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Bachelor Thesis

**Possible Consequences of the Dakota Access Pipeline Presented by Various
Actors of the Case: Critical Discourse Analysis**

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I hereby declare that I worked independently and that I used only the sources cited.

In Brno on May 9, 2018

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1. Introduction

There are more than 2,5 million miles of pipelines in the United States and most of them are built unnoticed. When a developing company proposed the Dakota Access Pipeline in the spring 2014, no one suspected it would gain international attention. The proposed route led close to the Standing Rock Indian Reservation and in case of a leak, it could pose the threat of contamination of drinking water supplies.

The Sioux Tribe had opposed the pipeline since the proposal was published, and over the next two years, the small community's efforts grew into a movement. The pipeline opponents used every possible way to halt the construction and even though it was not successful, they managed to postpone it for a great amount of time. The legal fight over the, now fully operational, pipeline still continues.

I have followed the Dakota Access Pipeline case in the media and I wanted to explore it further. I believe the case reflects on different human values and beliefs and the conflicts among them.

This case managed to bring attention towards long neglected issues, such as tribal rights and ongoing racism in the United States. The Native American populations had been in a particularly disadvantageous position ever since the European settlers arrived. Today, they still have to bear disproportionate environmental risks.

The thesis introduces the theoretical concepts of environmental justice and environmental racism through its historical roots in the Environmental Justice Movement. Further the thesis provides a detailed description of the Dakota Access Pipeline case to better understand its complexity and importance. One of the main aims of the thesis is to analyse how various actors of the case view the possible consequences of the pipeline. The way how people produce meaning cannot be interpreted without considering the historical and current socio-political context. In the actors' statements I identify various consequences that are closely connected to their race and social and economic status.

2. Theoretical Part

The theoretical part of the thesis introduces the key concept of environmental justice, that is closely connected to the development of the Environmental Justice Movement. Subsequently,

the term environmental racism is defined, with further focus on its connection to the population of Native Americans.

2.1. Environmental Justice

The concept of environmental justice emphasizes fair sharing of environmental burdens and hazards fairly. In the United States as well as globally, environmental dangers are not distributed equally. The communities of color and the people with lower income are exposed to burdens of anthropogenic pollution - such as toxic waste or air and water pollution - to a greater degree than the non-colored communities and the rich (Newton, 2009, p. 3). The roots of the concept are closely tied with the Environmental Justice Movement (EJM) which emerged in the 1980s in the United States. As Cole and Foster point out, it is not possible to name a specific date or an event, “[...] as the movement grew organically out of dozens, even hundreds, of local struggles and events and out of variety of other social movements” (Cole & Foster, 2001, p. 19). Over time, the term environmental justice has become important in the language of environmental campaigning and academic research, but also in the field of political debates and policy-making (Walker, 2012, p. 1). According to the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, Environmental Justice “will be achieved when everyone enjoys the same degree of protection from environmental and health hazards and equal access to the decision-making process to have a healthy environment in which to live, learn, and work” (Environmental Protection Agency, 2017).

In the 1980s, the mainstream environmental movement had been already established. The majority of its supporters came from the white middle and upper-middle class, leaving the communities of color overlooked (Bullard, *Anatomy of Environmental Racism and the Environmental Justice Movement*, 1993). Its focus on the environment laid mostly in the preservation and conservation of wilderness and wildlife. The poor communities and the communities of color viewed the environment rather as a home and a community - a crucial place for their everyday lives that needed to be preserved and kept safe from pollutants (Cole & Foster, 2001, p. 16).

The mainstream environmental movement failed to properly recognize that environmental degradation, pollution and resource depletion are arising from social inequalities. To challenge this perspective, the EJM fought against the environmental threats in their communities while attracting attention to the idea of environmental injustice itself (Bullard, *Anatomy of Environmental Racism and the Environmental Justice Movement*, 1993,

s. 23, 24) Spreading of the EJM dismantled the myth that the poor people and the people of color not do not care about the environmental issues (Taylor, 1993, p. 58).

2.2. Formation of the Environmental Justice Movement

The principal origins of the EJM can be traced back to the US Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s - 1970s. In the Civil Rights Movement, African Americans fought for changes in the society. They used grassroots activism tactics, such as public protests, demonstrations, petitions and direct actions that aimed to bring a systemic change from the bottom up. The character of the Civil Rights Movement - its experience with direct actions, empowerment through political actions and above all the recognition “that the disproportionate impact of environmental hazards was not random or the result of ‘neutral’ decisions but a product of the same social and economic structure which had produced de jure and de facto segregation and other racial oppression” (Cole & Foster, 2001, p. 21) – shaped the EJM. This influence was clearly seen in 1982 during the protests of African Americans against toxic dump in the Warren County, North Carolina, where more than 500 activists were arrested for acts of civil disobedience (Cole & Foster, 2001).

Another major source of influence was the grassroots anti-toxics movement, represented by communities opposing landfills, hazardous waste facilities and incinerators. These movements are unique in their leadership. Grassroots leaders were often women, emerging from local groups of inhabitants concerned about their families and homes being endangered by the polluting industries or governmental policies (Bullard, Introduction, 1993, s. 8) Later, these local groups connected through their shared struggles, networked and slowly built up a movement (Cole & Foster, 2001, p. 22). The concept of the EJM represents a conceptual merge of two realizations: the realization of the civil rights movement’s activists that unrelated racial assaults are embodied in a social structure of racial oppression; and the realization of anti-toxics movement’s activists that unrelated toxic assaults are embodied in the economic structure of the country (Cole & Foster, 2001, p. 23).

A significant source for the EJM emerged from the academia when researchers continued to discover the unequal impacts of environmental hazards on people with low income and especially on people of color (Cole & Foster, 2001). “These research findings constitute convincing evidence that this pattern of exposure to environmental hazards transcends almost every aspect of their lives; this includes places where they work, live, play and learn, and the food they eat” (White, 2003, p. 107). A study named Toxic Wastes and Race in the United

States conducted by the United Church of Christ Commission for Racial Justice in 1987 concluded that race is the most significant factor when it comes to exposure of environmental dangers. The study worked as a catalyst for efforts of the EJM.

Three years later, a group of academics, now known as the Michigan group, came together to share their findings on environmental justice demonstrations and their consequences. They managed to initiate a meeting with US Environmental Protection Agency administrator William K. Reilly who subsequently created a Work Group on Environmental Equity and later established an Office of Environmental Equity (Bryant, History and Issues of the Environmental Justice Movement, 2003). Studies have shown that the government contributed to deepening of the disparity related to environmental injustice in the context of waste siting. They played a vital role in the formation of the EJM. Bullard suggests that instead of efforts to correct the environmental imbalances, governmental actions often exacerbated many of the threats to the communities of color. “Some institutional agreements between government and industry have placed communities of color at greater risk than the general population” (Bullard, Introduction, 1993, s. 10).

As the fourth relevant source for the EJM, Cole and Foster recognize the activism of Native Americans, who have been struggling with the problems regarding land and environmental exploitation ever since the arrival of Europeans. The concept of self-determination as perceived by Native American tribes - the notions that communities are able to speak for themselves and should be involved in the decision-making process - was crucial for grassroots of the EJM (Cole & Foster, 2001). It came from the sovereignty of Native Americans, it was the notions that communities are able to speak for themselves and should be involved in the decision-making process. At that time, many environmental decisions have been made without a proper participation of those who are affected the most. The EJM requests for those concerned to be equal partners, invited to the discussion from the very beginning, with the government not being the only determinant (Cole & Foster, 2001).

2.3. Environmental Racism

The way how social and institutional processes work is instrumental for the unequal distributional patterns that frame the concept of environmental racism (Cole & Foster, 2001). As defined by Bryant, environmental racism includes deliberately choosing the low income and people of color communities for inconvenient land uses, for example placement of hazardous disposal sites. These communities are excluded from the environmental decision-making

process which concern them, and they are not secured against toxic and hazardous waste exposure (Bryant, *Environmental Justice: Issues, Policies, and Solutions*, 1995).

The United States is a racially divided country, which puts communities of color (African Americans, Asians, Latinos, Native Americans and Pacific Islanders) on the forefront of environmental dangers (Bullard, *Introduction*, 1993). “Distributive justice is important because the market system gives rise to both the organization of American society and the unequal distribution of wealth and patterns of toxic exposure and disease” (Bryant, 1995, p. 23). When researching the inequitable distribution of environmental hazards by income and race, race was found to be a more useful variable than income (Cole & Foster, 2001, p. 55). Race is imperative when it comes to predictions of spatial distribution of environmental dangers and it maintains the unequal environmental quality between the white communities and the communities of color. The importance of the EJM for the communities of color lies in connecting the environmental problems with problems of social justice. The exploitation of nature is not treated separately from the social exploitation of marginalized communities (Bryant, *Environmental Justice: Issues, Policies, and Solutions*, 1995).

2.4. Environmental Racism and the Native Americans

Compared to other groups of people of color, Native Americans have distinctively strong and unique ties to the land - historically, spiritually, and legally. The creation stories of many tribes emphasize the importance of ancestral lands which are the object of worship. In the U.S., Native Americans are the only ones whose living areas are prescribed (Cole & Foster, 2001). Indigenous people own lands that have been chosen for them by the federal government.

Native American tribes are a sovereign nation; thus they should have control over their lands. Their regulations often differ from the other laws in effect, which makes it easier for corporations to pursue their interests (such as placement of hazardous facilities) (Taylor, *Toxic Communities: Environmental Racism, Industrial Pollution, and Residential Mobility*, 2014). Goldtooth argues, that “the entire political system of the United States is based upon economics and ownership of the land. Those who control the land are those who control the resources” (Goldtooth, 1995, p. 143). The U.S. federal government is obliged to protect the cultural integrity of Native Americans and enable them a free exercise of Indigenous religions. However, because of their spiritual and legal ties to the reservations’ lands, Native Americans cannot so easily move when facing environmental and health threats (Goldtooth, 1995).

Communities of Native Americans have been systematically targeted by the companies that try to place a toxic waste dumps, incinerators and other industrial facilities on their lands. “The companies were seeking jurisdiction with less regulation, and less environmental oversight and enforcement, than were imposed by the governments” (Cole & Foster, 2001, p. 138) They exploited intricacy and ambiguity of laws concerning Indian lands. Indian lands were sought after also for its richness in coal, oil, uranium or timber (Bryant, *Environmental Justice: Issues, Policies, and Solutions*, 1995). The tribes perceived the companies’ proposals as a way toward economic development. It was only later, when the real concerns cropped up, that the tribal opposition emerged (Cole & Foster, 2001). In many instances, the research done after the land had been used by the industry showed that Indigenous lands suffer from surface and groundwater contamination, drinking water violations and unsafe levels of pollution (Goldtooth, 1995).

The commencement of the grassroots Native American EJM began in an isolated Navajo town in Arizona, where a toxic waste incinerator was proposed to be built in 1989. Distinctive strengthening of the movement occurred during the First National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit in 1991 in Washington, D.C., where 60 Indigenous grassroots people met. They drafted a seventeen-point Principles of Environmental Justice. “Principle 11 states: “Environmental justice must recognize a special legal and natural relationship of Native People to the U.S. government through treaties, agreements, compacts, and covenants affirming sovereignty and self-determination” (Goldtooth, 1995, p. 139). In the course of time, more than forty Indian environmental justice groups joined the Indigenous Environmental Network. The atypical and remarkable feature of this activist group was its strong spiritual grounds. The Indigenous Environmental Network still organizes annual Protecting Mother Earth Conferences; it provides a platform for sharing information, training and technical assistance, a policy development; and offers strategic advice (Cole & Foster, 2001).

3. Presentation of the Dakota Access Pipeline Case

The Dakota Access Pipeline (DAPL) is an underground pipeline in the United States of America that transports crude oil. Its construction started in 2014 and was accompanied by major protests in North Dakota, where it leads nearby the Standing Rock Indian Reservation.

The protest gained an international attention. The pipeline was finished last year and has been fully operational since June 2017.

The sources of information regarding the case are primarily media-based, completed by information provided by official sources such as the White House and several governmental departments. The DAPL case is of recent nature, still ongoing, hence there is a lack of available academic literature on the matter. In order to present the case as in detail and topically as possible, I derived the information from credible news sources, such as The New York Times, CNN or BBC. The facts were always consulted with several sources to verify and assure their accuracy.

3.1. Overview of the DAPL

The DAPL is 1 172 miles long (1886 km) and it leads through four states and crosses fifty counties. It starts in Stanley, North Dakota, continues through South Dakota, Iowa and ends in Patoka, Illinois. The beginning is situated at the Bakken Formation and Three Forks. Bakken is a vast underground deposit of oil spreading on the frontier of North Dakota, Montana and Canada. There is an estimated mean of 7,4 billion barrels of potentially recoverable oil (Demas, 2013).

