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1 Title Page:

2 **Participatory Modeling of Water Vulnerability in Remote Alaskan Households**
3 **Using Causal Loop Diagrams**

4

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14

15 **Abstract**

16 Despite perceptions of high water availability, adequate access to sufficient water
17 resources remains a major challenge in Alaska. This paper uses a participatory modeling
18 approach to investigate household water vulnerability in remote Alaska and examine
19 factors that affect water availability and water access. Specifically, the work asks: how do
20 water policy stakeholders conceptualize the key processes that affect household water
21 vulnerability in the context of rural Alaska? Fourteen water policy stakeholders
22 participated in the modeling process, which included defining the problem of household
23 water vulnerability and constructing individual causal loop diagrams (CLDs) that
24 represent their conceptualization of household water vulnerability. Individual CLDs were
25 subsequently combined and five sub-models emerged: environmental, economic,
26 infrastructure, social, and health. The environmental and economic sub-models of the
27 CLD are explored in depth. In the environmental sub-model, climate change and
28 environmental barriers due to geography influence household water vulnerability. In the
29 economic sub-model, four processes and one feedback loop affect household water
30 vulnerability, including operations and maintenance funding, the strength of the rural
31 Alaskan economy, and the impact of regulations. To overcome household water
32 vulnerability and make households more resilient, stakeholders highlighted policy
33 solutions under five themes: economics, social, regulatory, technological, and
34 environmental.

35

36 **Keywords:** water vulnerability; Alaska; participatory modeling; causal loop diagrams;
37 Arctic; climate change

38

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45

46

47 **1. Introduction**

48 Water vulnerability affects many regions and communities globally as households
49 struggle to secure adequate water due to water availability and access constraints. Water
50 vulnerability is defined as a lack of water availability and water access in the time and
51 place that households require it. Water availability is understood as a household's ability
52 to use or obtain a volume of water of sufficient quality and quantity (WHO/UNICEF,
53 2015). To meet basic personal hygiene needs and food hygiene, a person requires 20

54 liters of water per day (WHO/UNICEF, 2015). The Joint Monitoring Programme (JMP)
55 led by the WHO and UNICEF now details that safely managed drinking water must be
56 available on the premises, available when needed, and free from contamination
57 (WHO/UNICEF, 2017). Water access is often measured as the percentage of a population
58 that has sufficient water to meet domestic needs, and it is related to household
59 connections, protected water resources, distribution infrastructure, sustainable use, and
60 affordability (Christina Goldhar, Bell, & Wolf, 2013; Maura Hanrahan et al., 2014; H.
61 Penn, Loring, & Schnabel, 2017).

62 Past studies have largely focused on the lack of water services in low- and
63 middle-income countries. Yet, in high-income countries, such as in the Arctic,
64 households also suffer from a lack of water access and availability. Household water
65 access is influenced by factors such as household income, existing water infrastructure,
66 and seasonal and climatic factors. The cold Arctic climate may rupture pipes, result in
67 broken infrastructure, or long delivery times for replacement parts. Additionally, water
68 availability varies widely due to local hydrogeological factors and climate change, and
69 due to human activities, such as specific land uses, or government decisions (Kløve et al.,
70 2017). To cope with insufficient water access to their homes, households depend on local
71 water sources that are culturally significant, such as rivers, ice, snowmelt and lakes
72 (Harper et al., 2015; Wright et al., 2018). These water resources can adversely impact
73 health due to poor water quality or contamination in some instances (Daley, Jamieson,
74 Rainham, & Hansen, 2018; Harper et al., 2015; Martin et al., 2007).

75 Water vulnerability remains a problem in Alaska, where water management
76 challenges have been identified as the most critical factor affecting community

77 vulnerability (Alessa et al., 2011). Indeed, uncertain water supplies and socioeconomic
78 stressors in Alaska have been described as an “axis of vulnerability” (Penn 2016; 1).
79 Over the years, the Alaska state and federal government has initiated several projects to
80 improve drinking water access. These efforts have reduced waterborne diseases,
81 improved the health of communities, and raised awareness of water access problems.
82 However, even with the development of innovative strategies to address remote
83 household water vulnerability, there remains a pressing need to improve understanding of
84 the contextual factors that influence water vulnerability within Alaskan households and
85 its consequences (Alessa et al., 2011, 2008; Medeiros, Wood, Wesche, Bakaic, & Peters,
86 2017; Sarkar, Hanrahan, & Hudson, 2015). In particular, research highlights how
87 household water vulnerability is influenced by climate change, mining, and wastewater
88 treatment, while emphasizing an analytical gap regarding the relationship between social
89 and biophysical factors and how policy can better mitigate water vulnerability (Alessa et
90 al., 2011; AMAP, 2017; Nilsson et al., 2013).

