

Ceci (n')est (pas) une pipe

The Framing and Reframing of The Line 3 Pipeline in Minnesota

Ellis Haarsma

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Lund University Centre for
Sustainability Studies



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Supervisor: Chad Boda, LUCSUS, Lund University

Abstract

With climate change as our current greatest threat, it is necessary to reduce carbon emissions by decreasing fossil fuels. Indigenous movements have played a crucial role in combating climate change, especially with their resistance to pipelines. Their movements have had both successes and failures, meaning that more research is needed to examine what strategies are effective. This thesis applies a realist theory of framing to analyse the competing framings of the Line 3 pipeline in Minnesota. It will study the most common frames of both sides of the Line 3 debate, which are legal, environmental, economic, and security framings. The analysis shows that although both proponents and opponents use partly valid arguments, some blind spots and one-sided framings can be identified. From this, the thesis suggests how the indigenous movement can reframe the pipeline issue more truthfully and therefore potentially help them to be more effective in the future.

Keywords: social movements, resistance, energy infrastructure, indigeneity, United States, environmental justice

Word count: 12,000

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Abbreviations

IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
DAPL	Dakota Access Pipeline
PUC	Public Utilities Commission
DOC	Department of Commerce
EIS	Environmental Impact Statement
MPCA	Minnesota Pollution Control Agency
OPEC	Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries

1. Introduction

Today, climate change is the world's greatest threat, a reality that is generally accepted (Costello et al., 2009; IPCC, 2022; Nyman, 2018). To combat the climate crisis, there is a need to reduce carbon emissions and therefore transition away from fossil fuels to cleaner energy sources. As governments and the private sector have been lacking in their climate policies (IPCC, 2022), social movements are having an increasing role in preventing further climate change disasters (Fisher & Nasrin, 2021; Piggot, 2018; Temper et al., 2020). More specifically, indigenous movements play an important role in preventing fossil fuel infrastructure from being built and fighting social and environmental injustices, as there is a link between promoting indigenous rights and combating climate change (Etchart, 2017).

Since indigenous movements have had both successes and failures, it is not entirely clear what strategies are effective. Therefore, more research is needed to determine how to adjust current approaches in order for them to be more successful. To contribute to this field of study, this thesis will examine framing processes as part of social movement strategy and study how effective framing can potentially help to benefit indigenous movement strategies in the future. More specifically, it will look into a pipeline resistance movement in Minnesota, the United States of America.

1.1 Pipelines and indigenous struggles

In 2021, U.S. president Joe Biden denied the presidential permit to the Keystone XL project, because of the threats to the environment, public health and indigenous rights (McCreary, 2021). Although the denial of the Keystone XL project was a success for the pipeline resistance movement, this was not their last anti-pipeline project. Oil pipelines have remained a controversy in both Canada and the United States, where environmental groups and indigenous communities are confronting governments that are failing to reduce carbon emissions (Bradshaw, 2015; Ternes et al., 2020). In the United States, the energy policy has shifted over the years towards a focus on energy independence, with increasing investments in pipelines and other infrastructure to support domestic oil and gas extraction (Emanuel et al., 2021). This has not gone unnoticed by environmental organisations and indigenous people, who have started resistance movements against the pipelines, such as the Dakota Access Pipeline (DAPL) and recently the Line 3 pipeline. In both cases, the resistance was less successful than the prominent Keystone XL pipeline opposition. This thesis examines the Line 3 pipeline in particular since it is a less studied and more recent example of a controversial pipeline.

In 2014, the oil company Enbridge announced its plans to replace the Line 3 pipeline (Enbridge, 2014). The pipeline transports tar sand oil from Alberta, Canada to Superior, Wisconsin in the United States.

The U.S. section of the pipeline is mainly located in Minnesota (see figure 1). The original pipeline was built in the 1960s, but has been deteriorating and is in poor condition (Fraser, 2019). In 1991, the pipeline caused the worst inland oil spill in history (Byrne, 2021). Enbridge let the pipeline run at half capacity and proposed a new pipeline that is supposed to be safer and larger in diameter (Minnesota Department of Commerce, 2019).

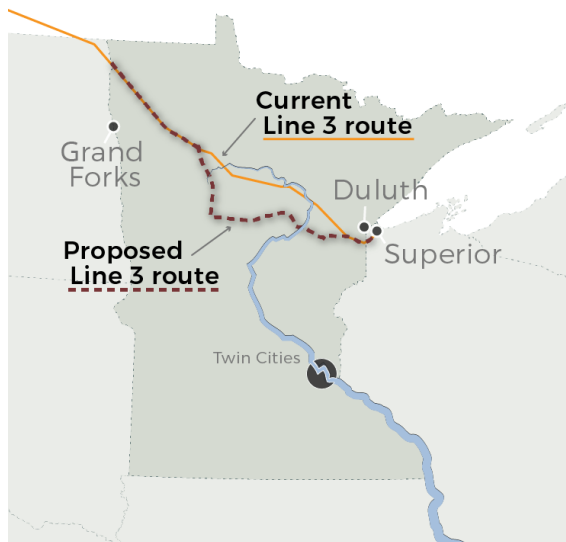


Figure 1. Map showing the Line 3 replacement in Minnesota. The old route can be seen in yellow and the new route as the dashed line. Image retrieved from Kraker (2020).

Enbridge presents the Line 3 pipeline project as if it is only replacing an old pipeline. However, the pipeline has been at the centre of controversy. Enbridge argues there is no ‘new’ pipeline (*ceci n’ est pas une pipe*¹) and that there is, therefore, no reason for controversy. However, the replacement pipeline crosses through indigenous land and would lead to an increase in carbon emissions (Hughlett, 2021b). Indigenous communities and environmental activists have been protesting together, arguing that the pipeline is in fact a problem (*ceci est une pipe*²). The title of this study, therefore, reflects this multifaceted debate and the different interpretations and framings of one subject, in this case the Line 3 pipeline.

The resistance group has been trying different activism methods, such as civil disobedience, petitions and going to court (Clark, 2020). However, this has not been enough to stop Enbridge from receiving

¹ Referring to the 1929 painting by René Magritte. French for ‘this is not a pipe’.

² French for ‘this is a pipe’

all the necessary permits. Since October 2021, the pipeline has been operating in full service (The Canadian Press, 2021).

Several scholars have looked into the media framing of the pipeline controversies and found that information about the pipelines is often skewed. For example, Bacon (2020) found that newspapers covering the DAPL mainly wrote about the pipeline in terms of risk and security to ignore environmental threats and invalidate indigenous concerns. Other scholars discussed how the Keystone XL pipeline is framed as an employment versus environment issue. Newspaper coverage was often focused on how pipelines will increase national security and how pipeline opponents are therefore framed as anti-American (Kojola, 2017; Wright & Reid, 2011). In terms of indigenous communities, complicated relationships with resources are often ignored and protestors are portrayed as homogenous violent criminals. Some have argued that this delegitimizes their resistance in the eyes of the state (Grote & Johnson, 2021; Proulx & Crane, 2020).

1.2 Research questions

Although several scholars have written about how pipelines are presented in the media and newspapers, little research has been done about how both sides of the pipeline conflict frame their own movement and what aspects are left out of the discussion. Since it is uncertain why some pipeline resistance has been successful and some has failed, there is a need to understand how resistance movements can be more effective and successful in achieving their goals. This thesis, by analysing the competing framings of Line 3, aims to produce knowledge useful to indigenous movements in becoming more effective in fighting fossil fuel projects and environmental injustices. The objectives of this thesis are to analyse the framings of the indigenous movement and their opponents, and subsequently to synthesise a reframing that is more accurate and thus potentially more effective than the one currently employed by the indigenous movement. Therefore, this thesis seeks to answer the following research questions:

1. What are the most common framings of Line 3 proponents and opponents?
2. How valid are these framings according to relevant evidence?
3. How can inaccurate frames be reframed in a way that captures the truth better?

1.3 Sustainability science, social movements and my standpoint

Strong claims have been made about the state of the Earth and the action that is needed to achieve sustainability goals (Jerneck et al., 2011). As climate change is an urgent threat to humanity, practical

solutions are needed to ensure a more sustainable future. Since sustainability science is an action-oriented field, research in sustainability science should be relevant to specific agents who are capable of implementing these solutions. As mentioned previously, governments and the private sector are failing to achieve climate goals, and social movements are becoming increasingly important in bringing about change. Researchers in sustainability science have also noticed the role of social movements as agents of change, which has produced an emerging field aiming to contribute to social movements directly to achieve sustainability (Isgren et al., 2019; Temper et al., 2020; Thiri et al., 2022).

As a researcher in sustainability science, I agree that it is necessary to phase out fossil fuels and consider more sustainable ways of energy consumption. Therefore, although my intention is to analyse the frames of both proponents and opponents, I support the indigenous movement, as they are aiming to combat climate change and create social justice. Accordingly, I intend to fix the gaps and the flaws of the indigenous framing, while also taking into consideration reasonable arguments from the opponent. By aiming to create a more effective frame for the indigenous movement, this thesis could contribute to those actions aimed ultimately at phasing out fossil fuels.