The route in North Dakota is 346 miles (557 km) long and it consists of oil gathering pipelines and a larger transmission pipeline. From the starting point, the pipeline leads west around Williston, crosses the Missouri River, continues southeast through the Watford City area and south of Bismarck, where it crosses the Missouri River again north of Cannon Ball (Heim & Berman, 2016). At the end of the pipeline, the crude oil is further transported via connected pipelines or other means of transport to refineries in Midwest, East Coast and Gulf Coast. The pipeline is supposed to shuttle 470 000 barrels of crude oil a day, which makes around 374 million gallons of gasoline per day (Yan, 2016). The shuttle might increase to one hundred thousand barrels more.

The project was first announced to the public in April 2014. The informational hearings and meetings of the developing company Energy Transfer Partners (ETP) with landowners through whose land the pipeline would lead had started in August of the same year. The ETP began the construction in June 2016. The DAPL was completed in April 2017 and started operating on June 1. A strong opposition against building the DAPL has been present on many fronts since the very beginning. In Iowa, most of the landowners had signed easements¹ that

¹ Easement is a nonpossessory right to use and/or enter onto a property of another without possessing it.

allowed the company to build on their lands, for which they gained money. On the other hand, some farmers had taken the case to court, arguing that the country's decision-makers were wrong to grant the company the permissions for their lands² (Healy, 2016). The most important opposition that gained international attention came from the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe in North Dakota. The protesters established camps in the area around Cannon Ball, demonstrated, used direct action and fought against the pipeline in court.

A developing Texas-based company Energy Transfer Partners, L.P. (ETP) was responsible for the construction, through its subsidiary company Dakota Access, LCC. The minor partners are companies of Phillips 66. Enbridge and Marathon Oil became minor partners in the project later. Building of the DAPL costed around \$3,8 billion³ (MacMillan, 2016). There are seventeen banks from all around the world providing loans to fund the construction. The DAPL brought around twelve thousand jobs, mostly in construction. Once the project was completed, only as few as tens of permanent jobs stayed available to maintain and monitor the pipeline (Kelsey, 2017).

The company estimates a gain of \$156 million in sales and taxes for the governments (Yan, 2016). American President Donald Trump had owned between \$500 000 to \$1 million in stock in Energy Transfer Partners in 2015 as well as in Phillips 66. By the spring of the following year, Trump's amount of stocks in ETP decreased to less than \$50 000 and he claimed divestment of all the stocks. The money flow works two-ways as Kelsey Warren, chief executive of ETP donated over \$100 000 to Trump's presidential campaign (Milman, 2016).

3.2. The North Dakota Route

The North Dakota route has raised the most controversy. The original route proposed by the ETP was going to cross the Missouri River further north, around ten miles (16km) from Bismarck, the state capital. This route had been rejected by the United States Army Corps of Engineers (USACE) in an environmental assessment (EA) for various reasons. They claimed that the route would be a few kilometers longer, thus more expensive and it would cross more roads and wetlands (McKenna, 2016). Another big concern was the potential threat the DAPL could pose on the Bismarck's drinking water supply in case of a leak.

² So-called eminent domain is the state's or national government's right to give out private properties for public use (usually road or other public facilities).

³ 76,747,845,526 Czech crowns

The preferred alternative now leads south of Bismarck and crosses the Missouri River close to Cannon Ball, less than a kilometer north of the Sioux tribe's⁴ land, the Standing Rock Indian Reservation (Figure 1). Similarly, as in the rejected route, there is a risk of water contamination in case of a leak. Even though this area is more remote, there are around 8 500 people living at Standing Rock (Statistics: Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, n.d.). Such incident could affect not only the indigenous Sioux tribe, but also around 17 million people living downstream of Missouri River (Meyer, 2017). Equally important for the indigenous tribes is the land itself. They consider it sacred. It is a burial ground of their ancestors. This situation has been labelled by many as a case of environmental injustice. They referred to the fact that 92% of Bismarck's population is white (Population Demographics for Bismarck, North Dakota in 2017, 2018, n.d.). Reverend Jesse Jackson, who is an U.S. political and civil rights activist, called the reroute as "*the ripest case of environmental racism*" he witnessed in a long time (Thorbecke, 2016).

3.3. Arguments on DAPL

On average, the US daily consumption of petroleum products is around 20 million barrels⁵ per day. Almost all of the crude oil that comes from or is imported to the country is refined into gasoline, diesel fuel, heating oil or jet fuel (Energy Information Administration, 2018). There is more than 2,5 million miles (4 million km) of pipeline that serve to transport energetic materials (Pipeline Basics, n.d.).

The DAPL goes 90 feet (27,4m) deep below the Missouri River, so they are not in a direct contact (Evans, 2016). There are already eight other pipelines crossing the Missouri River, all of them closer to the surface than DAPL (Yan, 2016).

Other ways of transport include shipping crude oil by rail or trucks. The ETP claims that pipelines are the '*safest and environmentally cleanest*', because they eliminate the risk of crashes and fires. At the same time, if more oil is moved by pipelines, more trucks and railways would be available to transport other commodities, such as crops. It is also the cheapest way of transportation which would greatly increase the profit margins for oil companies (Levin, 2016).

⁴ The Sioux are many different ethnic groups of Native American tribes and First Nations people in the U.S. When I use the name Sioux tribe in the text, if not stated differently, it refers to the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe.

⁵ One barrel of oil is approximately 159 liters.

The risk of oil spills is reported to be rather high; each year there are thousands of spills in the US. Most of them are small (meaning less than one barrel of oil spilled), but even these can have damaging effects on the environment and the economy (Largest Oil Spills Affecting U.S. Waters Since 1969, n.d.). If one takes into consideration the fact that more than half of the pipelines in the US are at least 50 years old, the risk gets even higher. (Groeger, 2012).

The concerns of the Sioux originate from the notion of dangers such pipeline could pose. A potential spill into the Missouri River could jeopardize the primary drinking water source of the Sioux. It would have a negative environmental and health impact, affecting wildlife, irrigation, agriculture, hunting and fishing (Worland, 2016). Spills from the DAPL had occurred even before it started to fully operate. In March 2017, 84 gallons (320 liters) were spilled at a pipeline terminal station in Watford City due to a leaky flange⁶. The leak of 20 gallons (75 liters) happened two days after in Mercer County, because of a failed above-ground valve. None of the spills caused harm to people or wildlife and the contamination was contained (Associated Press, 2017).

The DAPL also crosses land a few kilometers north of the reservation boundary. The developer argues that the DAPL does not lead directly through the Standing Rock Indian Reservation, nevertheless. However, this land falls within a treaty land in order for the Sioux tribe to properly exercise their fishing, hunting and gathering rights. This land also has a great spiritual value for the tribal members. It is the Sioux' cultural site and a sacred burial ground of their ancestor. The tribe claims, that this land has been a part of the reservation before and it was taken by the government illegally, despite various treaties in effect. Native Americans dispute that the approval given by the United States Army Corps of Engineers (USACE) for building of the pipeline had been granted without consulting the tribal governments, which is a requirement under U.S. law (Dakota Pipeline: What's behind the controversy?, 2017).

3.4. Protests against the DAPL

The Standing Rock Sioux Tribe was against the construction of the DAPL since the building proposal was presented in the spring of 2014. The members of several Native American nations established a spiritual camp called Sacred Stone at Cannon Ball. Subsequently, other large camps emerged in the area. The camps gathered all the opponents of the pipeline, various tribes and non-native supporters alike, consisting of ordinary citizens, farmers, human and indigenous rights activists, environmental and anti-fossil fuels activists, creating the #NODAPL

⁶ Flange is the edge where to parts of the pipeline meet.

movement. They were positioned on a private land owned by a Dakota Sioux member or on the land controlled by the USACE with the intention to slow down and eventually stop the construction (Levin, 2016). The camps served as a base for the protesters, to organize demonstrations and direct actions. The national attention, briefly followed by the international response, was drawn to the case in the summer of 2016 after the USACE approved the project and granted the developer the final permits. It is estimated that ten thousand people joined the camps in order to participate in the demonstrations; among them the presidential candidates Jill Stein and Bernie Sanders, several prominent actors and hundreds of US military veterans. More than two hundred Native American tribes promised their support. The activists referred to themselves as 'water protectors' (Wong & Levin, 2016).

The protesters agreed on being unarmed and peaceful, nevertheless, accusation rose that the protesters started fires and threw petrol bombs at the police. A conflict between the protesters and the police and private security service escalated in the autumn of 2016, when the ETP continued with the construction and destroyed many parts of the tribes' sacred burial site. The police were armed with large tanks and riot gear and used pepper spray, teargas and rubber bullets (Levin, 2016). The employees of private security service attacked the protesters with dogs (Worland, 2016). Over the course of time, up until the final eviction of the protesters, the police made more than 750 arrests on charges of rioting and trespassing (Meyer, 2017). The United Nations declared that the military forces on the site, together with the police and private security firm used inappropriate methods and unjustified force. Moreover, it also came to the conclusion that the people held in detention faced inhuman and degrading conditions (United Nations, 2016).

3.5. Legal Processes of the DAPL

Not only did the Standing Rock Sioux protest on site, they also fought the DAPL in court. After the USACE granted final permits for the pipeline in July 2016, the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe took the case to court. Tribe stated that the USACE violated the National Historic Preservation Act, which requires the Army Corps to take into account the importance of federally-permitted sites and the National Environmental Policy Act that requires the Army Corps to take into account the impact for the waterways. They argued that the approvals of the project were issued without a proper consultation with the tribes, posing a threat to their water source and to their sacred lands. They found the EA did not take into consideration the large-scale impact of the project and it was not thorough enough (Levin, 2016). In September 2016,

the U.S. District Court Judge James Boasberg denied the Standing Rock Sioux tribe a preliminary injunction⁷, allowing the construction to move forward (Worland, 2016). He justified his decision by saying that the USACE offered to consult the construction sites with the Sioux, but they refused. He also claimed that no sacred lands had been violated. Shortly after, the Environmental Protection Agency sent a letter to the USACE asking them to revise the EA draft. It was followed by the USACE, the Department of Justice and the Department of Interior temporarily halting the permits and stopping the construction of the DAPL.

The outgoing President Obama decided to stop the project in December 2016 until the ETP completes full EA of the DAPL. Following this order, the USACE announced to look for a substitute route. Regardless, within his first days in the office, a newly elected President Donald Trump cancelled Obama's order by signing a presidential memorandum supporting the DAPL. It was not in his competences to approve to the project, nevertheless it was perceived as a symbol of strong encouragement. In February 2017, the USACE approved the remaining part of the project under the Missouri River that was on hold for several months (Wong & Levin, Final phase of Dakota Access pipeline to be approved, a major blow to Standing Rock Sioux, 2017)

Two weeks after the DAPL started to operate, on June 15 2017, U.S. District Judge James Boasberg ordered the USACE to carry out certain parts of the environmental assessment of the DAPL. According to his decision, it did not "*adequately consider the impacts of an oil spill on fishing rights, hunting rights, or environmental justice*" (Volcovici, 2017). Moreover, he also concluded, that the USACE "*substantially complied with the National Environmental Policy Act*" (Volcovici, 2017). The Sioux asked for a complete shut down of the pipeline, but the judge ruled for the DAPL to keep operating until the documents he requested would be submitted. Judge Boasberg rejected tribes' charge that Trump's memorandum on the DAPL was illegal (Hellmann, 2018). There is an ongoing four-tribe lawsuit against the ETP and the USACE for not properly including the Sioux tribe in the decision-making processes. In April 2017, the ETP submitted a spill response plan requested by the court. A new review issued by the Army Corps regarding the impact the DAPL might have on the tribes is not completed yet (Associated Press, 2018). The oil production in North Dakota reached record numbers in 2018,

⁷ Injunction issued by court prior to final determination in order to restrain a party from going ahead with a course of conduct.

mostly because the DAPL makes the market with oil transportation more competitive (Dalrymple, 2018).

4. Methodology

One of the primary objectives of this thesis is to analyze the discourse of the various actors in the case of building the DAPL. A method of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) will be used to analyze direct statements of the actors in the context of social and power arrangements.

4.1. Critical Discourse Analysis

There is a variety of approaches towards discourse analysis. They can be divided into two groups. Depending on the nature of their social orientation to a discourse, there is a non-critical and a critical approach. The critical approach does not only provide a description of discursive practices, “but [it is] also showing how discourse is shaped by relations of power and ideologies, and the constructive effects discourse has upon social identities, social relations and systems of knowledge and belief, neither of which is normally apparent to discourse participants” (Fairclough, *Discourse and social change*, 1992, p. 12).

CDA originates from a textual and linguistic analysis. It started to develop in the 1970s and 1980s as a teaching and a research method (Fairclough & Fairclough, *Political Discourse Analysis: A Method for Advanced Students*, 2012, p. 78). The CDA introduced a critical perspective on language, which mostly came from the critical theory in social sciences. The method wanted to focus more on the discourse within the critical social analysis, as it had been lacking in the non-critical discourse analysis before. "This includes a better understanding of the relations between discourse and other elements of social life, including social relations (and relations of power), ideologies, social institutions and organizations, and social identities, and better ways of analyzing and researching these relations" (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012).

