the energy to accomplish a task.

²⁷ This was not a word search for “indigenous,” as with the geographic frames. This was a coding, similar to stance, based on presence or absence of indigenous inclusion in the text (e.g., quotes from Indigenous peoples, written by Indigenous peoples).

If this is the case, then these values reflect the level of political power each group has within the national and international policy process.

The results from the two newspapers are contained in Table 8.3. Economics was the largest motivator for discourse on these policies: articles tended to focus on the current high costs of energy in these regions, break-even points for the transition, and ultimate cost-savings by switching to renewable energy. Economic and environmental framings were paired in ~35% of the articles,²⁸ which was the largest group of articles that tried to cater to multiple perspectives. By framing the issue in a variety of ways, one has a greater likelihood of success in persuading another person on the topic (e.g., if a person does not respond to environmental issues, he/she can still be persuaded by economic issues). Of all the potential framings, the only two which had statistically significant differences between the two news sources were Cultural and Logistical; the remainder were all within 5%. Logistical issues were framed as both opportunities (e.g., overcoming difficulties of transporting diesel to remote communities, proximity to renewable resources) as well as challenges (e.g., remote communities are hard to connect by grid, and thus do not afford interconnectability of microgrids). Regulatory concerns were most of the “Other”-coded framings.

Opposition to the shift to renewables was largely framed around high capital costs of renewable projects, lack of scalability of the projects, environmental impacts of hydroelectric dams, and lack of consultation with local populations. While the first three are unique to renewable energy and can be addressed through effective project management, the fourth issue is common in interactions between the government and indigenous populations. This was largely the issue in the recent Supreme Court Case over seismic exploration for oil extraction in Clyde

²⁸ ~70% of the articles with environmental framing also included economic reasons.

River, Nunavut (Ray, 2017), as well as much of the backlash over the December 2016 moratorium on future Arctic leases. There was also a difference in the spatial framing of these issues between the two newspapers. Each of the articles was additionally coded for the number of instances the words “Arctic”, “Alaska”, and “Canad”* appeared in each article (“Canad*” allowing for inclusion of “Canada” and “Canadian”) (Table 8.2). Nunatsiaq News framed the issue as both Arctic and Canadian relatively equally, with a much smaller emphasis on specific locales elsewhere throughout the Arctic, including Alaska. Alaska Dispatch News largely framed this issue as an Alaskan matter, with much smaller emphasis on pan-Arctic or other locations throughout the Arctic, including Canada.

The results from Nunatsiaq News are contained in Table 8.4. They are broken down into those articles coded as “indigenous” and those which are not. “Indigenous” articles tended to be slightly more cautious in their approval of the shift to renewables, with a smaller proportion for the transition and a larger proportion with mixed views. All other values are within 5% between the two categories. Performing a Difference of Proportions test on the results, none of the values were statistically significant.

Chapter 9. CONCLUSIONS

9.1 COALITION BUILDING

This study examined the perspectives of stakeholders as they advocate in the public sphere for or against the transition to renewable energy in the Arctic. As mentioned in the introduction, all of these actors are considered with regard to their potential influence and advocacy at the federal level, which is not the only level of governance at which these actors operate. Venue shopping is the process through which actors elicit the decision-making body that is most receptive to their

agenda (Baumgartner, 2006). As different decision-making bodies have different cultures and values as well as resources for policy implementation, venue shopping offers actors a variety of venues to choose from to push their desires. Occasionally, venue shopping also provides an opportunity for advocacy groups to bypass policy elites and get their interests on the agenda – by seeking a different venue, an issue may be forced onto the agenda when it is accepted by a similar organization or institution. In addition, it also provides a chance for like-minded organizations to engage in coalition building. Pralle (2003) examined the role that political learning by policy venues, organizational constraints,²⁹ and limited rationality of actors³⁰ played in venue shopping in the Canadian forestry industry, factors that had not previously been considered. However, Pralle does not explicitly discuss whether these factors are uniform across types of advocacy groups, though she does acknowledge that groups are affected by these issues to varying degrees, nor does she discuss if some types of groups are more prone to constraints or limited rationality.

The results of this study set up the potential to examine these actors in the context of the advocacy coalition framework. Advocacy coalition framework (ACF) is a public policy theory, developed by Paul Sabatier, which posits that the policy process is conducted by networks of actors with common values that share resources and develop common strategies (Sabatier and Weible, 2007). Given the emphasis on sharing resources and developing common strategies, ACF implies that actors may act for the greater good, rather than in their own self-interest, diverging from rational-choice theories of public policy. With the complexity of modern politics and resource scarcity, actors are incentivized to combine their efforts to achieve policy success.

²⁹ Values might restrict an organization's choices for venue; e.g., a grassroots organization may opt for a local or subnational venue, as this is more in keeping with the organization's characteristics.

³⁰ Sometimes, actors decide against a venue that would respond in their favor, whether through incomplete knowledge, comfort with the status quo, or cooptation by a savvier actor.

ACF also expands the conception of actors beyond the traditional legislative, executive, and special-interest groups that are typically examined.

Although ACF is typically applied to policy issues that are relatively long-lasting while the issues surrounding Arctic renewable energy have been relatively recent, the setup of stance and framing in this study correlates well to the policy core policy preferences and secondary beliefs, respectively, of ACF. Policy core policy preferences are sub-systemwide in scope, salient, and a source of cleavage between actors, while secondary beliefs are narrower in scope (Sabatier and Weible, 2007). Thus, the stance surrounding the shift to renewable energy could represent the policy core policy preference, and the way in which this decision is framed (and thus the likely policy solutions) could offer a narrower secondary belief. This data helps determine where the overlap of common values would allow coalitions to potentially form. More work is needed to determine the resource limitations and willingness to act, as additional criteria for the formation of coalitions.

9.2 DISCUSSION

The compiled results by actor type are shown in Table 9.1. There was substantial variability in the stances of the different actor types with some (e.g., Arctic Council, environmental NGOs, state/territorial governments, and renewable energy organizations) extremely pro-renewable energy, while indigenous groups had a more mixed view of this shift and oil/gas companies were the most negative toward this shift. This is not very surprising, as the transition to renewable energy represents competition for oil/gas companies – especially in a large production region for both countries. Similarly, many indigenous rely on the oil/gas industry for employment as well as revenue through both the state/territory and Native

Corporations, and thus a transition to renewable energy provides some tension between cultural desires for more environmental and sustainable practices and economic realities needed to sustain subsistence lifestyles.

The framings had less variability than the stances in the results, indicating that once a decision is made on whether or not to take action, there might be greater consensus on what policy solutions will be more effective. Economics were the dominant framing for most actors, except environmental NGOs and Pan-Arctic organizations – where it was the second most important framing behind environmental framing. This might offer a potential partnership between Pan-Arctic organizations and environmental NGOs. Although these results may be somewhat skewed, given that two of the three environmental NGOs examined are observers on the Arctic Council, the majority of the data for environmental NGOs came from Greenpeace – which has sought status as an observer for years but has been denied, largely to its anti-sealing campaign. Environmental framing was the second most dominant framing overall. Logistical framing was the third largest framing, indicating that the technical details of implementation have become somewhat prominent in discussions of renewable energy. Cultural frames were not that dominant overall, although the largest proponents (e.g., indigenous, renewable energy organizations, and state/territorial governments) all have local roots and will be instrumental in developing the implementation plans – and thus must be considered once the decision to implement is made. Health frames were almost completely absent in discussions of renewable energy, despite the implications climate change will have on food and water security and the health impacts of exposure to diesel exhaust.

Tables 9.2 and 9.3 show the actors from Alaska and Canada, respectively, for the purpose of determining where national identity might play a dominant role in driving stances and

framings. While a number of the actors discussed in this study are transnational in nature (e.g., indigenous groups, oil/gas companies, and pan-Arctic organizations), there were enough actors, that were either entirely within these two countries or had separate operations within each country, to allow comparison. There is less variability on stance in the American actors than in the Canadian, although this appears to be driven largely by Yukon Energy.³¹ Yukon Energy has the largest logistical framing score within this study, suggesting their technical acumen cultivated over years of working with renewable energy puts them in a more discerning position for evaluating future renewable projects. With regard to the framings, however, Canadian actors had much less variability (with the notable exception of logistics as discussed above) than did American actors. American actors used economic framings more than Canadians, while there was fairly comparable usage of logistic, health, and other framings. Canadians used both environmental and cultural framings more than Americans, which is statistically significant ($p < 0.05$) by the Difference of Proportions Test. This implies that national identity plays a role in how this frame is used. As previously discussed, Canada has a much larger indigenous population in the Arctic and much better Indigenous-government relations. Furthermore, despite the growth in environmental action under the Obama administration, the Arctic is a larger part of the Canadian psyche – which resonates more strongly with environmental issues (English, 2013). Although a comparison between Tables 9.1, 9.2, and 9.3 may suggest that national identity overall yields stronger frames with less variability than actor types in Canada (and the reverse argument in the U.S.), the incongruence of data prohibits such a conclusion. Thus, we can only say national identity is dominant in the use of environmental and cultural framings.

³¹ If Yukon Energy is removed from this analysis, Canada has both less variability on the stance and a much higher pro-renewable stance.

9.3 LIMITATIONS

This study has several limitations in applying the results, that provide caution in asserting these as true representations of the various actors. First, the study only examined public statements from the actors and thus may not represent the true perspective of these actors. As these actors are engaged in strategic and political communication, these public statements may be tailored for public consumption and avoid true perspectives that may be seen as controversial. These public statements will be crafted to paint the actor in a positive light, and thus are biased representations. This has ramifications for coalition building, as one can never truly ascertain an actor's true intentions. However, these public statements provide an acceptable proxy to provide a baseline framework on which to build a coalition.

Second, while this study selected different types of actors (e.g., state/territorial government, renewable energy organizations) who should be involved in the policy process, this list was not exhaustive of all the actors who should be involved nor are the results representative of all actors within that actor type.³² Decision-makers must assess the relevant stakeholders for each project, which change depending on the location and nature of the project. As renewable energy projects in the Arctic do not exist at the aggregate level, actor types were chosen where sufficient interest, impact, and data all coexist. As a result, local governments (e.g., villages, boroughs) were not included – as data was scarce, although this would be a crucial stakeholder for any project. As was shown in the study, not all actors within an actor type feel similarly on this issue even within the same national context. For example, within the renewable energy actors, Yukon Energy had a much greater anti-renewable sentiment than did Kodiak Electric.

³² For example, state/territorial actors only examined the executive branch.

Furthermore, Yukon Energy framed this policy shift more in environmental terms than did Kodiak Electric, whereas Kodiak Electric used more economic frames than did Yukon Energy. Similarly, although Oceana is an environmental NGO that deals with Arctic energy issues, their interest in Arctic renewable energy was significantly lower than Greenpeace's, and thus may not be an optimal coalition partner for this issue. Thus, the results above about actor types in aggregate must be parsed out when actually forming coalitions.