1.4 Thesis outline

This thesis will use the “political process” approach to social movement theory and Lakoff’s theory of framing to analyse the above-mentioned research questions. First, the paper will provide a background on energy infrastructure in the United States and indigenous communities and pipelines more generally (section 2). Subsequently, an introduction to social movement theory and framing theory will be given (section 3), as these will serve as theoretical entry points for the rest of the thesis. Afterwards, the methods will be described in section 4, while section 5 will present the analysis and results. This is where the blind spots and inaccuracies contained in the competing framings of the pipeline issue will be brought to light, which will then inform a reframing of the issue elaborated in the discussion (section 6). Lastly, conclusions relevant to a wider audience will be drawn in section 7.

2. Background

2.1 U.S. energy independence and pipelines

The oil crisis in the 1970s made the United States aware of its reliance on energy imports. Therefore, the country began to focus on a more secure energy supply, an aim that is still apparent today (Jakstas, 2020; Nyman, 2018). The 1990s and early 2000s were important years for the oil and gas industry in North America. Oil companies spent \$50 billion on new energy projects between 1996 and 2006 and more than \$200 billion on existing projects between 1999 and 2013. These investments also meant

increases in tar sands production, with new extraction technologies enabling extraction from previously inactive wells (Awāsis, 2021). The attacks on September 11, 2001, increased concerns about oil import from the Middle East and therefore reinforced the focus on national security and energy independence (LeBlau, 2002). This focus has caused energy production to quadruple between 1998 and 2014 (McCreary, 2021).

The focus on energy independence in the United States has led to increased investments in domestic energy infrastructure, such as pipelines (Emanuel et al., 2021). The need for domestic energy sources has been repeated by oil companies such as Enbridge. The company writes that Line 3 is crucial for meeting the energy demand in Minnesota. Since the old Line 3 pipeline was not operating at full capacity, the replacement pipeline can help to boost the energy supply (Enbridge, n.d.-d). In the United States, pipelines rely on both federal permits and specific permits for each state to become operational (Nordhaus & Pitlick, 2009). For pipelines to be approved in Minnesota, several important permits need to be obtained. The route permit and certificate of need are both granted by the Minnesota Public Utilities Commission (PUC). Before the PUC can grant the certificate of need, they rely on the Department of Commerce (DOC), the Minnesota Department of Natural Resources (MDPR) and the Minnesota Pollution Control Agency (MPCA) to file the Environmental Impact Statement (EIS). After some revisions, the EIS for Line 3 was found adequate in May 2018, shortly after which the route permit and certificate of need were granted (Minnesota Public Utilities Commission, n.d.). As mentioned in the introduction, the Keystone XL pipeline was cancelled because the presidential permit was denied by the Biden administration. Presidential permits are needed when pipelines cross international borders (Bradshaw, 2015). This makes Keystone XL different from the Line 3 pipeline, as Line 3 was replacing a part within the United States and already has a presidential permit (Askari & Orenstein, 2021; Hughlett, 2021b).

2.2 Indigenous communities and pipeline construction

Some have argued that the long history of Minnesota with white settlement and genocide are still influencing the perceptions of white Minnesotans. There is an idea that white people can own the land of indigenous people and use it for their own. Therefore, some see whiteness as a sort of property (Clark, 2020). On the other hand, the indigenous Anishinaabe tribes are still dealing with ceded land, destruction of their ecosystems and violated treaties, which influences their complicated relationships with the land (Abbott, 1999; Treuer & Treuer, 1998).

According to Emanuel et al. (2021), in the United States, natural gas pipelines are more commonly found in areas where socially vulnerable people are living. The negative impacts of pipelines are disproportionately carried by communities that lack the resources to deal with these impacts. Besides, they note that the impacts on indigenous people are significantly higher than the national average. Datta & Hurlbert (2019) looked into the indigenous energy justice in Canada, where indigenous people are in a similar situation as native Americans. They note that more than half of the indigenous communities in Canada are at high risk. Pipeline spills cannot only have severe consequences for the quality of their drinking water and health but also for their traditional and cultural practices that are connected to the land. Besides, the lack of recognition from governments provides an extra challenge for communities to deal with these impacts during spills and the consequent clean-ups (Datta & Hurlbert, 2019).

There are five native Anishinaabe tribes living in the pipeline area in Minnesota. For them, all living things are considered a person. The role of humans is not to control them, but to learn from them and live in harmony (Awāsis, 2021). This is captured in the Anishinaabe philosophy of *mino-mnaamodzawin*, which means “living well with the world” and considers reciprocity as an important factor in relationships with both humans and nature (McGregor, 2018, p. 10). Native Americans have tribal sovereignty, meaning they are recognised as distinct governments and therefore have similar powers as the federal government and the state to regulate their affairs. They can enact legislation and establish their own government and law enforcement (Christiansen, 2021; National Conference Of State Legislatures, 2013). For example, in December 2018, manoomin or wild rice received its own rights within the White Earth territory, one of the native tribes in northern Minnesota. Consequently, wild rice is recognized under the legal system and has the “right to exist, flourish, regenerate and evolve as well as the right to restoration, recovery, and preservation” (Awāsis, 2021, p. 17). It thus has the right to freshwater habitat and a healthy climate (Awāsis, 2021).

2.3 Issue framing, pipeline resistance and Line 3

Datta & Hurlbert (2019) note that governments have thus far shown little interest in engaging indigenous communities in sustainable energy management, although energy infrastructure directly affects the quality of their drinking water, health and environment. It is therefore no surprise that indigenous groups have started grassroots movements to let their voice be heard.

From previous movements, scholars have noted the success of several. Weiss (2019) notes that during the resistance to the Dakota Access Pipeline (DAPL), the ‘Water is Life’ slogan seemed to be successful,

as water is essential to life and therefore hard to dispute. Anyone who would be against water would thus be against life. Besides, phrases like 'Protect our Waters' create injustice frames that have affective emotional components and can create solidarity and a collective identity. This can subsequently mobilise people to take action (Cappelli, 2018). These slogans have both been adopted by the Stop Line 3 movement, where the phrases appear on signs during demonstrations (Eischens, 2021).

The controversy around the Line 3 pipeline is between Enbridge and the resistance group. The resistance group includes amongst others the organisation 'StopLine3', indigenous group 'Honor the Earth', local citizen group 'Friends of the Headwaters', environmental organisations 'MN350' (Honor the Earth, n.d.) and 'Sierra Club' (Sierra Club, n.d.). However, other groups, such as Greenpeace, have also supported the movement in their struggles against the pipeline (Greenpeace, n.d.). Many of the indigenous and non-indigenous people resisting the pipeline prefer the term 'Water Protectors', as this is in line with the worldview that the world cannot be owned, but should be protected (Grote & Johnson, 2021). Therefore, for the rest of this thesis, the resistance movement will be referred to as the Water Protectors. On the other side of the controversy is Enbridge, who has received support from a grassroots organisation called MinnesotansForLine3.

3. Theoretical framework

The next section will describe social movement theory and George Lakoff's framing theory which will serve as entry points for the methods and analysis section.

3.1 Social movement theory

Social movement scholars are increasingly focusing on three factors when analysing the development and outcomes of social movements: (1) political opportunities and constraints; (2) informal and formal structures through which people mobilise and engage in collective action and (3) framing processes that can help to bring about action (McAdam et al., 1996). This implies that even when a group has the right structures and resources and the right political opportunities present themselves, it can still be insufficient for collective action. There needs to be a shared understanding that can bring people to address and act upon the problem. This understanding can be conditioned through framing processes.

People in organisations and networks help to form these collective framings, which consequently assist the mobilised ideas, resources and people towards the particular goals of the movement. Once

movements have emerged, the framing process becomes more strategic and conscious. This is when framing contests begin and organisations on both sides put their best efforts into framing the problem and responses (O’Byrne, 2020). As will be explained later, how movement framings are commonly understood determines how people act upon them and thus having more effective framings can lead to more action. Therefore, it is necessary to obtain more accurate knowledge about how to improve framings.

As Isgren et al. (2019) argue, scientists can contribute to social movements by providing knowledge and analysing collective action and social change. This can help social movements produce successful strategies and effective framings. When social movements better understand the social system they are working in, it is more likely that they are effective. Scientists can help to inform the framing processes of social movements in several ways. They can, for example, verify claims with available evidence, demonstrate which framings have been effective in the past, identify opportunities for alliance building and reveal issues that are important for affected groups.

3.2 Framing and reframing

Social movement theory highlights the importance of framing in the success of a movement. However, social movement studies do not have their own theory of framing or a clear definition of ‘framing processes’ (McAdam et al., 1996). Instead, they use framing theories from scholars outside the field. As this thesis is looking into how frames can help social movements to be more effective in practice, George Lakoff’s theory of framing is adopted. He believes that when facts are framed appropriately, they can be effective in the public discourse (Lakoff et al., 2004). Since frames define how we understand certain issues, they consequently determine how and if we find desirable solutions to the issues. Therefore, when the framing corresponds more accurately to reality, the actions deriving from the framing will be more likely to be effective in achieving the movement’s goals (Jerneck & Olsson, 2011). In this way, framing in this thesis corresponds with the critical realist understanding of the relationship between knowledge and action (Sayer, 2000), as Lakoff’s idea of framing is differentiating between reality and our understanding and knowledge of it, while emphasising the possibility to improve our knowledge to inform more effective action.