91 Studies have highlighted how stakeholders’ understanding of the complexity of
92 water systems and nuances of policy options can be critical in developing useful
93 modeling exercises (Halbe, Pahl-Wostl, Sendzimir, & Adamowski, 2013; Inam,
94 Adamowski, Halbe, & Prasher, 2015; Malard et al., 2015). In Alaska, however, efforts to
95 incorporate stakeholders in modeling have been limited (N.J. Wilson, Mutter, Inkster, &
96 Satterfield, 2018). To address this research need, this article asks: how do water policy
97 stakeholders conceptualize the key processes and dynamic factors that affect household
98 water vulnerability in the context of rural Alaska? Following the participatory modeling
99 approach developed by Inam et al (2015) and Malard et al (2015), we explicitly engages

100 with water policy stakeholders in order to deepen awareness of how they conceptualize
101 water vulnerability, and to illuminate the complex institutional environment that affects
102 households' water access.

103 Participatory modeling is the process of engaging with key stakeholders to
104 incorporate their knowledge into a formalized and shared representation of reality (Inam
105 et al. 2015). The participatory modeling approach serves as a tool to deepen
106 understanding of the macro-scale factors and individual level characteristics of water
107 vulnerability in remote Alaskan households, to explore the feedbacks between variables,
108 and to capture the diversity of perspectives held by water policy stakeholders regarding
109 water vulnerability's causes and consequences. Through the modeling approach, we
110 worked with the identified key stakeholders and had each stakeholder develop a personal
111 causal loop diagram (CLD) that mapped their view of the causes and consequences of
112 household water vulnerability, and feedback loops between variables. The individual
113 CLDs were then integrated to develop a model that provides insight on household water
114 vulnerability in Alaska. The final merged CLD cannot be used to simulate quantitative
115 changes as with a systems dynamics model, but can serve as a valuable tool to visualize
116 the system, allow for qualitative analysis, identify knowledge gaps, increase
117 stakeholder's awareness of the interlinked social and hydrological systems, and
118 encourage short- and long-term policy development. The final merged CLD model
119 developed from this study serves as a first step and may be later quantified and calibrated
120 in a systems dynamic model.

121 In the following sections, we describe the research's study area in Alaska, outline
122 the methodology underpinning participatory modeling, and discuss the merged CLD

123 model results.

124

125 **2. Study area**

126 Alaska is the largest U.S. state by area, with an estimated population of 739,795
127 people in 2017, 239,204 of whom live in rural Alaska (USDA-ERS, 2018). Communities
128 are distributed unequally across the state, with most people living in southern Alaska.
129 Anchorage contains nearly 40% of the state’s population (DCCED-DCRA, 2017). Nearly
130 14.8% of the state’s population is Alaska Native (DCCED-DCRA, 2017). The poverty
131 rate in rural Alaska is 14.4% and the unemployment rate is 8.5%, compared to the
132 respective rates of 7.7% and 6.5% in the urban areas of the state (USDA-ERS, 2018).
133 Seventy-nine percent of Alaskan municipalities, which represent communities at the local
134 and regional level, are considered rural with fewer than 1,500 residents (DCCED-DCRA,
135 2017). Due to the state’s size and topography, 86% of Alaskan municipalities are not
136 connected to the road system (DCCED-DCRA, 2017).

137 Infrastructure challenges affect Alaska’s water systems for more than 45 years
138 despite government and community led initiatives (L. Eichelberger, 2017). Inadequate
139 water access has been a persistent issue in more than 200 rural Alaskan communities,
140 whose residents are primarily Alaska Native people. Sixteen percent of rural Alaskan
141 households have access to unimproved surface water, whereas 84% have access to
142 improved water sources (USDA-ERS, 2018). As of 2015, 6.1% of communities in rural
143 Alaska hauled water to their homes, 7.2% had mixed service, 11.1% had individual wells
144 and septic tanks, 17.2% were unserved and 58.3% of communities had piped water
145 supply (AK DEC, 2019).

146 Household water access is affected by affordability. Between rural and urban
147 areas there is a dramatic difference for the price of water. In the Highlands subdivision of
148 Anchorage, the metered rate per 1000 gallons of water was \$4.98 in 2017 for a
149 household, whereas in Eek, Alaska, residents haul treated water from a community
150 watering point and pay \$0.25 for every five gallons of water (i.e. \$50.00 for 1000
151 gallons) (RCA, 2017). The Alaska Department of Environmental Conservation is
152 developing an index to reveal the affordability of rural Alaska’s water and sewer
153 household rates (AK DEC, 2019). Many remote communities have a service rate for
154 water that is considered a “high burden” due to their household income quintile value and
155 other socioeconomic indicators. For example, the annual rates for water service in
156 Ambler in the Northwest Arctic Bureau, in Pitkas Point in the Kusilvak Census Area, and
157 in Goodnews in the Bethel Census Area are: \$42.84, \$70.00, and \$50.00, respectively.
158 All of these communities’ rates are considered a high burden due to the household
159 characteristics, such as annual income.

160 Due to the costliness of water and challenges accessing it, rural Alaskan homes
161 without piped water were found to use 5.7 L of water per person per day on average
162 (Hennessy & Bressler, 2016), which is far below the WHO standard of 20 L of water per
163 person per day, and the average 302 to 379 L of water per person per day in the U.S. (L.
164 P. Eichelberger, 2010; Thomas et al., 2016; USGS, 2016). Thomas et al. (2016)
165 document that before in-home water service was installed in Alaskan homes, mean
166 household water use was between 3.4 L and 5.7 L per person per day, compared to 34.8 L
167 to 143.3 L per person per day after in-home water installation (Thomas et al., 2016).
168 There is great variation between individual households’ water use. In Newtok, Alaska, a

169 recent study found that household consumption patterns range from 1.1 to 16.2 L per
170 person per day (L. Eichelberger, 2019).