9.4 FUTURE WORK

The work above suggests a number of future opportunities to verify, extend, and generalize these results. These results could be verified using alternative methodologies, although each has its own drawbacks. Participant interviews with each of the actors would provide richer, and often more pointed, data to verify stakeholder stances and framings on the policy shift. This would afford a more enriched discourse analysis, as the data sources used for this study frequently had limited discussion of Arctic renewable energy. However, this would be logistically cumbersome and would still have the same issue regarding the willingness of participants to provide a true perspective.³³ Surveys to actors would enable similar focused questioning as interviews (although likely less rich for discourse analysis purposes), while providing the option for anonymity of respondents to enable more accurate disclosures of official positions (McGrath, 2014). As with all surveys, response rate would likely be an issue; and the option for anonymity may not free all respondents from revealing any guarded intentions, thus leaving a mixture of true and biased responses without being able to distinguish between them. However, both of

³³ Some interviewees may be restricted by their organizations in what they can and cannot say regarding the official position

these methods would enable the results of this study to be confirmed (or rejected) and expanded through additional data and analytical methods.

This study focused on two similar countries within the Arctic, as a means to examine differences of national origin that may have emerged. While this study's primary role was not to interpret these differences, they emerged organically from the data with certain actors. This ranged from how the positions were geographically framed to how certain actors were incorporated in local media coverage of the issues. Extending this analysis to other Arctic nations would highlight more of the nationalistic issues that may emerge, as well as to help elucidate the causes behind these similarities and differences. Given that the U.S. and Canada are politically, legally, and culturally similar (at least with respect to other Arctic nations), using a case that is dissimilar (e.g., Russia) would help determine how much of these results are generalizable to the Arctic as well as how much is due to selection bias.

Ultimately, beyond energy transitions in the Arctic, this study suggests some conditions under which potentially marginalized unofficial actors may be able to increase their political salience. The U.S. and Canada both have large federations with expansive regulations. The regions examined within those countries are sparsely populated, and thus state/territorial governance does not have a significant influence on national decision-making. Furthermore, there are large indigenous populations within these regions that provide added levels of governance that impact traditional governance relations. Thus, by making these conditions explicit – we can look for similar situations (e.g., North Dakota) to see how effective coalition building efforts are.

TABLES

Actor	Source
Alaska	http://alaska.gov/
Yukon	http://www.gov.yk.ca/ ; https://yukon.ca/
Nunavut	https://www.gov.nu.ca/
BP	https://www.bp.com/
ConocoPhillips	http://www.conocophillips.com/
Shell	https://www.shell.com/# http://www.kodiakelectric.com/ ;
Kodiak Electric Association	https://kodiakelectric.wordpress.com/
Renewable Energy Alaska Project	http://alaskarenewableenergy.org/
Yukon Energy	https://yukonenergy.ca/
Greenpeace	https://www.greenpeace.org/usa/ ; https://www.greenpeace.org/usa/
World Wildlife Fund	http://wwf.panda.org/
Oceana	http://oceana.org/
Arctic Council	http://www.arctic-council.org/index.php/en/
Nunatsiaq News	http://nunatsiaq.com/
Alaska Dispatch News	https://www.adn.com/ http://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/icc-canada.html ;
Inuit Circumpolar Council	http://iccalaska.org/
Arctic Athabaskan Council	http://www.arcticathabaskancouncil.com/aac/
Aleut International Association	https://www.aleut-international.org/
Gwich'in Council International	https://gwichincouncil.com/

Table 2.1. Web sites used for data collection and analysis in this study.

Actor Type	Actor	Source Title	Source Date	Source website
State/ Territorial Government	Alaska	Alaska Energy Awareness Month	10/5/17	https://gov.alaska.gov/newsroom/2017/10/alaska-energy-awareness-month-2/
		Newtok-Mertarvik Relocation Energy Master Plan	5/1/17	https://www.commerce.alaska.gov/web/portals/4/pub/newtok_mertarvik_relocation_energy_plan.pdf
		First People	3/8/16	https://gov.alaska.gov/administration-focus/first-people/
		Governor Walker Testifies at U.S. Senate Energy Committee Field Hearing	2/16/16	https://gov.alaska.gov/newsroom/2016/02/governor-walker-testifies-at-u-s-senate-energy-committee-field-hearing/
		Split, Stack, Store, and Save!	2/2/16	dec.alaska.gov/air/anpms/pm/split-stack-store-save-brochure.pdf
		Bold Steps, New Beginnings: Alaskans Pulling Together	1/21/16	https://gov.alaska.gov/newsroom/2016/01/bold-steps-new-beginnings-alaskans-pulling-together/
		Governor Welcomes Support for Rural Energy	9/9/15	https://gov.alaska.gov/newsroom/2015/09/governor-welcomes-support-for-rural-energy/
		Lt. Governor's Glacier Conference Remarks	8/31/15	http://ltgov.alaska.gov/newsroom/2015/08/31/lt-gov-s-glacier-conference-remarks/
		Fiscal Year 2015 State Clean Diesel Grant Program	12/31/15	dec.alaska.gov/air/anpms/projects-reports/docs/dera2015-workplan.pdf
		Alaska State Greenhouse Gas Emissions Inventory 1990-2010	3/12/15	dec.alaska.gov/air/anpms/projects-reports/docs/ghg-inventory-report-2015.pdf
		Lieutenant Governor speaks to environmental forum	2/12/15	http://ltgov.alaska.gov/newsroom/2015/02/12/lt-gov-speaks-to-environmental-forum/
		2015 State of the State	1/21/15	https://gov.alaska.gov/newsroom/2015/01/2015-state-of-the-state/

		Response to Comments on 18 AAC 50 Air Quality Control	11/14/14	http://dec.alaska.gov/air/anpms/comm/docs/fbxsippm2-5/2013_pm25_response_to_comments.pdf
		Alaska and Yukon join to study economic corridor	2/26/14	https://www.commerce.alaska.gov/web/portals/0/pub/pr-14-005-ak-yukon-econ-development-corridor.pdf
		Renewable Energy Fund Status REF Round X Status Report	1/1/17	http://www.akenergyauthority.org/Portals/0/DNNGalleryPro/uploads/2017/1/27/REF%20Round%20X%20Status%20Report.pdf
		Renewable Energy Fund Status REF Round IX Status Report	5/1/16	http://www.akenergyauthority.org/Portals/0/Programs/RenewableEnergyFund/Documents/REFRound9StatusRptReadSpreads.pdf
		Renewable Energy Fund Status REF Round VIII Status Report	5/1/15	http://www.akenergyauthority.org/Content/Programs/RenewableEnergyFund/Documents/REFAEApinterspreads8515II.pdf
		Renewable Energy Fund Status REF Round VII Status Report	1/28/14	http://www.akenergyauthority.org/Portals/0/Programs/RenewableEnergyFund/Documents/oldREFStatusReport2014Final11by17printable.pdf?ver=2014-01-29-102056-437
	Yukon	Partnership to assess geothermal resources	11/10/17	http://www.gov.yk.ca/news/17-242.html
		Yukon Legislative Assembly Day 32	10/4/17	http://www.legassembly.gov.yk.ca/fr/pdf/blues.pdf
		Find out about Yukon-specific climate change information	9/30/17	https://yukon.ca/en/your-government/performance-and-finance/find-out-about-yukon-specific-climate-change-information
		Yukon Government Infrastructure Projects	8/3/17	http://www.infrastructure.gov.yk.ca/infrastructure.html
		North Yukon Regional Land Use Plan Annual Implementation Report 2016	6/22/17	http://www.emr.gov.yk.ca/rlup/pdf/north-yukon-regional-land-use-plan-2016-implementation-report.pdf

	Yukon Legislative Assembly Chamber Meeting Day 17	5/18/17	http://hansard.gov.yk.ca/34-legislature/17.pdf
	Budget Address 2017-18	4/27/17	http://www.yukonpremier.ca/pdf/201718_Budget_addresses.pdf
	Making Yukoners' Lives Better	4/20/17	http://www.yukonpremier.ca/pdf/Throne-Speech-2017.pdf
	Yukon Economic Outlook	4/1/17	http://www.finance.gov.yk.ca/pdf/201718Economic_outlook.pdf
	Minister Richard Mostyn's mandate letter	1/10/17	https://yukon.ca/sites/yukon.ca/files/eco-mandate-richard-mostyn_en.pdf
	Minister Ranj Pillai's mandate letter	1/6/17	https://yukon.ca/sites/yukon.ca/files/eco-mandate-ranj-pillai_en.pdf
	Minister Pauline Frost's mandate letter	1/6/17	https://yukon.ca/sites/yukon.ca/files/eco-mandate-pauline-frost_en.pdf
	YMAB Annual Report	12/31/16	http://www.eco.gov.yk.ca/pdf/YMAB_Annual_Report_2016.pdf
	Annual Report 2016	12/31/16	http://www.education.gov.yk.ca/pdf/Annual_Report-2016.pdf
	Microgeneration in Yukon	12/31/16	http://www.energy.gov.yk.ca/pdf/Micro-Generation-in-Yukon.pdf
	Yukon's Energy Context	2/15/16	http://www.energy.gov.yk.ca/images/Yukon-Energy-Context-Web.pdf
	Yukon Government Climate Change Action Plan Progress Report	12/1/15	http://www.env.gov.yk.ca/air-water-waste/documents/CCAP_progressreport_eng_2015.pdf

		Government of Yukon Response to the Select Committee Final Report Regarding the Risks and Benefits of Hydraulic Fracturing	4/9/15	http://www.emr.gov.yk.ca/oilandgas/pdf/YG_Response_Select_Committee_Hydraulic_Fracturing_20150409.pdf
		A Framework for Recreation in Canada 2015: Paths to Wellness	1/1/15	http://www.community.gov.yk.ca/pdf/Framework_For_Recreation_In_Canada_EN.pdf
		New Whitehorse Continuing Care Facility Business Case Analysis	7/28/14	http://www.hss.gov.yk.ca/pdf/ccbusinesscaseanalysis.pdf
		An Evaluation of the Yukon Research Centre: Final Report	6/1/13	http://www.education.gov.yk.ca/fr/pdf/YRC-evaluation.pdf
	Nunavut	Premiers advance their Pan-Territorial Vision for Sustainable Development	8/31/17	https://www.gov.nu.ca/eia/news/premiers-advance-their-pan-territorial-vision-sustainable-development
		GN reacts to 2017 federal budget	3/23/17	https://www.gov.nu.ca/eia/news/gn-reacts-2017-federal-budget
		Canada and Nunavut invest in infrastructure at Nunavut Arctic College	11/23/16	https://www.gov.nu.ca/education/news/canada-and-nunavut-invest-infrastructure-nunavut-arctic-college-0
		Northern Development Ministers Discuss the North's potential as a "Land of Opportunities"	9/13/16	https://www.gov.nu.ca/edt/news/northern-development-ministers-discuss-norths-potential-land-opportunities
		First Ministers' Meeting Concludes	3/4/16	https://www.gov.nu.ca/eia/news/first-ministers-meeting-concludes