For my work, I have decided to use the Critical Discourse Analysis as described in Norman Fairclough's model. The DAPL case displays a problem of a social status and social roles in the society. It shows a dominance of one social group over another. Hence, I came to the conclusion that the CDA is the most relevant method for my work, as it connects a linguistic analysis with the analysis of discourse within the roles of power and ideology in the society.

A particular concern of the CDA for Fairclough lies in the changes that are happening in the contemporary social life and in how does semiosis⁸ figures within the processes of change (Wodak & Meyer, 2001, p. 123). Different social actors see and represent social life in different ways and different discourses. Social practices bounded together in a specific way create a social order. "Some ways of making meaning are dominant or mainstream in a particular order of discourse, other are marginal or positional or alternative" (Wodak & Meyer, 2001, p. 124). The scholars using the CDA put emphasis on identifying dominance of one social group over another in the discourse. They are trying to reveal the motivation of authors and actors of the discourse. The term discourse has numerous distinctions according to time, traditions and authors who used it. Fairclough is using the term discourse in order to look at language use as a form of social practice rather than just an individual activity. "Discourses are diverse representations of social life which are inherently positioned - differently positioned social actors 'see' and represent social life in different ways, different discourses" (Wodak & Meyer, 2001, p. 124). It is important as it means that a discourse is a "mode of action, one from which people may act upon the world and especially upon each other, as well as a mode of representation" (Fairclough, *Discourse and social change*, 1992, p. 63). It also implies a dialectical relationship between a discourse and a social structure.

Discourse is shaped by social structures and is at the same time also socially constitutive. "Discourse is a practice not just representing the world but of signifying the world, constituting and constructing the world in meaning" (Fairclough, *Discourse and social change*, 1992, p. 64). When using the term discourse, Fairclough refers to a written or spoken form of language. Within a discourse analysis, the term text implies not only written but also spoken discourse - for example words used in a conversation or their written transcription (Fairclough, *Critical discourse analysis: the critical study of language*, 1995). In the textual analysis, the emphasis is put not only on the content of the texts but also on their texture, form and organization. A textual analysis for Fairclough consists of two types of analysis. The first one is a linguistic analysis, focusing on grammar, vocabulary, semantics and phonology. The second one is an intertextual analysis that focuses on textual organization above the sentence and the structure of the text (Fairclough, *Critical discourse analysis: the critical study of language*, 1995, s. 188) Fairclough considers the textual analysis as such not to be adequate enough for the CDA as one should try to identify how texts work within sociocultural practices.

⁸ Semiosis as defined by the Oxford Dictionary is the study of signs and symbols and their use or interpretation.

In order to achieve the goal of the CDA, to uncover the ideological background behind the usage of particular discourse, Fairclough has introduced a three-dimensional conception of discourse (Figure 2), which is trying to bring together three analytical traditions (Fairclough, *Discourse and social change*, 1992, p. 72). There the first tradition is the textual analysis within linguistics which the author calls a description. In this part, the author focuses on three thematic parts: vocabulary, grammar and textual structures. Within the first two, he distinguishes between the experiential, relational and expressive value of words and grammatical features (Fairclough, *Language and Power*, 2001, s. 110, 111, 112). Second tradition is the linguistic analysis which Fairclough further introduces as an interpretation. Here the focus lies in the discursive practice. Fairclough looks at the relationship between the text and the interaction. He sees the text as both the result of a production and the resource for interpretation (Fairclough, *Language and Power*, 2001, s. 141). An explanation is the third tradition of the CDA analysis. “The objective of the stage of explanation is to portray a discourse as part of a social process, as a social practice, showing how it is determined by social structures, and what reproductive effects discourses can cumulatively have on those structures, sustaining them or changing them” (Fairclough, 2001, s. 163).

It is therefore necessary to look at the discourse within the relations of power and ongoing social struggles. With regard to the relation of power, Fairclough uses the conceptions of the common sense and ideology. He claims that the common sense is essentially ideological (Fairclough, 1989). He argued “that discursal practices are ideologically invested in so far as they contribute to sustaining or undermining power relations” (Fairclough, *Critical discourse analysis: the critical study of language*, 1995) Fairclough works with the framework of hegemony outlined by an Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci, as it integrates economy, politics and ideology (Fairclough, *Critical discourse analysis: the critical study of language*, 1995). The concept of hegemony proposes that a leadership and the social control are not based on the oppression but rather on the consent with the led. It is “[...] a consent which is secured by the diffusion and popularization of the world view of the ruling class” (Bates, 1975). Gramsci’s focus lied in the liberal societies of Western capitalism. He claimed that they have stronger civil societies, which are strengthening the hegemony of the dominant group at the expense of other states. The group fighting for power therefore needs to win over the civil society to seize the state power (Strinati, 2004).

5. Analytical Part

The primary focus of this thesis is the discourse about the possible consequences of the DAPL formed by various significant actors. A close attention will be paid to statements of the actors themselves, rather than to an analysis of the media discourse, which is a common practice within the CDA. This decision stems from the focus of the research, which is the possible consequences of DAPL as the actors talk about them, not as media present them. Many different people, individuals and groups have commented on the DAPL case. The pipeline crosses four states and the number of actors is great. The thesis focuses on the most critical part of the pipeline route in North Dakota, next to the Standing Rock reservation, even though there have been major conflicts also in Iowa, especially with regard to land ownership, eminent domains and threats to the environment and human health. I have decided to focus on this part in order to analyze the particular aspect of environmental injustice that is present the DAPL case.

The analysis is divided according to the different types of opinion that were identified in the selected statements. Each part begins with a description and focuses on the linguistic signs of the discourse. Subsequently, the discourses are interpreted with the emphasis on their interdiscursivity. Interdiscursivity researches how different discourses are articulated together within a specific event. They can either form an established discursive type or they create a new hybrid organization. The prevailing discourse is identified and analyzed along with the less widely accepted discourses in a broader socio-cultural context (Fairclough, 1995). As to the consequences, the selected statements can be divided into three categories: the possible consequences of the DAPL; the consequences that already took effect during the construction of the DAPL; and the inevitable consequences the DAPL poses.

5.1. Time Frame

The time frame according to which the statements were chose reflects the duration of building of the DAPL. Even though the announcement of the construction proposal can be traced back to 2014, the media coverage of the case began in 2015 when the opposition has risen. The coverage reached its peak between the years 2016 – 2017, when the camp Sacred Stone was built, and the opposition of the Standing Rock Sioux Tribes and other activists strengthened. During the time, the case gained international attention. The beginning of the time frame is therefore marked by the public oppositions of DAPL in January 2015 up till March 2018.

5.2. Selection of Actors

The thesis will look at the actors who have been affected by the DAPL case, played a role in the case in the specific area of Standing Rock or had an impact on the decision-making process. The statements of all the actors presented in the following part of the thesis are part of my analysis. The selected actors can be divided into five categories:

5.2.1. Native American Actors

The first category includes Native Americans, specifically the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe. They have already suffered a negative consequence of the DAPL (sacred tribal land destruction), and can therefore be considered one of the most significant actors. Second, they are on the front line of bearing more of the possible negative consequences in the future. The pipeline leads close to the Standing Rock Indian Reservation in North Dakota and it crosses lands sacred to the tribe. The Sioux Tribe has put up the strongest opposition against building of the DAPL which attracted the attention of the media and the world. One of the most vocal persons in the protest has been the previous chairman of the Sioux, Dave Archambault II. He often spoke on behalf of the Standing Rock Sioux about Indian rights issues and he helped to establish the resistance camps. He was elected in September 2013, however when the pipeline began operating in the summer 2017, he was voted out of the office and replaced by the tribal councilman Mike Faith, who was appointed a chairman (Rickert, 2017). The Sioux have fought the DAPL not only at the construction sites, but also on legal terms. Therefore, the attorneys representing the tribes are also among the selected actors. During the protests against the pipeline, more than 200 Native American Tribes have pledged their support to the Sioux. The relevant ones for the analysis are other Sioux Tribes, the Cherokee Nation and the Meskwaki Tribe.

5.2.2. Industrial Actors

The second category of industrial actors might be regarded as an opposition to the civil actors. They have been in favor of the development the whole time and have served as an encouraging voice for the DAPL construction. The category includes the developer of the DAPL - a Texas-based company named Energy Transfer Partners L.P. that operated the construction through its subsidiary company Dakota Access LLC. The ETP is engaged in most of the areas of the energy sector in the U.S., from natural gas and crude oil, coal and timber. It owns miles of transportation pipelines and many storage facilities. The ETP has commented on

the possible consequences of the DAPL through both its spokespersons and its founder and CEO Kelcy Warren who is an American business billionaire and has ties to the current administration. He donated to Donald Trump's presidential campaign.

Other industrial actors are The Association of Oil Pipe Lines, which represents the interests of owners and operators of pipelines transporting crude oil around America, The American Petroleum Institute that works as a national trade organization which gathers hundreds of U.S. corporates working in the oil and natural gas industry and The Consumer Energy Alliance that helps the customers in energy related questions while advocating for fossil fuels usage.

5.2.3. Political Actors

The individual political actors often have a limited authority when it comes to approvals of big development projects, because of wide distribution of competences. However, they represent powerful institutions that are trusted and respected by the people. Their power reflects in the influence and impact their statements can have.

The White House underwent a presidential change during the DAPL construction which caused a reversal in the case. The Obama administration blocked the DAPL at the end of 2016. In January 2017, Donald Trump entered the office and replaced Obama after two electoral terms. Trump has always openly supported the heavy industry and within the first in the office signed an executive order advancing the DAPL.

Political representatives and senators took an active part in commenting the case or to some extent participated in it. Senators represent people from their home state in the U.S. Senate and they are responsible for the legislative activities of the government, such as drafting and voting on new bills.

Many U.S. governmental bodies and institutions have been or still are actors in the case. The United States Army Corps of Engineers, which is a U.S. federal agency operating under the Department of Defense, is a crucial one. Its focus lies in civil engineering projects, mostly focused on dams, canals and flood control measures, but also in environmental regulation and ecosystem restoration. The USACE has played a major role in the case as the ETP – a constructor of the DAPL – needed their permit to build on the federal land. They also issued an Environmental Impact Statement, which was later found to be insufficient in court by the Judge James E. Boasberg.

The Department of the Interior is responsible for protection and management of the nation's natural resources and looks after the responsibilities and commitments to American Indians. The Bureau for Indian Affairs operates within the department to provide administration and management over land to federally recognized American Indian tribes and Alaska Natives in the U.S. The Department of Transportation covers all means of transportations from aviation and railways to pipelines. It is responsible for new regulations; it provides research and statistical analysis.

5.2.4. Judicial Actors

The important part of the fights over the DAPL took place in court. The Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, together with three other tribes, asked for the pipeline to be shut down. They argued they were not adequately involved in the development conversation regarding the development of the DAPL and that the provided environmental assessment was insufficient. All the rulings had been made by Judge James E. Boasberg from the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia who had a major impact on the case development.

5.2.5. Environmental and Indigenous Interest groups

As the protest against the DAPL gained attention, many interest groups had expressed their opinions and concerns regarding the pipeline's development and its possible consequences. Amongst the actors, there is the international environmental organization Greenpeace that focuses on the protection of the environment, the National Congress of American Indians that is an indigenous rights organization that represents the tribal interests and the Indigenous Environmental Network. The Indigenous Environmental Network is formed by grassroots Indigenous people and aims to address environmental and economic justice issues. It has supported the protests against the DAPL and the argument of Tribes for better involvement in decision-making process that might affect them. Its executive director Tom Goldtooth spoke most about the topic.

5.3. Selection of the Statements

In terms of the analysis, it was crucial to select relevant statements of the abovementioned actors. I have decided to focus on the written discourse which consists of quotations published in the online or printed media; and official documents such as statements, press releases,

judgments and assessments or transcriptions of speeches. The data sources can be divided into two categories: the first is media monitoring. I used the ProQuest research tool, specifically its News & Newspapers database. The ProQuest platform allows to search directly through the US Newsstream, that gathers national and regional newspapers since the 1980s and offers the full-text display. Most of the statements come from the regional newspapers such as the Bismarck Tribune from North Dakota and Des Moines Register from Iowa, and from more national newspapers such as The New York Times, The Washington Post and The Wall Street Journal. The second source of statements were official internet websites of the selected actors through which legal documents, statements and assessments could be found.⁹

The key words used for searching through the newspaper database, as well as through the official websites, were ‘Dakota Access Pipeline.’ The amount of found data was extensive and it was important to narrow it down. Many comments about the DAPL case from the selected actors were not related to the possible consequences of the case, so the first part of reduction was made in this regard. Repeating statements were the second target of the research adjustment process. The further selection of the research was done under the following criteria: a selected text sample must be a direct statement of the selected actor or actors, not a journalist paraphrase, and it is related to the DAPL case and its possible consequences.