171 Alaska has remarkably low water access compared to other Arctic nations. In
172 Nunavut, water use in 2014 was reported to be 110 L per person per day, with a Canadian
173 mandate provide 90 L per person per day (Bressler & Hennessy, 2018; Daley, Castleden,
174 Jamieson, Furgal, & Ell, 2014) in Nunavut. In the Northwest Territories, the Canadian
175 mandate requires 90 L of water per person per day if it is trucked, and 225 L of water per
176 person per day if it is piped (Bressler & Hennessy, 2018). In Lapland, the Finnish
177 mandate requires 120 L of water per person per day, and in Norway, the mandate ensures
178 200 L of water per person per day.

179 Similar to Alaska, Greenland and the Russian Arctic have comparatively low
180 water access. In Greenland's northern towns of Upernavik and Qaanaaq, water use is
181 approximately 35 L per person per day, and in the nine settlements surrounding those two
182 towns, water use is about 10 to 17 L per person per day (Hendriksen, 2019). While two
183 settlements have zero L per person per day (Hendriksen, 2019). In the Russian Arctic,
184 Siberia and Far East, water use is approximately 125 to 340 L per person per day, but
185 where water may be accessible, it may not be available due to high rates of contamination
186 and poor water quality (Dudarev et al., 2013).

187 Low water use is considered a health concern because insufficient water quantity
188 and water quality contribute to higher rates of waterborne diseases, such as
189 gastrointestinal infections, and water-washed diseases, such as skin and respiratory
190 infections (Hennessy & Bressler, 2016; Hennessy et al., 2008). In rural Alaskan
191 communities where fewer than 10% of homes have piped water supply, infants are

192 hospitalized at a significantly higher rate for pneumonia and respiratory infection
193 (Thomas et al., 2016). Among Alaska Native children under the age of 5, the rate of
194 hospitalization and outpatient visits for diarrhea was twice the US rate in 2004 (Thomas
195 et al., 2016).

196 Due to the disparity in water access between urban and rural Alaskan households
197 and the resulting health consequences that households face, this research investigates
198 water vulnerability at the household scale in rural communities. Households are central to
199 responding to external stress, and are crucial to understanding social organization around
200 water resources (Toole, Klocker, & Head, 2016). Water use and environmental issues are
201 refracted through social relations within the household, and the demands of everyday life
202 (Toole et al., 2016).

203 **3. Methodology**

204 The participatory modeling approach used in this article is guided by a socio-
205 hydrology framework, which studies the cascading effects of hydrologic changes on
206 communities and the complex interactions between society, institutions, and the natural
207 environment (Sivapalan et al., 2014; Wheater, 2014). The framework analyzes aspects of
208 political ecology by understanding that water systems are shaped by power imbalances
209 and cultural politics. Indeed, emerging water problems globally, such as pollution or
210 scarcity are frequently due to a crisis of governance rather than a problem of water
211 resources (Falkenmark, 2001; Gupta, Pahl-Wostl, & Zondervan, 2013; Linton, 2014;
212 Vörösmarty, Pahl-Wostl, Bunn, & Lawford, 2013). These water problems may stem from
213 the fact that historically water governance strategies neglected the human dimension and
214 complexity of systems (Pahl-Wostl, Holtz, Kastens, & Knieper, 2010).

215 Since policy and law influence the context in which households make decisions,
216 this research engages with stakeholders at the policy level to improve understanding of
217 how they conceptualize the variables that affect water vulnerability, its consequences and
218 feedback loops. These stakeholders are referred to as water policy stakeholders in this
219 article. In capturing these stakeholders' perceptions through participatory modeling, it is
220 possible to examine the characteristics of institutional politics, society, scale, power, and
221 history that inform local water vulnerability (H. J. F. Penn, 2016). These water policy
222 stakeholders impact household water vulnerability as they are involved in rural water
223 policy and management; implement regulations; provide guidance to federal and state
224 agencies; and contribute to the development of future water policy. By focusing on policy
225 stakeholders, this research acknowledges that households make choices on how to adapt
226 to water vulnerability in circumstances that are not only of their own choosing (Healey,
227 Magner, Issaluk, & Mackenzie, 2011).

228 In the participatory modeling approach (Inam et al. 2015, Malard et al. 2015), the
229 facilitator works with the stakeholders to construct CLDs through a four-stage process: 1)
230 problem definition and boundary setting, 2) stakeholder analysis and selection, 3)
231 individual stakeholder interviews to develop CLDs and subsequent digitization of CLDs,
232 4) construction of a collective CLD (Inam et al., 2015). Each of these stages is detailed in
233 the following sections. The participatory modeling process was conducted over a 5-
234 month period from April to August 2018.