		Northern Premiers Promote Infrastructure as Key to Northern Investment	6/16/15	https://www.gov.nu.ca/eia/news/northern-premiers-promote-infrastructure-key-northern-investment
		Working together to build a better north	9/5/14	https://www.gov.nu.ca/eia/news/working-together-build-better-north
		Science 12	n.d.	https://www.gov.nu.ca/education/curriculum/curriculum-database/science-12
		Science 11	n.d.	https://www.gov.nu.ca/education/curriculum/curriculum-database/science-11
		Science 10	n.d.	https://www.gov.nu.ca/education/curriculum/curriculum-database/science-10
		Science 7	n.d.	https://www.gov.nu.ca/education/curriculum/curriculum-database/science-7
		Science 6	n.d.	https://www.gov.nu.ca/education/curriculum/curriculum-database/science-grade-6
		Science 5	n.d.	https://www.gov.nu.ca/education/curriculum/curriculum-database/science-grade-5
		Science 2	n.d.	https://www.gov.nu.ca/education/curriculum/curriculum-database/science-grade-2
		Science 1	n.d.	https://www.gov.nu.ca/education/curriculum/curriculum-database/science-grade-1
Oil Companies	Conoco-Phillips	2013 Sustainable Development Report	7/22/14	http://static.conocophillips.com/files/resources/2013-sd-report-full-101714.pdf
	BP	The changing global energy landscape – prospects for Arctic oil and gas	11/28/13	https://www.bp.com/en/global/corporate/media/speeches/the-changing-global-energy-landscape-prospects-for-arctic-oil.html

	Shell	Tough choices on the road to a lower-carbon world	1/8/16	https://www.shell.com/media/speeches-and-articles/articles-by-date/road-to-a-lower-carbon-world.html
		Working together to build a lower carbon, higher energy future	9/2/14	https://www.shell.com/media/speeches-and-articles/2014/working-together-to-build-a-lower-carbon-higher-energy-future.html
		A sharper focus on the bottom line	6/17/14	https://www.shell.com/media/speeches-and-articles/articles-by-date/sharper-focus-on-the-bottom-line.html
		Getting the future energy mix right: how the American shale revolution is changing the world	3/21/13	https://www.shell.com/media/speeches-and-articles/2013/getting-the-future-energy-mix-right.html
Renewable Energy Organizations	Kodiak Electric Association	The 2017 Terror Lake Hydro Facility Prize Trip	10/3/17	https://kodiakelectric.wordpress.com/2017/10/03/the-2017-terror-lake-hydro-facility-prize-trip/
		Kodiak Electric Members Handbook	6/1/17	http://www.kodiakelectric.com/keadocs/Member%20Handbook,%20June%202017.pdf
		KEA's 75th Annual Membership Meeting – Powering Our Community for 75 Years!	5/3/17	https://kodiakelectric.wordpress.com/2017/05/03/keas-75th-annual-membership-meeting-powering-our-community-for-75-years/
		Kodiak Electric Association, Inc. 2016 Annual Report	12/31/16	http://www.kodiakelectric.com/keadocs/2016%20Annual%20Report.pdf
		The 2016 Terror Lake Prize Trip	9/27/16	https://kodiakelectric.wordpress.com/2016/09/27/the-2016-terror-lake-prize-trip/
		The 2015 Terror Lake Prize Trip	9/21/15	https://kodiakelectric.wordpress.com/2015/09/21/the-2015-terror-lake-prize-trip/

		President Obama Highlights KEA's Achievements in Recent Speech	9/3/15	https://kodiacelectric.wordpress.com/2015/09/03/president-obama-highlights-keas-achievements-in-recent-speech/
		KEA's 73rd Annual Membership Meeting – Informative and Fun!	4/30/15	https://kodiacelectric.wordpress.com/2015/04/30/keas-73rd-annual-membership-meeting-informative-and-fun/
		The Triumph of Clean Energy	4/14/15	http://www.kodiacelectric.com/keadocs/AAMag2015.pdf
		KEA's Renewable Success Featured in Public Utilities Fortnightly Magazine	3/6/15	https://kodiacelectric.wordpress.com/2015/03/06/keas-renewable-success-featured-in-public-utilities-fortnightly-magazine/
		Alaska Energy Authority and Kodiak Electric Association Receive National Renewable Energy Award	11/19/14	https://kodiacelectric.wordpress.com/2014/11/19/alaska-energy-authority-and-kodiak-electric-association-receive-national-renewable-energy-award/
		KEA Honored with Clean Energy Innovator of the Year Award	5/2/14	https://kodiacelectric.wordpress.com/2014/05/02/kea-honored-with-clean-energy-innovator-of-the-year-award/
		72nd Annual Membership Meeting – Our Plan Comes Together!	4/29/14	https://kodiacelectric.wordpress.com/2014/04/29/72nd-annual-membership-meeting-our-plan-comes-together/
		Renewable Energy Overhaul Produces Tremendous Success	11/22/13	https://kodiacelectric.wordpress.com/2013/11/22/renewable-energy-overhaul-produces-tremendous-success/
		Terror Lake Prize Trip – “Awesome!”	9/13/13	https://kodiacelectric.wordpress.com/2013/09/13/terror-lake-prize-trip-awesome/
		Terror Lake Third Turbine Installation Update	6/12/13	https://kodiacelectric.wordpress.com/2013/06/12/terror-lake-third-turbine-installation-update/
		71st Annual Membership Meeting a Success!	5/2/13	https://kodiacelectric.wordpress.com/2013/05/02/71st-annual-membership-meeting-a-success/

Renewable Energy Alaska Project		KEA Selects Contractor to Install Third Turbine at Terror Lake	3/1/13	https://kodiakelectric.wordpress.com/2013/03/01/kea-selects-contractor-to-install-third-turbine-at-terror-lake/
	Events		3/8/18	http://alaskarenewableenergy.org/index.php/get-involved/upcoming-events/
	Ocean (Wave and Tidal) Hydrokinetic		11/16/17	http://alaskarenewableenergy.org/index.php/clean-energy-in-alaska/ocean/
	Energy Visionaries making a meaningful difference in Alaska		11/2/17	http://alaskarenewableenergy.org/index.php/supporter-spotlight/
	What Puerto Rico Can Learn From Alaska		10/27/17	http://alaskarenewableenergy.org/index.php/2017/10/27/what-puerto-rico-can-learn-from-alaska/
	Governor Proclaims October as Energy Awareness Month		9/29/17	http://alaskarenewableenergy.org/index.php/2017/09/29/governor-proclaims-october-is-energy-awareness-month/
	ISO		9/29/17	http://alaskarenewableenergy.org/index.php/2017/09/29/iso/
	What We Do?		9/21/17	http://alaskarenewableenergy.org/index.php/about-reap/what-we-do/
	AK Energy Education Newsletter		9/20/17	http://alaskarenewableenergy.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/September-2017-Energy-Ed-Newsletter.pdf
	Advocacy		8/24/17	http://alaskarenewableenergy.org/index.php/clean-energy-in-alaska/advocacy/
	REAP White Paper one the Need for an Independent System Operator in Alaska's Railbelt Region		8/4/17	http://alaskarenewableenergy.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/REAP-System-Operator-White-Paper.pdf

		A Green Bank for Alaska	8/3/17	http://alaskarenewableenergy.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/A-Green-Bank-for-Alaska.pdf
		REAP Accomplishments	8/1/17	http://alaskarenewableenergy.org/index.php/focusareas/accomplishments/
		AK Energy Education Newsletter	8/1/17	http://alaskarenewableenergy.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/August-2017-Final.pdf
		Quick Energy Facts	7/31/17	http://alaskarenewableenergy.org/index.php/clean-energy-in-alaska/quick-energy-facts/
		AK Energy Education Newsletter	4/18/17	http://alaskarenewableenergy.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/April-2017-final.pdf
		AK Energy Education Newsletter	3/22/17	http://alaskarenewableenergy.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/March-2017-final.pdf
		President Elect Trump's Cabinet: Lots of Work Ahead!	12/15/16	http://alaskarenewableenergy.org/index.php/2016/12/15/president-elect-trumps-cabinet-lots-of-work-ahead/
		AK Energy Education Newsletter	12/1/16	http://alaskarenewableenergy.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/Dec-2016-final-email.pdf
		AK Energy Education Newsletter	11/1/16	http://alaskarenewableenergy.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/Nov-2016-final-email.pdf
		Renewable Energy Atlas of Alaska	10/26/16	http://alaskarenewableenergy.org/index.php/focusareas/renewable-energy-atlas/
		Hydropower	10/13/16	http://alaskarenewableenergy.org/index.php/clean-energy-in-alaska/hydropower/
		Solar	10/13/16	http://alaskarenewableenergy.org/index.php/clean-energy-in-alaska/solar/
		Clean Energy in Alaska	7/18/16	http://alaskarenewableenergy.org/index.php/clean-energy-in-alaska/
		REAP's Mission and Values	7/16/16	http://alaskarenewableenergy.org/index.php/about-reap/mission-and-vision/

		Business Opportunities in Alaska	7/12/16	http://alaskarenewableenergy.org/index.php/clean-energy-in-alaska/business-opportunities-in-ak/
	Yukon Energy	Yukon Energy and Victoria Gold Sign Power Purchase Agreement	11/14/17	https://yukonenergy.ca/about-us/news-events/yukon-energy-and-victoria-gold-sign-power-purchase-agreement
		2017/2018 General Rate Application	6/1/17	https://yukonenergy.ca/media/site_documents/2017-2018_General_Rate_Application.pdf
		A summary: Yukon Energy's 2016 Resource Plan	6/1/17	https://yukonenergy.ca/media/site_documents/Summary_2016_Resource_Plan.pdf
		The Lingo	3/11/17	https://yukonenergy.ca/energy-in-yukon/electricity-101/the-lingo
		Who We Are	3/9/17	https://yukonenergy.ca/about-us/who-we-are
		Yukon Energy Achieves Sustainable Electricity Company™ Designation: A First for Northern Canada	2/8/17	https://yukonenergy.ca/about-us/news-events/yukon-energy-achieves-sustainable-electricity-company-designation-a-first-f
		2016 Resource Plan Technical Advisory Committee	1/13/17	http://resourceplan.yukonenergy.ca/media/site_documents/Minutes_-_Technical_Advisory_Committee_-_January_13_2017.pdf
		Our action plan	1/1/17	http://resourceplan.yukonenergy.ca/media/site_documents/Our_Action_Plan_information_sheet_-_Jan_2017.pdf
		Yukoners to Benefit from New Northern Energy Research Chair	9/19/16	https://yukonenergy.ca/about-us/news-events/yukoners-to-benefit-from-new-northern-energy-research-chair
		Yukon Electricity Values Survey 2016 Report	7/1/16	http://resourceplan.yukonenergy.ca/media/site_documents/Electricity_Values_Survey_Final_Report.pdf