Erving Goffman (1974) was the first to talk about framing. According to him, it is a way to make sense of the world and organise different stimuli. Frames are built on an underlying structure that links different elements of an argument. Other scholars have adopted and extended this theory and used it in their field of study. George Lakoff has made significant contributions to framing theory. He has

been more specific about the cognitive processes of framing theory and believes that frames activate cognitive structures and corresponding emotions in your brain (Lakoff, 2006b).

Frames are often used unconsciously, meaning that most people are not aware that they are using frames. Lakoff (2006a) argues that conservative frames have been dominating the political discourse and are therefore often considered common sense. By repeating a frame, synapses are made stronger as they are activated. Therefore, ideological language that is repeated frequently becomes “neutral” and “normal” and their activation inhibits opposing frames. New frames are difficult to create as they need to be within the existing neurological system, for people to make sense of them. Lakoff, for example, explains that it is easier for conservatives to communicate their arguments, as they have spent a long time establishing their frames (Lakoff, 2010).

Thus, Lakoff argues that the repetition of frames is important. However, they should correspond to reality to be effective. Framings are limited by nature and always overlook some aspects. Therefore, each framing may capture part of the truth, while excluding other truths. Therefore, it shows a one-sided perspective on a complex issue and often downplays the interests of vulnerable groups. For example, by framing immigrants as illegal aliens, talking about larger problems of injustice is avoided (Lakoff & Ferguson, 2006). Lakoff argues that the truth must be framed effectively to be understood and thus lead to action. That is especially important for progressives who have struggled to counter the conservative discourse (Lakoff, 2010).

The realist understanding of framing used in this thesis recognises that frames might not always correspond with the reality of a particular case in the most accurate or comprehensive way. Therefore, reframing can be used to change certain aspects of an issue into frames that capture the truth more accurately. This is based on the acceptance of the possibility of rationally judging between competing frames (Boda, 2017). According to Jerneck & Olsen (2011), reframing can lead us to understand the problem differently and therefore lead to new perspectives and solutions. For this thesis specifically, this means that reframing aspects of the indigenous movement can highlight issues that were previously hidden and therefore make people understand the pipeline differently. This could help the resistance movement to better achieve its goals.

4. Data and methods

The data used to analyse the two sides in this study was collected mainly from the websites of the different stakeholders. For pipeline proponents, this included Enbridge and grassroots organisation

MinnesotansForLine3. For the Water Protectors, this included Stop Line 3, Friends of the Headwaters, Honor The Earth, MN350, Sierra Club, and Greenpeace. From the websites of these different actors, press statements, fact sheets, website entries, and blogs related to Line 3 were analysed. Additionally, some local newspaper articles discussing the pipeline which were retrieved via snowballing were included in the data. In total, 95 files were used for pipeline proponents and 97 files were used for the Water Protectors.

4.1 Quantification of frame categories

The first part of the study uses quantitative analysis with NVivo. NVivo is a tool to analyse and organise documents and other types of data. The program allows users to identify emerging themes in data and makes it easier and more efficient to code numerous documents. Besides, the labelling function in the program helps to quantify the identified themes and keep track of how often these themes are mentioned. Since this thesis is looking into the frequency of themes, this quantification helped organise the data.

Data was uploaded to the program in two different projects, one for Enbridge and one for the Water Protectors, to separate the two sides. Documents were reviewed and commonly repeated frames were identified and highlighted as 'nodes' in the program. Nodes are a way of coding sentences and word groups with a corresponding label. For example, when a sentence was related to the employment of indigenous people, it was labelled with 'native jobs'. After the initial frames were identified, NVivo was able to auto-code the rest of the documents based on the previous manual coding. This auto-coding was checked and corrected afterwards. During this process, some new frames were identified in the auto-coded documents. These were then added and checked for the other documents as well (see figure 2).

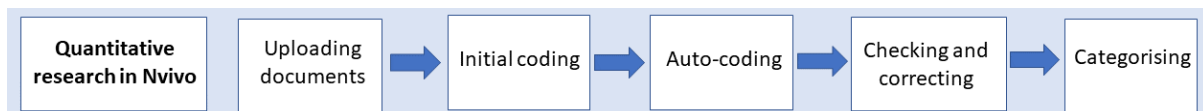


Figure 2. Visualisation of the quantitative research process. Own creation.

When, in some cases, multiple frames referred to a similar aspect of the pipeline, these frames were grouped into larger categories. For example, frames talking about 'water' and 'climate crisis' both fit into the 'environment' category. This made it easier to analyse and evaluate the main themes of argumentation and to compare how both sides frame aspects of the pipeline differently. In line with

Lakoff's theory that repeated frames influence how people think about a problem, the most frequently referenced categories were chosen for further analysis.

4.2 Qualitative analysis

The second phase of the analysis is qualitative and uses discourse analysis to identify blind spots and inconsistencies in the frames according to relevant evidence. This also relates to Lakoff's theory of framing, which states that frames should correspond to facts to be effective. Since frames create a common understanding of a problem, it is important to check the validity of the claims of both the indigenous movement and Enbridge, in reference to available evidence. This evidence includes different types of data, such as legislation, government reports, peer-reviewed publications, newspaper articles, and reports from responsible government units (such as the Department of Commerce). These sources were found through academic search engines like Scopus and Google Scholar, government websites, stakeholder websites and online newspapers. Since the data sources mostly came from legitimate sources, such as peer-reviewed articles or government reports, they form a reliable basis for judging the validity of frame content. Besides, they were combined with different types of sources, such as newspapers, to learn about the current debate from different perspectives.

After the blind spots and inconsistencies are identified, I discuss the implications of my analysis for the indigenous movement's framing processes, including which aspects of the competing frames should be excluded and which should be strengthened, and ultimately how this might inform a more effective reframing of the issue.

5. Results and analysis

The next section will start with presenting the results from the quantitative analysis by introducing the most common themes of both Enbridge and the Water Protectors. Subsequently, these common themes will be analysed and evaluated in reference to relevant evidence.

Table 1 shows examples of the quantitative results and demonstrates how the categories have been retrieved from the analysed materials. It presents frame components, their corresponding category and the frequency of mention in the analysed materials. The full table can be found in Appendix A.

Table 1. Examples from the results table. The table shows examples of the codes, categories and corresponding frequencies. A full table and a more elaborate explanation can be found in appendix A. Own creation.

Source	Example	Code	Frequency	Category	Frequency
Sierra Club	“It will threaten Minnesota’s waters and wild rice.” (Sierra Club, 2017a, para. 1)	Water	44	Environment	266
Stop Line 3	“The Line 3 expansion is starkly inconsistent with the goals of the Paris Climate Agreement.” (StopLine3, n.d., sec. Dangerous pipelines)	Climate crisis	46	Environment	266
Enbridge	“The project created thousands of family-supporting construction jobs” (Enbridge, 2022, para. 4)	Employment	53	Economy	139

5.1 Common themes: Enbridge

Enbridge justifies the pipeline based on four different types of arguments: legal, economic, environmental and security. They argue that they have the correct *legal* permits and consulted native tribes, as it is “the most studied pipeline project in Minnesotan history” (Varcoe, 2021, para. 20). Besides, it provides tax revenues, jobs and profits for both the local communities and the national *economy*. On an *environmental* level, Enbridge argues that the project is safe and that new technology is used to avoid future oil spills. Besides, to facilitate the energy transition, oil is still needed according to Enbridge. Lastly, the company focuses on energy and national *security*. The project will help with North America’s energy independence and therefore will lead to less reliance on “countries that are often unstable or unfriendly to U.S. interests” (Enbridge, n.d.-a, sec. Reliable energy).

5.2 Common themes: Water Protectors

The Water Protectors argue against the pipeline with three main frames: environmental, legal and economic. They argue with an *environmental* perspective that new pipelines are not necessarily safer than older pipelines and highlight the negative impacts on water, wild rice and the climate. Moreover, they use *legal* framing to argue that the process has not happened in a fair and just way and that

treaty rights have been violated. Besides, a large part of their argument is that there is no *economic need* for the pipeline, based on oil demand.

Although indigenous issues were also a commonly discussed theme, the issues often fit within the other categories. For example, concerns for indigenous water fit within the environmental framing. Moreover, some of the codes talked about the category in general, e.g. talking about the environment in a general sense instead of talking about safety or water. These codes were put into the category only, without a subcategory.

5.3 Analysis of common framings

The next section will discuss and evaluate each of the main categories. First, the legal, environmental and economic framing will be discussed for both Enbridge and the Water Protectors before discussing Enbridge's security framing.