235

236 *3.1 Problem definition*

237 To start the modeling process, the lead author facilitated a discussion to define the

238 problem both physically and conceptually with individual stakeholders. In the context of
239 this study, we define stakeholders as practitioners who can affect household water
240 vulnerability through their profession and work (Achterkamp & Vos, 2007). Stakeholders
241 to be involved in participatory modeling were identified through knowledge of the
242 literature, purposeful and snowball sampling, and semi-structured interviews (Chevalier
243 & Buckles, 2013). During the problem-framing process with the stakeholders, the
244 boundaries of the problem were iteratively narrowed through: (i) selection of problem
245 theme and key factors (ii) definition of time horizon, (iii) definition of the boundaries of
246 the model, (iv) the key consideration of the variables and relationships between concepts,
247 and (v) identification of stakeholder groups. These steps took place with and were guided
248 by the stakeholders.

249 In the discussions with stakeholders, household water vulnerability in rural
250 Alaska was identified as an enduring problem that would benefit from stakeholder
251 engagement and participatory modeling. During the CLD development with each
252 stakeholder, problems of water access and water availability due to biophysical and
253 anthropogenic factors were considered. Problem themes that arose centered on climate
254 change, environmental conditions, health, social impacts, economics, governance and
255 infrastructure. Household water vulnerability was confirmed by the stakeholders to be a
256 critical problem. Stakeholders generally defined household water vulnerability as a
257 household's access to a sufficient quantity of safe quality water at the household level,
258 and the availability of water in remote Alaskan households.

259 Stakeholders emphasized that when water is available, there is an issue of access
260 because often water collection points are located far from households. In the

261 stakeholders' framing of the problem, household water access and water availability
262 include problems of quantity and quality. Stakeholders discussed how government
263 regulations defining clean drinking water may differ from household perceptions of what
264 is safe. The stakeholders articulated that both the causes and consequences of water
265 access in rural Alaska were important to consider. The time horizon for the problem was
266 established to be the last thirty years. The stakeholders defined the households as rural or
267 remote, meaning that they are in communities that are difficult to access, and may be off
268 the road system. The households are not in cities or in the developed areas directly
269 surrounding cities. The problem definition continued to be iteratively refined throughout
270 stakeholder identification and selection, and the participatory modeling process.

271

272 *3.2 Stakeholder identification and analysis*

273 After problem framing, those stakeholders were included in the participatory
274 modeling process, as well as additional stakeholders that were identified as individuals
275 that can influence the situation or proposed action, or may be affected by it (Chevalier &
276 Buckles, 2013). Therefore, stakeholder identification and problem framing were an
277 iterative process conducted with the stakeholders. Based on the discussion with
278 stakeholders and the literature review (Sohns, Ford, Riva, Robinson, & Adamowski,
279 2019), several groups involved in addressing water vulnerability in remote Alaskan
280 households were identified as important to include in the modeling process. The different
281 groups address water vulnerability in a variety of mechanisms. For example, the U.S.
282 Arctic Research Commission (USARC) hosts a water and sanitation working group that
283 promotes research, development, and funding of innovative strategies. The USARC

284 improves village level capacity and enhances technical assistance for water and
285 wastewater services. Members of the working group include individuals from the Alaska
286 Department of Conservation (DEC), Alaska Native Tribal Health Consortium (ANTHC),
287 Alaska Pacific University, Alaska Public Health Association, Centers for Disease Control
288 and Prevention (CDC), Denali Commission, Environmental Protection Agency (EPA),
289 Indian Health Service (IHS), USARC, University of Alaska Anchorage, University of
290 Alaska Fairbanks, Village Safe Water, U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA), and
291 Yukon-Kuskokwim Health Corporation.

292 The USDA Rural Development program helps remote Alaskan villages provide
293 safe, reliable drinking water and waste disposal systems for households and businesses.

294 The Alaska DEC's Village Safe Water program seeks to improve public health and
295 compliance with environmental laws by upgrading the level of sanitation facilities in
296 rural communities through financial and technical assistance. ANTHC partners with
297 communities to support water and sewer systems through the Alaska Rural Utility
298 Collaborative (ARUC).

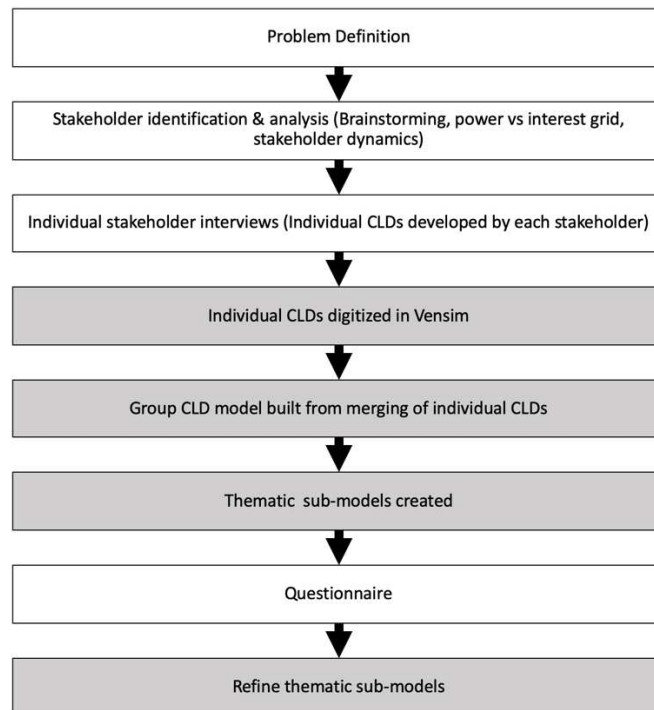
299 Stakeholders within these organizations were contacted by email and phone to
300 identify other people to include in the participatory modeling process (Achterkamp &
301 Vos, 2007). This kind of purposeful and snowball sampling use connections between
302 people to find individuals that are especially knowledgeable of and central to the
303 phenomenon of interest (Palinkas et al., 2015). Semi-structured interviews from February
304 to August 2017 with people in Alaska over the phone and in person identified additional
305 stakeholders to include in the participatory modeling process. Therefore, the stakeholder
306 list was iteratively updated.