		Southern Lakes Enhanced Storage Concept: Spring 2016 Update	3/30/16	https://yukonenergy.ca/about-us/news-events/southern-lakes-enhanced-storage-concept-spring-2016-update
		Updating our Biogas Work	2/15/16	https://yukonenergy.ca/about-us/news-events/updating-our-biogas-work
		Biogas Plant in Whitehorse	1/1/16	https://yukonenergy.ca/media/blog_documents/YEC_Bio_gas_plant_in_Whitehorse-_Feasibility_Study_Final-EC-20160129.pdf
		2015 Annual Report	12/31/15	https://yukonenergy.ca/media/site_documents/Yukon_Energy_Annual_Report_2015
		What Goes Into Building an Energy Project?	12/15/15	https://yukonenergy.ca/energy-in-yukon/electricity-101/what-goes-into-building-an-energy-project
		Why Energy Conservation?	4/8/15	https://yukonenergy.ca/about-us/news-events/why-energy-conservation
		Secondary Sales Benefits all Yukoners	3/12/15	https://yukonenergy.ca/about-us/news-events/secondary-sales-benefits-all-yukoners
		Whitehorse General Hospital Re-joins Secondary Sales Program; Provides Win for Yukon as a Whole	3/11/15	https://yukonenergy.ca/about-us/news-events/whitehorse-general-hospital-re-joins-secondary-sales-program-provides-win-f
		Our 2015 Work in the Southern Lakes	3/2/15	https://yukonenergy.ca/about-us/news-events/our-2015-work-in-the-southern-lakes
		2014 Annual Report	12/31/14	https://yukonenergy.ca/media/site_documents/YEC_Annual_Report_2014_web.pdf
		Yukon Energy Moves Forward With Wind Work	12/5/14	https://yukonenergy.ca/about-us/news-events/yukon-energy-moves-forward-with-wind-work
		Mayo Lake Enhancement	10/15/14	https://yukonenergy.ca/energy-in-yukon/projects-facilities/mayo-lake-enhancement

		2013 Annual Report	12/31/13	https://yukonenergy.ca/media/site_documents/Yukon_Energy_Annual_Report_2013.pdf
		Final FEED Report: Front End Engineering Design (FEED) Study	10/18/13	http://resourceplan.yukonenergy.ca/media/site_documents/Appendix_5.12_Biomass_Front_End_Engineering_Design_Study_(Stantec_2016).pdf
		Northern Climate ExChange partners with Yukon Energy and federal government on hydrosecurity project	9/17/13	https://yukonenergy.ca/about-us/news-events/northern-climate-exchange-partners-with-yukon-energy-and-federal-government
		Is Green Energy A Pipe Dream?	7/22/13	https://yukonenergy.ca/about-us/news-events/is_green_energy_a_pipe_dream
		Geothermal Versus Liquefied Natural Gas	7/19/13	https://yukonenergy.ca/about-us/news-events/geothermal_versus_liquefied_natural_gas
		Summary Wind Energy Workshop	3/18/13	https://yukonenergy.ca/media/site_documents/1251_Wind%20Energy%20Workshop%20summary_march2013.pdf
		Is it time to turn wood into electricity?	1/9/13	https://yukonenergy.ca/media/site_documents/1226_BiomassWoodIntoElectricity.pdf
Environmental NGOs	Greenpeace - U.S.	Four Ways Alaskans Are Moving Beyond Fossil Fuels	10/26/17	http://www.greenpeace.org/usa/four-ways-alaskans-moving-beyond-fossil-fuels/
		United States Signs Arctic Council Declaration with Commitments to Climate Change	5/11/17	http://www.greenpeace.org/usa/news/united-states-signs-arctic-council-declaration-with-commitments-to-climate-change/
		Stopping Offshore Drilling	1/1/17	http://www.greenpeace.org/usa/arctic/stopping-offshore-drilling/
		Don't Look Now, But There Was Just a Mass Exodus of Oil Companies From the Arctic	6/10/16	http://www.greenpeace.org/usa/dont-look-now-just-mass-exodus-oil-companies-arctic/

		U.S.-Nordic Leaders' Summit Overlooks Binding Protections	5/13/16	http://www.greenpeace.org/usa/news/u-s-nordic-leaders-summit-overlooks-binding-protections/
		After Shell Defeat, People Are Asking "What's Next?" Here's Their Answer.	10/2/15	http://www.greenpeace.org/usa/after-shell-defeat-people-are-asking-whats-next-heres-their-answer/
		Greenpeace Pressures Obama to Ban Arctic drilling After Shell Fails in Alaska	9/28/15	http://www.greenpeace.org/usa/news/greenpeace-pressures-obama-to-ban-arctic-drilling-after-shell-fails-in-alaska/
		What It's Like to Be a Kayaktivist in the Way of Shell's Giant Rig	6/29/15	http://www.greenpeace.org/usa/stories/what-its-like-to-be-a-kayaktivist-in-the-way-of-shells-giant-rig/
		Looking Ahead: Recommendations for the U.S. Arctic Council Chairmanship	4/23/15	http://www.greenpeace.org/usa/looking-ahead-recommendations-us-arctic-council-chairmanship-2/
		Exceptional Times Require Exceptional Leaders. We Won't Take No for an Answer.	9/22/14	http://www.greenpeace.org/usa/exceptional-times-require-exceptional-leaders-wont-take-answer/
		LEGO responds to Greenpeace's campaign for them to drop Shell	7/7/14	http://www.greenpeace.org/usa/lego-responds-greenpeaces-campaign-drop-shell/
		5 questions for Pres. Putin about Gazprom's first shipment of Arctic oil	4/18/14	http://www.greenpeace.org/usa/5-questions-pres-putin-first-shipment-arctic-oil/
		Arctic 30 Captain Peter Willcox Returns to U.S. Soil	12/28/13	http://www.greenpeace.org/usa/news/arctic-30-captain-peter-willcox-returns-to-us-soil/
		30 Ideas for 30 Days of Climate Action for the Arctic 30	10/23/13	http://www.greenpeace.org/usa/30-ideas-for-30-days-of-climate-action-for-the-arctic-30/

		Greenpeace shows Gazprom the red card at the Champions Leagues Game in Switzerland	10/1/13	http://www.greenpeace.org/usa/greenpeace-shows-gazprom-the-red-card-at-the-champions-leagues-game-in-switzerland/
		Arctic sea ice reaches minimum extent for 2013 as Greenpeace activists are held in Russian Arctic	9/20/13	http://www.greenpeace.org/usa/arctic-sea-ice-reaches-minimum-extent-for-2013-as-greenpeace-activists-are-held-in-russian-arctic/
		Why is a giant polar bear wandering around Washington, DC?	4/25/13	http://www.greenpeace.org/usa/why-is-a-giant-polar-bear-wandering-around-washington-dc/
		Brrrrrrrr: Arctic ice loss responsible for our chilly spring	3/27/13	http://www.greenpeace.org/usa/arctic-ice-loss-responsible-for-our-chilly-spring/
	Greenpeace - Canada	World's 8th largest banks says it won't finance tar sands pipelines	10/16/17	http://www.greenpeace.org/canada/en/blog/Blogentry/worlds-8th-largest-banks-says-it-wont-finance/blog/60466/
		Liberal pro-oil talking points take a hit from new IEA report	3/21/17	http://www.greenpeace.org/canada/en/blog/Blogentry/liberal-pro-oil-talking-points-take-a-hit-fro/blog/59009/
		You did it! Big win for the Arctic	12/22/16	http://www.greenpeace.org/canada/en/blog/Blogentry/you-did-it-big-win-for-the-arctic/blog/58386/
		A solar glow in the Arctic	8/31/16	http://www.greenpeace.org/canada/en/blog/Blogentry/a-solar-glow-in-the-arctic/blog/57347/
		How does solar work in the Arctic?	8/31/16	http://www.greenpeace.org/canada/en/blog/Blogentry/how-does-solar-work-in-the-arctic/blog/57366/
		Four Ways the Canadian Arctic Can Flourish Without Fossil Fuels	8/25/16	http://www.greenpeace.org/canada/en/blog/Blogentry/four-ways-the-canadian-arctic-can-flourish-wi/blog/57346/

		Exxon increasingly isolated in its determination to be a climate villain	5/25/16	http://www.greenpeace.org/canada/en/blog/Blogentry/exxon-increasingly-isolated-in-its-determinat/blog/56546/
		Calls for Investigation grow as ‘Exxon Knew’ scandal spills into Canada	4/27/16	http://www.greenpeace.org/canada/en/blog/Blogentry/calls-for-investigation-grow-as-exxon-knew-sc/blog/56329/
		Be part of something historic	4/7/16	http://www.greenpeace.org/canada/en/blog/Blogentry/be-part-of-something-historic/blog/56090/
		ExxonMobil fights the future. The future is winning.	2/25/16	http://www.greenpeace.org/canada/en/blog/Blogentry/exxonmobil-fights-the-future-the-future-is-wi/blog/55647/
		Roaring for Indigenous Rights	12/9/15	http://www.greenpeace.org/canada/en/blog/Blogentry/roaring-for-indigenous-rights/blog/55051/
		Clyde River fights oil and reaches for the Arctic sun	10/7/15	http://www.greenpeace.org/canada/en/blog/Blogentry/clyde-river-fights-oil-and-reaches-for-the-ar/blog/54342/
		Greenpeace supporters help turn the tide for climate protection during the federal election.	9/30/15	http://www.greenpeace.org/canada/en/blog/Blogentry/greenpeace-supporters-turning-the-tide-for-cl/blog/54268/
		This election, let’s change the politics not the climate	9/14/15	http://www.greenpeace.org/canada/en/blog/Blogentry/this-election-lets-change-the-politics-not-th/blog/54074/
		“Don’t mention Arctic oil”: How Shell’s latest bid to get young people hooked on fossil fuels seriously backfired	4/29/15	http://www.greenpeace.org/canada/en/Blogentry/dont-mention-arctic-oil-how-shells-latest-bid/blog/52749/
		Shell's profit comes at our expense	4/6/15	http://www.greenpeace.org/canada/en/Blogentry/shells-profit-comes-at-our-expense/blog/52523/
		On the tail of Shell’s Arctic oil drilling fleet	3/25/15	http://www.greenpeace.org/canada/en/Blogentry/on-the-tail-of-shells-arctic-oil-drilling-fle/blog/52416/