6. Analysis

The analysis is divided into five parts, according to different consequences I identified in the selected statements by the actors of the DAPL case.

6.1. Environmental Injustice

The Sioux Tribe and their supporters have articulated a discourse of injustice. They argue that the current route of the pipeline was only proposed after the alternative route north of Bismarck was rejected by the USACE. The major reasons were a bad connection with the already existing infrastructure and possible adverse impacts on the water resources in the area.

⁹ The websites include the Standing Rock Sioux’s website (<http://standwithstandingrock.net>), previous and current White House administrations (<https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov> and <https://www.whitehouse.gov>), the USACE (<http://www.usace.army.mil>), the ETP (<https://www.energytransfer.com> and <https://dapipelinefacts.com>), the Indigenous Environmental Network (<http://www.ienearth.org>) and governmental departments (<https://www.justice.gov>, <https://www.bia.gov>).

The possible water contamination is the same reason why the Sioux opposed the pipeline, but it was pursued anyway.

“From the very beginning, those seeking to build an empire described our ancestors as “limited owners” or mere occupants of the land. They were free to do as they willed. Centuries later, we still see this happening. We see the alleged minority community interests of Bismarck, North Dakota outweighing the interests of our entire tribe. We see corporations being allowed to take shortcuts with the federal government that bypass regulations put in place to protect basic human health.”

Dave Archambault II., former chairman of The Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, March 2017

“The pipeline was originally set to go through Bismarck, ND but the community rejected that plan because they were afraid it would jeopardize the Bismarck water supply. Thereafter the pipeline was routed to pass thru treaty lands of the Oceti Sakowin, also known as the Great Sioux Nation, and within miles of the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe’s primary intake for drinking water, without proper consultation or free, prior and informed consent. Since day one, we have been standing up against this blatant act of environmental racism and social injustice towards Indigenous Peoples.”

Indigenous Environmental Network, June 2017

“Americans have come together in support of the Tribe asking for a fair, balanced and lawful pipeline process. The environmental impact statement was wrongfully terminated. This pipeline was unfairly rerouted across our treaty lands.”

Dave Archambault II., former chairman of The Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, 2017

Archambault emphasizes the historical context of American colonization in the first statement. Since its very beginning Native Americans have been put in a disadvantaged and oppressed position. There is a clear distinction between the Indigenous tribes and ‘those seeking to build an empire.’ It is the same distinction that is visible today. The empire is already built, but there are still many people, in this case developers and business men, who seek its expansion. In Bismarck, the interests of a 90% non-Indian population outweighed the interests of the whole Sioux tribe. He alludes to the fact that the big corporate companies are able to ease the regulatory processes because the government lets them. The social power is often institutionalized, which helps it to reproduce and maintain itself more effectively. He directly

associates the corporations with the government as they deliberately circumvent the rules meant to protect people's health. A lack of consultations and agreement is accentuated in the Indigenous Environmental Network's (IEN) statement. The Sioux Tribe was not treated equally and fairly as they did not get the chance to participate in a decision that could have had a major impact on their day-to-day functioning. There was no 'consent' - the development company built the pipeline despite the protests of the Tribe, expressed on various occasions in court, through demonstrations, protests and the acts of civil disobedience. For them, there is no other way to perceive the reroute but as an act of environmental racism and social injustice. By calling it 'blatant,' they assume it should be obvious to everyone. The majority of the Native American population is economically disadvantaged and marginalized by American society. The statement points out to the double standard in the approach. The inhabitants of Bismarck got a chance to decide against the pipeline, but the Sioux tribe did not. The lack of respect to basic human rights of Indigenous people is evident - having drinking water around Bismarck is more important than having it around Standing Rock.

The statement from the IEN was released In June 2017. It is the same month the pipeline began fully operating and the judge ruled that the environmental assessment issued by the USACE needs to be reviewed. The assessment concluded that the Standing Rock would not bear more risk of a spill than others. However, no evidence was provided to support this statement. Judge Boasberg ruled that they need to revise the assessment, especially when it comes to the topic of environmental justice. The tribal populations are intertwined with the natural systems; thus, a more holistic approach is required when making environmental impact statements and conducting an environmental justice analysis (Harris & Harper, 2011). The four tribes that filed the lawsuit requested that the pipeline would be shut down until the assessment is finished. Notwithstanding, the judge supported the ETP and kept the DAPL operational.

“While Tribal governments fully understand the bureaucratic hurdles to economic development and share the same desire to improve the federal permitting process, that process must not be shortchanged at the expense of Indian Country. We cannot afford to go back to the days when Tribal Nations' voices were ignored and left with only the burdens and harms of development without our consent.

Brian Cladoosby, president of The National Congress of American Indians, January 2017

"Today's decision is a disappointing continuation of a historic pattern: other people get all the profits, and the Tribes get all the risk and harm. The court already found that the Corps violated the law when it issued the permits without thoroughly considering the impact on the people of Standing Rock. The company should not be allowed to continue operating while the Corps studies that threat."

Jan Hasselman, an attorney of Earthjustice, representing the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, 2017

Similar to previous statements, Hasselman and Cladoosby refer to the historical events and the oppression of Native Americans throughout American history. They emphasize a disproportionate distribution of environmental hazards and the potential health risks that the Native American population has to face. Hasselman contrasts their situation with the situation of the rest of the people who enjoy the benefits. Moreover, Cladoosby draws a line between 'the burdens and harms' and the development. The term development suggests a positive change, a progress toward something better. Unfortunately, it is too often accompanied by negative changes that affect the excluded social groups.

The reviewing process of the DAPL shows signs of interdiscursivity. While the tribe argued that they were not properly approached about the possibility of the construction, Kelcy Warren, the CEO of Energy Transfer Partners, stated the very opposite.

"I really wish for the Standing Rock Sioux that they had engaged in discussions way before they did. I don't think we would have been having this discussion if they did. We could have changed the route. It could have been done, but it's too late."

Kelcy Warren, CEO of Energy Transfer Partners, November 2016

In the first sentence Warren is suggesting that the Sioux did not state their objections from the beginning. It is not true, as they had been opposing this pipeline since they learned about the proposal in spring of 2014. Warren's statement came a few days after Donald Trump was elected president. By stating that the change would have been possible, but it was too late now, he showed his confidence that the new administration will grant the final approval of the DAPL. He directly stated he is "pretty confident that worst case, Jan. 20, we get our easement and proceed" (Maher, 2016). His rhetoric is part of the dominant discourse in American society which favors the economic development - the key element emphasized by President Trump himself.

6.2. Economic Benefits

Most of the statements that concerned benefits the DAPL would bring to U.S. economy and the inhabitants started to appear after Donald Trump issued an executive order on the DAPL and the Keystone XL pipeline¹⁰. This was four days after his inauguration on 24 January 2017. As a result, not only were the pipelines advanced, all oil pipelines in the country were to be constructed from domestic materials. Moreover, he shortened the environmental review process and the regulatory process for the pipeline construction (Holland & Volcovici, 2017). In February 2017 the USACE granted the final easement necessary to complete the construction of the DAPL, which provided further encouragement for formulation of similarly posed statements.

Majority of the actors arguing for the advantages of the DAPL either represent the fossil fuel industry or President Trump and his administration. Their statements accentuate the importance of the DAPL and Keystone XL for country's development. Most of them were issued as a response to Trump's executive order that advanced both projects.

"Critical energy infrastructure projects like the Keystone XL and the Dakota Access Pipeline will help deliver energy to American consumers and businesses safely and efficiently."

Jack Gerard, CEO of the American Petroleum Institute, January 2017

"Critical infrastructure projects like Keystone XL and Dakota Access will bring much-needed crude oil to markets, which will help create the fuel, power, and products that Americans use every day."

David Holt, president of Consumer Energy Alliance, January 2017

Gerard uses the words 'safely and efficiently' as they are equally important. In other words, it is suggested that the pipelines do not pose environmental and health risks and on top of that also bring profits. The actors perceive the DAPL and the Keystone XL as 'critical' projects. According to them, the pipelines play key role in the development of the U.S. energy. Consequently, Americans will be able to enjoy the benefits of energy, power and fuel. The word

¹⁰ The Keystone XL pipeline should be over thousand miles long and it should transport oil from oil sands in Canada to Nebraska. There already is a Keystone pipeline, but this one would take a more direct route and it would increase the transported amount of oil. It was approved by The Canadian National Energy Board in 2010, but the then president Barack Obama denied the presidential permit required, as the EPA advised him not to.

‘fuel’ has a strong connotation with the dominant system - it is often referred to in terms of fueling the economic growth. Both the use of energy and the importance of the products for an everyday use are stressed. Crude oil is described as something ‘much-needed’, something necessary for the people. As of recent years, a global shift towards renewable energy can be observed, although the fossil fuels still dominate the energy production. The report *Global Trends in Renewable Energy Investment 2017* published by the UN Environment stated that global investments into renewables rose in 2017 by 2% whereas a drop by 6% was recorded in the case of the US (McCrone, 2017).

I believe that construction and operation of lawfully permitted pipeline infrastructure serve the national interest.

Donald Trump, President of the United States, January 2017

“The unfortunate reality is that these important infrastructure projects were used by special interests to advance their radical anti-energy agenda and were therefore needlessly halted by the last administration – to the detriment of America’s national interest. These pipelines will strengthen our nation’s energy supply and help keep energy costs low for American families.”

Paul Ryan, White House speaker, January 2017

“We finally set up our nation on a path to not only energy independence, but energy dominance.”

Sarah Sanders, Press Secretary of the White House, December 2017

In the summer of 2017 President Trump withdrew the US from the Paris Agreement. He is known for his support of the fossil fuels. He is of an opinion that the pipelines serve ‘the national interests.’ Trump emphasizes the fact that these pipelines are constructed and operated legally, contrary to what the Sioux tribe is claiming. He helps to legitimize the pipeline and maintains the mainstream discourse. Ryan claims that the opposition of the DAPL is based on a ‘radical anti-energy agenda.’ He goes as far as to claim that their aim is not the protection of human and tribal rights, water and livelihoods, but a harm to American interests. In other words, he diminishes the attempts of Native Americans and their allies to protect themselves and their homes. The current administration, as presented by Ryan, views the fossil fuel industry as a means to reach American energy independence, or rather an energy dominance. The prevailing discourse is reproduced here; the picture of a powerful America is painted. Independence is not

enough for them, they also seek control over others. This statement helps to preserve the dominant discourse by supporting the competition which is a dominant feature of the free market and the US society – the survival of the fittest.

Another feature of the economic benefits discourse is selective nationalism that often comes across as racist. It can be found in most of the statements of the industrial and political actors included in this part of the analysis.

“Everyone - families, farmers, manufacturers, distributors and small businesses - will benefit from the decision to greenlight a pair of pipelines that will help cash-strapped families lower costs, especially the tens of millions living on a fixed income or below the poverty line.”

David Holt, president of Consumer Energy Alliance, January 2017

Claiming that ‘everyone’ will benefit from the DAPL and Keystone XL, especially those ‘on a fixed income or below the poverty line’ is misleading and very far from the reality. There is no possible scenario in which the pipelines could be beneficial for ‘everyone,’ especially when one takes into account the Sioux and other tribal nations that have already suffered by it. Holt speaks from the position of a wealthy man who will benefit from the pipelines and he deliberately leaves the affected Native Americans out. They find themselves in a special position because they live in reservations and are therefore often isolated from the general public. They have been in a subordinate position to the whites ever since the colonization in North America began. The nationalistic aspect can be seen in many statements, such as Trump claiming the pipelines will ‘serve national interest’, or others claiming that they bring ‘opportunities for Americans,’ ‘American jobs,’ ‘U.S. jobs,’ ‘products that Americans use’ and the ‘energy for American consumers’.

All of these formulations go in line with Trump’s agenda and his campaign slogan ‘Make America Great Again.’ He is concerned with creating jobs for Americans and putting Americans first. However, his and other actors’ mentioned perception of Americans is highly problematic. It does not include ‘everyone.’ In economic terms, all Americans could benefit from it, for instance, if the oil prices drop. The developers and the already wealthy will nevertheless receive the biggest benefits. We can see interdiscursivity here because the arguments regarding national benefits and benefits for all were questioned by many.

“President Trump's executive orders put big polluters first, not America first.”

[...]

“These projects have no place on the American landscape and are being pushed for one reason, and one reason only: more billions for the billionaires. These projects would override the interests of the communities, Tribes and wildlife who will be forced to deal with their consequences. We need a president who will stand for America's environment and protect it for future generations to enjoy, not sacrifice it for corporate billions.”

