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The Enbridge Line 3 Replacement Pipeline: Attitudes, Symbolism, and Geography

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May 20, 2019

A thesis submitted to the faculty of the Environmental Studies Program in
partial fulfillment of the graduation requirements for the Degree of Bachelor
of Arts with honors in Environmental Studies

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ABSTRACT

Oil pipelines, such as the Keystone XL and Dakota Access pipelines, are increasingly controversial and contested in the United States. Since its proposal in 2015, the Enbridge Line 3 Replacement (L3R) pipeline in Minnesota has also generated considerable debate. People who support and oppose oil pipeline projects are influenced by their ideologies, core values, partisan leanings, age, identity, and place attachment, as well as their proximity to new energy projects. However, the ability of any one variable, like spatial proximity or age, to predict attitudes towards new energy projects is debated. I conducted a literature review on attitudes towards energy projects, completed 16 interviews with pipeline stakeholders, and examined newspaper articles, court cases, court filings, and other documents to analyze concerns residents of Minnesota have about the proposed L3R pipeline. I also looked at how public attitudes fit into existing frameworks for understanding attitudes towards energy projects generally. Public perceptions toward the L3R pipeline highlight divisions similar to those in debates over the Keystone XL and Dakota Access pipelines, but uniquely reveal a changing landscape of environmental and indigenous activism in Minnesota, one that is diverse and led by youth activists and indigenous groups. Future research should examine youth and indigenous views towards energy projects because of the role of youth and indigenous groups in leading resistance to L3R and other pipeline projects.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ALJ	Administrative Law Judge
BPD	Barrels per day
CN	Certificate of Need
DAPL	Dakota Access Pipeline
DNR	Department of Natural Resources
EERA	Energy Environmental Review and Analysis
EIS	Environmental Impact Statement
EPA	Environmental Protection Agency
GHG	Greenhouse Gas Emissions
IRB	Institutional Review Board
KXL	Keystone XL Pipeline
L3R	Enbridge Line 3 Replacement Pipeline
MEPA	Minnesota Environmental Policy Act
MPCA	Minnesota Pollution Control Agency
NGP	Enbridge Northern Gateway Pipeline
NIABY	Not in anybody's Backyard
NIMBY	Not in my Backyard
PUC	Public Utilities Commission
YCI	Youth Climate Intervenors
YIMBY	Yes, in my Backyard

INTRODUCTION

Oil pipelines have long traversed the United States and North America, and have remained largely uncontroversial until recent years. Of 302 new oil and gas pipelines being built around the world in 2019, just over half are being built in North America (Nace, Plante, & Browning, 2019). If completed, these 302 pipelines would increase the number of pipelines worldwide by a third, establishing oil and gas use for several decades in some places (Nace et al., 2019). Large infrastructure projects frequently experience scientific and technical challenges in the United States. Today, pipelines also face increasing social and political challenges because they are seen as central to the fight against climate change or central to our country's energy independence, depending on one's perspective (Bond, 2016; McAdam et al., 2011).

The Keystone XL and Dakota Access oil pipelines in particular became a rallying point for climate activism and the "pipeline wars" were highly publicized (Bond, 2016; Sullivan, 2016). With Keystone XL, debate has centered around the environmental impacts of the pipeline, and opposition to the pipeline was largely led by environmental organizations (Lahitou, 2017). With the Dakota Access pipeline, opposition was led by the Standing Rock Sioux tribe, as the pipeline would have crossed land considered sacred, even though it was not located in the Standing Rock Reservation (Lahitou, 2017; Simon & McLaughlin, 2017). Protestors were concerned with the tribal rights of the Standing Rock Sioux and the continued mistreatment of Native Americans in the United States, as well as with the potential environmental and climate costs of the project. Opposition from the Standing Rock Sioux drew support from across the United States, with environmentalists, indigenous peoples, and other protestors joining together in resistance to the pipeline (Bond, 2016; Earthjustice, 2016; Lahitou, 2017; Simon & McLaughlin, 2017). With these highly publicized pipeline fights, self-proclaimed "pipeline fighters" have organized in opposition to oil pipelines and similar projects across the United States (Bond, 2016).

Scholars have assessed new energy developments by examining attitudes towards new projects, like fracking, offshore oil drilling, and renewables (Ansolabehere & Konisky, 2009, 2012; Boudet, Bugden, Zanocco, & Maibach, 2016; Greenberg, 2009; Michaud, Carlisle, & Smith, 2008). Generally, Americans assess perceived economic

benefits and environmental costs when establishing opinions towards new energy projects (Ansolabehere & Konisky, 2009).

Few studies have examined attitudes towards pipelines; much of the research on pipelines, as well as other unconventional energy developments, has relied on quantitative approaches. Research on attitudes towards new energy projects highlights the influence of other demographic, social, partisan, and ideological variables on attitudes (van der Horst, 2007; Wolsink, 2000). Gravelle and Lachapelle (2015) have proposed that the effect of spatial proximity on attitudes can be examined through NIMBY (“not in my backyard”), YIMBY (“yes in my backyard”), NIABY (“not in anybody’s backyard”) frameworks. With NIMBY, people oppose the siting of new developments near their homes and communities, but support or are indifferent to the same developments elsewhere (Devine-Wright, 2009). YIMBY describes an inverse NIMBY, where individuals support the local siting of projects for their local benefits, like jobs (Greenberg, 2009). NIABY describes attitudes that are against new developments anywhere, not just in one’s own backyard (Boudet, 2011; Greenberg, 2009). Unlike NIMBYism, which focuses on local opposition to a single project, NIABY describes a larger-scale opposition to a certain type of project (Boudet, 2011). NIABY can be seen in national infrastructure movements in the United States, including the anti-nuclear and anti-incineration movements, which both were effective in blocking new nuclear and incinerator developments (Boudet, 2011).

In the case of the Keystone XL pipeline, those living closest to the pipeline were more likely to support it than those further away because of perceived local benefits, like construction jobs (Gravelle & Lachapelle, 2015). In contrast, those furthest away from the pipeline largely experienced the costs of the pipeline, like increased greenhouse gas emissions and climate change impacts, and were more likely to oppose it (Gravelle & Lachapelle, 2015). Men and older Americans were more likely to support Keystone XL, whereas college educated people, women, and younger people were less likely to support it, given greater concern for its potential environmental impacts and marginal construction job opportunities for the college educated (Gravelle & Lachapelle, 2015). Moreover, those who understood climate change as a problem were less likely to support Keystone XL (Gravelle & Lachapelle, 2015). Democrats were less likely to support

Keystone XL, but were more likely to favor the Keystone XL pipeline regardless of distance. Democrats' support for the pipeline increased as distance to the pipeline decreased. These differences highlight the complexities of the NIMBY and YIMBY frameworks and the influence of variables, like partisanship, on attitudes more generally (Gravelle & Lachapelle, 2015). As a result, although there is not a significant ideological divide between Democrats and Republicans over Keystone XL near the proposed pipeline route, there is a significant ideological divide between Democrats and Republicans at a greater distance from the pipeline, indicating the validity of reverse NIMBY attitudes towards Keystone XL and similar energy projects (Gravelle & Lachapelle, 2015).

Attitudes Towards Energy Projects

Many variables explain attitudes towards new energy projects and developments. The views of many Americans are broadly influenced by perceived environmental harms; for example, most Americans oppose the local siting of coal, natural gas, and nuclear power because of their environmental impacts, but support wind power (Ansolabehere & Konisky, 2009, 2012). Spatial proximity also influences attitudes; for example, despite popular support for wind power, Americans are often hesitant to welcome local siting of such projects, even though they may support wind power developments elsewhere because of the environmental benefits associated with renewable energy (Ansolabehere & Konisky, 2009; Bell, Gray, Haggett, & Swaffield, 2013; van der Horst, 2007). NIMBY is often used to describe attitudes towards wind farms, electricity pylons, offshore oil drilling, pipelines, power plants, liquified natural gas, landfills, incinerators, and waste sites (Ansolabehere & Konisky, 2009; Boudet, 2011; Devine-Wright, 2009; Gravelle & Lachapelle, 2015; Greenberg, 2009; Johnson & Scicchitano, 2012; Michaud et al., 2008; Rasmussen, 1992). Since Americans support the local siting of wind power more than other energy projects, the effect and influence of NIMBY on attitudes towards new energy projects may vary depending on the type of energy project and its perceived harms and benefits (Ansolabehere & Konisky, 2009, 2012). In California, local resistance to proposed offshore oil drilling from 1998 to 2002 involved protests near proposed oil platforms (Michaud et al., 2008). However, these protests were not necessarily indicative of NIMBY views of local residents, as protestors may not necessarily live locally

(Michaud et al., 2008). Rather, protestors were likely motivated by their environmentalism, not NIMBYism, to protest near proposed platforms (Michaud et al., 2008).

The development of new nuclear facilities is opposed by the majority of Americans (Ansolabehere & Konisky, 2009), but locals may not necessarily exhibit a NIMBY reaction to new plants, and can be open-minded towards the local siting of nuclear facilities (Greenberg, 2009). Similarly, in evaluating proposed new power plants, local attitudes may be more nuanced than NIMBY, as individuals weigh environmental costs and economic benefits when developing opinions towards new facilities, and may oppose or support projects on a case-by-case basis (Ansolabehere & Konisky, 2009).

Research into the relationship of proximity to hydraulic fracking (Boudet et al., 2018) and familiarity with and support of hydraulic fracking throughout the United States highlights YIMBY attitudes. In a study of the effect of geographic proximity to unconventional oil and gas development on public support for hydraulic fracturing in the United States, people living closer to unconventional oil and gas wells were more familiar with and supportive of hydraulic fracking, because they perceived positive economic benefits from this oil and gas development.

Like the Keystone XL pipeline, Enbridge's Northern Gateway pipeline also highlighted the influence of YIMBY on proponents' attitudes. The Northern Gateway pipeline in Canada would have transported diluted bitumen from the tar sands in Alberta to the Pacific Coast of British Columbia (McCreary & Milligan, 2014). People living closest to the tar sands in Alberta stood to gain the most economically from the Northern Gateway pipeline, and, as a result, they tended to support the Northern Gateway pipeline more than those in British Columbia, who faced greater environmental risks because the majority of the pipeline route, its terminals, and tanker traffic would lie within British Columbia, not Alberta (Axsen, 2014). In this case, perceived environmental harms outweighed economic benefits for those in British Columbia. In contrast, many opponents of Keystone XL rallied around a NIABY, or "Not in anyone's backyard," framework, attempting to create solidarity and action on climate by opposing oil pipeline projects no matter their location (Ordner, 2017).

Van der Horst (2007) found that spatial proximity influences attitudes to proposed developments broadly, but local context and “value” of the land can alter the influence of NIMBY on attitudes. In this case, people who live in stigmatized areas, with existing pollution, industry, or development projects, are less likely to oppose new projects, especially those that are environmentally friendly, like wind farms (van der Horst, 2007). On the other hand, people who derive a strong sense of their identity from a landscape not impacted by industrial sites are more likely to resist new projects (van der Horst, 2007). Thus, Devine-Wright (2005) propose a framework that extends beyond NIMBY and incorporates social and environmental psychological theory to identify independent variables found to influence attitudes towards new projects, specifically wind energy projects, like physical, contextual, political, socio-economic, social, local and personal aspects (Devine-Wright, 2005).

Partisanship, ideology, and core values are also indicative of attitudes towards energy projects and policy (Ceccoli & College, 2018). Liberals who opposed Keystone XL primarily did so with the belief that they were protecting the environment and Earth, while conservatives felt supporting the pipeline was a means to promote the rights of a corporation and generate economic opportunity (Frimer & Tell, 2017). In this way, Keystone XL exemplified contemporary political polarization. Ideology, informed by what individuals value intrinsically, influences the formation of opinions (Gravelle & Lachapelle, 2015; Lachapelle, Montpetit, & Gauvin, 2014).

Core values about place are also important. In a 2011 study of place attachment and public acceptance of tidal energy in Northern Ireland, place attachment predicted positive acceptance of new tidal energy project because the project was perceived to enhance, rather than disrupt place attachments (Devine-Wright, 2011). Place attachment can be understood as the process of becoming attached to a place, or having a positive, emotional connection with a certain area, such as the home (Devine-Wright, 2009). If new energy projects are seen to improve a place, people are more likely to favor them (Devine-Wright, 2011; Devine-Wright & Batel, 2017).