		Solar tour finds Albertans want their place in the sun	10/20/14	http://www.greenpeace.org/canada/en/Blog/solar-tour-finds-albertans-want-their-place-i/blog/51018/
		Why we climb to save the Arctic	9/9/14	http://www.greenpeace.org/canada/en/Blog/why-we-climb-to-save-the-arctic/blog/50526/
		As the Intl Panel on Climate Change meets, can we face the climate reality?	3/25/14	http://www.greenpeace.org/canada/en/Blog/as-the-intl-panel-on-climate-change-meets-can/blog/48654/
		So Glad You Asked! Greenpeace's response to some well worn questions	2/26/14	http://www.greenpeace.org/canada/en/blog/Blogentry/so-glad-you-asked/blog/48324/
		Open your eyes to effects of climate change	11/11/13	http://www.greenpeace.org/canada/en/Blog/open-your-eyes-to-effects-of-climate-change/blog/47331/
		Rainbow Warrior – pointing to a new tomorrow	9/30/13	http://www.greenpeace.org/canada/en/Blog/rainbow-warrior-pointing-to-a-new-tomorrow/blog/46827/
		Harper's Destructive Arctic Legacy	9/4/13	http://www.greenpeace.org/canada/en/Blog/harpers-destructive-arctic-legacy/blog/46490/
		Don't get railroaded into accepting tar sands as inevitable	5/16/13	http://www.greenpeace.org/canada/en/Blog/dont-get-railroaded-into-accepting-tar-sands-/blog/45183/
		Tar sands are the fifth largest climate threat in the world	1/22/13	http://www.greenpeace.org/canada/en/recent/Tar-sands-one-of-the-worlds-biggest-climate-threats/
Oceana	Secretary Ryan Zinke	5/24/17	https://usa.oceana.org/sites/default/files/662/2017_05_24_-_38_diverse_community_groups_to_doi.pdf	
	Secretary Zinke Announces Executive Order Aimed at Expanding Offshore Drilling in US Waters	4/27/17	http://usa.oceana.org/press-releases/breaking-secretary-zinke-announces-executive-order-aimed-expanding-offshore-drilling	

		President Obama Denies All Pending Permits for Seismic Airgun Blasting in Atlantic Ocean	1/26/17	http://usa.oceana.org/press-releases/president-obama-denies-all-pending-permits-seismic-airgun-blasting-atlantic-ocean
		Seismic Airgun Blasting	1/21/15	http://usa.oceana.org/our-campaigns/seismic_airgun_testing/campaign
		Oceana Applauds Shell's Decision Not to Drill in Arctic Ocean in 2014	1/30/14	http://oceana.org/press-center/press-releases/oceana-applauds-shell%E2%80%99s-decision-not-drill-arctic-ocean-2014
	WWF	America's Arctic could soon open up to a new wave of risky offshore oil and gas drilling	7/20/17	https://www.worldwildlife.org/stories/america-s-arctic-could-soon-open-up-to-a-new-wave-of-risky-offshore-oil-and-gas-drilling
		WWF Statement on President Trump's Offshore Drilling Executive Order	4/28/17	https://www.worldwildlife.org/press-releases/wwf-statement-on-president-trump-s-offshore-drilling-executive-order
		US should continue to lead the way on climate change action	3/6/17	https://www.worldwildlife.org/stories/making-action-on-climate-change-a-priority-at-home-and-abroad
		WWF digs a safe home for endangered freshwater seals	1/24/17	https://www.worldwildlife.org/stories/wwf-digs-a-safe-home-for-endangered-freshwater-seals
		2016 declared the hottest year on record	1/18/17	https://www.worldwildlife.org/stories/2016-declared-the-hottest-year-on-record
		How big is the Arctic Ocean? And eight other Arctic facts	6/6/16	https://www.worldwildlife.org/stories/how-big-is-the-arctic-ocean-and-eight-other-arctic-facts
		Arctic wildlife under threat as sea ice hits historic low	3/29/16	https://www.worldwildlife.org/stories/arctic-wildlife-under-threat-as-sea-ice-hits-historic-low
New NOAA Weather Data Show Volatility as the New Normal	1/7/16	https://www.worldwildlife.org/press-releases/new-noaa-weather-data-show-volatility-as-the-new-normal		

		Climate Change and WWF	10/1/15	https://www.worldwildlife.org/magazine/issues/fall-2015/articles/climate-change-and-wwf
		Shell Abandons Drilling in America's Arctic Ocean	9/28/15	https://www.worldwildlife.org/stories/shell-abandons-drilling-in-america-s-arctic-ocean
		Record Low for Winter Sea Ice in the Arctic	3/19/15	https://www.worldwildlife.org/stories/record-low-for-winter-sea-ice-in-the-arctic
		WWF: Arctic Ice Melt a Call for Redefining Business as Usual in the Arctic	3/19/15	https://www.worldwildlife.org/press-releases/wwf-arctic-ice-melt-a-call-for-redefining-business-as-usual-in-the-arctic
		The People's Climate March Grabs the World's Attention	9/22/14	https://www.worldwildlife.org/stories/the-people-s-climate-march-grabs-the-world-s-attention
		US Climate Assessment: An Urgent Call to Tackle Climate Change	5/6/14	https://www.worldwildlife.org/stories/us-climate-assessment-an-urgent-call-to-tackle-climate-change
		WWF: Shell Rightly Suspends Arctic Drilling in 2014	1/30/14	https://www.worldwildlife.org/press-releases/wwf-shell-rightly-suspends-arctic-drilling-in-2014
		World Leaders Commit to Conservation Measures at Polar Bear Forum	12/4/13	https://www.worldwildlife.org/press-releases/updated-world-leaders-commit-to-conservation-measures-at-polar-bear-forum
		Climate Change Expert to Escort Arctic Voyage	11/6/13	https://www.worldwildlife.org/blogs/good-nature-travel/posts/climate-change-expert-to-escort-arctic-voyage
		Turning Climate Protection into Cash Savings	6/18/13	https://www.worldwildlife.org/stories/turning-climate-protection-into-cash-savings
		U.S. and Other Arctic Countries Urged to Create Oil Response Plans	5/15/13	https://www.worldwildlife.org/stories/u-s-and-other-arctic-countries-urged-to-create-oil-response-plans
		Arctic Drilling Assessment Released	3/14/13	https://www.worldwildlife.org/stories/arctic-drilling-assessment-released

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		PAME II-2017 Working Group Meeting Report	10/26/17	https://oaarchive.arctic-council.org/bitstream/handle/11374/2095/SAOFI201_2017_OULU_Info-Doc-04_PAME-Meeting-Report.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y
		AMAROK: The Arctic Council tracking tool; "mini-report" and "maxi-report"	10/26/17	https://oaarchive.arctic-council.org/bitstream/handle/11374/2092/SAOFI201_2017_OULU_Info-Doc-01-B_Amarok-Maxi-Report.pdf?sequence=2&isAllowed=y
		Senior Arctic Officials' Report to Ministers Fairbanks 2017	5/11/17	https://oaarchive.arctic-council.org/bitstream/handle/11374/1909/EDOCS-3930-v7D-Fairbanks_2017_SAO-report-to-Ministers.pdf?sequence=2&isAllowed=y
		Fairbanks Declaration	5/11/17	https://oaarchive.arctic-council.org/bitstream/handle/11374/1910/EDOCS-4072-v5-ACMMUS10_FAIRBANKS_2017_Fairbanks_Declaration-2017.pdf?sequence=9&isAllowed=y
		Statement by Ms. Okalik Eegeesiak, Chair of the Inuit Circumpolar Council, at the Arctic Council Ministerial meeting in Fairbanks	5/11/17	https://oaarchive.arctic-council.org/bitstream/handle/11374/1914/EDOCS-4289-v1-ACMMUS10_FAIRBANKS_2017_Statement_by_ICC_HoD_O_Eegeesiak.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

		Expert Group on Black Carbon and Methane; Summary of Progress and Recommendations	5/11/17	https://oaarchive.arctic-council.org/bitstream/handle/11374/1936/EDOCS-4319-v1-ACMMUS10_FAIRBANKS_2017_EGBCM-report-complete-with-covers-and-colophon-letter-size.pdf?sequence=5&isAllowed=y
		SDWG Strategic Framework 2017	5/11/17	https://oaarchive.arctic-council.org/bitstream/handle/11374/1940/SDWG-Framework-2017-Final-Print-version.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y
		Arctic Renewable Energy Atlas; Project Presentation	5/11/17	https://oaarchive.arctic-council.org/bitstream/handle/11374/1943/AREA-brochure-April-2017.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y
		The Economy of the North 2015	5/11/17	https://oaarchive.arctic-council.org/handle/11374/1946
		Circumpolar best practices; Policy and Financing Options for Black Carbon Emission Reductions from Diesel Sources	5/11/17	https://oaarchive.arctic-council.org/bitstream/handle/11374/1953/2017-05-03-ACAP-Circumpolar-best-practices-BC-emission-reduction-from-diesel-complete-letter-size-DIGITAL.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y
		Adaptation Actions for a Changing Arctic (AACA) - Barents Area Overview Report	5/11/17	https://oaarchive.arctic-council.org/bitstream/handle/11374/1960/aaca-bar-ovr.pdf.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y
		Reduction of Black Carbon from Diesel Sources in the Russian Arctic - TUNDRA Reindeer Farm	5/11/17	https://oaarchive.arctic-council.org/bitstream/handle/11374/1961/2017-05-03-ACAP-Tundra-reindeer-farm-black-carbon-reduction-from-diesel-complete-A4-size-DIGITAL.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

		Arctic Resilience Action Framework	5/11/17	https://oaarchive.arctic-council.org/bitstream/handle/11374/2019/EDOCS-4248-v4-Arctic-Resilience-Action-Framework-after-New-York-SAO-2017.pdf?sequence=7&isAllowed=y
		Presentations from Juneau 2017 SAO Meeting	3/9/17	https://oaarchive.arctic-council.org/bitstream/handle/11374/2045/EDOCS-4209-v1-ASCAOUS204_Juneau_2017_Pres_3-6_ACAP.PDF?sequence=8&isAllowed=y
		Report: SAO plenary meeting	3/9/17	https://oaarchive.arctic-council.org/bitstream/handle/11374/2044/EDOCS-4213-v6-ACSAOUS204-Juneau-2017-plenary-report.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y
		Arctic Resilience Report (ARR): Synthesis for Arctic Leaders (SfAL)	2/28/17	https://oaarchive.arctic-council.org/bitstream/handle/11374/2008/EDOCS-4088-v1A-ACSAOUS204_JUNEAU_2017_3-5-5_ARR_Synthesis_for_Arctic_Leaders.PDF?sequence=1&isAllowed=y
		Sustainable Development Working Group 2017-2019 Work Plan	2/15/17	https://oaarchive.arctic-council.org/bitstream/handle/11374/1973/EDOCS-4150-v1B-ACSAOUS204_JUNEAU_2017_3-1-4_SDWG_Proposed_Work_Plan_2017-19.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y
		SDWG Strategic Framework - Part One: Strategic Vision; Part Two: Implementation Plan	2/13/17	https://oaarchive.arctic-council.org/bitstream/handle/11374/1993/EDOCS-4154-v1A-ACSAOUS204_JUNEAU_2017_3-1-1B_SDWG-Strategic_Framework-Part-2-Implementation_Plan.PDF?sequence=2&isAllowed=y