307 Once key stakeholders were identified, stakeholder analysis was conducted to
308 describe the characteristics and relationships of stakeholders and explore their
309 relationship to the problem variable (see Figure 1). Stakeholder analysis categorizes
310 people based on their role, interest, power, legitimacy and urgency (Inam et al., 2015;
311 Mitchell, Agle, & Wood, 1997). We selected stakeholders based on their level of interest
312 and sense of urgency regarding household water vulnerability, and their legitimacy and
313 power in the decision-making process and management of household water vulnerability
314 (Butler & Adamowski, 2015).

315

316 *Figure 1: Participatory modeling process. Blue rectangles indicate that the step included*
317 *the 14 stakeholders (engaging them individually), while the orange rectangles indicate*
318 *the step was done without stakeholder involvement.*

319



320

321

322 Legitimacy is defined as the social or legal rights and responsibilities of a
323 stakeholder regarding the issue, and that those rights are recognized through law or
324 customs, and the stakeholder exercises those rights. Power is the ability of a stakeholder
325 to influence others and use resources to achieve their goals, some sources of power may
326 be economic wealth, political authority, access to information, and social ties (Chevalier
327 & Buckles, 2013). Urgency implies that the issue is time-sensitive and critically
328 important to the stakeholder (Butler & Adamowski, 2015). A power versus interest grid
329 (see Figure S1 in supporting materials) was also used in the stakeholder analysis process
330 in order to prioritize stakeholders for interviews (Bryson & Crosby, 2006).

331 To ensure critical stakeholders were not missing, the individuals were organized
332 in a stakeholder typology diagram that reflects their dynamics. These stakeholder
333 typologies are: experts, decision-makers, implementers, and users (Inam et al., 2015).
334 Many interviewees had multiple stakeholder roles through their employment and personal
335 experience, which influenced their conceptualization of household water vulnerability in
336 the modeling process from the perspective of expert, decision-maker, implementer, or
337 user.

338 Overall, 14 stakeholders were recruited to participate. The stakeholders were
339 located primarily in the Anchorage, with one stakeholder in Fairbanks (see Text S1 in
340 supporting materials). The number of stakeholders selected is consistent with other
341 studies using the participatory modeling approach (Inam et al., 2015; Malard et al., 2015).
342 The main expertise of the stakeholders was health (2), science policy (2), economics (3),
343 environment (1), and engineering (6). The stakeholders represented federal agencies (5),

344 state agencies (3), non-governmental organizations (4), and academia (2). The
345 stakeholders worked on issues affecting water and sanitation systems in remote Alaska,
346 including tribal lands. Although the majority of the stakeholders lived in urban areas of
347 Alaska, most had extensive experience working and/or living in rural Alaska. The final
348 list of stakeholders to take part in the modeling process sought to represent all categories,
349 and include diverse perspectives of the defined problem (Butler & Adamowski, 2015).
350 After the list of stakeholders was generated, stakeholders were asked if there were any
351 others that should be added. Those people were contacted, and interviews were arranged
352 when possible.

353

354 *3.3 Constructing causal loop diagrams (CLDs) through stakeholder interviews*

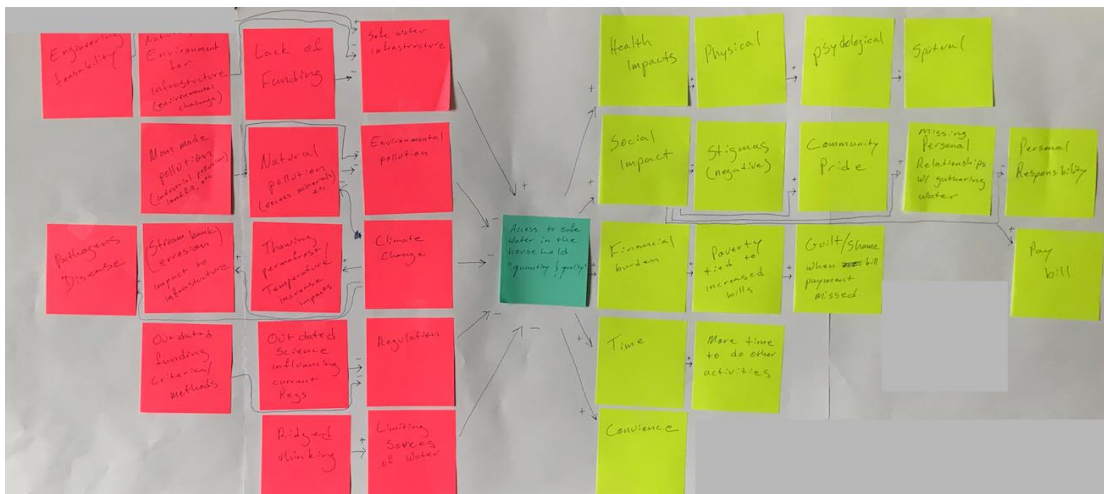
355 Once stakeholder analysis was completed, the identified individuals were
356 independently contacted to set up interviews. One individual interview was conducted
357 with each stakeholder to facilitate the development of a CLD on the defined problem,
358 household water vulnerability. On average, an interview was approximately 85 minutes.
359 Interviews took place in Alaska over five weeks in April and May 2018.