In considering new energy development, some people are willing to take on more risk for the promise of a job than others (Weiner, Mackinnon, & Greenberg, 2013). Generally, men, especially white men, are more willing to accept a wide range of risks

relating to the environment; and public than other adults (McCright & Dunlap, 2011; Weiner et al., 2013). In contrast, women and people of color perceive greater risks than white men, and are more likely to oppose new projects that may pose a degree of risk, environmentally, socially, or economically (Finucane, Slovic, Mertz, Flynn, & Satterfield, 2000; Flynn, Slovic, & Mertz, 1994). However, in areas where environmental hazards are present, this “gender gap” converges, and men and women are both more likely to have a lower tolerance for environmental risk (Weiner et al., 2013).

Minnesota L3R Pipeline

Enbridge Energy is a multinational energy transportation company headquartered in Calgary, Alberta, Canada. Operating mainly in North America, Enbridge transports almost two-thirds of Canada’s crude oil exports to the United States, as well as about 20 percent of the natural gas consumed in the United States (Enbridge Inc., 2019). Currently, the company has about 17,035 miles of active pipe, one of the largest crude oil and liquids transportation systems in the world (Enbridge Inc., 2019). Enbridge’s U.S. Mainline System crosses northern Minnesota, and includes the existing Line 3 pipeline, as well as Lines 1, 2B, 4, and 67 (Figure 1) (Enbridge Inc., 2019). From the Clearbrook terminal in northwestern Minnesota, the U.S. Mainline System pipelines travel to Superior, Wisconsin, where oil is transferred to other pipelines bound for Chicago, Michigan, Canada, or the Gulf of Mexico or is shipped via Lake Superior or refined at the Husky Refinery (Enbridge Inc., 2019). Additionally, at the Clearbrook terminal, Enbridge transfers approximately 400,000 barrels per day (bpd) to the Minnesota Pipeline Company, providing oil to two petroleum refineries in the Twin Cities, the Flint Hills Pine Bend Refinery and St. Paul Park Refinery (The Minnesota Department of Commerce, 2018b). At present, Enbridge’s U.S. Mainline System ships around 2.4 million barrels of crude oil across northern Minnesota every day, and almost all the heavy crude refineries in the Upper Midwest receive oil from Enbridge’s U.S. Mainline System, either directly or indirectly (The Minnesota Department of Commerce, 2018b).

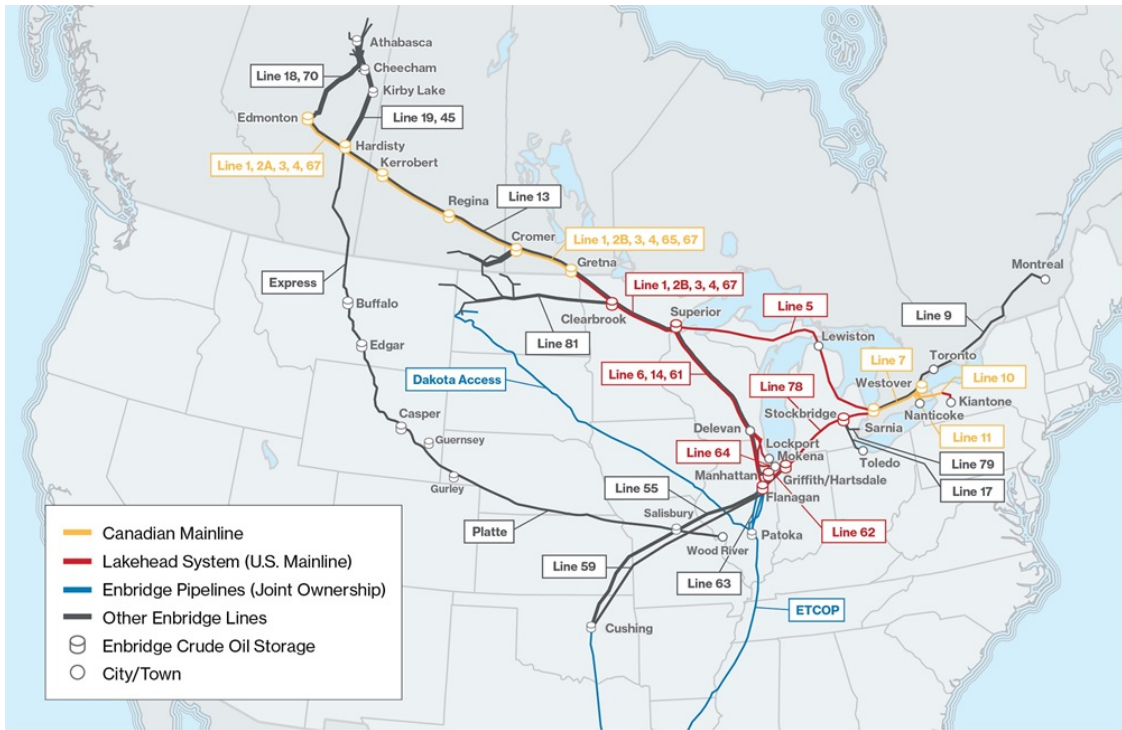


Figure 1. Enbridge’s North American Pipeline Network (Enbridge, 2019)

One recently proposed pipeline is the Enbridge Line 3 Replacement pipeline (L3R), a 1,097-mile-long line that would stretch from the Tar Sands in Alberta, Canada to the Enbridge terminal facility in Superior, WI, crossing Canada, North Dakota, Minnesota, and Wisconsin and cost \$2.6 billion dollars (Figure 2). The majority of the U.S. portion of the line (337 miles) will be in Minnesota (Enbridge, 2018). Proposed in 2015 for completion by 2019, the pipeline is intended to replace Enbridge’s existing Line 3 pipeline, built in the 1960s. This pipeline is old, deteriorating, and running at less than full capacity (The Minnesota Public Utilities Commission, n.d.-b). Like the Keystone XL and Dakota Access pipelines, the L3R pipeline is also controversial, and there are complex reasons people support and oppose the project.

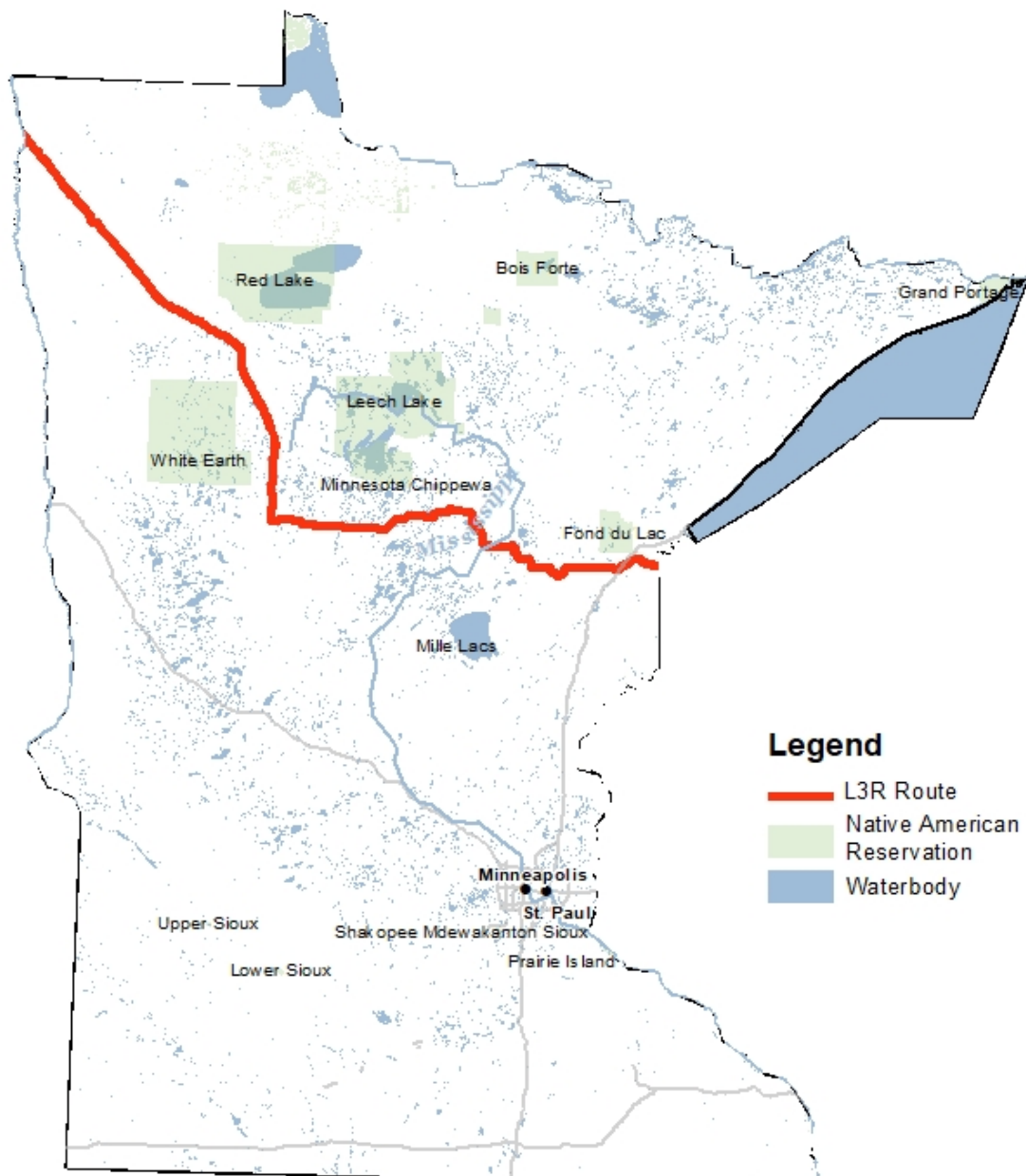


Figure 2. L3R in Minnesota (Catherine Fraser, 2019)

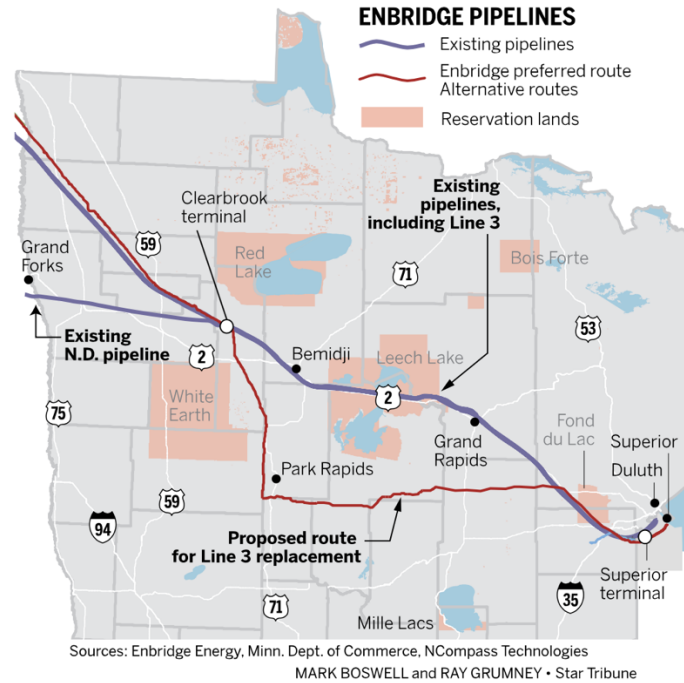


Figure 3. L3R in northern Minnesota (Boswell & Grumney, 2018)

The new pipeline would be 36 inches in diameter and would transport, on average, 760,000 barrels per day (bpd) of crude oil. The existing Line 3, which is 34 inches in diameter and transports 390,000 bpd, would be abandoned in place (The Minnesota Department of Commerce, 2018a). From the North Dakota-Minnesota border to the Enbridge’s terminal in Clearbrook, Minnesota, L3R would mirror the existing Line 3 corridor (The Minnesota Department of Commerce, 2018a). After the Clearbrook terminal, L3R would establish a new corridor (Figure 3). Most of the new corridor runs along existing rights-of-way for transmission lines and roads (The Minnesota Department of Commerce, 2018b).

From Clearbrook and just south of Red Lake Reservation, L3R would turn sharply southward, hugging the eastern border of the White Earth Reservation, until it nears the towns Park Rapids and Menahga, where it turns sharply again and heads east just south of the Leech Lake Reservation and north of Mille Lacs Reservation until it rejoins the current corridor to pass through the Fond du Lac Reservation near Carlton, Minnesota and enters into Wisconsin.

Enbridge’s existing Line 3 lies within Enbridge’s U.S. Mainline System, which crosses Leech Lake Reservation and the Fond du Lac Reservation, and, although L3R

establishes a new corridor outside of the Mainline System and avoids these reservations, it would still cross a contested part of White Earth Reservation and ceded territory, both of which tribal members use and value for hunting, fishing, and gathering (The Minnesota Department of Commerce, 2018b).