5.3.1 Legitimising pipelines?

Enbridge

One of the main arguments of Enbridge is that the replacement project is legally justified. They argue that they have received all the right permits and that "the project has passed every test through six years of regulatory and permitting review" (Enbridge, 2020e, para. 2) and therefore are legally allowed to build the pipeline. According to Enbridge, because of their scientific review and efforts, they have gained support from "thousands of Minnesotans" (Enbridge, 2018a, sec. Preferred route). They have consulted local landowners through community meetings. Enbridge also demonstrates on its website that the new Line 3 pipeline is built around the Leech Lake reservation and is surrounded by supportive or neutral counties (see figure 3). Furthermore, Enbridge frames the Water Protectors movement in the language of illegality, using terms such as protestors who are "trespassing and criminally damaging property" (Enbridge, 2021b, para. 1).

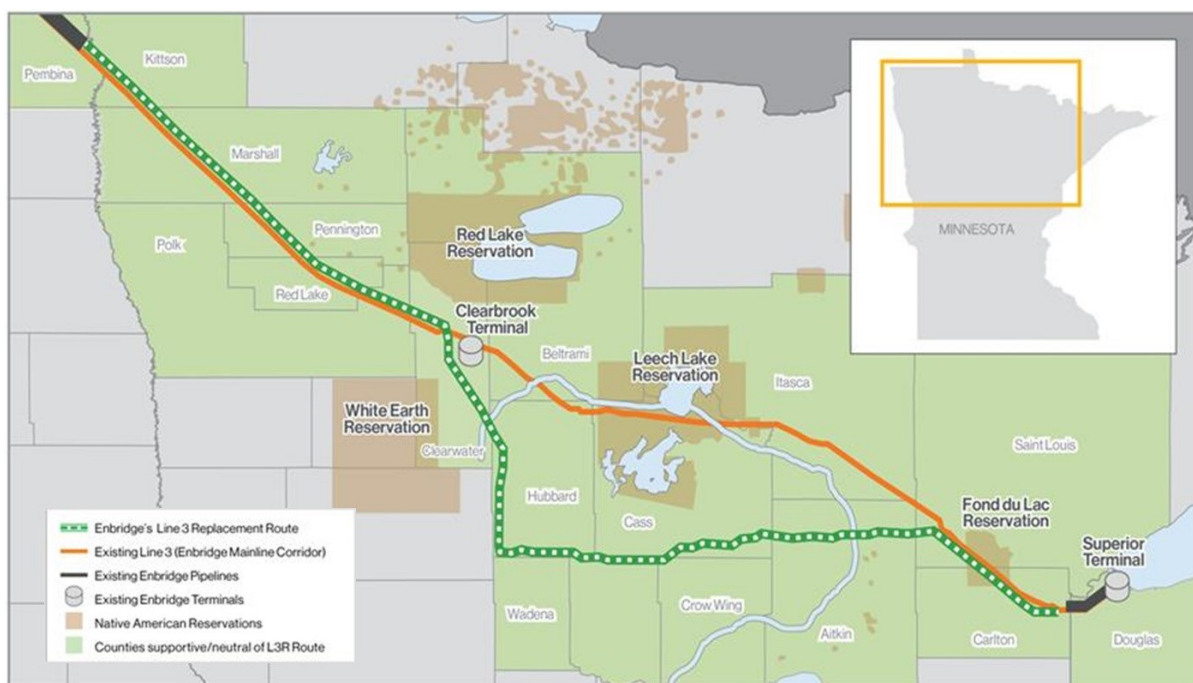


Figure 3. Map showing how Enbridge visualises the pipeline. The orange line indicates the old pipeline, while the green line indicates the replacement route. Counties that are supportive or neutral of the route are green. The native reservations are indicated with brown. Retrieved from Enbridge’s website (Enbridge, n.d.-c).

Water Protectors

The Water Protectors are arguing that the project has been approved unjustly. They argue that the Minnesota Public Utilities Commission (PUC) “made an illegal decision to grant the certificate of need to Enbridge” (Honor the Earth, n.d., para. 1), as multiple agencies such as the Department of Commerce and Minnesota Pollution Control Agency have expressed their concerns about the project and recommended not permitting the project. Besides, they refer to the violations of the treaty of the Anishinaabe who have “treaty-affirmed rights to hunt, fish, and harvest wild rice” (Marcovici, 2019, para. 11) and the lack of consultation from Enbridge.

Evaluation

When Enbridge says that “it has done everything required under the law to receive approval for the pipeline” (Arvin, 2021, para. 6), the company presents legality as a neutral concept and assumes that the legal system creates justice. However, as Proulx and Crane (2020) point out, laws have been set in settler landscapes and have justified displacement and exclusion while naturalising settler interest claims. Laws are thus not neutral but are generally favouring settlers over indigenous rights. Therefore, when Enbridge argues that the pipeline has passed every test, they are calling on the legal settler regulatory system. This can also be seen in figure 3, where Enbridge is claiming its legitimacy

by demonstrating that the pipeline is avoiding more native reservations than the old pipeline. Enbridge thus seems to legitimise its arguments through the legal system, without considering deeper colonial relationships that are reflected in the legal system.

Since 2016, several states in North America have tried to pass critical infrastructure laws. Critical infrastructure is defined as “the physical and cyber systems and assets that are so vital to the United States that their incapacity or destruction would have a debilitating impact on our physical or economic security or public health or safety” (Cybersecurity & Infrastructure Security Agency, n.d., sec. CISA’s Role). The definition leaves room for interpretation and since the U.S. is economically dependent on oil and gas pipelines, these can be included in the definition. This places resistance to pipelines in the same division as domestic terrorism (Spice, 2018). Indeed, Minnesota has introduced several bills to pass the critical infrastructure law (Herr, 2022; Hughlett, 2018). However, one can ask, to whom is this infrastructure critical? Spice (2018) argues that critical infrastructure is mainly about colonial governance as the jurisdiction is threatening native American tribes while giving settlers more power to push for fossil fuels on indigenous lands. Consequently, hundreds of activists that have been protesting against the pipeline have been arrested. Enbridge frames the opponents as protestors who are “trespassing and criminally damaging property” (Enbridge, 2021b, para. 1), not only to delegitimise their resistance (Proulx & Crane, 2020) but also to shift the focus from the risk of pipelines to the risk of protestors (Bacon, 2020). Several local newspapers are even suggesting Enbridge has funded local police officers via the Public Safety Escrow Account Manager. Local police can ask them for reimbursements to avoid increasing taxes (Hughlett, 2022; Lovrien & Johnson, 2021).

The Treaty rights mainly refer to the 1837 Treaty between the United States federal government and the Native American nations. The treaty recognised the relationship between the Ojibwe people and wild rice and gave them the right to “hunt, gather, fish, and harvest wild rice” (Raster & Hill, 2017, p. 268). Besides, as mentioned in the background, manoomin is recognised under the tribal law and has the right to intervene when its rights are being violated (Awāsis, 2021). Tribal laws are no less part of the United States legal system than federal or state laws and thus need to be followed by U.S. American citizens and the government (Reese, 2021). However, Reese (2021) notes that “tribal law is often excluded from our shared conception of “American law” (p.555)” and therefore creates “othering of Indians and the invisibility of both Indian people and their governments” (p.555). The Water Protectors argue that Line 3 will endanger wild rice if the pipeline leaks. However, their attempts to claim the wild rice rights for the Line 3 project have been dismissed in court, as they did not take “into account the longstanding legal and judicial framework” (White Earth Band Of Ojibwe

Court of Appeals, 2022, p. 17). Again, this shows how the regulatory system is delegitimising tribal laws and working against the interests of indigenous communities.

Enbridge argues that they “reached out to 43 Tribes, resident Tribes and those with ancestral ties to the area and continues to consult with 39 Tribes” (Enbridge, n.d.-c, sec. Environmental permitting). However, as Bevan (2021) notes in his paper, the regulatory protections for tribal communities in the United States are inadequate and therefore consultation with tribes continues to fail. Since the consultation is nonbinding, it works often as an “administrative cover for bad actions” (p.40) for companies such as Enbridge. Therefore, the consultation that Enbridge claims to have done might not have been sufficient for the tribes to influence important decisions.

Besides, Enbridge is able to use its money to gain power as well. The company spent millions of dollars lobbying for Line 3 permits, with more than \$11 million at its peak in 2018 (Minnesota Campaign Finance Board, n.d.-a), the year in which Enbridge received its certificate of need and route permit by PUC. In comparison, Friends of the Headwaters and MN350 also lobbied in Minnesota, however in the same year, they spent less than \$123,000 and \$40,000 respectively (Minnesota Campaign Finance Board, n.d.-b, n.d.-c). This shows that Enbridge has been able to exercise economic and political power over the Water Protectors and may therefore have been able to mobilise resources more efficiently. Scholars have also noted the lobbying from the gas and oil industry in the United States and pointed out how it can significantly influence political decisions (Guettler, 2021; Hafner-Burton & McNamara, 2019; Pacca et al., 2021).