		ACAP Working Group Report to SAOs, March 2017 in Juneau	2/8/17	https://oaarchive.arctic-council.org/bitstream/handle/11374/2004/EDOCS-4084-v1B-ACSAOUS204_JUNEAU_2017_3-7A_ACAP_Working_Group_Report_to_SAOs.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y
		AACA Overview report – Barents Area	2/7/17	https://oaarchive.arctic-council.org/bitstream/handle/11374/2002/EDOCS-4090-v1A-ACSAOUS204_JUNEAU_2017_3-5-1A_AMAP_AACA_Overview_Report-Barents_Area.PDF?sequence=1&isAllowed=y
		Reduction of Black Carbon from Diesel Sources in the Russian Arctic - TUNDRA Reindeer Farm	2/7/17	https://oaarchive.arctic-council.org/bitstream/handle/11374/1989/EDOCS-4113-v1A-ACSAOUS204_JUNEAU_2017_3-6-2_ACAP_Tundra_Installation_Project_Report_.PDF?sequence=1&isAllowed=y
		EGBCM Summary of Progress and Recommendations	2/7/17	https://oaarchive.arctic-council.org/bitstream/handle/11374/1983/EDOCS-4102-v1A-ACSAOUS204_JUNEAU_2017_5-1_EGBCM_Draft_Report_to_Ministers.PDF?sequence=1&isAllowed=y
		Summary report, SAO Plenary meeting, Portland, Maine, October 2016	11/11/16	https://oaarchive.arctic-council.org/bitstream/handle/11374/1834/EDOCS-3870-v5-Plenary_report_Portland_SAO_Oct2016.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y
		Arctic Council advances environmental protection and sustainable development in Portland, Maine	10/6/16	http://www.arctic-council.org/index.php/en/our-work2/8-news-and-events/425-sao-oct-2016-post-release

		Arctic Resilience Action Framework; cooperating for a More Resilient and Prosperous Arctic Region	9/2/16	https://oaarchive.arctic-council.org/bitstream/handle/11374/1790/EDOCS-3821-v1A-ACSAOUS203_Portland_2016_5-3-1_ARAF_Framework_Draft.PDF?sequence=1&isAllowed=y
		Conference Statement from the 12th Conference of Parliamentarians of the Arctic Region	6/17/16	https://oaarchive.arctic-council.org/bitstream/handle/11374/1808/EDOCS-3805-v1A-ACSAOUS203_Portland_2016_InfoDoc2_SCPAR_12th_Conference_Statement.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y
		Arctic Council Advances Work on Arctic Issues	4/5/16	http://www.arctic-council.org/index.php/en/our-work2/8-news-and-events/388-sao-fairbanks-2016
		U.S. Chairmanship of the Arctic Council Midterm Update	3/17/16	https://oaarchive.arctic-council.org/bitstream/handle/11374/2043/US_Chairmanship_15-17_Midterm_Update.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y
		Summary report. SAO plenary meeting. Fairbanks, Alaska. 16-17 March 2016.	3/17/16	https://oaarchive.arctic-council.org/bitstream/handle/11374/1762/EDOCS-3428-v6A-ACSAOUS202_Fairbanks_2016_Plenary-Report.PDF?sequence=1&isAllowed=y
		Presentations from Fairbanks 2016 SAO Meeting: ARENA	3/17/16	https://oaarchive.arctic-council.org/bitstream/handle/11374/1756/EDOCS-3443-v1A-ACSAOUS202_Fairbanks_2016_4-1-6_SDWG_showcase_ARENA.PDF?sequence=7&isAllowed=y

		Arctic Remote Energy Networks Academy (ARENA) Project Proposal Template	3/17/16	https://oaarchive.arctic-council.org/bitstream/handle/11374/1717/EDOCS-3253-v1-ACSAOUS202_Fairbanks_2016_4-1-6b_SDWG_ARENA_Final_Project_Proposal.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y
		Diavik Wind Farm Yellow Knife, Canada	9/8/15	http://www.arctic-council.org/index.php/en/our-work2/8-news-and-events/338-diavik-wind-farm-yellow-knife-canada
		Eva Creek Wind Farm, Ferry, AK, USA	9/8/15	http://www.arctic-council.org/index.php/en/our-work2/8-news-and-events/335-eva-creek-wind-farm-ferry-ak
		Pillar Mountain, Kodiak, AK, USA	9/8/15	http://www.arctic-council.org/index.php/en/our-work2/8-news-and-events/334-pillar-mountain-kodiak-ak
		Circumpolar Best Practices: Policy and Financing Options for Black Carbon Emission Reductions from Diesel Sources	7/15/15	https://oaarchive.arctic-council.org/bitstream/handle/11374/1758/EDOCS-3263-v1-ACSAOUS202_Fairbanks_2016_4-1-1b_Black_Carbon_Circumpolar_Best_Practices_Report.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y
		Remarks at the Presentation of the U.S. Chairmanship Program at the Arctic Council Ministerial	4/24/15	https://oaarchive.arctic-council.org/bitstream/handle/11374/913/ACMMCA09_Iqaluit_2015_US_Remarks_on_US_Chairmanship.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y
		Arctic Council Ministerial Meeting Iqaluit April 24, 2015. Statement by Sweden.	4/24/15	https://oaarchive.arctic-council.org/bitstream/handle/11374/912/ACMMCA09_Iqaluit_2015_Sweden_Statement.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y
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		Iqaluit Declaration	4/24/15	https://oaarchive.arctic-council.org/bitstream/handle/11374/662/EDOCS-2547-v1-ACMMCA09_Iqaluit_2015_Iqaluit_Declaration_formatted_brochure_low-res.PDF?sequence=6&isAllowed=y
		Senior Arctic Officials' Report to Ministers. Iqaluit, Canada. 24 April, 2015.	4/24/15	https://oaarchive.arctic-council.org/bitstream/handle/11374/494/ACMMCA09_Iqaluit_2015_Iqaluit_SAO_Report_to_Ministers_formatted_v.pdf.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y
		Sustainable Development Working Group Work Plan for 2015-2017	3/15/15	https://oaarchive.arctic-council.org/bitstream/handle/11374/1480/SDWG_WORKPLAN_Doc1_Work_Plan_AC_SAO_CA04.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y
		ACAP Draft SAO Report to Ministers including Work Plan	2/9/15	https://oaarchive.arctic-council.org/bitstream/handle/11374/1437/ACAP_WORKPLAN_Doc1_Draft_submission_to_SAO_Report_including_work_plan_AC_SAO_CA04.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

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		All presentations from the Arctic Council's Senior Arctic Official's meeting in Yellowknife, Canada, October 22-23 2014.	10/23/14	https://oaarchive.arctic-council.org/bitstream/handle/11374/1549/ACSAOCA03_II_Yellowknife_2014_Pres_4_US_Chairmanship_Program_2015-2017.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y
		Reduction of Black Carbon Emissions from Residential Wood Combustion in the Arctic. Black Carbon Inventory, Abatement Instruments and Measures. (DRAFT)	10/23/14	https://oaarchive.arctic-council.org/bitstream/handle/11374/1366/AC_SAO_CA03_Doc6-1-1b_ACAP_WOOD_report.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y
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	Inuit Circumpolar Council	Setting the Agenda for Our Future	3/28/17	http://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/uploads/3/0/5/4/30542564/circumpolar_inuit_economic_summit_chairs_speech_e_march_28.pdf
		Inuit Circumpolar Council UNFCCC COP 22 Position Paper	11/14/16	http://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/uploads/3/0/5/4/30542564/icc_cop22_statement_nov14_final.pdf
		Building Momentum on Climate Change Through Meaningful Action: ICC Urges Local and Global Action Now	11/14/16	http://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/uploads/3/0/5/4/30542564/press_release_-_building_momentum_on_climate_change_through_meaningful_action_-_icc_urges_local_and_global_action_now.pdf
		Creating Equitable Economic Development for Inuit	9/27/16	http://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/uploads/3/0/5/4/30542564/creating_equitable_economic_development_for_inuit.pdf
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		Nunavut community en route to getting a new power plant	8/10/17	http://www.nunatsiaqonline.ca/stories/article/65674nunavut_community_en_route_to_getting_a_new_power_plant/
		New Nunavik greenhouse will convert waste to energy	8/10/17	http://www.nunatsiaqonline.ca/stories/article/65674new_nunavik_greenhouse_will_convert_waste_to_energy/
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		Cheers and congrats for Nunavut mayor at climate rally	11/30/15	http://www.nunatsiaqonline.ca/stories/article/65674cheers_and_congrats_for_nunavut_mayor_at_climate_rally/
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		Nunavut yet to join national diesel reduction task force	10/28/15	http://www.nunatsiaqonline.ca/stories/article/65674nunavut_yet_to_join_national_task_force_aimed_at_reducing_diesel_depen/
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		Energy challenges in Canada’s territories: A hot topic, a cold reality	6/19/15	http://www.nunatsiaqonline.ca/stories/article/65674energy_challenges_in_canadas_territories_a_hot_topic_a_cold_reality/
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		Nunavik community breathes new life into hydroelectric project	6/2/15	http://www.nunatsiaqonline.ca/stories/article/65674nunavik_community_breathes_new_life_into_hydroelectric_project/
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		Arctic research station gets new mandate, money to spread around	12/19/14	http://www.nunatsiaqonline.ca/stories/article/65674arctic_research_station_has_new_mandate_and_money_to_spread_around
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		Act now before it's too late, UN climate group urges	11/3/14	http://www.nunatsiaqonline.ca/stories/article/65674act_now_before_its_too_late_urges_un_climate_group/
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		Greenland pushing ahead with oil and gas development	5/15/14	http://www.nunatsiaqonline.ca/stories/article/65674greenland_pushing_ahead_with_oil_and_gas_development
		Senators visit Nunavut on energy fact-finding mission	5/13/14	http://www.nunatsiaqonline.ca/stories/article/65674senators_head_to_nunavut_on_energy_fact-finding_mission
		Kitikmeot community looks to the sky to power new community freezer	4/29/14	http://www.nunatsiaqonline.ca/stories/article/65674kitikmeot_community_looks_to_the_sky_to_power_new_community_freezer/
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		Opposition rises quickly against proposal for Kenai Peninsula dams	3/27/17	https://www.adn.com/business-economy/energy/2017/03/27/opposition-rises-quickly-against-proposal-to-study-kenai-dams-at-snow-river/
		Alaska warms to solar power as prices fall and benefits grow	3/26/17	https://www.adn.com/business-economy/energy/2017/03/26/alaska-warms-to-solar-power-as-prices-fall-and-benefits-grow/
		Could be time for Alaska to make the leap	3/8/17	https://www.adn.com/opinions/2017/03/08/could-be-time-for-alaska-to-make-the-leap/
		Utility wants to build new dams in sportfish-rich Kenai River watershed	3/1/17	https://www.adn.com/business-economy/energy/2017/03/01/electric-utility-wants-to-build-a-second-dam-in-kenai-river-watershed-a-sport-fishing-paradise/
		Renewable energy makes financial sense for Alaska	1/30/17	https://www.adn.com/opinions/2017/01/30/renewable-energy-makes-financial-sense-for-alaska/