L3R would transport crude oil from the tar sands in Alberta, Canada. The type of oil L3R would transport is diluted bitumen, also known as “DilBit,” which is a blend of raw bitumen and natural gas liquid condensate that is highly corrosive, acidic, and volatile, and thus has an increased spill risk (Swift, Casey-Lefkowitz, & Shope, 2011, 3). As one report details, “tar sands extraction in Canada destroys Boreal forests and wetlands, causes high levels of greenhouse gas pollution, and leaves behind immense lakes of toxic waste” (Swift et al., 2011, p. 3). In comparison to conventional oil production, tar sands oil production generates three times the amount of greenhouse gas emissions (Clarke, 2009). In addition to its greenhouse gas emissions, tar sands oil extraction has increased levels of contaminants in water and sediment nearby, which pose a threat to ecosystem and human health (Timoney & Lee, 2009). Impacts of tar sands extraction are the greatest for indigenous groups living near the extraction zone, whose treaty rights, water, culture, and land are negatively affected by oil production (Preston, 2013).

In 2013, Enbridge applied for a new pipeline, called the Sandpiper. The Sandpiper pipeline was intended to share a corridor with L3R, which Enbridge proposed in 2015 (Hughlett, 2016). The Sandpiper would have transported oil from North Dakota’s Bakken oil fields across Minnesota to Superior, Wisconsin (Hughlett, 2016). In 2014, Friends of the Headwaters, a local advocacy group dedicated to protecting Minnesota’s natural resources, argued in front of the Minnesota Court of Appeals that an environmental impact statement (EIS) was required under Minnesota law for the Sandpiper pipeline (Appeals, 2015). In 2015, in a decision later upheld by the Minnesota Supreme Court, the Minnesota Court of Appeals ruled in favor of Friends of the Headwaters, requiring an EIS for Sandpiper (Friends of the Headwaters, n.d.). Eventually, in 2016, Enbridge withdrew its plans for Sandpiper, investing in the Dakota Access Pipeline instead and doubling down on its efforts to get approval for L3R (Hughlett, 2016). The Court of

Appeals' ruling in the Sandpiper case set a precedent that required an EIS for future pipeline projects, including L3R, in Minnesota.

In November of 2016, Greenpeace published a report on Enbridge's spill history with an eye towards the proposed L3R pipeline (Donaghy, 2016). The report highlights Enbridge's 307 reported hazardous spills from 2002 to 2018, an average of one incident every 20 days. From 2002-2018, these spills released 66,059 barrels of hazardous liquid (Donaghy, 2016). Further, in Minnesota alone, 132 hazardous liquid incidents have been reported since 2002 up to 2018 from seven pipeline operators, including Enbridge (Donaghy, 2016). Out of these 132 spills, 17 were larger than 50 barrels (Donaghy, 2016). The existing Line 3 pipeline was responsible for the largest inland oil spill in the U.S. on March 3, 1991, when 40,000 barrels spilled in Grand Rapids, Minnesota (Donaghy, 2016). More recently, in 2010 Enbridge was responsible for a spill of 20,000 barrels of tar sands oil into the Kalamazoo River in Michigan when their Line 6B ruptured. (Donaghy, 2016). The spill launched a lengthy and costly clean-up of the Kalamazoo River that required the dredging of the river bottom because the crude oil sank and impacted the water, wildlife, ecosystem, and recreation (Donaghy, 2016). In 2016, Enbridge settled with the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) for \$177 million dollars for the Kalamazoo River spill and another spill near Romeoville, Illinois (Donaghy, 2016). Of the \$177 million, \$61 million was for Clean Water Act fines, and the settlement marked the largest Clean Water Act fine for an inland oil spill in U.S. history (Donaghy, 2016). The report found that 73 of Enbridge's total spills were on equipment that had been installed in the last 10 years, and the report concluded Enbridge's newer pipelines and equipment were still highly vulnerable to spills and incidents, and age of the pipeline should not be the only factor considered when assessing pipeline safety (Donaghy, 2016).

In recent years, Enbridge has taken the State of Minnesota to court, claiming that the state overvalued their pipeline system, and thus that the company had been overtaxed (Hughlett, 2018b). In Minnesota, pipelines are assessed by the state, not the counties, and, for many northern Minnesota counties, Enbridge is responsible for a significant portion of the tax base (Hughlett, 2018b). In May of 2018, a Minnesota Tax Court judge ruled in favor of Enbridge, stating that the Minnesota Department of Revenue overvalued

Enbridge's pipeline system by \$2.2 billion in 2014, by \$880 million in 2013, and by \$156 million in 2012 (Hughlett, 2018b). This ruling affected the counties of Aitkin, Beltrami, Carlton, Cass, Clearwater, Hubbard, Itasca, Kittson, Marshall, Pennington, Polk, Red Lake, and St. Louis, all in northern Minnesota (Hughlett, 2018b). Clearwater and Red Lake counties could have to refund Enbridge "more money than they raise annually from all their taxpayers" (Hughlett, 2018b). Another, Marshall County, has a population of approximately 9,500 people, and Enbridge is their largest taxpayer (Hughlett, 2018b). In some of these counties, local governments and schools could be affected by the lawsuits, as they are reliant on tax dollars (Hughlett, 2018b). Some counties have been lobbying at the state level for action on pipeline taxes, asking for the state to refund Enbridge, to allow counties to pay back Enbridge over several years, or to improve the tax assessment system (Hughlett, 2018b). Currently, Enbridge is also suing the State of Minnesota for the tax years 2015, 2016, and 2017, although those cases have yet to be heard as of March of 2019 (Hughlett, 2018b, 2019d). Enbridge points to the proposed L3R as a means to lessen the impact of their lawsuits on Minnesota counties, stating that L3R could generate about \$20 million in property taxes every year (Hughlett, 2018b). Perhaps significantly, Enbridge spent the highest sum of money on lobbying in Minnesota in 2018, nearly \$11.1 million, most of which was for advocating in front of the Public Utilities Commission (PUC) for L3R (Coolican, 2019).

Permitting Process in Minnesota

In order to construct a pipeline in Minnesota, pipeline companies are required to receive two main approvals from the Minnesota PUC, a Certificate of Need (CN) and a route permit, as well as 29 additional permits from local, state, and federal governments, including permits from the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, the Minnesota Department of Natural Resources, and the Minnesota Pollution Control Agency (Appendix A).

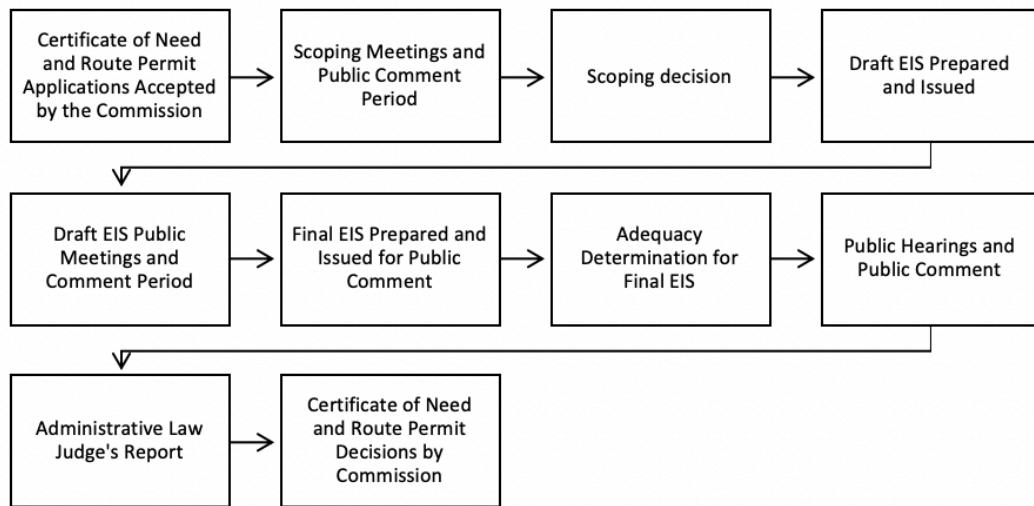


Figure 4. Pipeline Permitting Process in Minnesota (The State of Minnesota, n.d.)

The Minnesota PUC is “a quasi-judicial body whose authority, powers and functions resemble those of a court or a judge” that makes decisions on regulating and approving utilities, like oil pipelines, under set guidelines (The Minnesota Public Utilities Commission, n.d.-a). As required by state law (Minnesota Statute 216B.2421), Enbridge must receive a Certificate of Need (CN) from the Minnesota PUC approval of the pipeline route. After Enbridge filed its applications for a CN and a route permit in April of 2015, staff of the PUC and the Department of Commerce held public information meetings in 10 counties along the proposed route of L3R and a 72-day comment period was opened to allow public comment on the potential impacts of L3R and alternative routes to be considered alongside Enbridge’s preferred route (The Minnesota Public Utilities Commission, n.d.-b).

The Minnesota Court of Appeals required an EIS for Enbridge’s proposed Sandpiper pipeline, which would have transported oil from the North Dakota Bakken Fields (The Minnesota Public Utilities Commission, n.d.-b). This decision set a precedent for future pipelines and ensured that an EIS had to be completed for L3R.

L3R Environmental Impact Statement

The Minnesota Environmental Policy Act (MEPA) requires an Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) for projects like L3R, thus the PUC authorized the Minnesota Department of Commerce’s Energy Environmental Review and Analysis (EERA) staff to

create an EIS in conjunction with the Minnesota Department of Natural Resources (DNR) and the Minnesota Pollution Control Agency (MPCA) for L3R in 2015 following Enbridge's application. In order to examine the effect of approving or denying a CN for Enbridge, the EIS evaluates the impact of the existing Line 3, other pipelines, and pipeline alternatives, like transportation of oil by rail or truck. If the CN is approved, the PUC then decides whether or not to approve a route permit by examining Enbridge's preferred route and four other route alternatives to determine which route is in the best interest of the state. If the route permit is granted to Enbridge by the PUC, Enbridge gains the right of eminent domain should they need to acquire easements to build L3R. However, on tribal and federal lands, Enbridge must use amicable agreements, voluntary agreements between both parties, to gain right-of-way for L3R, as eminent domain cannot be used on these lands (The Minnesota Department of Commerce, 2018b).

In examining the various alternative routes for L3R, the EIS found continued operation of the existing Line 3 would help mitigate impacts and risk associated with a new pipeline, including habitat fragmentation and increased vulnerability of new areas to a potential oil spill. However, continued use of the existing Line 3 would impact tribal communities, particularly Leech Lake and Fond du Lac Reservations, of which it crosses both, given its deteriorating conditions. Further, in comments submitted during the EIS process, tribal members highlighted how all proposed routes for L3R, including in-trench replacement of the existing Line 3, would negatively impact the mental, spiritual, and physical health of Native American groups. Regarding environmental justice, the EIS concludes that L3R would have an adverse impact on Native American groups no matter which route is ultimately selected for L3R from North Dakota to Superior, Wisconsin, even if the route does not cross near residences or reservations (The Minnesota Department of Commerce, 2018b).

The EIS also evaluated and compared the risks of an oil spill for pipelines, trucks, and rail, and found that trucks and trains pose a greater risk of small to medium spills; while pipelines are less likely to have spills overall. However, when pipeline spills occur, these are more likely to be large. Moreover, pipeline spill risk increases as the length of the pipeline increases (The Minnesota Department of Commerce, 2018b).

In terms of the environment, the EIS concluded that Enbridge's preferred route would impact watersheds in northern Minnesota, which are generally some of the highest quality in the state. Overall, in terms of surface water, L3R would have the greatest impacts on wild rice lakes and trout streams. Compared with other states, Minnesota has the greatest acreage of natural wild rice, and wild rice is socially, economically, and culturally significant for native and non-native communities in northern Minnesota. Moreover, L3R would have lesser, but still significant, impacts on lakes of biological significance and tullibee (cisco) lakes, which contain fish central to watershed and lake ecosystems. The EIS also examined the potential impacts on groundwater, finding that rail and truck alternatives pose a greater risk to groundwater than a pipeline, as they would cross the largest acreage of high water table vulnerability areas and wellhead protection areas. However, the risks of L3R to Minnesota's surface and ground water still would remain significant. Additionally, L3R would damage forests and wildlife habitat along its right-of-way, given the 120-foot-wide construction work area that would be cleared for construction and maintenance, permanently impacting around 2,202 acres of forest and woody wetlands (The Minnesota Department of Commerce, 2018c).