Moreover, some newspapers have written about Steve Kelley, who was part of the Minnesota Department of Commerce. He strongly challenged the Line 3 project in a court trial, arguing that Enbridge did not provide a long-term demand forecast of oil and therefore questioned the need for the oil pipeline. Shortly after that, he was fired because his legal challenge was a “waste of resources” (Benson, 2020, para. 9). This again shows some political power in favour of Enbridge.

Although Enbridge has received the right permits, some were not issued correctly. The Minnesota Pollution Control Agency (MPCA) issued 12 permits to Enbridge between 2014 and 2015. According to state law, these permits can only be issued after the environmental review is completed, to minimise bias during the process. MPCA later admitted in a letter that it issued the permits too early, but did not withdraw them (Maurice, 2017). Besides, the PUC granted Line 3 a certificate of need despite the recommendations not to by the Department of Commerce. The DOC had noted the lack of economic

need and the environmental and social impacts of the project. However, the advice of the DOC was nonbinding and thus the PUC does not have to follow this advice. Therefore, claiming that “the Minnesota Public Utilities Commission made an illegal decision to grant the certificate of need to Enbridge” (Honor the Earth, n.d., para. 1) is not completely true.

Summary

Although Enbridge has the right permits and the regulatory system may seem like a neutral concept, power dynamics and resource mobilisation clearly play a role. The U.S. government supports economic development through pipelines by enacting laws on critical infrastructure that delegitimizes indigenous sovereignty. As Proulx & Crane (2020) note, “legality is presented as a neutral concept to legitimise the proposed land use” (p.56). When the legal system and economic resources are in your favour, “passing every test” is easier than it might seem. However, to argue that the certificate of need has been issued illegally is not true either since it has been obtained through the right agencies.

5.3.2 Spilling or safety?

Enbridge

Enbridge expresses its “commitment to sustainability and the environment” (Enbridge, n.d.-b, p. 1) multiple times in its statements and website posts. As the new pipeline will replace a deteriorating one, the company argues that due to advanced technology the new pipeline “will better protect Minnesota’s environment for generations to come.” (The Associated Press, 2021, para. 8). They argue the project is safety-driven to protect both local communities and the environment. With this safety focus, Enbridge is implying that the pipeline has a lower chance of spillage. Besides, Enbridge justifies the fossil fuel industry by arguing that “during a just energy transition from fossil fuels [...] all families need safe, affordable energy” (Enbridge, n.d.-e, p. 2). Lastly, they argue that transporting crude oil by pipeline is more energy-efficient than alternative ways of transport such as by truck or by train (Enbridge, n.d.-e).

Water Protectors

As can be seen in Appendix A, the environment is the most repeated framing in the movement of the Water Protectors. The framing focuses on the carbon emissions that are caused by the pipeline and shows concerns about the unfolding climate crisis. The pipeline has “carbon emissions equivalent to 50 coal-powered plants” (MN350, n.d., para. 1). They call on Biden's Administration as he has previously promised to tackle the climate crisis, but fails to stop pipeline projects like Line 3 (DiPaola, 2021). Besides, they argue that new pipelines are not necessarily safer. “Unfortunately, it’s not a

matter of if the pipeline will spill, but when” (Stop Line 3, n.d.-b, sec. Spill impacts), they write, and point out the effects of spills on their water bodies, indigenous hunting and wild rice harvesting. They adopt the ‘Water is Life’ slogan from the DAPL resistance movement to highlight how essential water is to life (Eischens, 2021; Weiss, 2019). Lastly, the Water Protectors also mention the planned abandonment of the old pipeline. They argue that “instead of cleaning up this liability, Enbridge wants to simply abandon it in the ground forever” while the residuals can contaminate their waters (Stop Line 3, n.d.-b, para. 1).

Evaluation

Although Kheraj (2020) notes that oil spills happen frequently on different scales, Enbridge and MinnesotansForLine3 do not write about oil spills on their websites. Instead, they focus on the safety of the pipeline and the new technologies that are used to prevent oil releases. For example, they write that “from day one, this project has been about modernizing our system and improving safety and reliability for the benefit of communities, the environment and our customers” (Enbridge, 2021c, para. 2). They focus on the ‘replacement’ framing to stress that the old pipeline was deteriorating and had a high likelihood of spillage (Minnesota Department of Commerce, 2019).

Kheraj (2020) points out that companies have an incentive to reduce the number of oil spills to avoid the loss of their product, fulfil delivery contracts and avoid damage claims by landowners. New technologies help to reduce the relative oil loss from leakage, but the incentive is still economic and not environmental. Enbridge mentions its responsibility to the environment, but since companies are legally bound to follow their stakeholder’s interests, Scanlan (2017) doubts the environment will be prioritised over profits. He notes that the ecomodernist discourse that Enbridge is in sees technology as a way to meet human needs, assuming there are endless resources to subtract from. However, technologies still allow for a small percentage of oil leakage, to reach economic efficiency. The subsequent costs often fall on indigenous people and farmers, as they live along “sacrifice zones” (Kheraj, 2020, p. 165). Kheraj notes that safety-driven measures can only reduce the risk to a certain extent and thus there “is no leak-proof system of oil transportation via pipelines in Canada” (p.191). Besides, he points out that the causes of spills do not follow an obvious pattern and are often unpredictable or miscellaneous (Kheraj, 2020). Thus, although the new pipeline might indeed be safer than the old one, there is still no guarantee that the new one will not spill. Moreover, as the Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) notes, climate change will also affect the impacts of oil spills. Higher temperatures can increase air contamination after an accidental release and flooding can transport oil further downstream (Minnesota Department of Commerce, 2019).

Although there is no guarantee that the new pipeline will not leak, there is also no guarantee that the pipeline will leak, as the Water Protectors argue. Strube et al. (2021) note the lack of publicly available information about pipelines and their corresponding risks. The United States limits access to data about pipelines to protect the infrastructure from being destroyed or sabotaged. This is among others protected by the Critical Infrastructure Protection Act, which has been mentioned in the legal framing. This makes it difficult to assess the likelihood of an oil spill. Horn et al. (2018) looked into the risk of oil spills of Line 3 specifically and concluded that large spills are unlikely, but when freshwater would be exposed to an oil release, the impacts would be harmful. The effects would depend on amongst others, the timing, speed of clean up and volume of released oil. As this research group supports oil and gas on their website (RPS Group, n.d.) and contrasts Kheraj's notion that oil spills happen frequently, more independent research is needed to confirm these findings. Although there is little research on onshore oil spills and existing research is contrasting, there is no research that confirms the Water Protectors' statement that all pipelines will spill.

A significant detail that Enbridge leaves out considering the environment is that tar sands are recognised by multiple scholars as the most unsustainable crude source. Tar sands are retrieved from the ground by extracting great amounts of sand and subsequently separating the bitumen from the sand. The bitumen is then steamed by burning natural gas and mixed with other liquids to be able to transport it through a pipeline. This process requires more energy, water and labour than other crude oils and therefore has much higher GHG emissions (Bradshaw, 2015; Finkel, 2018; Kelman, 2020). Although Enbridge justifies its investment in the fossil fuel industry with the energy security and safety needed during the energy transition (Enbridge, n.d.-e), they do not justify the type of fossil fuel they are using. Rather than investing in one of the most unsustainable crude oils, the United States could look into other alternatives that are less environmentally harmful.

Moreover, it has also been noted how oil sand mining is destroying thousands of acres of boreal forest in Alberta, where Line 3 transports its oil from. Land-use change and deforestation are irreversibly done to provide housing and infrastructure as well as to make space for mining. Up to 2013, more than 700km² were disturbed because of oil sands development. This not only affects endangered wildlife species but also removes important sources of carbon storage. Thereby releasing more greenhouse gases into the atmosphere (Finkel, 2018; Khakzad et al., 2022).

In the EIS, the life-cycle emissions of the pipeline from extracting oil from the ground to burning fossil fuels are calculated. The assessment points out two different calculations, depending on what is included. If the oil inside the pipeline is considered a new source of energy, the pipeline would add 193 million tons of CO₂ to the atmosphere per year. However, if the oil inside the pipeline is considered oil that would be moved and burned regardless of whether the pipeline is built or not, the EIS calculates that the project would add 35 million tons of CO₂ per year (Minnesota Department of Commerce, 2019). When the Water Protectors note that Line 3 has “carbon emissions equivalent to 50 coal-powered plants” (MN350, n.d., para. 1), they take the first calculation for their argumentation. However, it is hard to tell whether the project indeed contributes to the increased demand for energy. The Minnesota Public Utilities Commission writes in their report that

Denying the Project will not stop the supply of Canadian tar sands oil, nor will it reduce the demand for oil in our nation or around the world. It will just require a different mode of transportation (truck or rail) and result in the loss of economic growth for Minnesota. (*State of Minnesota Office of Administrative Hearings for the Public Utilities Commission, 2018, p. 95*)

Local newspapers have noticed this debate around the environmental impact and question whether it is possible to know the true environmental impact of the pipeline in advance (Dunbar, 2018). However, it is clear that the pipeline does contribute to carbon emissions each year, although the exact amount is unknown.