360 Participatory modeling has been used successfully in natural resources
361 management and watershed planning (Butler & Adamowski, 2015; Medema, Wals, &
362 Adamowski, 2014; Voinov & Bousquet, 2010). System conceptualization begins with the
363 development of CLDs (Blair & Buytaert, 2016). These models identify individual
364 relationships and interactions in the system as root causes of feedbacks, time-lags, and
365 other non-linear effects (Blair & Buytaert, 2016). A CLD is a visual tool that identifies
366 central concepts in a complex system that may be affecting water vulnerability (Voinov

367 & Bousquet, 2010). Each CLD represents a stakeholder's personal conceptualization of
368 the system (see Figure 2).

369

370 *Figure 2: An example of a stakeholder's CLD. Pink post-it notes represent the causes of*
371 *the problem variable; the blue post-it note represents the problem variable; the yellow*
372 *post-it notes represent the consequences of the problem variable.*



373

374

375 To create their individual CLD, the stakeholders followed a four-step process,
376 described by Vennix (Vennix, Akkermans, & Rouwette, 1996). First, each stakeholder
377 was presented with the objective of the method and provided instructions on how to
378 develop a CLD through a simple example. The same example that described variables
379 affecting traffic congestion was presented to all stakeholders. Each stakeholder found this
380 sufficient to creating their own model. Second, a large piece of white paper and sticky
381 notes of three different colors were provided to the stakeholder to generate the CLD
382 (Figure 2). A different color sticky note was used for the problem variable (blue), the
383 causes (pink), and consequences (yellow). Each stakeholder would place the problem

384 variable in the center of the sheet, and then add first order (direct) causes and then second
385 order (indirect) causes to the sheet of paper in columns to the left of the problem variable.
386 The most direct causes occupied the columns closest to the problem variable.

387 The stakeholder identifies which variables are connected to one another by
388 drawing arrows between them. The arrow represents a causal link. By following the
389 arrows, it is possible to explore causal pathways and feedback loops between the
390 connected variables. The stakeholder also assigns each arrow with a polarity (+/-). The
391 negative (-) polarity indicates an inverse relationship between the causative and effect
392 variables, whereas a positive (+) polarity signals that if the causative variable increases or
393 decreases, the effect variable will also increase or decrease in the same direction. The
394 causes are the variables that are salient in the stakeholder's perception of the system and
395 do not assess the relative importance of the variables. The first and second order
396 consequences are then added to the piece of paper in columns to the right of the problem
397 variable. The stakeholder also assigns arrows and polarities to the consequences.

398 In the final stage of developing the model, the stakeholder draws relationships
399 between the consequences and the causes, which create feedback loops. In CLDs, it is
400 important to identify closed loops in order to determine if they are reinforcing or
401 balancing in nature. A reinforcing loop self-reinforces in a positive feedback and
402 represents an exponential increase or decrease in a process. Whereas a balancing loop
403 equilibrates the system because an increase in the value of the problem variable generates
404 a change across the feedback loop that reduces its magnitude.

405 To aid in the creation of the CLDs, the facilitator guided stakeholders with the
406 following series of questions (Halbe et al., 2013):

- 407 1. How has the problem developed over time?
- 408 2. What are the most important direct causes contributing to the problem's
- 409 development?
- 410 a. What are the indirect causes?
- 411 b. What are the polarities of those relationships?
- 412 3. What are the direct consequences of the problem?
- 413 a. What are the indirect consequences?
- 414 b. What are the polarities of those relationships?
- 415 4. What are the feedback processes?
- 416 5. What kind of policies can be adopted to solve this problem in the short term?
- 417 a. In the long term?
- 418 6. What are the main obstacles to those policies succeeding?

419

420 Other than asking the guiding questions or helping to clarify questions from a
421 stakeholder, the facilitator remained quiet in order to let the stakeholders independently
422 develop a CLD without bias or interruption. CLD generation was completed on a one-on-
423 one basis with the facilitator so that stakeholders could freely express their opinions.