The EIS examined the impacts of L3R on greenhouse gases (GHG) and climate change throughout the lifecycle of the oil it would transport. In terms of direct emissions, L3R would generate GHG emissions from combustion and operation, and it would contribute indirect GHG emissions through electricity generation, oil production, and oil consumption. The EIS offered an estimate that Enbridge's preferred route of L3R would generate \$287 billion dollars of carbon costs for incremental life-cycle GHG emissions over its first 30 years, and an annual life-cycle greenhouse gas emission of 273.5 million tons of carbon dioxide. In addition, climate change could amplify the impacts of the project, and vice versa, as climate change could impact the project with increasing and intensifying weather events that could damage pipeline infrastructure and facilities, while influencing the behavior of oil following a spill and potentially inhibiting clean-up operations (The Minnesota Department of Commerce, 2018b).

The EIS goes on to discuss the advantages and disadvantages of removing the existing Line 3 from its corridor, abandoning it in place, or replacing it in-trench with L3R. Removing the existing Line 3 poses threats to other lines in the same corridor, and

could damage operating pipelines. On the other hand, abandoning it in place could allow for undiscovered legacy contamination around the existing Line 3 and continued hazards associated with an aging pipeline. Additionally, if existing Line 3 is replaced in-trench by L3R, there are concerns that removal and replacement of the existing line could be challenging and pose serious safety risks, given the pipelines surrounding it. Moreover, in-trench replacement would be hindered, as Native American groups, specifically the Leech Lake Band of Ojibwe and the Fond du Lac Band of Lake Superior Chippewa, strongly oppose granting Enbridge additional long-term land use approvals. The Revised Final EIS was published on February 12, 2018 (The Minnesota Department of Commerce, 2018a). The EIS faced sharp criticism for lacking a cultural impact assessment of the pipeline on indigenous groups (Hughlett, 2018a). In response, the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe and Honor the Earth, in collaboration with other individuals from the six bands of the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe, began a cultural impact assessment of their own following the publication of the EIS (The Minnesota Chippewa Tribe & Honor the Earth, 2019).

Administrative Law Judge Findings

The Administrative Law Judge (ALJ) issued her Findings of Fact, Conclusions of Law, and Recommendation (ALJ Report), recommending in-trench replacement of the existing Line 3 in April of 2018. Judge Ann C. O'Reilly described L3R as an entirely new pipeline that would open a new corridor in northern Minnesota separate from Enbridge's Mainline System, despite L3R being labeled as a replacement project. Even if L3R is approved, Enbridge's other 5 lines will continue to run through Leech Lake and Fond du Lac Reservations and deliver oil to Minnesota and other states. Judge O'Reilly found that replacing Line 3 is a reasonable action, as it is aging and in need of significant repair. Additionally, her report described how "apportionment" currently exists on the Enbridge Mainline System for heavy crude oil, meaning that Canadian oil shippers who use Enbridge's Mainline System cannot currently ship all of the crude they seek to export into the United States. Therefore, Judge O'Reilly found that L3R could remedy integrity issues with the existing Line 3 and help meet the shipping demands of Canadian oil producers (State of Minnesota Office of Administrative Hearings, 2018).

Her report also pointed out that Minnesota refiners are receiving sufficient amounts of oil to meet production needs, and denial of L3R would not negatively impact Minnesota refiners, although Minnesota and regional refineries may benefit from increased access to crude oil. Since an increase in supply options would likely yield benefits to the people of Minnesota as consumers of refined petroleum products, Judge O'Reilly concluded that Enbridge had met its burden of proof in establishing a need for L3R. Despite this, her report concludes that the costs of L3R for Minnesota may outweigh its benefits. Judge O'Reilly describes her support for in-trench replacement of the existing Line 3 with L3R, as it allows for Minnesota to benefit from the project, while mitigating the spill risk of the existing Line 3 and the impacts of creating a new oil pipeline corridor. Further, her report points out that Enbridge's easements on the land it currently runs its Mainline corridor will expire in 2029, and a new L3R corridor could enable the relocation of Enbridge's Mainline system in the future (State of Minnesota Office of Administrative Hearings, 2018).

Finally, Judge O'Reilly recommends to the PUC that they grant Enbridge's application for a CN for L3R only if they select in-trench replacement of the existing Line 3 with L3R. Her recommendation did not acknowledge the potential risks, as described in the EIS, of damaging other pipelines in the same corridor in replacing the existing Line 3 in-trench. Counter Judge O'Reilly's recommendation, the PUC granted a CN and route permit along the Enbridge's Preferred Route on June 28, 2018, with official commission orders for the CN in September of 2018 and the route permit in October of 2018 (The Minnesota Public Utilities Commission, n.d.-b).

L3R Status as of 2019

Following the PUC's 5-0 approval of Enbridge's preferred route in June of 2018, multiple parties appealed the decision, including Honor the Earth, the Sierra Club, the White Earth Band of Ojibwe, the Red Lake Band of Ojibwe, and Friends of the Headwaters in December of 2018, arguing that a required long-range oil forecast was not included adequately by Enbridge (Hughlett, 2018e). A few days later, the Minnesota Commerce Department, an arm of the executive branch that represents the public interest before the PUC, also appealed the PUC's decision. Like the other groups, the Department of Commerce is arguing that the PUC approved L3R even though Enbridge "hadn't filed

an adequate long-term oil demand forecast as required under state law” (Hughlett, 2018f). Then-Governor Mark Dayton, a Democrat, stated his support for the appeal:

“I strongly support my Commerce Department’s appeal of the Public Utilities Commission’s Order...Enbridge failed to provide a future demand forecast for its product, which is required by state law. Instead, the company presented its analysis of the future oil supply from Canadian tar sands extractions” (Hughlett, 2018f).

Dayton’s second term as governor ended in January of 2019, and Democrat Tim Walz succeeded Dayton after in January. Following the change in administration, Governor Walz announced that his Commerce Department was reviewing its appeal of the PUC’s decision on L3R (Hughlett, 2019a). One month later, in early February 2019, Walz announced that the state would continue its appeal of the PUC’s approval of L3R (Hughlett, 2019b). Walz had supported the PUC’s approval of L3R before his election. Following his recent renewal of the Commerce Department’s appeal, Walz’s current position remains unclear, especially since his Lieutenant Governor, Peggy Flanagan, is a former state representative who fought against L3R during her time in the Legislature and is a member of the White Earth Band of Ojibwe (Hughlett, 2019a, 2019b). On March 2, 2019, Enbridge announced that L3R will be delayed a year, as the permitting process is taking longer than expected, given the many permits required and the appeals by various groups and the Commerce Department (Bloomberg News & Hughlett, 2019). Moving forward, the resolution of the various appeals to the PUC’s decision will be critical in determining the future of the L3R project.

Thesis Overview

In this thesis, I use a qualitative approach to learn more about attitudes towards Enbridge’s proposed L3R. In particular, I ask: (1) What are concerns residents of Minnesota have about the proposed L3R? (2) How do these attitudes fit into existing frameworks for understanding attitudes towards energy projects? (3) How do these attitudes reflect broader themes and divisions in Minnesota and the United States? To answer these questions, I first completed a review of the literature on attitudes towards energy projects and drivers of natural resource-based conflict in the United States. Second, I conducted 16 semi-structured interviews from December of 2018 to April of 2019 with stakeholders involved in the L3R pipeline debate. During January of 2019, I travelled along the pipeline route and conducted interviews in person; I completed the

remaining interviews by phone. In addition to interviews, I examined newspaper articles, opinion pieces, court cases, court filings, and other documents to gather additional attitudes towards L3R.

METHODS

From December 2018 to April 2019, I conducted 16 interviews with stakeholders involved with the Enbridge Line 3 Replacement Pipeline debate (Table 1, Figure 5). I identified interviewees through news articles and legal documents on the pipeline project and by reaching out to key stakeholders. I gained IRB approval through Colby College to conduct these interviews (IRB #2018-186), and each interviewee received an IRB consent form (Appendix B), asking for permission to record the interview (recordings were not made public) and to use their name and organization name in this paper. If interviewees did not wish to be identified by name or organization, “anonymous” is used to describe them and the organization they are affiliated with. A common set of open-ended interview questions was used for each interview (Appendix C), although some interviewees chose to discuss certain topics more than others. In December and January, I spent time in Minnesota conducting some of the interviews in-person and travelling the proposed pipeline route by car to see the landscape and discuss the pipeline with key stakeholders. The rest of the interviews were conducted by phone. In addition to interviews, other sources, including newspaper articles, opinion pieces, court documents, and court filings, were compiled to further examine attitudes towards L3R (Table 2). These sources were identified through search engines, the PUC filings webpage, and local newspapers, and were helpful in gathering perspectives from those unavailable for interview or unresponsive to interview requests.

The transcriptions of my interviews were examined and themes were identified with three main categories, including the environment, the economy, and indigenous rights. Content analysis coding of transcribed interviews allowed common themes and patterns to emerge across interviews. In addition to the three main themes, partisan affiliation, attitudes towards Enbridge, and reflections on the L3R debate were also relevant topics and themes in interviews.

I created descriptive maps of the pipeline route in Minnesota using ArcGIS mapping software. Data and layers for the map were obtained from the Minnesota Geospatial Commons webpage, the Minnesota Department of Commerce, U.S. Census, and ESRI data. These maps help showcase the landscape of northern Minnesota along L3R’s right of way and the location of interviewees across Minnesota.

Table 1. List of interviewees, their affiliated organizations, and their stance on L3R

Name	Organization	Support (Y/N)
Akilah Sanders-Reed	Youth Climate Intervenors	N
Andy Pearson	MN350.org	N
Cathy Polasky	Office of Governor Dayton	N
Mary Ackerman	Northern Water Alliance	N
Jim Reents	Northern Water Alliance	N
Reed Olson	Beltrami County	N
Scott Russell	Sierra Club	N
Tom Watson	Whitefish Area Property Owners Association	N
Bradley Harrington	Mille Lacs Band of Ojibwe	N
Anonymous	White Earth Band of Ojibwe	N
Anonymous	Anonymous	N
Gary Peterson	Carlton County	Y
Jim Lucachick	Beltrami County	Y
Anne Marcotte	Aitkin County	Y
Kevin Pranis	LiUNA	Y
Judge James LaFave	Office of Administrative Hearings	-

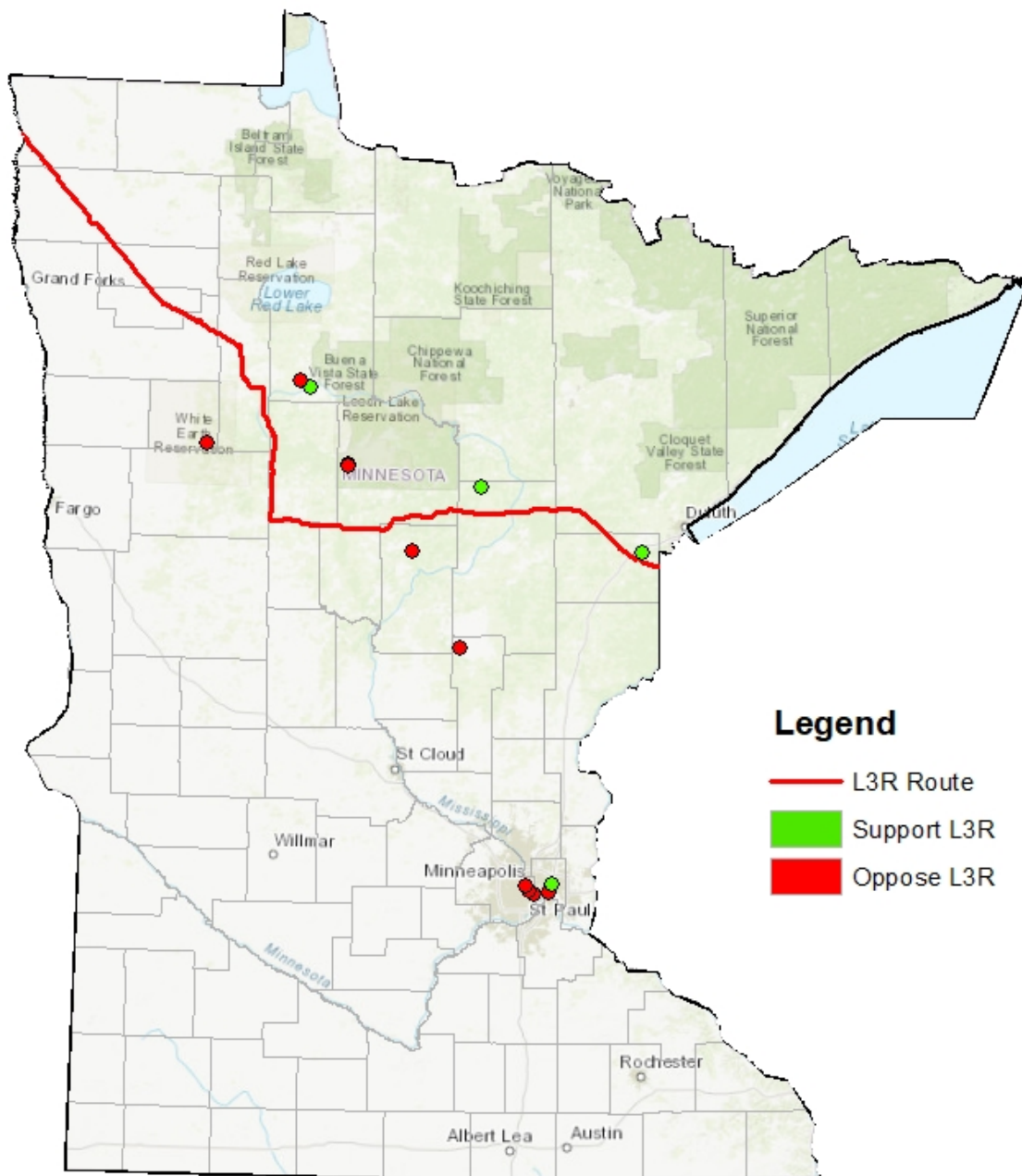


Figure 5. Locations of Interviewees (Catherine Fraser, 2019)