	Trump cannot reverse hopeful climate change trends	1/23/17	https://www.adn.com/opinions/2017/01/23/trump-cannot-reverse-hopeful-climate-change-trends/
	Valdez hydropower project makes utility all-renewable in summer	10/14/16	https://www.adn.com/business-economy/energy/2016/10/14/valdez-hydropower-project-makes-utility-all-renewable-in-summer/
	Conservative renewable energy group announces ad buy supporting Murkowski	10/7/16	https://www.adn.com/politics/2016/10/07/conservative-renewable-energy-group-announces-ad-buy-supporting-murkowski/
	New low-income senior housing project keeps things warm with underground alternative energy	9/30/16	https://www.adn.com/alaska-news/2016/09/30/new-low-income-senior-housing-project-keep-things-warm-with-underground-alternative-energy/
	Alaska's future depends on renewable energy, not a gas line	9/6/16	https://www.adn.com/opinions/2016/09/06/alaskas-future-depends-on-renewable-energy-not-a-gas-line/
	Kodiak reaps benefits of renewable energy, with lessons for rural Alaska	5/31/16	https://www.adn.com/energy/article/kodiak-builds-renewably-powered-island-lessons-rural-alaska/2015/09/27/
	Despite winter darkness, solar power might work better in rural Alaska than you'd expect	5/8/16	https://www.adn.com/energy/article/dark-alaska-solar-power-might-work-better-you-d-think/2016/05/09/
	A renewable-energy heating system means big savings for the SeaLife Center	4/23/16	https://www.adn.com/energy/article/renewable-energy-heating-system-means-big-savings-alaska-sealife-center/2016/04/23/
	Alaskans use Arctic Science Summit Week to focus on climate change	3/13/16	https://www.adn.com/commentary/article/alaskans-use-arctic-science-summit-week-focus-climate-change/2016/03/13/

	Igiugig awarded federal grant for river turbine design	3/1/16	https://www.adn.com/rural-alaska/article/igiugig-awarded-federal-grant-river-turbine-design/2016/03/01/
	Alaska's rural energy microgrids offer a prototype for powering the world	2/15/16	https://www.adn.com/energy/article/alaskas-microgrids-offer-prototypye-powering-world/2016/02/15/
	To meet renewable energy goals, Alaska and US need long-term storage plan	1/1/16	https://www.adn.com/commentary/article/meet-renewable-energy-goals-alaska-and-us-need-long-term-storage-plan/2016/01/02/
	Alaska can be part of the solution in the world's shift to cleaner fuels	12/27/15	https://www.adn.com/commentary/article/climate-change/2015/12/28/
	Copper Valley region expects to rely fully on renewable energy in summer	12/22/15	https://www.adn.com/energy/article/another-region-going-100-percent-renewable-summer-presents-challenge-solar-panel/2015/12/23/
	Bradner's enthusiasm for Alaska coal doesn't jibe with market realities	12/21/15	https://www.adn.com/commentary/article/bradners-enthusiasm-alaska-coal-doesnt-jibe-market-realities/2015/12/22/
	After Paris accords, Alaska would be wise to invest in different energy future	12/18/15	https://www.adn.com/commentary/article/after-paris-accords-alaska-would-be-wise-invest-different-energy-future/2015/12/19/
	Alaska coal has a vital role to play in the production of cleaner energy	12/8/15	https://www.adn.com/commentary/article/alaska-coal-has-vital-role-play-production-cleaner-energy/2015/12/09/
	Alaska's young people need to lead the way on dealing with climate change	11/27/15	https://www.adn.com/commentary/article/alaskas-young-people-need-lead-way-dealing-climate-change/2015/11/28/
	Why the Paris climate accords matter to Alaska	11/23/15	https://www.adn.com/commentary/article/why-paris-climate-accords-matter-alaska/2015/11/24/

		Independent power producers praise regulatory decision they say gives broad access to power distribution	11/23/15	https://www.adn.com/alaska-news/article/independent-power-producers-praises-regulatory-decision-they-say-gives-broad-access/2015/11/24/
		A partial solution to rural Alaska energy challenges	10/24/15	https://www.adn.com/commentary/article/partial-solution-rural-alaska-energy-challenges/2015/10/25/
		Video: Renewed effort for clean energy in Kotzebue	9/10/15	https://www.adn.com/energy/video/video-renewed-effort-energy-kotzebue/2015/09/11/
		With all eyes on Seward, renewable energy heating project moves forward	9/1/15	https://www.adn.com/energy/article/all-eyes-seward-renewable-energy-heating-district-plans-move-forward/2015/09/02/
		Alaska has both reason and resources to lead the way to clean power	8/20/15	https://www.adn.com/commentary/article/clean-power-plan/2015/08/21/
		How new ways to power remote Alaska villages could spread clean energy worldwide	8/16/15	https://www.adn.com/rural-alaska/article/how-new-ways-power-remote-alaska-villages-could-spread-clean-energy-worldwide/2015/08/16/
		Alaska should learn from Kodiak's energy independence	3/15/15	https://www.adn.com/commentary/article/all-alaska-should-learn-kodiaks-energy-independence/2015/03/16/
		North to the future means renewable energy, not fossil fuels	2/18/15	https://www.adn.com/commentary/article/north-future-means-renewable-energy-not-fossil-fuels/2015/02/19/
		With no buyers for power, Fire Island Wind delays adding turbines	1/29/15	https://www.adn.com/energy/article/no-buyers-fire-island-wind-delays-adding-additional-wind-turbines/2015/01/30/
		Alaska Permanent Fund seeking new oil and gas investments	9/27/14	https://www.adn.com/economy/article/alaska-permanent-fund-seeking-new-oil-and-gas-investments/2014/09/28/

		As chair of Arctic Council, US could help the North replace costly, unhealthy diesel	8/24/14	https://www.adn.com/commentary/article/chair-arctic-council-us-could-help-north-replace-costly-unhealthy-diesel/2014/08/25/
		Tiny Alaska village hopes to cut energy costs with experimental river power	6/14/14	https://www.adn.com/economy/article/tiny-alaska-village-hopes-cut-energy-costs-experimental-river-power/2014/06/15/
		Air source heat pumps provide energy relief in Southeast Alaska	6/14/14	https://www.adn.com/alaska-news/article/air-source-heat-pumps-provide-energy-relief-southeast-alaska-0/2014/06/17/
		Harnessing Alaska's wave, tidal, river energy: Great potential, daunting challenges	3/25/14	https://www.adn.com/energy/article/harnessing-alaskas-wave-tidal-and-river-energy-great-potential-and-challenges/2014/03/25/
		Pursuing alternative energy options is critical for Western Alaska	2/25/14	https://www.adn.com/commentary/article/pursuing-alternative-energy-options-critical-western-alaska/2014/02/25/
		A hydroelectric dam at Chikuminuk Lake is a bad idea	2/21/14	https://www.adn.com/commentary/article/hydroelectric-dam-chikuminuk-lake-bad-idea/2014/02/22/
		Ice cold water proves to be efficient heat source for Alaska SeaLife Center	11/21/13	https://www.adn.com/energy/article/ice-cold-water-proves-be-efficient-heat-source-alaska-sealife-center/2013/11/22/
		Will Pilgrim Hot Springs solve Nome's energy needs or be a near miss?	11/4/13	https://www.adn.com/energy/article/will-pilgrim-hot-springs-solve-nome-s-energy-needs-or-be-near-miss/2013/11/05/
		Challenges no barrier for Anchorage 'off-grid' homebuilders	10/29/13	https://www.adn.com/alaska-news/article/challenges-no-barrier-anchorage-grid-homebuilders/2013/10/30/
		Energy efficiency: A solid long-term investment for Alaskans	10/23/13	https://www.adn.com/commentary/article/alaskans-should-invest-energy-billionaire-warren-buffett-does/2013/10/24/

		Small independent energy producers trying to elbow in on big Alaska utilities	9/11/13	https://www.adn.com/energy/article/small-independent-energy-producers-trying-elbow-big-alaska-utilities/2013/09/12/
		Hydropower: The key to clean, more-affordable energy for Alaska	8/6/13	https://www.adn.com/commentary/article/hydropower-key-clean-more-affordable-energy-alaska/2013/08/06/
		Homer intrigued by prospect of tidal power in Alaska	7/22/13	https://www.adn.com/energy/article/homer-investigates-tidal-power-prospects/2013/07/23/
		Tidal energy potential in Aleutians blows expectations out of water	5/5/13	https://www.adn.com/energy/article/tidal-energy-potential-aleutians-blows-expectations-out-water/2013/05/06/

Table 2.2. Specific sources analyzed by actor and actor type

Source	Total	Stance			Framing					
		Stance	Mixed	Anti	Economic	Environ.	Cultural	Logistical	Health	Other
Alaska	18	15	3	0	13	4	0	1	1	0
Yukon	21	20	1	0	14	9	3	7	0	0
Nunavut	7	7	0	0	5	3	2	1	0	0
Average		0.9130	0.0870	0.0000	0.6957	0.3478	0.1087	0.1957	0.0217	0.0000
Std. Deviation		0.0701	0.0701	0.0000	0.0245	0.0973	0.1166	0.1160	0.0262	0.0000

Table 3.3. Search results for state/territorial governments. Numbers are actual counts for each actor. Averages are weighted over all actors, and standard deviation is between the actors.