424

425 *3.4 Developing the merged CLD*

426 After all 14 stakeholders developed their individual CLDs in separate interviews
427 in April and May 2018, the facilitator generated a merged CLD using VENSIM software
428 in June 2018 (Inc., 2015). This process aggregated the individual CLDs by starting with
429 the most complex individual CLD and then added insights from the other models one by

430 one. If there was agreement between the individual models regarding the variables and
431 relationship between those variables, then there was no controversy and variables
432 continued to be added to the model. If one of the models shows an additional variable
433 between two variables in the cause-effect relationship, then the middle variable was
434 added so that the merged model reflected that detail (Inam et al., 2015; Malard et al.,
435 2015).

436 If there was disagreement between models, the difference was noted as being one
437 of three types using the method described in Figure 3. First, if there was disagreement in
438 the direction of the arrows between variables, the group CLD reflected those divergent
439 opinions with an arrow in both directions and an exclamation point between variables.
440 Second, if the first model depicted variables as consequences or causes of a variable that
441 another model show is independent or not related, then the merged model reflected the
442 connection between the variables but flagged it with a question mark. Third, if the first
443 model showed a variable affecting two other variables, but another model showed that
444 same variable only affecting one variable, then the first model's additional cause-effect
445 relationship is flagged with a question mark.

446

447 *Figure 3: Main Types of Controversy*

	Agreement	Controversy 1	Controversy 2	Controversy 3	Complimentary	Detail reflected in model
Model 1	$A \rightarrow B$	$A \rightarrow B$	$A \rightarrow B$ ↓ C	$A \rightarrow B$ ↓ C	$A \rightarrow B$	$A \rightarrow B \rightarrow C$
Model 2	$A \rightarrow B$	$B \rightarrow A$	$A \rightarrow B$ ↓ C	$A \rightarrow B$	$A \rightarrow C$	$A \rightarrow C$
Merged Model	$A \rightarrow B$! $A \leftrightarrow B$	$A \rightarrow B$ ↓ C ?	? $A \rightarrow B$ ↓ C	$A \rightarrow B$ ↓ C	$A \rightarrow B \rightarrow C$

448

449

450 The merged model included all diverging perspectives of the 14 stakeholders.
451 (See Figure S2 in supporting materials for final merged model). The final CLD captured
452 the complete system and allowed the macro-scale outcomes, such as emergence and
453 cross-scale interactions to be assessed (Blair & Buytaert, 2016). Due to the rich detail of
454 the merged model, five sub-models were identified: economic, environmental,
455 infrastructure, social, and health (Figure 4). Figure 4 highlights the major components of
456 each sub-model that were described by stakeholders during CLD development. The
457 participatory modeling process deepened understanding of the many factors that
458 influence household water vulnerability, of future research needs, and insight into the
459 complex system to inform future policy.

460 To address the points of disagreement in the merged sub-models, we sent a
461 questionnaire to the 14 stakeholders. The questionnaire asked detailed questions about the
462 cycles and processes identified in the thematic sub-models (Figure 4). Eleven of the 14
463 interviewed stakeholders provided detailed comments and feedback on the questionnaire.
464 The responses to the questionnaire and subsequent discussions with stakeholders

465 elucidated differences in ideas regarding causation and perspectives around household
 466 water vulnerability. The questionnaire reconciled diverging opinions on relationships
 467 between variables and improved the thematic sub-models. It is important to note that
 468 while the sub-models were analyzed independently, they are all related and together
 469 create the merged CLD.

470

471 *Figure 4: Thematic sub-models derived from the merged CLD*

Sub-Model	Major Themes
1 Economic	Financial burden Operation and maintenance capacity Household income constraints Economy in rural Alaska
2 Environmental	Locally available source water Water security Climate change
3 Infrastructure	Piped or haul water system Village level capacity
4 Social	Population changes Community resilience Hydrosocial
5 Health	Lung/skin disease Gastrointestinal illness Mental health Quantity of water consumed

472

473

474 *3.5 Limitations*

475 There are various limitations associated with CLDs and their application,
 476 including that since CLDs are models, they are a representation of reality and may not
 477 reflect the true nature of the system (Inam et al., 2015). To address this, we engaged with
 478 stakeholders from varied backgrounds and with diverse perspectives to ensure that many
 479 representations were captured in the final CLD. Critics of participatory modeling argue

480 that there may be little correspondence between the stakeholder’s mental model and the
481 loop structure that is generated by the modeling process (Bureš, 2017). To address this,
482 we discussed the results with stakeholders and incorporated stakeholder feedback through
483 the questionnaire. Critics also argue that top-down models, such as CLD, only produce
484 deterministic results. This article followed the simplification process developed by Bureš
485 (2017) and lists the exogenous variables that were removed in Table S1 in supporting
486 materials. The approach to consider parts of the model separately is sometimes criticized
487 since the value of the gathered complexity in the merged CLD is reduced through the
488 process of thematic model development (Bureš, 2017). While we developed sub-models,
489 they are linked within the larger, merged CLD so the system’s complexity is intact.

490

491 **4. Results**

492 The following results detail the findings from the participatory modeling process
493 and represent the stakeholder’s perceptions of household water vulnerability.