Table 2. List of individuals referenced from non-interview sources

Name	Affiliation	Support (Y/N)	Source
Winona LaDuke	Honor the Earth	N	News article
Rose Whipple	Youth Climate Intervenors	N	News article
Scott Strand	Friends of the Headwaters	N	News article
Peggy Flanagan	Minnesota Lieutenant Governor	N	News article
Faron Jackson, Sr.	Leech Lake Band of Ojibwe	N	Op-ed
Mary Kunesh-Podein	State Representative	N	News article
Harvey Goodsky	Wild Rice Harvester	N	News article
Joe Plumer	White Earth Nation	N	News article, court filing
Jason Barber	Wild Rice Harvester	N	News article
-	Minnesota Faith Leaders	N	Sign-on letter
Renee Gurneau	Indigenous Women's Rights Activist	N	News article
Simone Senogles	Indigenous Environmental Network	N	News article
Ray Wuolo	Enbridge	Y	News article
Paul Eberth	Enbridge	Y	News article
Al Monaco	Enbridge	Y	News article
Tim Mahoney	State Representative	Y	News article
Katie Sieben	PUC Commissioner	Y	News article
Nancy Lange	PUC Chairwoman	Y	News article
Collin Peterson	United States Congressman	Y	Op-ed
Rick Nolan	United States Congressman	Y	Op-ed
Tom Emmer	United States Congressman	Y	Op-ed

RESULTS

My interviews suggest that attitudes towards the pipeline highlight its ability to generate conflict. Out of 16 people interviewed, 4 were in support of the pipeline, all county commissioners or labor union affiliates. Three major themes appeared across interviews: the environment, the economy, and indigenous rights. Additional themes emerged from some interviews, including ideas about the tar sands in Alberta, Enbridge, and oil independence. These additional themes are highlighted later in this section, as well as interviewees' perceptions of the L3R debate, themselves, and other people involved in opposing or supporting the pipeline.

The Environment

Pipeline Opponents

The environment was described as one of the most important themes by both proponents and opponents of the pipeline. All opponents of the pipeline expressed concern about the environmental impacts of L3R, discussing the pipeline's potential impact on water, land, and climate change from its construction and spills, and emissions from the oil it would transport. Many opponents discussed how the pipeline would cross the Mississippi River twice, once near its headwaters, as well as crossing 242 water bodies (The Minnesota Department of Commerce, 2018a). Opponents described L3R's route as crossing some of the areas with the highest water quality in Minnesota, areas where water bodies are interconnected and a spill could easily spread. Throughout interviews, rhetoric and themes of "water is life" and "water protectors" was common, reminiscent of that at Standing Rock during the fight over the Dakota Access pipeline. Winona LaDuke, founder of Honor the Earth and a member of White Earth Nation, welcomed water protectors and indigenous groups to Minnesota, calling on them to "speak for the water for future generations" in the *StarTribune* (Hughlett, 2017a, 2018c).

Similarly, in a sign-on letter¹ opposing the pipeline, faith leaders described their commitment to the sanctity of water:

“At Standing Rock, the world was reminded of the fundamental truth that water is life. People of faith know this deeply—our connection to creation is not simply as consumers of it. It is a sacred duty to protect life on Earth for its own sake” (MNIPL, 2018).

Many opponents brought up potential impacts on wild rice in northern Minnesota because there are 20 wild rice lakes within 1 mile of L3R’s right of way (MN350.org, 2019). In interviews and newspaper articles, indigenous people described the importance of wild rice to Anishinaabe people in Minnesota, often highlighting how wild rice is what makes Minnesota home. Joe Plumber, an attorney for the White Earth Nation, described to the *StarTribune* that wild rice as the reason some Native Americans ended up in the area, for “the prophecies said we needed to go where the food grows on the water” (Hughlett, 2017c). Harvey Goodsky, a wild rice harvester on Rice Lake, described L3R as a frightening prospect that would harm fragile wild rice, stating we’d be counting the days until there’s a spill,” for “this is home for us, and this the most important place for us” (Hughlett, 2017c). The cultural importance of wild rice to Native Americans is clear, and concerns for wild rice were repeatedly expressed by opponents.

Opponents pointed to the estimated climate cost of L3R, providing a figure of \$287 billion dollars in climate costs over the first 30 years of the pipeline’s existence (The Minnesota Department of Commerce, 2018a). They also frequently described L3R as a 50-year investment in fossil fuel infrastructure. Younger activists generally stressed climate impacts more than older individuals. One group, the Youth Climate Intervenor (YCI), is particularly interested in the climate impacts of L3R. According to their Facebook page, they are “an unaffiliated group of 13 young people, all under the age of 25, who have banded together to oppose Enbridge’s Line 3 tar sands oil pipeline replacement.” Youth Intervenor Akilah Sanders-Reed described how the climate crisis is particularly threatening to young people, who will experience the impacts of climate

¹ The sign on letter was signed by leaders from many religious traditions, including rabbis, imams, priests, pastors, deacons, elders, and others, along with other people of faith and conscience who oppose L3R (MNIPL, 2018).

change, like increased droughts, storms, flooding, food prices, disease, and pests, to a greater degree than older generations.

Additionally, the sign-on letter by faith leaders around the state described the climate justice implications of L3R:

“Even if there were no spills (an implausible outcome), this pipeline would be a massive new investment in fossil-fuel infrastructure at a time when the threat of climate change requires a new direction. Climate change poses a grave threat to Minnesota’s people and ecosystems. Worse, climate change disproportionately harms poor people, Indigenous people and people of color.” (MNIPL, 2018)

Across interviews, the environment was consistently a top concern for pipeline opponents.

Most opponents of the pipeline expressed attitudes of NIABY, not wanting the pipeline anywhere, given its environmental and climate costs. Andy Pearson of MN350.org described his work against pipelines in Minnesota and regionally, stating “I fight pipelines.” For many younger environmentalists, like Andy Pearson and Akilah Sanders-Reed, the pipeline is symbolic of a 50-year investment in fossil fuels, and a continuation of environmental and human exploitation, especially that of indigenous groups. Akilah Sanders-Reed described her view: “You can’t keep...making 60 year-long investments in a fuel source that we needed to have phased out 10 years ago, you just can’t do that.” One anonymous, young activist discussed how the pipeline is symbolic of “this ongoing...taking from the Earth, and this continued...hundreds-of-years’-worth of exploitation and...bulldozing through indigenous land;” and that, ultimately, L3R is “more extraction, it’s more exploitation, it’s...human and cultural extraction, human exploitation.” Akilah Sanders-Reed went on to describe the impact of the pipeline, not just environmentally, but psychologically and symbolically:

“The insult of constructing [the pipeline] through this treaty territory, [and] people talk about remediation...‘we’ll plant a tree somewhere else for every tree that’s cut down,’ and that’s not the way it works, it’s not replaceable. Once you drive bulldozers through someone’s backyard,...a place that holds a lot of someone’s heart, and you put an oil pipeline under the ground and you leave this scar across more than 300 miles of northern Minnesota, that’s never going to be the same,

and, so, I think there's a lot of harm that maybe is harder to quantify..., even just the act of construction, if you were to construct the pipeline and never put any oil through it...that would technically rid us of the climate and oil spill potential, but just the act of constructing it across this land after everything that's been done to oppose it, and the information that I know is on the record, and the way that people have shown up is just...so hurtful, and especially, especially to indigenous communities..."

In contrast, two older opponents described how they are not entirely against crude oil pipelines, but that they oppose the siting of such pipelines in northern Minnesota. Their attitudes were reminiscent of a NIMBY framework. Tom Watson, past president and member of the board of directors of the Whitefish Area Property Owners Association, the view of his organization: "We're not opposed to using pipeline to transport crude if we need to..., what we object vehemently to is the routes you choose...you can't be the land of 10,000 lakes and have a bunch of 10,000 pipelines running through it." Similarly, Beltrami County Commissioner Reed Olson described that, although he initially support the in-trench replacement of the existing Line 3 pipeline with L3R, he now opposes it, saying "we should not allow [it] to run through our state." Both opponents were older, white, and lived near the pipeline route, yet opposed the pipeline for its local environmental and social impacts.

Some opponents highlighted the increased impact of the type of oil—tar sands crude oil—that would be transported by L3R. Akilah Sanders-Reed described the tar sands as an "environmental sacrifice zone" with harmful consequences from the source to the refinery, especially for indigenous communities living near the tar sands and along pipeline routes. Many, including Scott Russell, chair of the Sierra Club's NorthStar Chapter Beyond Oil and Tar Sands Committee, and Reed Olson, pointed to the greater environmental impacts of tar sands' unique type of crude oil, describing how them as "incredibly heavy" and "so dirty." Scott Russell argued that, by approving L3R, "we here in Minnesota and the U.S. are complicit with [a very destructive the tar sands industry]." For many, L3R represents higher environmental and social costs associated with the tar sands and crude oil.

In discussing Enbridge and pipeline safety, several opponents pointed out Enbridge's history of oil spills, and brought up a recent Greenpeace report (Donaghy, 2016) that found Enbridge's newer pipes spill more often than their older ones (Donaghy, 2016). Andy Pearson described Greenpeace's report:

“Greenpeace put some data together to...dig into this question, is a new pipeline really that much safer, [and] they found 40% of Enbridge's spills in the last decade came from lines that were less than 10 years old, so actually newer...Enbridge pipelines leak more than older ones do, which is counterintuitive, but it basically says there is not a massive safety boost by building a new pipeline.”

Further, Bradley Harrington, the Director of Natural Resources for the Mille Lacs Band of Ojibwe, discussed his concerns with newer pipelines:

“We hope these companies are doing their due-diligence and not just [with] physical safety, but environmental safety, but these new pipelines, which they say are safer, more efficient, better built, seem to be the ones more commonly bursting...it's the newer ones going in that seem to be the problem, not the old ones...”

Many opponents perceived an oil spill as inevitable, saying that it's not, *if* there's an oil spill, but *when* there's an oil spill.

Pipeline Proponents

Many pipeline proponents identified themselves as environmentalists or outdoors people, arguing against the notion that they must be anti-environment if they are pro-pipeline. Instead, they justified their support for the pipeline because they wanted to replace the existing Line 3 pipeline to ensure it did not leak and harm the environment, and because they felt transporting oil by pipeline was safer than rail or truck. Jim Lucachick, a Beltrami County Commissioner, described his feelings towards the environment and the pipeline:

“I love water and the woods, and I spend a lot of time in it with my dog, and a canoe, and a kayak, and I am as close to nature as any of those protestors claim

that they are, and the reason that I'm doing what I'm doing is that I want to keep that pristine Northern Minnesota woods..."

Kevin Pranis, a representative from Laborers' International Union of North America (LIUNA), one of the labor unions that favors L3R, also discussed his emotions:

"I consider myself an environmentalist...in fact, our international union has adopted one of the strongest labor positions on climate change..., we believe in climate change, we believe in solutions to climate change, we don't think pipelines are particularly relevant to it."

