

*environmental policy
and
management*

class 5
*past environmental policies
and their current status*
s. kaufman instructor

we will

- hear guest speaker: chris jellen
- listen to reports:
 - discussion of the "home" movie
 - Choice of project topics
- review key points of class 4
- listen to presentations on past policies
 - vk chapters 2, 3
- talk some more about past environmental policies and their current status

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tasks for this week

1. *Watch the Home Project (1.5 hours)*
(<http://www.home-2009.com/us/index.html>)
 - *prepare a critique* - construct an argument
 - summary
 - was it convincing? why and how?
 - strengths and weaknesses of the pitch
 - quality of the science (did it matter?)
 - strengths and weaknesses of the medium
2. *Research – prepare final paper :*
 - think of a topic
 - research enough to make a decision (did you?)

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1. the home project

• describe:

- what is the goal?
- what are the key points?
- who is the audience?
 - (preaching to the choir or converting?)
- does it have a point of view?
- what stands out? why?

• critique:

- effective?
 - why/why not?
 - what is/is not convincing?
 - how to improve?
- quality of information
 - believable? why/why not?
 - how to improve?
- what is missing?

2. what have you chosen?

• let it be:

- interesting to you/to the rest of us
- manageable/doable
- using the concepts/methods/ideas we discuss in this class

natural resources management

• given the goal of resource management,

- does the meaning stay the same or change in time?

e.g., managing for

- sustainability?
- human use?
- economic value?



- do approaches & strategies change?
(why or why not?)

between oil/gas explorers & conservationists

requires congress approval for oil exploration

case study: oil vs. wilderness - anwr

not new:
recurrent controversy for > 20 years (after passage of anilca, 1980)

why still coming back?

intractable: preserve nature vs. jobs
rooted in envir./cornucopians' value differences about environment & security:

- pro-environment: any development = total loss
- pro-development: concern w. human economic needs too

illustrates relationship between problem definition & legislative policy making

alaskan national interest lands conservation act

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remember values? environmentalists & cornucopians?

oil vs. wilderness - anwr

is this resource management conflict special?

moment in time?

decision process?

actors (stakeholders)?

specific location?

specific resource?

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usually developers pursue policy goals in the administrative arena (out of limelight)

oil vs. wilderness - anwr

tactics reflect strategic focus on legislative arena where anwar is decided

- wilderness advocates
 - expanded scope of conflict
 - used symbols & metaphors

local battle → national fight

change in the dynamics of legislative process

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forced to respond to environmentalists' tactic

oil vs. wilderness - anwr

- tactics reflect strategic focus on legislative arena where anwar is decided
- developers
 - adopt own symbols & metaphors
 - appeal to widely held values:
 - economic growth
 - national security
 - local control

both sides interpret science consistent w. own values

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oil vs. wilderness - anwr

- tactics reflect strategic focus on legislative arena where anwar is decided
- experts in administrative agencies:
 - pick plausible assumptions for projections
- official reports reveal tensions betw. professionals & political appointees' norms (incompatible at times)
 - driven by professional norms & standards
 - share white house ideology

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advantage for wilderness advocates

oil vs. wilderness - anwr

- tactics reflect strategic focus on legislative arena where anwar is decided
- not drilling is status quo: easier
 - to bloc policy change than
 - to bring about policy change
- energy policy making complex:
 - at least 2 committees in each chamber
 - 7 committees in the house
 - many organizations mobilize to oppose changes in costs & benefits
 - legislators prefer to avoid antagonizing

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siding with various coalitions

oil vs. wilderness - anwr

- 2 stakeholders w. independent claims

canada:

- government wants to be included in decision process

claims used by both sides to bolster own case

- 2 native american tribes with (previously competing) claims on the land & resources

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anwr background

- some key issues:
 - resource-based economy
 - relationship between state and fed gov't
 - battle over alaskan pipeline
- 2 coalitions:
 - advocates of wilderness designation for new refuge
 - promoters of oil & gas development in the region

- 1960: anwr land set aside
- 1980: passage of anilca
 - anwr land under fed protection
 - excluded areas w. development potential

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alaskan resource exploitation

- since territory was acquired from russia in 1867
 - boom-bust cycles typical of resource-based economies
 - millions of acres of land set aside by fed. gov't to conserve nat'l resources (coal, oil, gas, timber) to exploit in nat'l interest

1896: gold, klondike fields → prospectors come in

1954: national park service recommends preserving northeast corner for its values

- late 1930s: pleas for preserving wilderness
- 1957: statehood advocated to support economic development

1959: alaska statehood

1966:

- title freeze on non-appropriated land
- + new pro-development governor

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trans-alaska pipeline (tap)

- 1969: "big three" form tap system (taps) to build 798-mi pipeline (prudhoe-bay → valdez)
 - opponents delay:
 - tech problems
 - admin/legal issues
 - native claims
- 1970: environmentalists file 3 law suits to stop pipeline
- 1971: pipeline recommended even if it causes envir. damage
- 1971: unyielding fight
 - envir. vs. oil interests over benefits vs. risks
- alaska public interest coalition (apic) coordinates opposition
 - passage of alaska native claims settlement act (ancsa) supported by oil interests, development incentives
- 1972: pipeline eis released
 - court challenge by envirs.
- 1973: looming energy crisis
 - advantage to advocates
 - tap authorized