Regarding Enbridge’s abandonment plan, the company argues that research has shown that out-of-service pipelines can still operate safely (Enbridge, 2020a). However, little academic literature is available on the environmental effects of abandonment. The research that has been done on decommissioning is mainly on offshore energy facilities (Ekins et al., 2006; Pollett, 2020; Sommer et al., 2019). Thus, more research is needed regarding the abandonment of oil pipelines to conclude what the impacts of the old pipeline would be on the environment. The EIS does incorporate pipeline abandonment in its assessment, noting that there could be significant long-term impacts concerning contamination of water and soil due to subsidence. Besides, they write that the abandonment can negatively affect communities because of the stress related to the ongoing risks associated with the pipeline. The EIS suggests a combination of removal and abandonment, where more high-risk segments are removed (Minnesota Department of Commerce, 2019). Enbridge started a landowner program, where landowners can choose for compensation to leave the pipeline in the ground or

request that Enbridge take it out (Enbridge, 2020a). Therefore, abandonment is not based on high-risk segments but instead on the decisions of landowners.

However, for the Water Protectors, it seems that neither leaving the old pipeline nor building a new one are options. They point out that the safety of a pipeline depends more on Enbridge's commitment to safety than on the age of the pipeline and note that monitoring, as proposed by Enbridge, could help to mitigate potential impacts (Stop Line 3, n.d.-a). Therefore, the problem seems rather the scepticism towards Enbridge in taking responsibility to monitor the old pipeline than the abandonment. The Water Protectors express their concerns about the anomalies of the old pipeline and say it is "at the end of its life" (Stop Line 3, n.d.-b, sec. Abandonment). It thus seems that they admit that the old pipeline needed replacement or reparation. They argue that Enbridge is only replacing the old one because "fixing these "anomalies" is very expensive" (Stop Line 3, n.d.-b, sec. Abandonment). However, they also argue that new pipelines do not guarantee safety and thus repairing the old pipeline would not necessarily be safe either. It thus seems that neither repairing the old pipeline nor building a new one is a good option, although the Water Protectors do believe something needs to be done about the old pipeline. The Water Protectors are thus inconsistent with their framing when it comes to the abandonment of the pipeline.

Summary

In sum, Enbridge leaves out significant details about the environmental framing of the pipeline. They do not write about oil spills, the effects of tar sands on the environment, or the boreal forests in Canada that are being destroyed. Instead, they focus on the safety of the project to assure that the pipeline will not harm either people or nature. However, the statement of the Water Protectors that all pipelines will eventually spill might also be an overstatement, as there is no academic evidence for this. Besides, as it is difficult to know the true carbon emissions of the pipeline, focusing too much on this aspect could be a weak spot for the Water Protectors. Lastly, little research has been done so far on pipeline abandonment and its effects. Nevertheless, there are some inconsistencies in the framing of the Water Protectors, as they both note the safety depends on Enbridge's commitment to maintaining the old pipeline while at the same time acknowledging it needs replacement.

5.3.3 Needed boom-towns?

Enbridge

Another main framing of Enbridge is the focus on economic benefits for both Minnesota and the United States in general. According to the company, the project is "creating family-sustaining, mostly

local construction jobs, millions of dollars in local spending and additional tax revenues at a time when Northern Minnesota needs it most.” (Enbridge, 2020d, para. 4). The economic benefits claims are often repeated in news articles, where the project is put in monetary terms (\$4 billion) (Karnowski, 2021; Kraker & Frost, 2021; Partlow, 2021). They note that the replacement project is creating millions of dollars in economic opportunities for Native American tribes (Enbridge, 2022). By focusing on indigenous inclusion in the project, Enbridge tries to receive support from indigenous tribes.

Water Protectors

The Water Protectors are focusing on the lack of necessity. They refer to the Department of Commerce which stated that there is no economic need for the project, arguing that the social and environmental costs outweigh the economic benefits (Stop Line 3, z.d.). Additionally, they emphasise that “the mining of the Alberta Tar Sands is a rapidly dying industry” (Stop Line 3, n.d.-b, sec. A stacked deck) and thus investing in another pipeline is not needed.

Evaluation

Enbridge is trying to highlight the necessity of the project to support the local businesses, using the pandemic as a political opportunity. Academic literature confirms the positive economic impacts of pipelines. Indeed, there is an economic boost and the pipeline does provide job opportunities (Khakzad et al., 2022). However, one can ask who is actually benefiting from these economic gains. The benefits are represented as universal, but often end up only to a selective group. Local newspapers also question the employment impacts and note that the project will only create 20 permanent jobs (Kraker & Nelson, 2018; Lovrien, 2021). Scholars confirm this and write about the “boom-town phenomenon”. This is a town that undergoes extraordinary growth before a period of rapid decline when the project is over (Van Hinte et al., 2007). In other words, pipelines create significant short-term employment opportunities and economic boosts, but this disappears when the project is over (Dimitriou et al., 2015; Van Hinte et al., 2007).

Moreover, as Kelsey et al. (2016) point out, the initial boom does not automatically turn into long-term economic development. Part of the worker's influx is from outside the project region, meaning that they will remit their income back home and most likely leave the boom-town when the project is over. Newspapers have challenged Enbridge's employment claims and pointed out that they have only 33% of the employees are Minnesotans, while they promised that half of the workforce would be from Minnesota (Hughlett, 2021a). Besides, other articles have noted how employment divided indigenous communities. As they are often dealing with financial problems, some Native Americans accepted jobs

to sustain their family, while feeling guilt and shame at the same time (Pember, 2021). Lastly, van Hinte et al. (2007) and Kulzer et al. (2021) note that the short-term economic growth can bring negative impacts on local communities, such as inflation, housing shortages and unrealistic expectations.

Nevertheless, arguing that there is no economic need for the project leaves out some important benefits the project has brought to Minnesota. Several newspapers have pointed out the positive effects the pipeline has had on local towns during the pandemic. They note how some businesses were struggling after two lockdowns and the influx of Line 3 workers might have saved some of them (Johnson, 2020; Marohn, 2021). Thus, saying that the project has no economic need dismisses the fact that it came during a critical time and was able to help local companies.

The notion that the “tar sands industry is a rapidly dying industry” (Stop Line 3, n.d.-b, sec. A stacked deck) is partly true. A report by the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) notes the decline in U.S. Alaska crude oil supply during the pandemic. Although the world's long-term oil demand is expected to grow, according to the OPEC report, the overall oil demand for OPEC Americas is expected to decrease with 0.2 million of barrels per day between 2020 and 2045. More specifically, the report notes that the U.S. Alaska crude oil is expected to decrease after 2030 (see table 2). However, the report also notes that a steady growth of Canadian oil sands is expected until 2045, despite the cancellation of the Keystone XL pipeline. It is expected that the oil will be transported through other pipelines and eventually exported to Asia (OPEC, 2021).

Table 2. Long-term total liquids supply in the United States in millions of barrels/day (OPEC, 2021, p. 151).

	2019	2020	2025	2030	2035	2040	2045	Change 2020–2045
US tight oil	11.7	11.5	14.5	15.2	15.0	14.2	13.3	1.8
<i>of which: tight crude</i>	7.8	7.3	9.7	9.7	8.9	8.0	7.1	-0.2
<i>of which: unconventional NGLs</i>	3.9	4.3	4.9	5.5	6.1	6.2	6.2	1.9
US Gulf of Mexico crude	1.9	1.7	1.9	1.8	1.6	1.5	1.4	-0.2
US Alaska crude	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.3	-0.2
US other crude	2.1	1.9	1.4	1.0	0.7	0.5	0.4	-1.6
US other NGLs	0.9	0.9	0.7	0.6	0.3	0.3	0.3	-0.6
US biofuels	1.1	1.0	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.2	1.2	0.1
US other liquids	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0
<i>Memo item: US total crude</i>	12.2	11.3	13.4	12.9	11.6	10.3	9.2	-2.1
<i>Memo item: US total NGLs</i>	4.8	5.2	5.6	6.1	6.4	6.5	6.5	1.3
Total US liquids production	18.4	17.6	20.3	20.3	19.3	18.1	16.9	-0.7

Besides, with the recent war in Ukraine and the related oil geopolitics in Russia, it is unsure how this will affect oil supply and demand in North America. As some newspapers have noted, several republicans have called on president Biden to allow for the expansion of drilling to decrease reliance on Russia (Milman, 2022; Murphy & Bussewitz, 2022). Part of the reason why the Water Protectors argue that the tar sands industry is dying is because of the low oil prices. However, because of the war in Ukraine, oil prices have increased again. This makes the industry more attractive for investments and might lead to a growth in oil extraction (Patterson & Goldfarb, 2022).