Gary Peterson, a Carlton County Commissioner described how he feels "no matter what, because we're dealing with human beings, there's always a risk," and, in fact, "it's a lot more riskier to keep that pipe in the ground." Members of the PUC also were highly concerned with the aging Line 3. In the *StarTribune*, PUC Commissioner Katie Sieben asserted that "it's better to replace a more than 50-year-old pipeline with one that's safer," and that "for the [Minnesota Commerce Department] to argue that the [PUC] should ignore the current condition of the very infrastructure to be replaced is nonsensical" (Hughlett, 2019c). Similarly, PUC Chairwoman Nancy Lange was emotional during one PUC hearing, saying "how would I feel if I woke up in five years and found out that [the current Line 3] had leaked? It's just too great a cost" (Hughlett, 2018d).

For these proponents of L3R, they find the pipeline wars and pipeline protestors to be out of touch with the reality of Minnesotans and the inevitability of oil. They support L3R in order to conserve Minnesota's environment and lakes, and also to support the livelihoods of the people that live in Minnesota. As a result, they are frustrated by protestors who tout their connection to the environment and their role as water protectors because they feel they also are connected to the environment, and, therefore, they support L3R because they see it is a pragmatic means to ensure environmental and economic security.

The Economy

Pipeline Proponents

Economic issues associated with building the pipeline were frequently cited as a reason to support or oppose its construction. Proponents, namely county commissioners, identified the property tax benefit of L3R as a key reason for their support of the pipeline. In many northern Minnesotan counties (like Beltrami, Carlton, and Aitkin), Enbridge is one of the top, if not the top, property tax payers. Gary Peterson, a Carlton County Commissioner, described how Enbridge as the biggest property tax payer in his county, and Jim Lucachick, a Beltrami County Commissioner, described Enbridge and Enbridge partners as the number one and number two tax payers in his county. As a result, many view L3R as “a liquid economic asset,” as Jim Lucachick described, to welcome into their community. In fact, three of four county commissioners interviewed supported the pipeline for economic reasons. One commissioner, Reed Olson from Beltrami County, opposed the pipeline for its perceived negative impacts on indigenous groups and the environment.

Some commissioners discussed their experiences experience with Enbridge’s lawsuits and State Government, including Gary Peterson:

“If Enbridge succeeds...we have to give them [a] refund...and this is [our] townships, too, and some of our townships, they’d go broke, they wouldn’t be able to pay them back, they just don’t have that. It’s a huge thing, and we’re lobbying at the state to see, I mean, [the state] did the assessing, [they] came up with the formula; counties...we had nothing to do with it...maybe the state should pay these refunds back and not the counties and the townships and school district...”

Interviewees debated the impact of the pipeline on jobs, with many proponents favoring the pipeline for its creation of construction jobs, and others opposing it, arguing that construction jobs were short-term in nature, and that the pipeline could harm jobs in the tourism industry in the case of an oil spill. Kevin Pranis described his viewpoint:

“For us, jobs isn’t necessarily the right sort of like measure, the way I think about it is, well, how much are you earning...in those...15 months,...like this [project] would be,... that’s a year’s worth of income,...like a good middle class

income,...you could do a down payment on a house, you could afford sending a kid to school...”

He points out that pipeline jobs have a salary and benefits that you do not get from working at McDonald’s or in the tourism economy in northern Minnesota. Anne Marcotte, Aitkin County Commissioner, summarized the benefits she expects for her county:

“We anticipate more than 50-60 people working during peak construction, 8,600 people across the route over two years (50% will be local, union labor). Based on past Enbridge projects, we expect to see an influx of workers, families shopping at local stores...eating at local restaurants, staying at local hotels, motels, and campgrounds.”

Proponents believed that L3R would support oil independence, which influenced their view of the pipeline. Oil independence is thought to reduce dependence on foreign oil, enabling reduced prices of oil and increased profits for the oil industry in the United States. Jim Lucachick stated, “ I do believe that [Line 3] has been a very strong factor in our non-reliance on world oil,” while Gary Peterson discussed his experience growing up when Jimmy Carter was president, when “the speed limit was 55, [and] there were long gas lines,” and that now, with pipelines like the existing Line 3 and proposed L3R, we are nearing oil independence. Others expressed that they thought oil is inevitable, something we were going to be reliant on for a while given our petroleum-based lifestyle. Most proponents felt an immediate transition to clean energy was unrealistic, and were influenced by the possibility of oil independence. In the *StarTribune*, Enbridge President and CEO, Al Monaco, stated, “this project will...help ensure Minnesota and area refineries reliably receive the crude oil supply they need for the benefit of all Minnesotans and the surrounding region” (Hughlett, 2018d).

Pipeline Opponents

Many opponents of the pipeline discussed the Enbridge’s property tax contributions in a negative light, including Reed Olson, a Beltrami County Commissioner, who expressed his opinion of Enbridge as a taxpayer:

“One of the problems is that in some of those rural counties Enbridge is the largest single taxpayer, and so they feel absolutely beholden to Enbridge and will go to bat for them, so we’ve got government officials in these rural counties that are acting as lobbyists for Enbridge because they’re afraid they’re going to lose those revenues.”

Similarly, Akilah Sanders-Reed described the system as inherently flawed “if we’re allowing a corporation to pay for our schools and to pay taxes for a lot of these communities in northern Minnesota,” while Scott Russell argued that the property tax revenue generated by L3R is not a long-term solution to address the economic needs of counties.

Opponents also discussed Enbridge’s recent lawsuits over property tax valuation in northern Minnesota, and opponents of L3R especially expressed their frustration with these lawsuits, including Reed Olson:

“I really dislike Enbridge as a company, I think that they are a horrible company that is unhealthy for Minnesota, and what they’ve been doing with these taxes, the lawsuits, to try to claw back literally millions and millions of dollars from these poor rural counties and in so doing they’re very successfully driving a wedge between the rural counties and St. Paul, and state government, and they’re masters at it...”

Reed Olson goes on: “we’re going to have more and more strained relations because already up here everybody hates the DNR, everybody hates Human Services out of St. Paul, and just generally distrusts state government, and Enbridge is exploiting that.” In Minnesota, as in other states, many dislike the DNR, and feel they do a poor job of regulating natural resources, either by overregulating, underregulating, or regulating ineffectively (Orenstein, 2019). Since the DNR is based out of St. Paul, far away from the lake country of northern Minnesota, it is easy for animosity to build given the physical distance between the agency and those its regulations effect (Orenstein, 2019). Similar distrust exists for other branches of the State Government, like the Minnesota Department of Human Services, as Reed Olson mentions.

In contrast to proponents who highlight the pipeline’s ability to create construction jobs, opponents often argued that the pipeline would negatively impact

existing tourism and service-sector jobs in northern Minnesota. Mary Ackerman, co-founder of the Northern Water Alliance, described how a spill could impact these jobs:

“We got jobs in those four or five counties that are at stake, it’s resorts, it’s service people for docks and lifts, it’s the people who are selling Reeds Family Outfitters, and...all the various tourist-based and guest-based businesses are at stake, and so we go back to the water issue and the spill issue, which is inevitable, it’ll happen on that route, and so...the counterargument is, okay, maybe 200 jobs, maybe 300 to build, maybe 15 to 20 to maintain, and yet you’re looking at 700,000 jobs, you’re looking at family incomes and businesses at stake...”

Moreover, other opponents highlighted the short-term nature of the jobs L3R would create. Bradley Harrington expressed how he felt that Enbridge “kind of use[s] the union guys,” as “the union guys are always looking for jobs, so they see [L3R] as a potential job, and [Enbridge] kind of use[s] them, even though their job is probably going to be quick and temporary.” In discussing the number of jobs that L3R will create, opponents and proponents gave different numbers, and Tom Watson offered his interpretations of the number 8,500 jobs estimated by Enbridge:

“[Enbridge] talk[s] about 8,500 jobs [that] will be created; there is no 8,500 jobs,...you know what 8,500 is? It is 2,000 people actually working on construction for 30 months over at 300-mile line, across all of Minnesota, parts of Wisconsin,...and how long are [they] going to be in any one community? Two weeks? Two months? Whatever...their permanent employment once [L3R] would be up and running, is somewhere between 20 to 25 permanent jobs, not 8,500...”

Finally, many opponents argued that Enbridge never proved that L3R was needed to meet current oil demand in Minnesota. Cathy Polasky, a senior policy advisor to former Governor Mark Dayton’s office, described the argument the Department of Commerce made to the PUC, saying from “the outset that [Enbridge] is required to produce a long-range forecast of demand, in this case [it] would be demand for crude oil and Enbridge failed to do that.” In addition, several other opponents, including Scott Russell, pointed out that “...Minnesota does not need more oil, our refineries are at capacity, and the bulk of this oil is intended for foreign export.” Without proof of oil demand, opponents were skeptical of some of the economic arguments for L3R.

Indigenous Rights

Pipeline Opponents

Opponents discussed treaty rights and their concerns with L3R's route. The proposed route crosses ceded treaty lands where Native American groups retain rights to hunt, fish, and gather. Winona LaDuke described the significance of treaty land and the threat of L3R to the *StarTribune* as "the only place where we can live as Anishinaabe people...this is where the creator put us, and this pipeline will cut through the heart of our territory" (Hughlett, 2017a). Scott Russell described his concerns:

"[When the] Anishinaabe people, the Ojibwe people, ceded their lands to the U.S. Government, they retained rights to hunt, fish, and gather on the lands that they ceded, which means the lands of this new pipeline [that this] corridor is opening up [are] where Ojibwe people should still have the right to hunt, fish, and gather."

Similarly, Akilah Sanders-Reed pointed out how these treaties aren't merely issues for Native Americans, but for the colonizers who signed them, too:

"Those treaties aren't just...indigenous community issues, there were two sets of folks who signed those treaties, and so I think for a lot of folks, colonizers, there's an important part [to know]...those treaties didn't grant...the indigenous communities' rights, those treaties granted European settlers rights to this land, and kept some of the rights that indigenous folks had had to this land for generations."

Many interviewees expressed their concern that L3R could be yet another example of a walking over of treaty and tribal rights, and described their frustrations with the treatment of Native Americans throughout the planning process for L3R. Andy Pearson expressed his frustration: "it's been really insulting to see the treatment of particularly tribal nations, in some ways it seems the environmental groups are given more respect than entire tribal nations...other government entities." Scott Russell also described his frustration towards the PUC and L3R planning and approval process:

"The PUC for me, as somebody who grew up white, middle class, privileged, kind of believing that the system works and is fair, was deeply disillusioned in their process and being able to see, kind of, the lines that a lot of—we've been working with a lot of groups like Honor the Earth and with indigenous people and

whom this issue affects most profoundly, and just seeing how they were treated was really depressing and made me angry...”

Several interviewees described the need for nation to nation consultation between U.S. government entities and tribal nations, which some argued has not occurred. Scott Russell described how he felt U.S. government officials were merely checking a box by have conversations with indigenous groups about L3R, and stressed that “conversation is not consultation.” Bradley Harrington discussed this further:

“I don’t believe that any public, or any entity, was involved in the planning process other than the large organizations of profiteers...a project this size had to have taken at least a decade to plan, and so...all the public hearings are after the fact hearings, like we’re not really part of the planning process, we’re part of a consultation process, in American terms, just a mere formality...”

Additionally, Mary Kunesh-Podein, a DFL State Representative from New Brighton of Standing Rock Lakota descent, was disappointed in the lack of voice of the tribes in the process so far, questioning in a *StarTribune* article, “if a new line is really [built], shouldn’t those tribal councils decide where it goes, not a foreign corporation?” (Hughlett, 2017a).

Many opponents expressed frustration with the environmental impact statement, pointing out that the EIS did not contain a cultural impact statement describing L3R’s impact on tribal culture, and that a cultural impact statement ultimately was not completed before the pipeline route was approved by the PUC. Thus, many felt that impacts on Native American groups were being ignored. Winona LaDuke described to the *StarTribune* how, although it’s long, “the EIS...is shallow and was written to support approval of Line 3...[and] the EIS simply failed to take a hard look at the costs of Line 3 to our people, our land, our water, and our culture” (Reinan, 2018). A filing in response to the EIS by the Mille Lacs, Fond du Lac, White Earth, Leech Lake, and Red Lake bands described the EIS’s reviews of historic properties, including cultural areas, like burial grounds and historic villages, as “so inadequate that it could be used as a ‘what not to do’ example in future guidance” (Van Norman, Plumer, Bichler, Allery, & Zoll, 2018). Many stressed the heightened impact of the pipeline on Native American groups, especially with a spill.