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anilca

- enacted by congress in 1980, establishes anwr
- stipulations:
 - places amount of land under fed protection
 - excludes land with sig. development potential
 - requires study of mineral & wildlife resources
 - prohibits oil/gas activities unless authorized by congress
- anwr to be managed to
 - conserve fish & wildlife
 - abide by international treaties
 - allow subsistence of residents
 - ensure water quality
- authorizations:
 - mineral leasing
 - oil-gas exploration as long as "compatible w. major purpose of the area"

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anwr

- second in area (size of new england) in the national wildlife refuge system:
 - little visited
 - not the most spectacular
- image created by advocates:
 - last remaining true wilderness
 - symbol of american frontier
- image created by opponents:
 - oil development will enhance american security
 - marginal risk to unappealing landscape

oil industry
inupiat eskimos
coalition for american energy security (caes)

alaska coalition consortium of 75 groups at all levels
canada govt.

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problem definition 1986-1992

- terms (consistent w. parties' values):
 - scientific/economic risks & uncertainties

drilling proponents:

- need to develop to
 - preserve national security
 - boost economy
- anwr supply justifies minimal risks for environmental harm

drilling opponents:

- threat of
 - water, air pollution
 - toxic wastes
 - habitat disturbance
 - destruction of wilderness character
- anwr supply minimal, would not reduce dependence on foreign oil

drilling benefits

sounds familiar?

- 1987: dept. of interior model predictions
 - 50-year life; at peak, increase gnp, decrease deficit
 - 4% of consumption
 - 8% of production
 - 9% of imports

proponents:

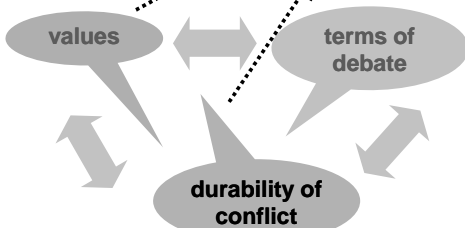
- enhance national security
 - (indep. of foreign oil
 - resist opec pressure
- ease fed. deficit + jobs
- reject claim of impacts (uncertainty)

environmentalists:

- uncertainty about amount
 - would not make much difference
- needs only apparent
 - conservation might make more difference
- needed for security: incentives for
 - conservation
 - alternative sources + jobs
- certain & catastrophic ecological impacts

what do you notice

impact on politics?



political contest, 1986-1992

- arguments impacted legislative politics:

- environmentalists:**
 - nationalize the issue**
 - status quo advantage,
 - complexity

- developers:**
 - addressed uncommitted legislators about advantages to constituents:
 - jobs
 - cheap oil
 - int'l security

- legislators**
 - can claim credit for protecting anwr (turned off by contentious issues)

capitalize on focusing events to gain advantage

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anwr on congressional agenda

- 1986: discussions about drilling in anwr
 - dept. of interior (doi) circulates eis
 - environmentalists file suit for noncompliance w. nepa public participation in eis requirement
- 1987:
 - resubmission to congress + recommendation to drill
- 1987-1989: congress debates merits of developing anwr
- envir. suit against doi
 - for wrong estimates of costs and benefits
 - requiring new eis

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congressional action 1987-1992

- debates in house & senate - battle of bills
- 1989: bush calls for "cautious development"
- 1990: threat of war
 - debate over oil dependence helps developers' arguments
- focusing event:
 - exxon-valdez oil spill
- news coverage →
 - hysteria
 - environmentalists' arguments helped
- doi:
 - revised estimates of probability of oil, reserves
- focusing events:
 - publicized large industry profits
 - oil glut

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pitched battle - developers vs. envir.

- energy bill proposed
 - complex → hard to pass
 - myriad provisions →
 - many interests mobilized
- opposed to drilling:
 - environmentalists & energy consumer groups
 - auto industry opposing CAFÉ standards & small utilities
- for drilling:
 - large utilities + nuclear power
- 1992: energy bill passed by house
 - no provisions on
 - anwr
 - fuel efficiency standards

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who?

anwr moves on the quiet, 1993-1999

- new administration →
 - drilling opponents' hopes up
 - revised estimates of reserves & impacts
- 1995
 - renewed drilling effort in congress
 - drillers in power in committees
- 1996
 - budget includes anwr oil leases revenue
 - campaign to open anwr
- administration stymies efforts

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2000, bush energy policy

- anwr debate returns during campaign
 - bush: energy independence, price
 - gore: environmental conservation rhetoric
 - oil industry
 - lobbies
 - transforms image black → green (bp)
 - administration organizes for drill push in congress
 - environmentalists prepare to lose
 - anwr remains closed
 - fierce political battles continue
 - arguments have not changed
 - economic security, reduced dependence on foreign sources vs.
 - conservation as the solution (fuel efficiency, reducing consumption)
- oil prices down then up → fluctuating sense of crisis

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so what have we learned about

- the battle of values
 - the effects of
 - focusing events, media, public
 - political & economic changes
 - the role of information in
 - positions
 - decisions
- what's next?
why?
- where do you
stand? why?
- how do you know
you are right?

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