Jamie Rappaport, President and CEO of Defenders of Wildlife, January 2017

With the phrase ‘more billions for the billionaires,’ Rappaport only re-affirms the suggestion that the gap between the poorest and the richest is gradually widening. America’s wealth accumulates in the hands of the few. According to the wealth distribution statistics from 2017, 1 % of the richest Americans possess around 35.5 % of all American wealth. The lower-income half of the Americans owns only around 1.1 % (Statista, 2018). The fact that the population of Native Americans in reservations is often economically isolated only enhances the severity of the issue. According to the U.S. Census Bureau data from 2016, the estimated poverty rate in the Sioux County that surrounds the Standing Rock Reservation in North Dakota reaches 35.3 %. It places the Sioux County among the places with the highest poverty rate (between 32,4 % and 48,6 %). In comparison, the city of Bismarck – through which the pipeline was originally planned to lead - is situated in Burleigh County whose estimated poverty level is 7,2 % - one of the lowest poverty rates (between 3,6 % and 10,6 %) (U.S. Census Bureau, 2017). North Dakota profits enormously from the oil boom which has lowered the unemployment rate to 3,1%. The unemployment rate in Standing Rock is 79% (Lee, 2015). The prevailing discourse in America is instrumental for those who already have a strong position in the society. The strength of someone’s voice in a society is often measured against the value of their material possession, which results in neglecting and overlooking of the poor people’s voice.

Rappaport is another to mention environmental injustice. The corporate representatives that causing the pollution get the benefit of money. Unlike them, the communities, tribes and wildlife suffer from the negative effects of the process. The land destruction, a possible water contamination and other hazards posed by the pipeline endanger the environment and the livelihoods of the people. He is trying to advance the discourse of environmental protection into a broader social practice, mostly the media practice and the public practice. He draws a line

between Trump and the ‘big polluters’ - the industrial firms whose profit often comes from an uncontrolled extraction of natural resources and harming the environment and people’s health. Trump used to own assets in the ETP, however, he later sold them. Nevertheless, it is still unclear if he does or does not own shares in a minor DAPL partner Philips 66.

The interdiscursivity can be also identified with regard to Trump and his administration. Many actors of the DAPL case have previously thanked President Trump for having signed the executive orders. They praise the ‘new direction’ the White House has taken, which is often perceived as a threat for the other actors.

“These pipelines will create both immediate jobs and long-term economic opportunities for Americans across the nation, helping to fulfill one of President Trump's main campaign promises to create more U.S. jobs.”

David Holt, President of Consumer Energy Alliance, January 2017

"We thank President Trump for giving the American people the benefits of jobs and plentiful, affordable energy that pipelines will bring."

Andrew Black, President and CEO of Association of Oil Pipe Lines, January 2017

After years of delays, for instance, President Trump authorized the construction of the Keystone and Dakota pipelines, creating thousands of American jobs and strengthening our energy infrastructure.

Mike Pence, Vice President of the U.S., March 2017

The actors keep emphasizing the number of jobs the DAPL and Keystone XL will create, all despite the fact that those twelve thousand jobs the DAPL did in fact create were predominantly temporary. By referring to Trump and the new administration, the actors strengthen their position in the process of social struggles within relations of power. Referencing the institutions serves as a legitimization of truth. Holt himself refers to Trump’s campaign and the promise to create jobs in order to improve his image. He strengthens his image of the savior – the provider of jobs. He seeks dominance as the capitalist system is based on the assumption that it is necessary to have a job and make money in order to be able to sustain a living.

Once the actors started pursuing the discourse of economic benefits, the Sioux found themselves in a position of those who are against America. In other words, because they are against the pipeline, they are against development of the country. It puts them on the opposite end of the country's narrative of profit and wealth, and thus the opposite end of the prevailing discourse. They have tried to disprove such claims.

"We are not opposed to energy independence, economic development, or national security concerns, but we must ensure that these decisions are made with the considerations of our indigenous peoples."

Dave Archambault II., former chairman of The Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, December 2016

"By granting the easement, Trump is risking our treaty rights and water supply to benefit his wealthy contributors and friends at DAPL. We are not opposed to energy independence. We are opposed to reckless and politically motivated development projects, like DAPL, that ignore our treaty rights and risk our water."

Dave Archambault II., former chairman of The Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, January 2017

"Indian Country has spoken loud and clear that we are not against development, but our legitimate rights as sovereign governments to be heard in the permitting process cannot be ignored. Tribal involvement is necessary to ensure that infrastructure projects benefit our communities without harming our lands, waters, and sacred places."

Brian Cladoosby, president of The National Congress of American Indians, January 2017

Archambault's first statement was issued after Obama halted the DAPL construction. He thanked him and asked the succeeding administration to respect this decision. His second statement came shortly after the Trump administration granted the permission to continue the construction of the pipeline. They claim that Native American tribes are sovereign nations, which means they are autonomous and have a legal right to decide how their land is used (Taylor, Toxic Communities: Environmental Racism, Industrial Pollution, and Residential Mobility, 2014). Moreover, they need to be made aware and consulted before any decision regarding the development that could possibly impact the tribes' functioning is made. They underline the fact that it is their human and tribal right to be consulted in the process.

A discourse is influenced by the ideological principles of the society within which it is created. Thus, there are references to prosperity and richness that are the foundation of prevailing neoliberal capitalism dominant in the US. Nature and the environment, traditional cultures and marginalized groups trying to stand outside of this dominant system are hindered at the expense of prosperity, profit and economic wealth.

Only the things which accumulate money are considered economic. The environment is of secondary importance. Anything that could possibly stand in the way of economic growth is considered shameful and is immediately denied. Those who do not share this assumption are painted as foolish or saboteurs. In economics, absolute gains of an individual determine the interests of those who take part in it rather than relative gains that could potentially profit society as a whole (Schumacher, 1974).

The power elite in the society consists of the elected leaders, who exploit the powers given to them by their office, and those who own the nation's wealth. These people maintain and reinforce the prevailing discourse in which everything is perceived through the lens of economic profit. They consolidate their power by appealing to the people through the matters of economic growth and money against which people's well-being and success are measured. Wealth is often the determinant of power.

The dominant discourse is the one that is naturalized and considered by a majority to be normal in comparison to the alternative discourses. When speaking about dominant discourse, it does not mean the elimination of all the other practices, but it is more the marginalization of submissive practices (Fairclough, 1995).

6.3. Destruction of Sacred Lands

The living space of Native American populations has been prescribed to them. That does not mean they value it any less. One of the consequences of the DAPL that can be clearly identified and took place is the destruction of the Sioux tribe's sacred lands. Although the pipeline does not cross the Standing Rock Reservation, it goes under the tribe's treaty land where their ancestors are buried.

"This pipeline is going through huge swaths of ancestral land. It would be like constructing a pipeline through Arlington Cemetery or under St. Patrick's Cathedral."

Dead DePountis, attorney of the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, 2016

DePountis uses a comparison in his statement in order to change the position of the dominant discourse. The North American cities are highly urbanized, with more than 80% of the population living in the cities. The newest generations of Americans do not have as strong a connection to land, nature, animals, trees, water as Native Americans have. Native Americans view them as brothers, sisters, and grandparents (LaDuke, 1999). Water is not just for drinking, it also heals people in traditional ceremonies. Land is something that was given to them by their ancestors and it is up to them to look after it and to protect it. Since this discourse does not dominate, DePountis is trying to enhance it by explaining the importance this land has for the Sioux Tribe. The Arlington Cemetery and the St. Patrick's Cathedral are important places for Americans. Prominent political and religious American figures are buried here. In other words, if what happened to the Sioux would happen to the general American public, the feelings of outrage and desperation would be probably as great as are those that the Sioux nation have been experiencing.

“Important discoveries have taken place during construction, including human remains, funerary items and rock cairns. Sacred Native American cultural resources have been intentionally destroyed by DAPL workers.”

Dave Archambault II., former chairman of The Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, 2016

One of the most important ideological principles in the US is the concept of freedom. However, the execution of the freedom rights is often accompanied by the oppression of the marginalized groups. It entails religious freedom and the right to manifest the religion both in teaching and practice. The statement claims that the site was intentionally devastated by the workers. Building on a sacred land where people are buried is clearly disrespectful. Native Americans also believe that if the burial site is disrupted, the spirits of the dead will not be able to rest in peace. Blaming the DAPL workers is unfair. After all, the route was designed by other ETP employees and the workers only followed the orders to build the pipeline through this particular part of land. Archambault's statement is one of his many attempts to prove that the tribe is being harmed on various levels. The great value the land itself has for the Sioux is not relevant to the dominant neoliberal discourse where profit is the driving interest. Land that is a tribal burial place – not considered in general terms as a cemetery or a thumb - does not hold value for the majority of the society.

During the DAPL construction, Kelsey Warren, CEO of Energy Transfer Partners, neglected all reproaches of the opponents of the DAPL.

"We--like all Americans--value and respect cultural diversity and the significant role that Native American culture plays in our nation's history and its future and hope to be able to strengthen our relationship with the Native American communities as we move forward with this project."

Kelcy Warren, CEO of Energy Transfer Partners, 2016

During the DAPL construction, the Sioux tribe pointed out the numerous instances of disrespect. It has become clear that the ETP does not value the tribe, its land, its culture nor its traditions. The claim that they 'value and respect cultural diversity' is intentionally deceiving and untrue. He is saying 'we--like all Americans,' which shows he speaks from a position of power and feels like he can speak for all. In the light of how the ETP has acted during the case, Warren's comes across as a mockery. He connects two things that are mutually exclusive. He wants to 'strengthen our relationship with the Native American communities,' while doing the worst possible thing for them. It is a plain ignorance of the Sioux's request to stop the construction of the pipeline and the flow the oil through it.

6.4. Negative Effects on the Environment and Livelihoods of People

The most striking, but not the most dominant discourse that has followed the DAPL case, relates to the possible environmental and health threats that the pipeline could pose in case of a spill. These arguments relate to the construction under the Lake Oahe which is a reservoir on the Missouri River. A leak could result in the contamination of sources of drinking water for the Standing Rock Indian Reservation, but also for the people living downstream of the Missouri River. The tribal members and other pipeline opponents tried to attract attention to the fact that possible spill would affect more people than just communities of Native Americans. The water contamination would cause a major problem for other people who live along the river.

"Our lawsuit challenging this dangerous project is ongoing, and it's more important than ever for the court to step in and halt additional accidents before they happen – not just for the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe and our resources but for the 17 million people whose drinking water is at risk."

Dave Archambault II., former chairman of The Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, 2017

"Crossings of the Missouri River have the potential to affect the primary source of drinking water for much of North Dakota, South Dakota, and Tribal nations."

Philip Strobel, National Environmental Policy Act director for the EPA, 2016

"We know there are 17 million people downstream from us. The problem is bad for whatever community is near this pipeline,"

Nick Tilson, member of the Oglala Sioux Tribe, 2016

Tilson's statement was issued at the time when the DAPL protests turned into a national movement. The first sentence is a declarative statement; the author is using the inclusive personal pronoun 'we', which in this case addresses the group of people who are in opposition. At the same time, it delimits from those who do not take this fact into account. There is a distinction between 'us' and 'them' - between those who know that the effect would cause problems not only for Tribal nations and those who ignore possibility of this outcome. He mentions the conflicted area around the Standing Rock and goes as far as to relate the danger to the land along the whole pipeline. As a result, more people are made aware that this threat corners them. The message is aimed at a greater audience and evokes personal attachment with the cause, which could eventually lead to a greater support for the opponents of the construction. The expression 'whatever community' serves as a way to reach out to the people who do not properly acknowledge Native Americans or think of them as a second-category people. The remaining statements aim to emphasize the fact that the possible negative consequences would affect a larger number of people than is suspected.

"Don't you drink water, too?" [...] Don't your children drink water? We're here to protect the water,"

Mekasi Horinek, environmental activist, 2016

There was an obvious attempt for discourse alteration during the protests against the pipeline when the opponents started to refer to themselves as 'protectors' instead of protesters. They tried to encourage a discourse alteration through the media practice. They provided assurance they are not against the progress, and are instead trying to protect water, lands and livelihoods. The activists asked the local policemen questions while sitting in a prayer circle - a daily activity in the protest camps. The direct questions serve as a way to make the law enforcement workers sympathize with the opponents; to show them that they all share the

common ground and the same goal. The use of words with an expressive value is crucial for the parties advocating the secondary discourse in order to strengthen their position (Fairclough, 1989, p. 119). Furthermore, pursuing a discourse of protectors played an important role in the construction of reality through media appearance and framing. It was key to raise awareness about the fact that the possible contamination of drinking water supplies was one of the main reasons why the previously proposed route of the pipeline had been rejected.

The actors further talk about the pipeline leak as an event that is not just possible but will inevitably occur.

“If there were to be a spill – which history has taught us is not a question of “if” but “when [...]”

Tom Goldtooth, Executive Director of the Indigenous Environmental Network, 2016

It's not going to be if it breaks -- it's going to be when it breaks.”