Summary

Enbridge focuses on the economic benefits of the pipeline. However, the benefits are mostly temporary and do not create many permanent jobs. Besides, most of the workforce comes from outside Minnesota and remits their incomes back home, meaning that this will not lead to additional tax revenues. However, saying that there is no economic need for the project dismisses the benefits it brought to local businesses during the pandemic. Besides, the recent war in Ukraine might reverse the low interest in the tar sands industry, as the oil prices are increasing again.

So far, the categories above were mentioned on both sides of the movement. In the next section, the security framing for Enbridge will be discussed. Since this framing was only common on Enbridge's side, it will not mention the Water Protector's view on this topic.

5.3.4 Energy vs. climate security

Enbridge

The last framing of Enbridge is the focus on both energy security and national security. They argue that the project will "reduce reliance on crude oil imports from countries that are often unstable or unfriendly to U.S. interests and move North America towards energy security and independence" (Enbridge, n.d.-a, sec. Reliable energy). The pipeline will thus not only supply reliable energy but also be a step towards the energy independence of North America and require less dependency on the Middle East and Russia.

Evaluation

Energy security has been a focus for the United States for a few decades. Ever since the oil crisis in the 1970s, the United States realised its reliance on energy imports. Therefore, the country began to focus more on stable prices and a secure supply of energy, an aim that is still apparent today (Jakstas, 2020; Nyman, 2018). Enbridge adopts this framing and argues that we should "shift our reliance from

overseas oil to North American supply” (Enbridge, n.d.-f, p. 2). However, the focus on security has significant implications for the environment as well. The securitisation theory argues that when an issue is framed as a ‘security’ issue, it is becoming prioritised over other political issues. Thereby it closes the opportunity for debate and opens room for exceptional policies to deal with it. In this case, the American state is the thing to be secured, linking national and energy security. Energy is understood as a crisis, as the economy and national security depend on it. The United States is under threat if they are depending too much on other “less stable” countries, an idea that is often repeated by presidents with an “us” versus “them” framing. Besides, energy security is framed as a zero-sum game, which can only be achieved when energy is produced domestically (Nyman, 2018).

The emphasis on energy security prioritises the production of fossil fuels in the United States and ignores its impact on the environment, meaning that as long as energy security is a priority, climate change is not. Therefore, the current understanding of energy security directly contributes to climate change (Nyman, 2018). However, even if the United States is able to produce the same amount of oil it consumes, oil prices will still be dependent on the global market. In other words, major price shocks caused by conflicts in other parts of the world will still influence the United States, even if the country is energy independent (Gottesdiener, 2014; Nyman, 2018). This became clear with the effects of the Ukrainian war. Even when only a small portion of oil is imported from Russia, the war still has significant results on the oil prices in the United States (Krauss, 2022a; Shear, 2022; Smialek & Rappeport, 2022).

However, as mentioned before, the war is also used as an excuse to push for more oil and gas drilling by republicans and fossil fuel companies, to increase energy independence. President Biden is using the war to push for a clean energy transition (Shear, 2022). In fact, it is preferred to have diversified energy resources to be more resilient to price fluctuations (Aslantürk & Kıpızlı, 2019). Cergibozan (2022) showed that for the United States, renewable energies are reducing energy security risks. Although some are questioning whether renewable energies are more likely to create “a more peaceful world” (Krauss, 2022b, para. 31).

Summary

The United States has had energy independence as a goal for a long time. The framing of energy security prioritises energy before other political issues, such as the environment. However, energy independence does not mean that it will not be affected by the global market and price shocks, which

became visible during the Ukraine war. Besides, energy independence can also be achieved with renewable energy, which might reduce energy risks more than fossil fuels.

6. Discussion

The next section will turn back to the evaluation of the frame components and discuss their implications for reframing processes in the indigenous movements.

6.1 Legitimising pipelines?

As summarised before, Enbridge has been using the U.S. regulatory system to legitimise its right to build the pipeline, claiming that it has passed every test. However, legality is not a neutral concept and is related to colonial power dynamics, which has delegitimised indigenous sovereignty and dispossessed them from their lands, thereby leading to injustices. Besides, lobbying and the introduction of new laws may further increase uneven power relations. Thus, although the legal system in itself does not necessarily increase injustices, the assumption of neutrality in the legal system can be dangerous and should therefore be refined.

Nevertheless, the Water Protectors must acknowledge that while the legal system might not always be fair, the certificate of need was not obtained illegally, since it did follow legal procedures. Alternatively, the Water Protectors can point out how laws are working against their interest. Laws such as the critical infrastructure law are actively supporting the oil and gas industry while criminalising the Water Protectors. It would be good to revise the long-standing legal system and point out where it is delegitimising indigenous communities. This would bring the debate to a deeper level of historical injustices between indigenous people and the U.S. settlers and therefore help other indigenous movements in the future. If the legal system would be set up in a way that creates more justice for indigenous communities, this could ultimately give them more legal power to fight for their interests in the future. Besides, the Water Protectors could include some concerns about the lobbying of Enbridge and note how economic and political power has influenced decisions about the pipeline to their detriment.

6.2 Spilling or safety?

As previously mentioned, Enbridge leaves out significant details about the impacts of the pipeline on the environment. The company has been framing its pipeline as “safe” to avoid discussing environmental issues, such as the destruction of the boreal forests and its effects on climate change. Although they express their commitment to the environment and safety, they have to consider the

interests of their stakeholders. Therefore, it is unlikely that the environment will be prioritised over profits. Enbridge focuses on how safe the new pipeline is compared to the old one, thereby creating a “lesser of two evils” dilemma that is hard to deny for the Water Protectors. However, the older versus newer pipeline debate leaves little room for discussing alternatives, such as renewable energy. Besides, the focus on “safety” is used by Enbridge as a way to avoid talking about the actual risks that are involved with the pipeline. By claiming that the pipeline is “safe”, there is little need to explain what could go wrong. One could argue that Enbridge uses vague claims and ignores environmental trade-offs as a way of greenwashing (Scanlan, 2017). Therefore, the safety framing should be refined. Instead, the Water Protectors can point out the insufficiency of Enbridge’s commitment to the environment and highlight what risks are involved with the project.

On the other hand, the Water Protectors assume that every pipeline will eventually spill. However, since there is no academic evidence to support this claim, this framing should be refined. Instead, the Water Protectors could go beyond the risks of a spill to emphasise other impacts, including the effects on mental health, such as stress and anxiety, related to potential leakages. From the Water Protectors websites, it is clear that many feel concerned and stressed about the effects of pipelines on their lands, which drives them to form a resistance movement (Whelan, n.d.). As they are the ones that will be most affected by the pipeline, they can focus on the personal effects of the pipeline. Lakoff (2010) explains that narratives can help to create new frames and help people to understand the problem differently. Therefore, the Water Protectors could include a narrative about the long-term mental health effects of a potential oil spill.

The Water Protectors can maintain their framing on the effects of the pipeline on the environment and the climate crisis. They can include the effects on the boreal forests, air pollution and biodiversity, as this is not discussed in much detail at the moment. However, instead of focusing on the amount of carbon emissions the pipeline creates, the Water Protectors could reframe their focus on how alternatives could provide the same energy demand with a lower amount of emissions. In this way, they avoid the discussion of the true carbon emissions of the pipeline, while still noting the environmental impacts of the pipeline.

Since little research has been done so far on the effects of pipeline decommissioning, it is difficult to evaluate the validity of the arguments. Therefore, this framing is not rejected as easily as others. However, the Water Protectors do seem inconsistent with their arguments in this framing, as they acknowledge that the pipeline needs replacement and is deteriorating, while at the same time

pointing out that newer pipelines are not a safe option either. It thus seems like the Water Protectors do not want the old pipeline or the new pipeline. Yet, as there is still a need for energy in the United States, there should be an alternative way of obtaining energy. Therefore, the abandonment framing should be partly refined, where instead of focusing on the argument that newer pipelines are not necessarily safer, the Water Protectors should focus on alternative ways to meet energy demands.

6.3 Needed boom-towns?

The economic framing of Enbridge highlighted the employment creation and the tax revenues the project would bring to Minnesota. Although, as mentioned before, the project did bring significant benefits to local businesses during the pandemic, the benefits are not as universal as Enbridge is framing them to be. Most of the workforce is not resident in Minnesota and remit their incomes back home, meaning that some of the tax revenues do not go to the state itself. Thus, the framing is only partly capturing the truth and should therefore be reframed in a way that is more representative of the truth. The Water Protectors can show that the benefits only reach a select group of people and point out that the employment is mainly temporary. The pipeline does not provide an equal distribution of positive and negative impacts, as vulnerable communities are disproportionately affected in a negative way (Emanuel et al., 2021). Thus, the Water Protectors should not deny the economic benefits of the pipeline, but instead, point out the inequalities that are related to it and therefore disprove part of Enbridge's argument.

The 'necessity' framing of the Water Protectors should be refined, as the project did provide economic benefits in a critical time. Therefore, saying that the project is not necessary dismisses the local benefits it created during the pandemic. Instead, the Water Protectors could focus more on the alternative methods to create employment and tax revenues, such as through renewable energies, a possibility that is not discussed in much detail in the framing of the Water Protectors. Since they mostly oppose and criticise the pipeline, they could do well by recommending an alternative and a pathway on how to get there. This could also attract other organisations and companies interested that could help to support the indigenous movement and provide more resources to bring about change.