Throughout the interviews, many gave examples of implicit and explicit racism, although few individuals labeled it as such, or described L3R as an instance of environmental racism against tribal nations. Now Lieutenant Governor and member of White Earth Nation, Peggy Flanagan, described to the *StarTribune* how L3R is not a new example of disregard for tribal rights and Native American culture:

“This sort of tale is as old as time, that native people are disproportionately affected by companies who want to access natural resources...what happened at Standing Rock—with people standing up for their rights and camping and protesting—that is a very real possibility here in Minnesota. There are already groups of folks camping along the [proposed Line 3] route” (Hughlett, 2017b)

The sign-on letter from faith leaders also argued that “approving Line 3 would continue a long tradition of taking positions against politically marginalized Indigenous communities and putting the burden on them to fight for their rights in court” (MNIPL, 2018). In addition, LaDuke described how opponents will react if the pipeline moves forward: “we will be out on this line and we will stop this in the regulatory process, and we will stop this in the legal process and we will stop this with our bodies...this is Minnesota Standing Rock” (Hughlett & Browning, 2018).

Other opponents cited interactions and conversations with indigenous groups as informative of their ultimate anti-L3R stances. Both Reed Olson and Tom Watson are older, white men, who live close to the propose pipeline route, and who perhaps would be predicted to support the pipeline solely based on their demographic information. Yet, Reed Olson, described how he felt “Enbridge is asking the good people of Minnesota to take on an environmental risk with very little reward, [when] we should be standing in solidarity with our brothers and sisters in Alberta.” Olson goes on to talk about how he sees neighboring indigenous groups as partners, saying “if its not good for Leech Lake, it’s not good for us.” Similarly, Tom Watson described his experiences learning about indigenous culture and its influence on his attitude towards the pipeline:

“I’m not a young guy...I’m 73 years old, so I’ve been around awhile, one of the things I have learned, and I am now reading more about it...[is] the history and values...that are dear to...Native American culture...some of the people that I’ve met over the last five years representing some of the tribal communities

and...[discussed] things that are really fundamentally of value to them...one of them is...the rule...about looking at decisions in the eyes of seven generations, [and] I keep thinking, in my lifetime, we would have made many, many different decisions in this country if we were to abide by seven generation's attitudes."

Indigenous groups' core values about the cultural and spiritual importance of place were especially informative of their attitudes. In an op-ed to the *StarTribune*, Faron Jackson, Sr., the chairman of the Leech Lake Band of Ojibwe, stressed the importance of the land along the pipeline route to his people:

"Leech Lake Reservation is our homeland, and the waters and the food it provides are the reason our people are here and how we have sustained ourselves as a people spiritually, culturally, and economically. We are a canoe people, and water ties us together. We cannot move or replace our reservation if there were an oil-spill disaster." (Jackson Sr., 2018)

Similarly, State Representative Mary Kunesh-Podein, of Standing Rock Lakota Sioux descent, described how "this pipeline threatens our sacred land in Minnesota lake country" (Hughlett, 2017a). Bradley Harrington also discussed how people, especially indigenous people, along the pipeline route "have...a really deep connection to the environment [and] that [L3R's] going to disrupt the Anishinaabe cycle of biological energy and also spiritual energy," especially if the pipeline spills. For many, especially indigenous groups, northern Minnesota is a place of high value, culturally and spiritually, and place attachment informs attitudes. L3R is not going to "enhance" sense of place for any reason in northern Minnesota for these groups, and likely influences negative attitudes towards the pipeline (Devine-Wright, 2011). In this way, core values regarding place are formative of attitudes towards L3R, and are at the forefront of indigenous opposition to the pipeline.

Political Affiliation

With L3R, partisanship isn't a cut and dry means of predicting attitudes. Democrats, who traditionally may oppose such projects, support L3R in some cases. Minnesota's Democratic Party is called the Democratic-Farmer-Labor (DFL) Party, and laborers are a significant faction of the party, and contribute to Minnesota consistently

being a blue state (MN DFL, 2019). As a result, unionized pipeline workers are inclined to vote with the Democratic-Farmer-Labor (DFL) Party in Minnesota. Typically, Democrats and Republicans are divided on environmental issues (Ceccoli & College, 2018); however, within the L3R debate, DFL party members are divided (Wilson, 2018); many rural and unionized DFL members support L3R while others, namely urban Democrats, oppose L3R.

Four United States Representatives from Minnesota, Collin Peterson (D-MN-07), Rick Nolan (D-MN-08), Tom Emmer (R-MN-06), and Jason Lewis (R-MN-02), submitted a collective op-ed to the *StarTribune* declaring their support for L3R (Peterson, Nolan, Emmer, & Lewis, 2018). Peterson and Nolan are both members of the DFL and represent districts to the north and west of the Twin Cities Metro Area, areas that encompass L3R's route. Their op-ed cited L3R's ability to "protect natural resources, bring millions of dollars to rural communities, boost local economies and provide local jobs, and provide reliable energy," and is indicative of DFL support for L3R, especially in northern Minnesota (Peterson et al., 2018). It appears that rural democrats are more likely than urban democrats to support the pipeline, indicative of a relationship between partisanship and YIMBY similar to that seen with the Keystone XL pipeline (Gravelle & Lachapelle, 2015). As Scott Russell noted, "this is not a new schism, this is an old schism," and Minnesota Democrats are often divided on environmental and natural resource-based issues. Kevin Pranis noted the dangers of the pipeline wars to the DFL party: "The pipeline wars...have been incredibly divisive...they are pretty dangerous to the Democratic Party, they are alienating lots of...our folks, who we can often persuade to vote for Democrats." He goes on to describe LiUNA's work on climate and in the green economy:

"We have members who are building wind, we have member building mass transit, and there's any number of things that need to get done in order to solve climate and...zero of those have to do with pipelines...and that's our great frustration, even though we have members who are going to be losing jobs in coal plants, and our members are making the sacrifices in order to move toward clean energy..."

In this light, Scott Russell discussed his organization’s work on environmental and social issues, recognizing that the two are often intertwined, as in the case of L3R. He described the Sierra Club’s recent work supporting the \$15 minimum wage campaign in Minneapolis, highlighting how “those [are the] kind of issues that we got to be behind, not just the environmental issues, but labor issues, so that the people who are doing this kind of work are getting a living wage.” In addition, he pointed to groups, like the Blue-Green Alliance, who have made efforts to find common ground between labor and environmental groups to work towards a just transition to a green economy. Further, in their sign-on letter, faith leaders called for jobs “as part of a ‘just transition’ to a new renewable-energy economy, with construction project that make Minnesota a better home for everyone” (MNIPL, 2018). Until union jobs are available within the green economy, it seems the DFL party will continue to be divided on resource development and extraction projects, like L3R. Investment in a just transition for laborers in Minnesota, who rely on projects like L3R for their livelihoods, could help reduce their reliance on the fossil fuel industry for a middle class income, while remedying an old schism within the Minnesota DFL Party.

Attitudes toward Enbridge

Pipeline Opponents

Additionally, opponents claimed that Enbridge misled the public by providing misinformation and astroturfing.² Many opponents, including Jim Reents, co-founder of the Northern Water Alliance, described how Enbridge bussed in employees from around the state and Wisconsin to show support at hearings: “During the public review process, [Enbridge] actually paid their employees to get on a bus over in Duluth-Superior and drive to public hearings just to be in attendance and wear...yellow t-shirts, so their presence was known.” Several opponents, including Tom Watson, described Enbridge’s local advertisements:

“In this area Enbridge runs these ads, and they’ll have a picture of a farmer feeding his cattle, they’ll have some guy here in Arden Hills running a gas station,

² Astroturfing is the practice of creating a false impression of widespread and grassroots support for a someone or something

and they'll talk about the fact that they could be put out of business if [L3R] isn't approved and constructed..."

As a result, Cathy Polasky, described how she thinks "if you talked to farmers...many of them would believe that their fuel comes for the pipeline and...this one pipeline in particular..." which is not necessarily true. Enbridge has disseminated misinformation and caused confusion through its mapping and promotional materials, as pointed out by Jim Reents:

"A lot of [Enbridge's] maps [and] a lot of their graphics...at the beginning of the process...didn't even show the Mississippi River, [and] even late in the hearing process, the maps didn't include Bemidji, Brainerd, Park Rapids, Grand Rapids, any of the major towns in northern Minnesota, instead they put in Backus, they put in Clearbrook,...so people who aren't familiar with geography were not really schooled during the public presentation process element of the public hearings what was really going on..."

These negative perceptions of Enbridge were informative of opposition to L3R for many opponents of the pipeline.

In addition, when talking about Enbridge, interviewees described the difficulties in fighting a powerful, foreign company like Enbridge. Reed Olson described how he feels "that [Enbridge is] undermining our democratic institutions, and they're not even nationals, they're foreign nationals." Jim Reents describe how fighting L3R is opened his eyes to the resources Enbridge has in comparison to the opposition, and his belief that "in some ways, the fossil fuel industry owns our government." Similarly, Akilah Sanders-Reed offered her thoughts on Enbridge's true motivations:

"[Enbridge] play[s] a huge PR game, but they're not in it for these counties, they're not in it out of the goodness of their hearts, they're in it because they're an enormous capitalist corporation...and...their ultimate motivation as a company is their bottom line..."

For some the L3R pipeline project was highly formative of their views of Enbridge, while for other their existing views of Enbridge informed their opinion of the pipeline.

Additional Reflections on the Debate

Pipeline Proponents

During interviews, I found proponents and opponents had a great deal to say about themselves and those on the other side of the pipeline debate. Proponents suggested that the majority of opponents were not from northern Minnesota and were a vocal, emotional, and out-of-touch minority. Kevin Pranis pointed to these divisions within northern Minnesota “between people who feel like they live there for the natural environment, or they’re retired there, or they have cabins there, or they work in the tourism industry, versus other folks who live up there and do other jobs, they work in industry, they build things, they do whatever.” For some, the pipeline is symbol of their livelihood and they perceive that out-of-touch Democrats, Twin Cities residents, and elites are trying to take it away from them.

Pipeline Opponents

Although many highlighted the divisive and controversial nature of L3R, opponents discussed the diversity and community within the anti-pipeline movement that has formed since L3R was proposed in 2015. One anonymous young nonprofit affiliate summarized this:

“The fight against the pipeline...it’s...it’s bringing us together, it’s bringing a lot of especially older, white people to awareness with a fact that this issue of climate change is not going anywhere, it’s only getting worse. We’re extremely dependent on fossil fuels, and...if we don’t have any kind of relationship across...racial lines, and lines of indigeneity, and colonizer relationships..., and we don’t do that work, then all of us suffer from what inevitably will be an oil spill down the Mississippi River...”

Faith leaders recognized their historic oppression of indigenous groups, and describe L3R as a moral issue:

“At its core, this is a moral issue. Many of us signing this letter come from Christian and other traditions that in recent years have taken formal positions acknowledging the role of our faith institutions in the mistreatment and deep trauma done to Indigenous peoples...We have committed ourselves to seeking

ways forward for healing and repair. Our signatures here represent an effort to live out that commitment.” (MNIPL, 2018)

In concluding their letter, faith leaders state: “we are ready to open a new chapter in how we treat our environment and how we relate with our Indigenous neighbors” (MNIPL, 2018). Bradley Harrington described how he worries “if [L3R] gets just reduced down to an American System versus a Tribal System, then it’s not taking any of the non-tribal perspectives into consideration, so the more this gets churned out to be a Minnesota/America versus the tribal nations, we’re going to miss out on this being an American issue, and the tribes are a part of America.”

Similarly, Tom Watson describes how fighting L3R has been a transformative experience:

“One of the things I’ve learned to appreciate..., I’m not a young guy..., I’m 73 years old, so I’ve been around a while, one of the things I’ve learned, and I am now reading more about it..., are the history and values and things that are dear to the Native American culture...when I get to sit and chat with Winona LaDuke...[and] some of the people that I’ve met over the last 5 years representing some of the tribal communities..., and have a discussion about things that are really fundamentally of value to them...one of them is...the native rule, about looking at decisions in the eyes of seven generations, [and] I keep thinking in my lifetime we would have made many, many different decisions in this country if we were able to abide seven generations attitudes...”

Tom Watson goes on to describe the movement against the pipeline and L3R’s ability to bring them together:

“I’m by far the old man of the group, but folks that are participating are people who would be your contemporaries in terms of age and experience, and we come from all walks of life and we represent all parts of Minnesota, and we probably come from all different ethnicities, and I’m pretty confident that we probably represent all political interests also, but the thing that unites us is...this particular Enbridge matter...”

Despite the divisive nature of L3R, and the difficulty both sides have had talking with one another and finding common ground, the movement against L3R appears diverse, energized, and more unified.