Nick Tilson, member of the Oglala Sioux Tribe, 2016

This reappearing statement underlines the need to consider the long-term consequences and not think about the future only in the terms of the next few years. All human products go through a cycle of life. Eventually they stop functioning or they break, no matter how well they are built. All these statements advert on past events of pipeline spills and leaks that had more or less devastating effects on the environment and on human lives.

The pipeline opponents are bringing this aspect to the discussion to rationalize it and to support their argument. The damaging effects of a spill might be hard to imagine; and the tremendous value land has for Native Nations might be hard to grasp for non-Natives. That is why they give their cause a greater value and importance by referring to previous pipeline leaks and spills. More than 11,000 pipeline incidents took place in the United States since 2000, with more than a thousand of injuries. These concerns gained more significance when two leaks had occurred before the DAPL had become fully operational.

“They keep telling everybody that it is state of the art that leaks won’t happen, that nothing can go wrong. It’s always been false. They haven’t even turned the thing on and it’s shown to be false.”

Jan Hasselman, lawyer for the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, 2017

Even though these leaks were quite small and did not present a major risk, they supported the opponents' cause.

Degradation of water supplies caused by a spill would lead to shortage of drinking water resources and would negatively affect the Tribe's day to day functioning.

“Not only would the Dakota Access Pipeline threaten sacred sites and culturally important landscapes, it would also cross under the Missouri River just upstream of the Tribe's drinking water supply. If there were to be a spill – which history has taught us is not a question of “if” but “when” – it would constitute an existential threat to the Tribe's culture and way of life. The pipeline poses significant threats to the environment, public health, and tribal and human rights.”¹¹

Tom Goldtooth, executive director of the Indigenous Environmental Network, 2016

“The Standing Rock Sioux Tribe relies on the waters of the life-giving Missouri River for our continued existence, and the Dakota Access Pipeline poses a serious risk to Mni Sose and to the very survival of our Tribe.”

The Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, 2016

“The Dakota Access pipeline would cut through our historic Treaty lands where our ancestors are buried, and would cross Lake Oahe – which is the water source that provides life to the Tribe and its members – a few hundred feet upstream from our Reservation. An oil spill from the pipeline into Lake Oahe would have a devastating impact on the Tribe and our economic, social and spiritual life.”

The Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, 2016

“The EA is silent, for instance, on the distinct cultural practices of the tribe and the social and economic factors that might amplify its experience of the environmental effects of an oil spill. Standing Rock provides one such example in its briefing: many of its members fish, hunt and gather for subsistence. Losing the ability to do so could seriously and disproportionately harm those individuals relative to those in nearby nontribal communities.”

¹¹ Part of the statement was used before to present the risk of the spill as an inevitable event.

James E. Boasberg, U.S. District Court Judge, 2017

The Sioux Nation gives the Missouri River great importance and power, suggesting that if they could not use the river as before, it would mean an end of the Tribe as we know it. In the statement the Sioux used the term ‘Mni Sose,’ which in the native language means the Missouri River. They rely on the river stream for fishing and agriculture. It is their source of livelihood, with a deep connection to the history and the culture of the nation. The customs and traditions tied closely to the land play a major role in lives of Native American Tribes. The ties are not only spiritual and historical, but also legal, all of which hinders the mobility of Native Americans (Cole & Foster, 2001). In case of a major event, they would need to adapt, move and/or shift their deep-rooted ways of living. The risk is health-based, and it concerns the welfare of both the current generation and the generations to come. These arguments have been supported by the court's decision that the tribe's way of life implies the effects of the spill could have a greater impact on them than on other communities.

Ever since the pipeline opponents started to challenge its safety, the developing company Energy Transfer Partners and others have emphasized its reliability. In line with their business, the ETP issued a strong and confident response in favor of the safety of the pipelines. They stressed the benefits of pipelines compared to other means of transportation of crude oil, specifically railroads and trucks. Kelcy Warren, the CEO of ETP, gained confidence about the pipeline development once Donald Trump was elected president. Warren tried to play down the whole situation, saying ‘This is just a pipeline,’ mocking everyone who did not support it. He expressed his surprise with respect to the heavy opposition against the DAPL, especially if put into the context of the fact that the ETP alone owns and operates more than seventy thousand miles of pipelines.

“This is just a pipeline. This is a pipeline that's going to transport crude safely and economically.”

“[...] this pipeline will be safe, efficient and well constructed,”

Kelcy Warren, CEO of Energy Transfer Partners, 2016

Warren mentions the safety aspect of the pipeline but does not forget to include the economic benefits and contributions. The fact that the pipeline will be efficient and will bring

profits is as equally important as the fact that it will not threaten lives of people and the environment. At the same time, the discourse is influenced by the ideological principles that construct the society. When it comes to the American society, the dominant discourse is the ruling capitalism in which economic profit is the main imperative. In Warren's statements one can identify several references to the prevailing discourse: the pipeline will be transporting oil economically and efficiently. In terms of economic development, this is the most valuable advantage.

"Most importantly, safety is the company's top priority -- safety of our people and our assets, the safety of all those who live and work in the communities through which we pass, and the safety of the environment,"

Lisa Dillinger, spokeswoman of Energy Transfer Partners, 2017

This statement shows that when it comes to security, the company's people and their assets are the priority, followed by the communities living near the pipeline. The environment is the last to be considered.

"We are going above and beyond regulation in protecting the environment.

Monica Howard, director of environmental services for Energy Transfer Partners, 2015

"We built the Dakota Access Pipeline using the latest technology and exceeded minimum federal safety requirements throughout the process."

Lisa Dillinger, spokeswoman of Energy Transfer Partners, 2017

These statements are meant to assure people that they care about the environment and are in fact concerned with the possible leak. No matter what the reality is, it shows them in better light, suggesting they are doing more than they need to in order to protect the environment and the people. Using words such as 'requirements' and 'regulations' as well as mentioning the governmental standards gives the statement more weight - it evokes the feeling of responsibility and power that the governmental bodies have. The expression 'above and beyond' is redundant and implies their actions go beyond the requirements.

In order to push through with the development of the DAPL, its constructors often contrasted the safety of pipelines and other means of shipping oil - rails and trucks. When it comes to environmental impact, fewer barrels have been spilled by railroads than by pipelines.

It is important to mention that Trump and his administration did not address the abovementioned environmental issues. Trump is known to support the heavy industry and the fossil fuel industry, even though he claimed to be 'to a large extent an environmentalist'. Not talking about these possible environmental risks implies they are not relevant and not worth discussing.

6.5. Climate Change

The actors emphasized the possible water contamination and the destruction of the environment along the DAPL. They looked at the issue also from a global perspective and suggested that the negative consequences may go well beyond the US border. The extraction, processing and the usage of fossil fuels directly and profoundly contribute to the climate change.

"The Keystone XL pipeline and Dakota Access Pipeline threaten to destroy wildlife habitat, contaminate water supplies and risk catastrophic oil spills, and the oil they would carry only digs America deeper into climate change."

Jamie Rappaport, President and CEO of Defenders of Wildlife, January 2017

Rappaport uses informal and literary language. He uses personification when he says the 'oil digs America deeper.' Moreover, he works with a metonymy as oil itself does not worsen the climate change. Emissions are released into the atmosphere during fracking and drilling of the oil, during its transportation, processing and use – all of them human activities. 'Digs America deeper into climate change' is a metaphor, suggesting that the country has been already negatively affected by the climate change. What is even more alarming is the fact that the worse it gets, the harder it will be to reverse the entire situation or bare its consequences such as average temperatures risings, unpredictable extreme weather events, flood and droughts. Climate change is a global issue, nevertheless, he paints how America in particular will be affected, trying to appeal to the public opinion of Americans. The negative effects of climate change are not distributed equally, but the poor and marginalized groups are at greater

risk. Majority of scholars from all around the world agree on the existence and the anthropogenic causes of climate change. Amongst the U.S. population, 69 % believe that global warming is happening and 52% think it is to a great extent caused by humans (Leiserowitz, Maibach, Roser-Renouf, Feinberg, & Rosenthal, 2015) President Trump himself is a climate change denier. Despite the fact that majority of Americans believe in climate change, many of them still perceive it as something that does not directly concern them and is rather an issue of the Third World countries.

"Finally, restarting the Keystone XL and Dakota Access Pipelines will serve only to line the pockets of Big Oil and deepen our country's addiction to fossil fuel. We should be leading the world forward in developing renewable and alternative sources of energy, not falling back on energy sources that contribute to climate change."

David N. Cicilline, U.S. Representative for Rhode Island, 2017

"This pipeline represents something deeper. We have to start worrying about the rights of our future generations. We have to start looking at making a just transition as a society away from a fossil fuel economy."

Tom Goldtooth, Executive Director of the Indigenous Environmental Network, 2016

Cicilline refers to the 'country's addiction to fossil fuels' as the US energy demand is mostly covered by them. At the same time, fossil fuels are the primary source of carbon dioxide emissions. Fossil fuel pollution accounts for many diseases and deaths. He also reflects on the fact that only those already wealthy or those in charge of fossil fuel industries will get richer. The phrase 'line the pockets' suggests that there will be little or no benefits for ordinary people. He further suggests that America should be a global leader in transitioning towards renewable sources of energy. He draws a picture of progressive America - America that could become a leader - calling upon American patriotism and pride. Cicilline's statement is an effort to depart from the widely preferred discourse. The focus still lies in progress and development, but there is an alteration in how to reach it. He suggests using less dangerous sources than fossil fuels. The phrase 'falling back' relates to the dominant discourse in a negative way. Falling back contrasts with the progress sought by today's society.

Both statements go beyond understanding of the pipelines as simply objects. They draw a bigger picture of fossil fuel dependency and risks of climate change. In the context of the

climate change-related dangers, Goldtooth opts for an inclusive ‘we’. Everyone needs to be concerned with the state we will leave the world in for the future generations. He tries to stir the dominant discourse by including the human factor. He turns the attention to people’s individual feelings of empathy and responsibility. By saying ‘just transition as a society,’ he stresses the importance of a shift that will be all-inclusive and will not neglect marginalized groups.

"The Obama Administration rejected the Keystone XL Pipeline in part because it would 'undermine our ability to continue leading the world in combatting climate change.' And just last week, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers took steps to prepare a new Environmental Impact Statement for the Dakota Pipeline with 'full public input and analysis.' The impact of these pipelines on our environment, and on the communities they cut through, did not change when President Obama left office. President Trump's announcement today moves us in the wrong direction for our environment and our economy."

Elizabeth Warren, U.S. Democratic Senator, 2017

This statement was issued after Trump’s advancement of the DAPL. Warren represents one of the very few political voices suggesting that the new administration is going in the wrong direction. Relying on fossil fuels will negatively affect the environment as well as the country’s economy. She adverts to Obama administration, reminding people that the reasons behind the decision to refuse the construction of the pipelines have not changed and are still valid. She also emphasizes the fact that this time the Environmental Impact Statement should be done with proper involvement of the impacted communities and that the specific cultural and historic traditions of the Sioux need to be taken into consideration.

6.6. Summary of the Analysis

In the analysis the Critical Discursive Analysis was used in order to identify various discourses presented by actors of the Dakota Access Pipeline case. The analysis contains of five main parts.

The first part focuses on statements that point out that the development of the DAPL was not a fair process. The route was supposed to lead around Bismarck whose inhabitants did not give an approval for the development. The actors made clear that the affected tribal

community was not consulted after the company had decided to change the route. They stated it was an act of an environmental injustice. This situation reflects the historical processes of consistent oppression of the Native American population.

The second part presents the arguments of those who have supported the construction and used the rhetoric of positive impacts on the American economy as the main means to further their cause. These statements correspond with the dominant discourse prevailing in the capitalist society which favors the wealthy. It is visible as most of the actors either hold high political position or represent the rich oil industry companies. The vision of profit and prosperity is put before interests of marginalized communities and the environment. The arguments of job creation and national benefits for Americans are confronted with the reality of threats the pipeline poses.

Conversely, the less accepted discourse gives value to nature and respects different cultural traditions. The third part of my analysis reflects on the destruction of lands that the Sioux tribe deems sacred. I explain the special ties Native Americans have to the natural world and how this was not taken into consideration when the pipeline's route was designed.

The last part looks at the possible negative consequences the pipeline could have on the livelihood of people and the environment. The actors argue that the threat of a pipeline leak is inevitable. Drinking water contamination emerges as the most significant threat that would not only affect the people at Standing Rock Reservation, but also many others living downstream the Missouri River. It could affect the traditional daily activities of the Sioux tribe, such as fishing. This part concludes with a broader frame of consequences that fossil fuel usage has on the world's climate and how this development does not fit into global shift towards cleaner energy sources.

The analysis has showed how the perception of the possible consequences of the DAPL differs. I suggest that the focus is connected with the racial, political and socio-economic background of the individuals.