6.4 Energy vs. climate security

As summarised before, the energy 'security' framing of Enbridge is an effective way to shift the focus away from other political issues, such as the environment and thereby support a growing domestic fossil fuel production. The framing focuses on the American state that is under threat from other

countries and therefore should become independent to secure its position. However, this framing of energy security leads directly to climate change and further insecurities, as it dismisses the threats to the environment. Therefore, as Nyman (2018) points out, we need to start thinking differently about how we view energy security and focus on climate security instead. There is a need to reframe 'security' from a state-centric and national security-focused concept towards a framing that puts the climate and sustainability at the centre. This would open space for discussions about justice and ethics and about what needs to be secured. Thus, there is no need to remove the framing of "security" entirely, but rather adjust the link between energy and national security towards a framing that is more inclusive and cooperative. Indeed, as argued before, security is a powerful tool to mobilise resources and therefore it can be used to foster positive and progressive change.

The Water Protectors could thus use the security framing in their favour and use it to focus on the climate instead of the state. Besides, the Water Protectors could demonstrate that energy independence does not mean that the U.S. will not be affected by the global market and conflicts elsewhere. Energy independence might create some flexibility but not complete protection. Besides, in line with previously suggested reframing, the Water Protectors can point out that energy security can also be achieved through alternative, more sustainable energy sources.

6.5 Alternative framing for the Water Protectors

In sum, the indigenous movement has done well in adopting some effective frames from previous movements, such as 'Water is Life'. However, the Water Protectors have focused mainly on resisting the pipeline but have put little effort into coming with alternatives. The Water Protectors could use the securitisation theory in their own favour and focus on climate security and the ways to achieve it. Bringing in some alternative energy supply sources could help to gain support from organisations and governmental agencies. Besides, this would strengthen their own arguments about the need for pipelines, carbon emissions and a more sustainable pathway to energy security.

Another argument they can include is the mental health effects the pipeline has on the communities, instead of focusing on the likelihood of oil spills, which is not backed up by empirical evidence. By writing about the stress and anxiety experienced by local landowners with a narrative technique, this could help to create some empathy from the reader. Subsequently, this can lead to a different understanding of the issue and therefore different solutions according to Lakoff.

Regarding the legal framing, instead of focusing on the 'illegal' permits of Line 3, the Water Protectors can direct their efforts towards the regulatory system in general. By pointing out how certain laws are working against indigenous communities, the debate can be shifted to a deeper level of historical injustices. In turn, this can help the future resistance movements to gain more legal power to achieve their goals.

The Water Protectors can also highlight some of the blind spots and inaccuracies of Enbridge, such as the unequal distribution of economic benefits and the lack of transparency about the safety of the pipeline. These aspects are not mentioned at the moment, but could change the understanding of the pipeline by outsiders. However, it should also be noted that the Water Protectors should refine some of their own framings, such as the necessity framing and the statement that all pipelines will spill. Since the pipeline was economically needed during the pandemic and no evidence could be found to confirm that all pipelines will spill, these framings should be excluded. Lastly, the abandonment framing creates some inconsistencies in their framing and should thus also be discontinued.

7. Conclusion

As governments have shown little interest in engaging indigenous communities in energy management, social movements have played an important role in resisting fossil fuel infrastructure. Enbridge's Line 3 replacement project has been a centre of controversy for several years and although the Water Protectors have tried to stop the pipeline in several ways, they have not succeeded in doing so. This thesis has used Lakoff's theory of frame repetition and looked at the most common frames within the debate. It examined legal, environmental, economic and security framings and assessed the validity of the claims contained within these framings. From this assessment, the outlines of a possible alternative reframing were constructed, that focuses more on alternative energy supply sources and injustices in the legal system.

The alternative framing intends to incorporate reasonable and accurate aspects of each of the competing frames of the Water Protectors and Enbridge. This leads to a more truthful framing of the issue which has the potential to make the indigenous movement's framing processes and related actions more effective in achieving their goals. In line with Isgren et al. (2019), scientists can inform social movements by providing knowledge on effective tactics and problem framings. Therefore, beyond the contributions to the indigenous movement itself, this thesis contributes to sustainability science by providing an example of how scientists can inform social movements. Reframing contentious issues can lead people to understand the problem differently, potentially opening new

opportunities for alliance building, or revealing and accounting for issues that are particularly salient to affected social groups. The modest hope is that, when taken together, such a reframing could help the Water Protectors to be more effective in stopping future pipelines, as it is indeed a controversial pipe (ceci est une pipe).

8. References

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Appendix

Appendix A. Extended table with frame components, categories and corresponding frequencies.

Source	Example	Code	Frequency	Category	Frequency
Sierra Club	“It will threaten Minnesota’s waters and wild rice.” (Sierra Club, 2017a, para. 1)	Water	44	Environment	266
Stop Line 3	“The Line 3 expansion is starkly inconsistent with the goals of the Paris Climate Agreement.” (StopLine3, n.d., sec. Dangerous pipelines)	Climate crisis	46	Environment	266
Stop Line 3	“[...] plus it's the dirtiest and most expensive oil in the world to extract and produce” (LaDuke, 2021, para. 2)	Dirtiest oil	18	Environment	266
MN350	“We know, based on the data, that this pipeline is likely to spill.” (MN350, 2021, para. 2)	Oil spills	36	Environment	266
Stop Line 3	“None of this gives the public any confidence that the hastily constructed pipeline can operate safely.” (DiPaola, 2021, para. 11)	Safety	11	Environment	266
Sierra Club	“As of early 2013, mining operations had disturbed about 276 square miles of boreal forest in the region.” (Sierra Club, 2017b, sec.	Boreal forests	6	Environment	266

Source	Example	Code	Frequency	Category	Frequency
	Canada's boreal forest)				
Sierra Club	"Enbridge's "replacement project" sought to abandon the old Line 3 in the ground and to build a new and larger Line 3 along a new route." (Russell, 2018, para. 5)	Abandonment	37	Environment	266
MN350	"The Line 3 pipeline clearly violates the treaty rights of the Anishinaabeg by endangering our hunting and fishing rights, threatening our wild rice, and jeopardizing other cultural resources that were guaranteed by treaties up and down the Mississippi."(MN350, 2021, para. 3)	Treaty violations	28	Legal	129
Stop Line 3	"During that time, tribal members have been arrested and jailed for fishing, ricing, and hunting in this land, to which we belong." (LaDuke, 2022, para. 2)	Arrests	20	Legal	129
Sierra Club	"Minnesota doesn't need another pipeline or more oil" (Zien, 2018, para. 3)	Necessity	38	Necessity	38
Enbridge	"Enbridge estimates its annual Minnesota property	Tax revenues	17	Economy	139

Source	Example	Code	Frequency	Category	Frequency
	taxes will increase incrementally by more than \$35 million beginning the first full year of service of the Line 3 Replacement Project.” (Enbridge, n.d.-e, p. 4)				
Enbridge	“The project created thousands of family supporting construction jobs” (Enbridge, 2022, para. 4)	Employment	53	Economy	139
Enbridge	“More than 1,500 Indigenous people worked on replacing Line 3 in the U.S. and Canada” (Enbridge, 2021c, para. 6)	Native jobs	32	Economy	139
Enbridge	“Restore the historical operating capabilities of Line 3, to support North American energy independence.” (Enbridge, 2021a, sec. Project need)	Energy Security	44	Energy security	44
Enbridge	“Replacing Line 3 is first and foremost about the safety and integrity of this critical energy infrastructure” (Enbridge, 2018b, para. 2)	Safety	73	Environment	146
Enbridge	“The Line 3 project has been designed to avoid and minimize impacts to sensitive	Water	9	Environment	146

Source	Example	Code	Frequency	Category	Frequency
	streams and wetlands.” (Enbridge, 2020c, para. 4)				
Enbridge	“Enbridge pipelines have coexisted with the nation's most productive wild rice waters for 70 years.” (Enbridge, 2020c, para. 4)	Wild rice	4	Environment	146
Enbridge	“The preferred route was the result of comprehensive study and consultation with Tribes, communities, landowners, local governments and others.” (Enbridge, 2018a, sec. Preferred route)	Consultation	15	Legal	93
Enbridge	“Protesters attempted to trap workers while forcefully entering and then occupying the site, trespassing and criminally damaging property.” (Enbridge, 2021b, para. 1)	Protestors	11	Legal	93
Enbridge	“Enbridge will continue to work with the State and Federal permitting agencies to finalize the permits required to start construction.” (Enbridge, 2020b, para. 3)	Permits	30	Legal	93

Note: Table showing the results of the quantitative research process. Some of the codes talked about the category in general, e.g. talking about the environment in a general sense instead of talking about safety or water. These codes were put into the category only, without a subcategory. Therefore, the frequency of the codes does not always add up to be the frequency of the category.