DISCUSSION

The different attitudes between individuals highlights deeper political, social, and ideological divisions. For those interviewed, the pipeline represented a diversity of ideas; for some, it symbolized economic opportunity and jobs, while for others it was emblematic of continued exploitation of Native American groups and the environment. The L3R debate mirrors the fight against the Dakota Access pipeline because Native American groups are leading the resistance to L3R in Minnesota, along with environmental groups (Lahitou, 2017). Although certain groups, like Democrats, young people, women, and college-educated people, are often predicted to oppose extractive industry projects because of their environmental and social impact, interviewees did not always view L3R in the ways that some may predict (Ceccoli & College, 2018; Frimer & Tell, 2017; Gravelle & Lachapelle, 2015). Many proponents' attitudes fit within a YIMBY framework, as they favored the pipeline because of their proximity to it and the benefits they would derive from it. The influence of YIMBY on attitudes towards L3R mirrors that of previous studies that examined attitudes towards fracking (Boudet et al., 2018) and the Keystone XL pipeline (Gravelle & Lachapelle, 2015), where local groups favored projects because of perceived local benefits. In this way, L3R reveals the ways in which some people, often those closest to the pipeline, will accept certain amount of environmental and social risk for economic benefits and jobs (Weiner et al., 2013). For some proponents, the perceived economic benefits outweigh any perceived environmental costs, and influence their support for the pipeline (Ansolabehere & Konisky, 2012). In some cases, proponents perceive environmental benefits, like improved pipeline safety and reduced spill risk, which influenced their attitudes towards the pipeline.

With the exception of the few opponents who opposed L3R locally using a NIMBY framework, most opponents did not want the pipeline at anywhere, and were influenced by NIABY. In particular, many younger activists opposed the pipeline on principle, refusing to accept oil pipelines anywhere for their environmental and climate impacts. The abundance of opponents who opposed L3R, regardless of its location, , highlights how oil pipelines are facing staunch opposition for their environmental and social costs across the United States, no matter their location (Bond, 2016; Lahitou,

2017). This opposition resembles NIABY resistance and that seen within the anti-nuclear and anti-incineration movements previously (Boudet, 2011).

Additionally, younger activists often described the fight against the pipeline as indigenous-led and inspired. Indigenous groups were focused on protecting their lands of cultural significance and their culture in Minnesota when opposing the pipeline. L3R would be detrimental to places of value to them, and place attachment played a big role in informing negative attitudes towards the pipeline amongst indigenous groups (Devine-Wright, 2011). As described by Wolsink (2000) and van der Horst (2007), a NIMBY framework cannot singularly predict attitudes towards new energy projects. With the pipeline, attitudes cannot be solely explained by a NIMBY framework or certain demographic, social, partisan, or ideological variables. It is clear that attitudes are nuanced based on a person's location, identity, and values. However, such variables can be useful in unpacking and understanding attitudes and conflict.

Interviewees highlighted the divisive nature of L3R, pointing out rural, urban, class, racial, cultural, and generational divisions between those opposing and supporting the pipeline. These divisions, especially those between rural and urban groups, are continuing to inform the political landscape in Minnesota, as well as across the United States (Wilson, 2018). At the same time, many opponents of the pipeline commented on the diversity of the movement against the pipeline, describing it as interracial and cross-generational in the ways it brings together tribal nations, environmental groups, government agents, individuals, young people, retirees, Republicans, Democrats, people from the Twin Cities, people from Northern Minnesota, and religious groups.

People are working across lines of indigeneity, race, and class, and across urban and rural divides to oppose the pipeline, in a way that appears unprecedented in Minnesota. With L3R, as with the Dakota Access pipeline, indigenous leadership has been key in generating strong opposition to the pipeline. It seems that the relationships being built around L3R will continue to influence attitudes towards the pipeline and pipelines across the United States, as well as help to foster greater understanding and dialogue across groups in Minnesota.

If pipeline construction begins, it will be interesting to see if opposition to L3R grows to the scale of the Dakota Access or Keystone XL pipeline opposition. In

particular, it will be worthwhile to examine how indigenous groups and younger environmentalists influence attitudes toward these projects more broadly. It seems these pipelines have drawn newer activists and opponents who may have previously not been involved in environmental or indigenous activism before. As a result, examining the L3R pipelines and other pipelines may offer insight into the intersectionality of today's environmental and indigenous activism.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: 29 Permits Required in Minnesota for L3R

Unit of Government	Type of Permit Application	Reason Required
U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), Region 5	Clean Water Act Section 402 NPDES	The EPA has permitting authority for National Pollutant Discharge Elimination System (NPDES) discharge and construction within the Leech Lake and Fond du Lac Reservations
U.S. Army Corps of Engineers -- St. Paul District and Minnesota Pollution Control Agency	Section 10/404 Individual Permit and associated state 401 Individual Water Quality Certification	Authorizes the discharge of dredged and fill material into waters of the United States, including wetlands, and crossing of navigable waters of the United States
U.S. Army Corps of Engineers -- St. Paul District & Minn. Pollution Control Agency	Section 14 Rivers and Harbor Act, Section 408 Flowage Easement Permit	Authorizes construction activities within flowage easements
U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service	Section 7 Endangered Species Act consultation (federally protected species)	Establishes conservation measures and authorizes, as needed, take of federally protected species
U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service	Eagle Incidental Take or Eagle Nest Take Permit (Bald and Golden Eagle Protection Act protected birds)	Allows known Bald Eagle nests near construction activities to be removed, relocated, or destroyed. Also, allows for non-purposeful (incidental) take (disturbance, injury, or killing) of eagles during construction and/or operation activities
U.S. Forest Service and U.S. Department of Agriculture	Special Use Permit	Authorizes crossing of U.S. Forest Service land
Bureau of Indian Affairs	Right-of-Way Grant	Authorizes crossing of tribal trust land

Minnesota Department of Natural Resources	License to Cross Public Waters	50-year license that allows a proposed utility to cross public lands
Minnesota Department of Natural Resources	License to Cross Public Lands	50-year license that allows a proposed utility to cross public lands
Minnesota Department of Natural Resources	Water Appropriation Permit -- Pipeline and Facilities	Authorizes withdrawal and use of water from surface water or groundwater sources
Minnesota Department of Natural Resources	State Endangered Species Permit and Avoidance Plan	Outlines plan for avoidance, minimization, and mitigation for take of state-listed endangered species
Minnesota Department of Natural Resources	Osprey Nest Removal Permit	Authorizes removal of inactive osprey nests
Minnesota Department of Natural Resources	Fen Management Plan	Outlines plans for avoidance, minimization, and mitigation of fens within the Project corridor
Minnesota Department of Natural Resources	Infested Waters Transport Permit	Permits transport of waters with identified invasive species infestation
Minnesota Department of Natural Resources	Federal Consistency Review	Ensures that activities requiring a federal license or permit are consistent with the state's coastal management program
Minnesota Department of Natural Resources	Public Waters Work Permit	In instances when a license to cross permit is not required, work in the beds of public waters would require a work permit
Minnesota Pollution Control Agency	Clearbrook Terminal Air Quality Permit -- Synthetic-Minor Individual State Operating Permit	Authorizes construction and operation at the modified Clearbrook terminal
Minnesota Pollution Control Agency	Clean Water Act Section 401 Water Quality Certification	Certification under the Clean Water Act Section 401 certifies that the Project will comply with state water quality standards if

		the Project complies with all permit conditions
Minnesota Pollution Control Agency	National Pollutant Discharge Elimination System (NPDES) Individual Construction Stormwater, Hydrostatic Test, and Trench Dewatering Permit -- Pipeline Construction	Authorizes ground disturbance with approved protection measures to manage soil erosion and stormwater discharge on construction site; discharge of water from hydrotesting activities; and removal of water that may accumulate in pipeline trench
Minnesota Pollution Control Agency	NPDES General Construction Stormwater Coverage -- Facilities	Authorizes groundwater disturbance with approved protection measures to manage soil erosion and stormwater discharge on construction site
Minnesota Pollution Control Agency	NPDES General Construction Stormwater Coverage -- Pipeyards and Contractor Yards	Authorizes ground disturbance with approved protection measures to manage soil erosion and stormwater discharge on construction site
Minnesota Department of Health	Drinking Water Supply Management Area/Wellhead Protection Area Consultation	Ensures that pipeline construction and operation are compatible with goals of relevant plans
Minnesota State Historic Preservation Office	Cultural resources consultation; Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended--review and consultation with state agencies pursuant to Minnesota Statutes 138.665-666 and Minnesota Statutes 138.40	Ensures adequate consideration of impacts on significant cultural resources
Minnesota Department of Agriculture	Agriculture Protection Plan	Establishes measures for agricultural protection
Minnesota Department of Transportation	Road Crossing Permits	Authorizes crossing of state jurisdictional roadways
Minnesota Board of Water and Soil Resources/Wetland	Notice of Intent to Utilize Federal Approvals for Utilities Project Exemption	Notice of use exemption required

Conservation Act Local
Government Unit

Mississippi Headwaters Board	Local Land Use Review	Ensures compatibility with land use plan
Red Lake, Wild Rice, Two Rivers, and Middle-Snake Watershed Districts	Watershed District Permits	Authorizes crossing of legal drains and ditches within watersheds
Local/County	Permits Pertaining to Off-Right-of-Way Yard Use	Ensures compatibility with relevant land use plans

Source: (The State of Minnesota, 2018)

Appendix B: IRB Consent Form Document

Consent Form

Colby College Environmental Studies Program

Title of the Study: The Enbridge Line 3 Replacement Pipeline: Attitudes, Symbolism, Geography

Researcher Name: Catherine Fraser

The general purpose of this research is to learn more about different perspectives on the Enbridge Line 3 Replacement Pipeline. Participants in this study will be asked to answer a few questions on their perceptions of the pipeline and its impacts.

Informed consent is required by Colby College for any person participating in a College-sponsored research study. This study has been approved by the College's Institutional Review Board for Research with Human Subjects.

I hereby give my consent to be the subject of this research study. I acknowledge that the researcher has provided me with:

- A. An explanation of the study's general purpose and procedure.
- B. Answers to any questions I have asked about the study procedure.

I understand that:

- A. My participation in this study will take approximately 30 to 60 minutes.
- B. No unusual risks are anticipated as a result of participating in this research.
- C. The potential benefits of this study include learning more about varying perspectives on the pipeline.
- D. I will not be compensated for participating in this study.
- E. My participation is voluntary, and I may withdraw my consent and discontinue participation in the study at any time. My refusal to participate will not result in any penalty.
- F. The specific nature of and reasons for the procedures employed, those aspects of my behavior that have been recorded for measurement purposes, and what the investigators hope to learn from this study will all be fully explained to me at the end of the session.

G. All data collected for this study will be kept confidential. The data will be stored in a secure location, and research reports will only present aggregate statistics with name and organization, if allowed. If I prefer not to be identified by name in any research report, then a pseudonym will be used. If I prefer not to be affiliated with my organization in any research report, a general term will be used to categorize the organization I am affiliated with.

H. After the study's purpose and procedure have been fully explained to me, I may, for any reason, choose to withhold use of any data provided by my participation.

Consent to be identified by name in research reports:

I agree / do not agree (circle one) to allow my name to be used in research reports. If I prefer not to be identified by name in any research report, a pseudonym will be used.

Consent to be affiliated with an organization in research reports:

I agree / do not agree (circle one) to allow my name to be affiliated with my organization in research reports. If I prefer not to be affiliated with my specific organization in any research report, then the organization will be described in broad terms, such as “a nonprofit organization” or “a government agency.”

Consent to record:

I agree / do not agree (circle one) to be audio recorded as part of this research study, and to have these recordings confidentially studied by the researchers.

Signature

Date

Appendix C: Interview Questions

1. What's your role at X organization?
2. Where are you from/do you live?
3. What is your community and how would you describe it?
4. Are you familiar with the Enbridge Line 3 Replacement Pipeline? If so, what is your relationship to it?
5. What are the benefits or opportunities the pipeline represents? Who would benefit the most from the pipeline?
6. What are the impacts of the Line 3 Replacement Pipeline?
7. Do you believe your community will be impacted positively or negatively by the pipeline? If so, how?
8. Do you believe communities in Northern Minnesota along the pipeline right of way will be impacted positively or negatively by the pipeline? If so, how?
9. Who do you think are the strongest proponents and opponents of the pipeline? Why?
10. How would you describe the response to the pipeline, amongst government officials, like the MPCA, PUC, Commerce Department?
11. What is your perception of the transparency of the planning process for Line 3 Pipeline? Was there time for individuals to comment on the proposed pipeline? Were people allowed sufficient time to comment or offer input? How does it compare to processes for similar projects?
12. Which voices do you perceive are prioritized in the planning process? Which are not?
13. Do you believe certain populations are more vulnerable to the pipeline than others? If so, who and why?
14. Any additional comments on the pipeline? Suggestions for other people or organizations I should speak with?