I selected the actors to my best knowledge and personal judgment of their importance and relevance for the case. If someone else would have performed the selection, it might be reflected in the selection of statement. Many of the selected statements refer to more than one possible consequences which affected the final form of my analysis.

Another limit of my work might be an insufficient knowledge of the American context. The usage of English language might be considered a barrier, but I would rather take it as an opportunity. As a non-native speaker, I tend to pay closer attention to the word choice and the sentence structure.

7. Conclusion

The thesis presents the concept of environmental justice and the formation of the Environmental Justice Movement that helped to shape it. Further it focuses on the concept of environmental racism, specifically in relation to Native American populations.

A summarization of the Dakota Access Pipeline case is presented in the thesis. It provides an overview of the events that occurred with focus on the critical part of the route in North Dakota, where the Dakota Access Pipeline passes nearby the Standing Rock Indian Reservation.

The goal of the thesis was to analyze statements of the various actors of the Dakota Access Pipeline case, using the method of critical discourse analysis. My focus lied in identifying the different perspectives of selected actors on the possible consequences the pipeline could cause within a broader ideological context. Main arguments of the supporters and the opponents of the pipelines were different, sometimes even contradictory. The discourses which the actors tried to emphasis the most where connected to their race and economic status. The Sioux and their supporters emphasized the environmental and social injustice the case represents. They also stressed the risk of possible water contamination and resulting negative effects on the environment and human lives. On the other hand, the political and the industrial actors focused mostly on the economic benefits of the Dakota Access Pipeline.

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<https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/feb/07/dakota-access-pipeline-approved-standing-rock-sioux>
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10. Annotation

The bachelor thesis deals with the building of the Dakota Access Pipeline in the United States of America. The pipeline leads near the Standing Rock Reservation inhabited by the Sioux Tribe. The tribe argued that the pipeline could contaminate their drinking water source in case of a leak and its construction was met by a strong opposition from the tribe. The theoretical part of the thesis presents the concepts of environmental justice and racism to provide a better comprehension of the Dakota Access Pipeline Case. The main aim of the thesis is to analyze statements of the various actors related to the possible consequences of the pipeline by using the method of critical discourse analysis as described in Norman Fairclough's work. In the analytical part, the focus lies in different presentation of possible consequences. I have identified five main discourses that occurred in the statements. Using the methods of description, interpretation and explanation, I tried to reveal the dominant and the submissive discourse. I focused on the relations between them and also on the relations that occurred within one discursive type. The analysis showed that the view of the consequences was connected to the actors' origin, race and socio-economic status.

Words count: 16 574

11. Annexes

11.1. **Figure 1:** A map with the rejected and preferred route of the DAPL (Horn, 2016).

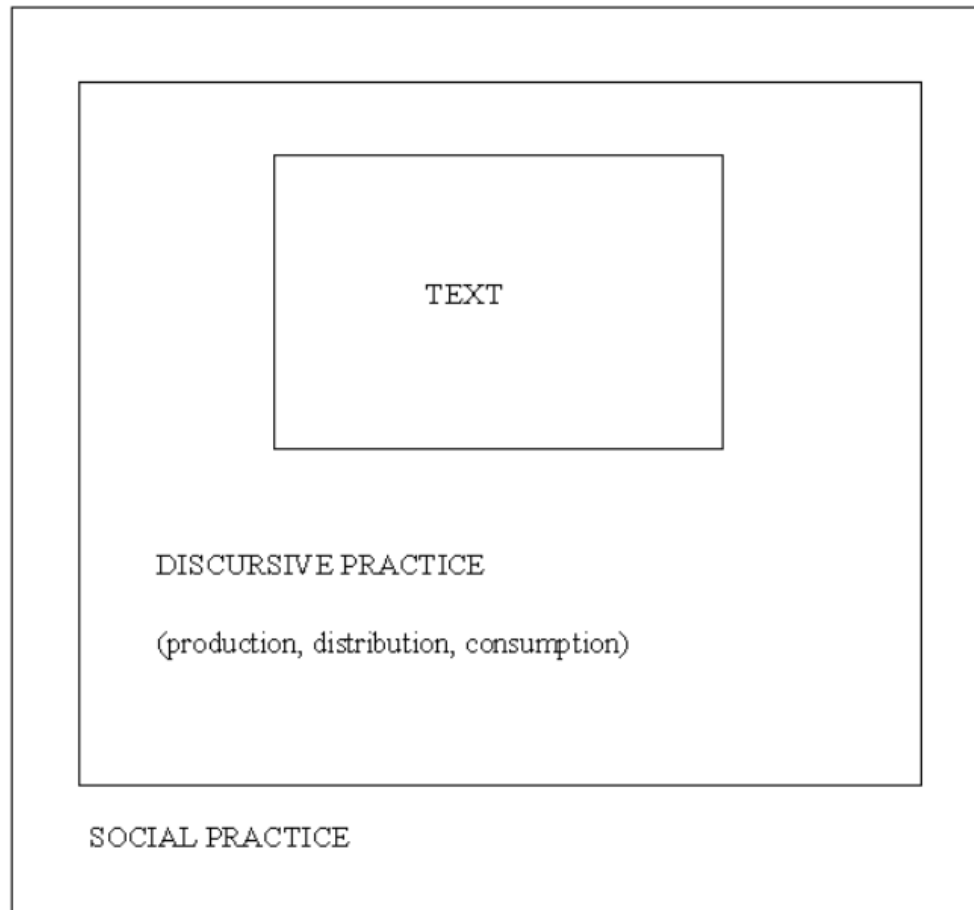
Pipeline Reroute Skirts Reservation

The controversial Dakota Access Pipeline's current route nearly clips the north end of Standing Rock reservation, garnering protests from Native Americans and concern from federal agencies. The prior route passed upstream of Bismarck, ND.

inside
climate
news



11.2. **Figure 2:** A three-dimensional conception of discourse (Fairclough, *Discourse and social change*, 1992, p. 73).



11.3. Selected Statements

Statements are divided according to the discursive types identified in the analytical part. Within the types, they are arranged chronologically.

11.3.1. Environmental Injustice

[1] Maher, K. (2016, November 16). *Dakota Pipeline's Builder Says Obstacles Will Disappear Under Donald Trump; CEO Kelcy Warren 'pretty confident' about completion; Trump has investment in company.* Retrieved from The Wall Street Journal <https://www.wsj.com/articles/dakota-pipelines-builder-says-obstacles-will-disappear-under-donald-trump-1479327104>

“I really wish for the Standing Rock Sioux that they had engaged in discussions way before they did. I don’t think we would have been having this discussion if they did. We could have changed the route. It could have been done, but it’s too late.”

Kelcy Warren, CEO of Energy Transfer Partners, November 2016

[2] National Congress of American Indians (2017, January 24). *NCAI Expresses Concern with Presidential Actions to Short-Circuit Environmental Review Process for Dakota Access Pipeline*. Retrieved from The National Congress of American Indians

<http://www.ncai.org/news/articles/2017/01/24/ncai-expresses-concern-with-presidential-actions-to-short-circuit-environmental-review-process-for-dakota-access-pipeline>

“While Tribal governments fully understand the bureaucratic hurdles to economic development and share the same desire to improve the federal permitting process, that process must not be shortchanged at the expense of Indian Country. We cannot afford to go back to the days when Tribal Nations’ voices were ignored and left with only the burdens and harms of development without our consent.

Brian Cladoosby, president of The National Congress of American Indians, January 2017

[3] Eilperin, J.; Dennis, B. (2017, February 7). *Trump administration to approve final permit for Dakota Access pipeline*. Retrieved from The Washington Post

https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/energy-environment/wp/2017/02/07/trump-administration-to-approve-final-permit-for-dakota-access-pipeline/?utm_term=.32cf67b46fce

“Americans have come together in support of the Tribe asking for a fair, balanced and lawful pipeline process. The environmental impact statement was wrongfully terminated. This pipeline was unfairly rerouted across our treaty lands.”

Dave Archambault II., former chairman of The Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, 2017

[4] Archambault II, D. (2017, March 10). *Dave Archambault II remarks Native Nations march on Washington, D.C.* Retrieved from Stand with Standing Rock

<http://standwithstandingrock.net/dave-archambault-ii-remarks-native-nations-march-washington-d-c/>

“From the very beginning, those seeking to build an empire described our ancestors as “limited owners” or mere occupants of the land. They were free to do as they willed. Centuries later, we still see this happening. We see the alleged minority community interests of Bismarck, North Dakota outweighing the interests of our entire tribe. We see corporations being allowed to take shortcuts with the federal government that bypass regulations put in place to protect basic human health.”

Dave Archambault II., former chairman of The Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, March 2017

[5] Indigenous Environmental Network (2017, June 2). *Dakota Access Pipeline is Officially Operational*. Retrieved from The Indigenous Environmental Network Earth <http://www.ienearth.org/dakota-access-pipeline-is-officially-operational/>

“The pipeline was originally set to go through Bismarck, ND but the community rejected that plan because they were afraid it would jeopardize the Bismarck water supply. Thereafter the pipeline was routed to pass thru treaty lands of the Oceti Sakowin, also known as the Great Sioux Nation, and within miles of the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe’s primary intake for drinking water, without proper consultation or free, prior and informed consent. Since day one, we have been standing up against this blatant act of environmental racism and social injustice towards Indigenous Peoples.”

Indigenous Environmental Network, June 2017

[6] Earthjustice (2017, October 11). *Dakota Access Pipeline to remain operational, for now*. Retrieved from The Earthjustice <https://earthjustice.org/news/press/2017/dakota-access-pipeline-to-remain-operational-for-now>

"Today's decision is a disappointing continuation of a historic pattern: other people get all the profits, and the Tribes get all the risk and harm. The court already found that the Corps violated the law when it issued the permits without thoroughly considering the impact on the people of Standing Rock. The company should not be allowed to continue operating while the Corps studies that threat."

Jan Hasselman, attorney of Earthjustice representing the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, 2017

11.3.2. Economic Benefits

[7] Maher, K., & Connors, W. (2016, December 5). *Dakota Pipeline Project Halted as Obama Administration Denies Permit for Last Leg*. Retrieved from The Wall Street Journal <https://www.wsj.com/articles/obama-administration-moves-to-deny-easement-for-dakota-pipeline-1480890468>

"We are not opposed to energy independence, economic development, or national security concerns, but we must ensure that these decisions are made with the considerations of our indigenous peoples."

Dave Archambault II., former chairman of The Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, December 2016

[8] Tadeo, M. (2017, January 24). *API Welcomes President Trump's Commitment to Nation's Energy Infrastructure*. Retrieved from The American Petroleum Institute <http://www.api.org/news-policy-and-issues/news/2017/01/24/api-welcomes-president-trump-commitment>

"Critical energy infrastructure projects like the Keystone XL and the Dakota Access Pipeline will help deliver energy to American consumers and businesses safely and efficiently."

Jack Gerard, CEO of the American Petroleum Institute, January 2017

[9, 10, 11] Consumer Energy Alliance (2017, January 24). *Consumer Energy Alliance Applauds Trump Administration Pipeline Decisions*. Retrieved from Consumer Energy Alliance <https://consumerenergyalliance.org/2017/01/applauds-trump-administration-pipeline-decisions/>

"Critical infrastructure projects like Keystone XL and Dakota Access will bring much-needed crude oil to markets, which will help create the fuel, power, and products that Americans use every day.

Everyone - families, farmers, manufacturers, distributors and small businesses - will benefit from the decision to greenlight a pair of pipelines that will help cash-strapped families lower costs, especially the tens of millions living on a fixed income or below the poverty line.

These pipelines will create both immediate jobs and long-term economic opportunities for Americans across the nation, helping to fulfill one of President Trump's main campaign promises to create more U.S. jobs."

David Holt, president of Consumer Energy Alliance, January 2017

[12] The White House (2017, January 24). *Presidential Memorandum Regarding Construction of the Keystone XL Pipeline*. Retrieved from The White House <https://www.whitehouse.gov/presidential-actions/presidential-memorandum-regarding-construction-keystone-xl-pipeline/>

"I believe that construction and operation of lawfully permitted pipeline infrastructure serve the national interest."

Donald Trump, President of the United States, January 2017

[13] Smith, D., & Kassam, A. (2017, January 24). *Trump orders revival of Keystone XL and Dakota Access pipelines*. Retrieved from The Guardian <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/jan/24/keystone-xl-dakota-access-pipelines-revived-trump-administration>

"The unfortunate reality is that these important infrastructure projects were used by special interests to advance their radical anti-energy agenda and were therefore needlessly halted by the last administration – to the detriment of America's national interest. These pipelines will strengthen our nation's energy supply and help keep energy costs low for American families."

Paul Ryan, White House speaker, January 2017

[14] Defenders of Wildlife (2017, January 24). *Executive Orders Trump People, Wildlife, Waterways*. Retrieved from Defenders of Wildlife <https://defenders.org/press-release/executive-orders-trump-people-wildlife-waterways>

"President Trump's executive orders put big polluters first, not America first."