Grade	Example Learning Objective
Science 1	Recognize renewable and non-renewable sources of energy.
Science 2	Identify moving wind and water as renewable and recyclable sources of energy and determine the advantages and disadvantages of using them.
Science 5	Demonstrate an understanding of the importance of conservation of energy in relation to the wise use of renewable and non-renewable energy sources.
Science 6	Identify sources of electricity and state whether the sources are renewable or non-renewable.
Science 7	Demonstrate sensitivity and responsibility in pursuing a balance between the needs of humans and a sustainable environment (e.g., recognize the distinction between renewable and nonrenewable resources and the implications this has for responsible action; objectively identify potential conflicts between responding to human wants and needs and protecting the environment)
Science 10	Explain the need to encourage and support the development of machines that are efficient and rely upon renewable energy sources (e.g., hand-wound radios, solar-powered calculators, solar cookers)
Science 11	Evaluating alternative renewable forms of energy (e.g., wind, geothermal, solar, biomass, heat pumps) by considering: i. Availability; ii. Cost and efficiency; iii. Environmental impact; iv. Other relevant “cultural” considerations
Science 12	Explain the need to develop technologies that use renewable and nonrenewable energy sources to meet the increasing global demand

Table 3.2. Sample learning objectives from Nunavut’s curriculum

Source	Total	Stance			Framing					
		Stance	Mixed	Anti	Economic	Environ.	Cultural	Logistical	Health	Other
Kodiak Electric	18	18	0	0	16	4	0	6	0	0
REAP	25	22	3	0	24	12	6	5	0	2
Yukon Energy	29	17	11	1	21	14	4	16	1	1
Average		0.7917	0.1944	0.0139	0.8472	0.4167	0.1389	0.3750	0.0139	0.0417
Std. Deviation		0.1738	0.1583	0.0163	0.0988	0.1222	0.0983	0.1450	0.0163	0.0328

Table 5.4. Search results for renewable energy organizations. Numbers are actual counts for each actor. Averages are weighted over all actors, and standard deviation is between the actors.

Source	Total	Stance			Framing					
		Pro	Mixed	Anti	Economic	Environ.	Cultural	Logistical	Health	Other
Greenpeace	44	44	0	0	23	24	4	7	0	8
Oceana	5	5	0	0	2	5	0	0	1	0
World Wildlife Fund	20	19	1	0	5	17	0	0	0	1
Average		0.9855	0.0145	0.0000	0.4348	0.6667	0.0580	0.1014	0.0145	0.1304
Std. Deviation		0.0236	0.0236	0.0000	0.1115	0.1891	0.0429	0.0750	0.0943	0.0767

Table 6.5. Search results for environmental non-governmental organizations. Numbers are actual counts for each actor. Averages are weighted over all actors, and standard deviation is between the actors.

Source	Total	Stance			Framing					
		Pro	Mixed	Anti	Economic	Environ.	Cultural	Logistical	Health	Other
Greenpeace	44	1	0	0	0.5227	0.5455	0.0909	0.1591	0.0000	0.1818
Greenpeace - US	18	1	0	0	0.4444	0.4444	0.0556	0.1667	0.0000	0.1667
Greenpeace - Canada	26	1	0	0	0.5769	0.6154	0.1154	0.1538	0.0000	0.1923

Table 6.6. Greenpeace reports in the U.S. and Canada. Values given are percentages of the total, for ease of comparison. None of the values were statistically significant through the Difference of Proportions Test.

Source	Total	Stance			Framing					
		Pro	Mixed	Anti	Economic	Environ.	Cultural	Logistical	Health	Other
Finnish Chairmanship (2017)	3	3	0	0	2	2	1	0	0	0
U.S. Chairmanship (2015-17)	33	33	0	0	19	18	2	18	4	4
Canadian Chairmanship (2013-15)	13	13	0	0	8	10	0	1	1	2
Total	49	49	0	0	29	30	3	19	5	6
Average		1	0	0	0.5918	0.6122	0.0612	0.3878	0.1020	0.1224
Std. Deviation		0	0	0	0.0372	0.0915	0.1450	0.2411	0.0501	0.0662

Table 7.7. Search results for Arctic Council website. Values are split up by Chairmanship of the Arctic Council. There was no mention of renewable or alternative energy during the portion of the study period in which Sweden held Chairmanship, so that was not included in the table. Numbers are actual counts for each actor. Averages are weighted over all actors, and standard deviation is between the actors.

	Total	Arctic	Alaska	Canad*
Finnish	3	184.6667	2.6667	5.6667
U.S.	33	134.3636	12.7273	14.6970
Canada	13	179.0769	2.3077	24.2308
Total	49	149.3061	9.3469	16.6735

Table 7.8. Spatial framing of renewable energy concerns in the Arctic Council. Values are average number of mentions of the keywords over all the analyzed documents during each Chairmanship.

Source	Total	Stance			Framing					
		Pro	Mixed	Anti	Economic	Environ.	Cultural	Logistical	Health	Other
Gwich'in Council International	2	2	0	0	2	1	2	0	0	0
Arctic Athabaskan Council	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1
Aleut International Association	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Inuit Circumpolar Council	10	4	6	0	7	6	6	2	1	2
Average		0.5385	0.4615	0	0.6923	0.6154	0.6923	0.1538	0.0769	0.2308
Std. Deviation		0.4243	0.2598	0	0.4380	0.3562	0.4093	0.0866	0.0433	0.4123

Table 8.9. Search results for indigenous organizations' websites. Numbers are actual counts for each actor. Averages are weighted over all actors, and standard deviation is between the actors.

	Total	Arctic	Alaska	Canad*
Nunatsiaq News	73	3.7671	0.2877	3.1370
Alaska Dispatch News	51	0.9216	9.4706	0.1961

Table 8.10. Spatial framing of renewable energy concerns in public media. Values are average number of mentions of the keywords over all the analyzed documents from each news outlet.

Source	Total	Stance			Framing					
		Pro	Mixed	Anti	Economic	Environ.	Cultural	Logistical	Health	Other
Nunatsiaq News	73	47	22	4	58	36	8 *	9 *	3	10
Alaska Dispatch News	51	35	13	3	43	24	1 *	14 *	3	5
Average		0.6613	0.2823	0.0565	0.8145	0.4839	0.0726	0.1855	0.0484	0.1210
Std. Deviation		0.0212	0.0232	0.0020	0.0243	0.0113	0.0450	0.0756	0.0089	0.0195

* = $p < 0.05$

Table 8.11. Search results for perspectives in the media. Numbers are actual counts for each actor. Averages are weighted over all actors, and standard deviation is between the actors. Only the Cultural and Logistical framings were statistically significant at 95% confidence level through the Difference of Proportions Test.

Source	Total	Stance			Framing					
		Pro	Mixed	Anti	Economic	Environ.	Cultural	Logistical	Health	Other
Nunatsiaq News	73	0.6438	0.3014	0.0548	0.7945	0.4932	0.1096	0.1233	0.0411	0.1370
Nunatsiaq News - Indigenous	30	0.5667	0.3667	0.0667	0.7667	0.5000	0.1000	0.1333	0.0333	0.1667
Nunatsiaq News - Non- Indigenous	43	0.6977	0.2558	0.0465	0.8140	0.4884	0.1163	0.1163	0.0465	0.1163

Table 8.12. Indigenous perspectives within Nunatsiaq News. Values given are percentages of the total, for ease of comparison. None of the values were statistically significant through the Difference of Proportions Test

Source	Total	Stance			Framing					
		Pro	Mixed	Anti	Economic	Environ.	Cultural	Logistical	Health	Other
State/Territorial Government	46	0.9130	0.0870	0	0.6957	0.3478	0.1087	0.1957	0.0217	0
Oil/Gas	6	0.5	0.5	0	0.8333	0.3333	0	0.1667	0	0.1667
Renewable	72	0.8221	0.1664	0.0115	0.8577	0.395	0.126	0.3617	0.0115	0.0382
Environmental	69	0.9855	0.0145	0	0.4348	0.6667	0.058	0.1014	0.0145	0.1304
Pan-Arctic	98	1	0	0	0.5918	0.6122	0.0612	0.3878	0.102	0.1224
Indigenous	43	0.5581	0.3953	0.0465	0.7442	0.5349	0.2791	0.1395	0.0465	0.1860
Average		0.8808	0.1107	0.0085	0.6549	0.5253	0.1080	0.2606	0.0439	0.0980
Std. Deviation		0.2173	0.2080	0.0186	0.1590	0.1425	0.0958	0.12	0.0373	0.0732

Table 9.13. Combined stances and framings by actor type. Bolded values represent stances or framings where actor types were at least one standard deviation above or below the average for all actors. None of the values were statistically significant through the Difference of Proportions Test.

Source	Total	Stance			Framing					
		Pro	Mixed	Anti	Economic	Environ.	Cultural	Logistical	Health	Other
Alaska Daily News	18	0.8333	0.1667	0	0.7222	0.2222	0	0.0556	0.0556	0
Kodiak Energy REAP	51	0.6863	0.2549	0.0588	0.8431	0.4706	0.0196	0.2745	0.0588	0.0980
Greenpeace - US	18	1	0	0	0.8889	0.2222	0	0.3333	0	0
	25	0.88	0.12	0	0.96	0.48	0.24	0.2	0	0.08
	18	1	0	0	0.4444	0.4444	0.0556	0.1667	0	0.1667
Average		0.8308	0.1462	0.0231	0.8	0.4*	0.0615*	0.2231	0.0308	0.0769
Std. Deviation		0.1309	0.1101	0.0263	0.2024	0.1336	0.1015	0.1062	0.0313	0.0708

Table 9.14. Combined stances and framings for actors in Alaska. Bolded values represent stances or framings where actor types were at least one standard deviation above or below the average for all actors. Environmental and cultural framings were statistically significant through the Difference of Proportions Test.

Source	Total	Stance			Framing					
		Pro	Mixed	Anti	Economic	Environ.	Cultural	Logistical	Health	Other
Yukon	21	0.9524	0.0476	0	0.6667	0.4286	0.1429	0.3333	0	0
Nunavut	7	1	0	0	0.7143	0.4286	0.2857	0.1429	0	0
Nunatsiaq News	73	0.6438	0.3014	0.0548	0.7945	0.4932	0.1096	0.1233	0.0411	0.1370
Yukon Energy	28	0.5862	0.3793	0.0345	0.7241	0.4828	0.1379	0.5517	0.0345	0.0345
Greenpeace - Canada	26	1	0	0	0.5769	0.6154	0.1154	0.1538	0	0.1923
Average		0.7511	0.2169	0.0320	0.7244	0.5001*	0.1281*	0.2352	0.0256	0.1030
Std. Deviation		0.2041	0.1809	0.0255	0.0804	0.0764	0.0726	0.1831	0.0208	0.0873

Table 9.15. Combined stances and framings for actors in Canada. Bolded values represent stances or framings where actor types were at least one standard deviation above or below the average for all actors. Environmental and cultural framings were statistically significant through the Difference of Proportions Test.

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