[...]

"These projects have no place on the American landscape and are being pushed for one reason, and one reason only: more billions for the billionaires. These projects would override the interests of the communities, Tribes and wildlife who will be forced to deal with their consequences. We need a president who will stand for America's environment and protect it for future generations to enjoy, not sacrifice it for corporate billions."

Jamie Rappaport, President and CEO of Defenders of Wildlife, January 2017

[15] Association of Pipe Lines (2017, January 24). *AOPL Thanks President Trump for Allowing Americans to Benefit from Pipelines*. Retrieved from The Association of Pipe

Lines <http://www.aopl.org/pressroom/aopl-thanks-trump-allowing-americans-benefit-pipelines/>

"We thank President Trump for giving the American people the benefits of jobs and plentiful, affordable energy that pipelines will bring."

Andrew Black, President and CEO of Association of Oil Pipe Lines, January 2017

[16] Hardy, K. (2017, January 24). *What's next after Trump jumpstarts the Dakota Access pipeline*. Retrieved from Des Moines Register

<https://www.desmoinesregister.com/story/money/business/2017/01/24/whats-next-after-trump-jumpstarts-dakota-access-pipeline/96995534/>

"By granting the easement, Trump is risking our treaty rights and water supply to benefit his wealthy contributors and friends at DAPL. We are not opposed to energy independence. We are opposed to reckless and politically motivated development projects, like DAPL, that ignore our treaty rights and risk our water."

Dave Archambault II., former chairman of The Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, January 2017

[17] National Congress of American Indians (2017, January 24). *NCAI Expresses Concern with Presidential Actions to Short-Circuit Environmental Review Process for Dakota Access Pipeline*. Retrieved from The National Congress of American Indians <http://www.ncai.org/news/articles/2017/01/24/ncai-expresses-concern-with-presidential-actions-to-short-circuit-environmental-review-process-for-dakota-access-pipeline>

"Indian Country has spoken loud and clear that we are not against development, but our legitimate rights as sovereign governments to be heard in the permitting process cannot be ignored. Tribal involvement is necessary to ensure that infrastructure projects benefit our communities without harming our lands, waters, and sacred places."

Brian Cladoosby, president of The National Congress of American Indians, January 2017

[18] The White House (2017, March 3). *Remarks by the Vice President on President Trump's Vision for the Future*. Retrieved from The White House <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-vice-president-president-trumps-vision-future/>

"After years of delays, for instance, President Trump authorized the construction of the Keystone and Dakota pipelines, creating thousands of American jobs and strengthening our energy infrastructure."

Mike Pence, Vice President of the U.S., March 2017

[19] The White House (2017, December 19). *Press Briefing by Press Secretary Sarah Sanders*. Retrieved from The White House <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/press-briefing-press-secretary-sarah-sanders-121917/>

We finally set up our nation on a path to not only energy independence, but energy dominance.

Sarah Sanders, Press Secretary of the White House, December 2017

11.3.3. Destruction of Sacred Lands

[20] Heim, J. (2016, September 7). *Showdown over oil pipeline becomes a national movement for Native Americans*. Retrieved from The Washington Post https://www.washingtonpost.com/national/showdown-over-oil-pipeline-becomes-a-national-movement-for-native-americans/2016/09/06/ea0cb042-7167-11e6-8533-6b0b0ded0253_story.html?utm_term=.07dae08ac4d8

"This pipeline is going through huge swaths of ancestral land. It would be like constructing a pipeline through Arlington Cemetery or under St. Patrick's Cathedral."

Dead DePountis, attorney of the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, 2016

[21] Maher, K., & Sider, A. (2016, November 16). *Dakota Access Pipeline Official Vows to Move Forward; Chief executive says he plans to meet with U.S. officials and plays down threat to environment*. Retrieved from The Wall Street Journal

<https://www.wsj.com/articles/dakota-access-pipeline-official-vows-to-move-forward-1473788657>

"We--like all Americans--value and respect cultural diversity and the significant role that Native American culture plays in our nation's history and its future and hope to be able to strengthen our relationship with the Native American communities as we move forward with this project."

Keley Warren, CEO of Energy Transfer Partners, 2016

[22] Archambault II, D. (2016, November 22). *Comments of Chairman Dave Archambault, II, Standing Rock Sioux Tribe On Federal Consultation with Tribes on*

Infrastructure Decision Making. Retrieved from The U.S. Department of the Interior Indian Affairs <https://www.bia.gov/sites/bia.gov/files/assets/as-ia/raca/pdf/idc2-055454.pdf>

“Important discoveries have taken place during construction, including human remains, funerary items and rock cairns. Sacred Native American cultural resources have been intentionally destroyed by DAPL workers.”

Dave Archambault II., former chairman of The Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, 2016

11.3.4. Negative effects on the environment and the livelihoods of people

[23, 24] Heim, J. (2016, September 7). *Showdown over oil pipeline becomes a national movement for Native Americans.* Retrieved from The Washington Post https://www.washingtonpost.com/national/showdown-over-oil-pipeline-becomes-a-national-movement-for-native-americans/2016/09/06/ea0cb042-7167-11e6-8533-6b0b0ded0253_story.html?utm_term=.07dae08ac4d8

“We know there are 17 million people downstream from us. The problem is bad for whatever community is near this pipeline.

It's not going to be if it breaks -- it's going to be when it breaks.”

Nick Tilson, member of the Oglala Sioux Tribe, 2016

[25] Healy, J. (2016, November 2). *The View From Two Sides of the Front Lines at Standing Rock.* Retrieved from The New York Times <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/02/us/standing-rock-front-lines.html>

“Don't you drink water, too?” [...] Don't your children drink water? We're here to protect the water.”

Mekasi Horinek, environmental activist, 2016

[26, 27] Maher, K. (2016, November 16). *Dakota Pipeline's Builder Says Obstacles Will Disappear Under Donald Trump; CEO Kelcy Warren 'pretty confident' about completion; Trump has investment in company.* Retrieved from The Wall Street Journal

<https://www.wsj.com/articles/dakota-pipelines-builder-says-obstacles-will-disappear-under-donald-trump-1479327104>

“This is just a pipeline. This is a pipeline that's going to transport crude safely and economically.

[...] this pipeline will be safe, efficient and well constructed,”

Kelcy Warren, CEO of Energy Transfer Partners, 2016

[28] Petroski, W. (2015, November 17). 'No net loss of wetlands' because of Bakken pipeline, official says. Retrieved from Des Moines Register

<https://www.desmoinesregister.com/story/news/politics/2015/11/17/bakken-pipeline-would-help-farmers-analyst-says/75921442/>

“We are going above and beyond regulation in protecting the environment.”

Monica Howard, director of environmental services for Energy Transfer Partners, 2015

[29, 30] Archambault II, D. (2016, November 22). *Comments of Chairman Dave Archambault, II, Standing Rock Sioux Tribe On Federal Consultation with Tribes on Infrastructure Decision Making*. Retrieved from The U.S. Department of the Interior Indian Affairs <https://www.bia.gov/sites/bia.gov/files/assets/as-ia/raca/pdf/idc2-055454.pdf>

“The Standing Rock Sioux Tribe relies on the waters of the life-giving Missouri River for our continued existence, and the Dakota Access Pipeline poses a serious risk to Mni Sose and to the very survival of our Tribe.

An oil spill from the pipeline into Lake Oahe would have a devastating impact on the Tribe and our economic, social and spiritual life.”

Dave Archambault II., former chairman of The Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, November 2016

[31, 32] Indigenous Environmental Network (2016, August 25). *Open Letter to President Obama: Halt Construction and Repeal Permits for the Dakota Access Pipeline Project*. Retrieved from the Indigenous Environmental Network

<http://www.ienearth.org/open-letter-to-president-obama-halt-construction-and-repeal-permits-for-the-dakota-access-pipeline-project/>

“If there were to be a spill – which history has taught us is not a question of “if” but “when” [...]

Not only would the Dakota Access Pipeline threaten sacred sites and culturally important landscapes, it would also cross under the Missouri River just upstream of the Tribe’s drinking water supply. If there were to be a spill – which history has taught us is not a question of “if” but “when” – it would constitute an existential threat to the Tribe’s culture and way of life. The pipeline poses significant threats to the environment, public health, and tribal and human rights.”

The Indigenous Environmental Network, 2016

[33, 34] Levin, S. (2017, May 10). *Dakota Access pipeline has first leak before it's fully operational*. Retrieved from The Guardian <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/may/10/dakota-access-pipeline-first-oil-leak>

“They keep telling everybody that it is state of the art, that leaks won’t happen, that nothing can go wrong. It’s always been false. They haven’t even turned the thing on and it’s shown to be false.”

Jan Hasselman, lawyer for the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, 2017

“Our lawsuit challenging this dangerous project is ongoing, and it’s more important than ever for the court to step in and halt additional accidents before they happen – not just for the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe and our resources but for the 17 million people whose drinking water is at risk.”

Dave Archambault II., former chairman of The Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, 2017

[35, 36] Hardy, K. (2017, May 11). *Oil is flowing in the Dakota Access pipeline, but protesters aren't giving up*. Retrieved from Des Moines Register <https://www.desmoinesregister.com/story/money/business/2017/05/11/oil-flowing-dakota-access-pipeline-but-protesters-arent-giving-up/310704001/>

“We built the Dakota Access Pipeline using the latest technology and exceeded minimum federal safety requirements throughout the process.”

“Most importantly, safety is the company's top priority -- safety of our people and our assets, the safety of all those who live and work in the communities through which we pass, and the safety of the environment,”

Lisa Dillinger, spokeswoman of Energy Transfer Partners, 2017

[37] Grueskin, C. (2017, June 14). *Judge rules partly in favor of tribes in Dakota Access suit*. Retrieved from The Bismarck Tribune http://bismarcktribune.com/news/state-and-regional/judge-rules-partly-in-favor-of-tribes-in-dakota-access/article_03923e7f-d58c-5b9e-9c09-5ad5365d2643.html

"The EA is silent, for instance, on the distinct cultural practices of the tribe and the social and economic factors that might amplify its experience of the environmental effects of an oil spill. Standing Rock provides one such example in its briefing: many of its members fish, hunt and gather for subsistence. Losing the ability to do so could seriously and disproportionately harm those individuals relative to those in nearby nontribal communities."

James E. Boasberg, U.S. District Court Judge, 2017

11.3.5. Climate Change

[38] Sullivan, K. (2016, December 2). *Voices from Standing Rock*. Retrieved from The Washington Post http://www.washingtonpost.com/sf/national/2016/12/02/voices-from-standing-rock/?utm_term=.f7c3a6b91605

“This pipeline represents something deeper. We have to start worrying about the rights of our future generations. We have to start looking at making a just transition as a society away from a fossil fuel economy.”

Tom Goldtooth, Executive Director of the Indigenous Environmental Network, 2016

[39] Defenders of Wildlife (2017, January 24). *Executive Orders Trump People, Wildlife, Waterways*. Retrieved from Defenders of Wildlife <https://defenders.org/press-release/executive-orders-trump-people-wildlife-waterways>

"The Keystone XL pipeline and Dakota Access Pipeline threaten to destroy wildlife habitat, contaminate water supplies and risk catastrophic oil spills, and the oil they would carry only digs America deeper into climate change."

Jamie Rappaport, President and CEO of Defenders of Wildlife, January 2017

[40] Warren, E. (2017, January 24). *Senator Warren Statement on President's Executive Orders to Advance the Keystone XL and Dakota Access Pipelines*. Retrieved from The U.S. Senate <https://www.warren.senate.gov/newsroom/press-releases/senator-warren-statement-on-president-and-039s-executive-orders-to-advance-the-keystone-xl-and-dakota-access-pipelines>

"The Obama Administration rejected the Keystone XL Pipeline in part because it would 'undermine our ability to continue leading the world in combatting climate change.' And just last week, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers took steps to prepare a new Environmental Impact Statement for the Dakota Pipeline with 'full public input and analysis.' The impact of these pipelines on our environment, and on the communities they cut through, did not change when President Obama left office. President Trump's announcement today moves us in the wrong direction for our environment and our economy."

Elizabeth Warren, U.S. Democratic Senator, 2017

[41] Cicilline, D. (2017, January 25). *Cicilline Statement on Trump's Actions to Weaken EPA, Enrich Big Oil*. Retrieved from Congressman David Cicilline <https://www.cicilline.com/cicilline-statement-trump's-actions-weaken-epa-enrich-big-oil>

"Finally, restarting the Keystone XL and Dakota Access Pipelines will serve only to line the pockets of Big Oil and deepen our country's addiction to fossil fuel. We should be leading the world forward in developing renewable and alternative sources of energy, not falling back on energy sources that contribute to climate change."

David N. Cicilline, U.S. Representative for Rhode Island, 2017