494

495 *4.1. Discussion of thematic sub-models from the merged CLD*

496

497 *4.1.1 Environmental sub-model*

498 The environmental sub-model consists of several main factor groupings: locally
499 available source water, water security and climate change. Stakeholders highlighted that
500 local environmental features and climate change are central to whether there is water
501 available to households. Local source water availability determines whether a household
502 has sufficient quantity of good quality water. Local water availability is affected by

503 water's seasonality and risk of pollution from both natural sources such as excess
504 minerals, and man-made sources from resource or industrial development. In the
505 interviews, stakeholders were forward looking, and discussed future impacts on water
506 resources, such as increasing climate change impacts that may make the hydrological
507 cycle more variable and households will be less certain whether historic water supplies
508 will exist in the same time and place.

509 Stakeholders highlighted the importance of different perceptions of water due to
510 cultural preference. Many households continue to gather drinking water from rivers,
511 lakes, or melt ice. Collecting water from these resources has contributed to household
512 knowledge of seasonal water attributes, such as water levels and long-term changes in
513 freshwater (C. Goldhar, Bell, & Wolf, 2014). Stakeholders described how climate change
514 has also been affecting local hydrological systems and landscapes due to permafrost
515 thaw, silting of river sources, and changing local soil conditions. Stakeholders detailed
516 how intensifying climate change impacts, such as coastal erosion and storm surge may
517 compromise water sources that communities depend on due to damaged water
518 infrastructure or saltwater intrusion into drinking water sources. All of these changes will
519 profoundly impact water quality and quantity, and therefore influence the level of water
520 treatment necessary to meet state and federal regulatory standards. Such changes to water
521 quality affect local source water availability because communities may not be able to
522 afford the new level of treatment required or have adequate training.

523 Stakeholders additionally described how environmental and physical barriers
524 influence local source water availability because difficult topography may make certain
525 water systems or infrastructure too costly to construct. Stakeholders highlighted how

526 availability and access to a safe local water supply affects human health. With increased
527 access and availability of water to remote Alaskan households, there is an immediate
528 health benefit because households no longer need to practice extreme water conservation
529 or limit hygiene practices due to prioritized water use (Thomas et al. 2016). Stakeholders
530 detailed how with improved water quality and quantity, people use water for personal
531 hygiene and cooking which reduces the incidence of lung and skin disease and
532 gastrointestinal illness. They also discussed how more available water alleviates stress
533 and therefore improves mental health. Stakeholders also emphasized how better hygiene
534 improves dental care through tooth brushing.

535 In discussions with stakeholders after the merged CLD was developed, two
536 processes linking variables to household water vulnerability were identified. First, more
537 environmental and physical barriers, such as geography or cold climate can restrict the
538 economy in rural Alaska. A constricted economy impacts access to water due to
539 household income constraints and therefore decreases household water access.
540 Stakeholders described how more environmental and physical barriers can increase the
541 capital costs of constructing water systems, which may make a community less likely to
542 build water infrastructure and then decrease water access. Second, an increase in climate
543 change impacts, such as permafrost thaw or siltation of rivers may make some water
544 resources no longer available or usable. However, climate change may also increase
545 rainfall in certain areas, making more water available, but not necessarily in the required
546 time and place (AMAP 2017). Stakeholders discussed how climate impacts may increase
547 capital costs to construct or to maintain systems in some areas, which may make
548 communities less inclined or able to build water infrastructure. Capital costs may increase

549 due to more conservative designs targeting greater resiliency in the face of uncertain
550 climatic changes. Therefore, due to increased costs, water access may not improve
551 beyond the existing system.

552

553 *4.1.2 Economic sub-model*

554 The economic sub-model consists of several main factor groupings: operations
555 and maintenance capacity, household income constraints, economy in rural Alaska,
556 financial burden of water, and funding. Operations and maintenance capacity are affected
557 by the village's size, the level of training of operators, and the community's ability to
558 retain trained operators. Stakeholders described how a community's ability to retain
559 operators is shaped by the presence of available and interested personnel, the hours and
560 pay for operators, the difficulty of exams, and potential cultural bias against full time
561 employment in remote communities. Stakeholders also emphasized how operations and
562 maintenance capacity is influenced by existing software and hardware and the type of
563 water system in the community, such as piped or haul. It is also influenced by state
564 revenue sharing and the community's access to funding for operations and maintenance
565 using the competitive procurement process.

566 During the participatory mapping process, stakeholders emphasized that
567 household income is a dominant factor affecting water vulnerability. Stakeholders
568 described how household income influences water vulnerability because some people
569 may not be able to afford water if the cost of equipment, such as a snowmobile or ATV
570 and the associated fuel prices increases suddenly. If available water sources are far from
571 their home, households may be forced to spend more on fuel to haul water. These

572 tradeoffs are a direct tension between water and energy security and determine whether a
573 household can afford sufficient water supply.

574 Additionally, household income may be constrained by the number of people
575 occupying a home. Stakeholders described how some families share income among
576 members in order to provide for children, elderly or unemployed members. Household
577 incomes may also be inhibited if there is a reduction to the permanent fund division
578 (PFD) which provides Alaskans with an annual dividend. These challenges to water
579 vulnerability, and constraints on household income are increasing due to climate change
580 impacts, such as storm surge and coastal flooding. Households may be forced to adapt to
581 these impacts at the expense of other aspects of their welfare, therefore reinforcing
582 poverty traps and economic marginalization (Eakin et al., 2016).

583 The character of the water system's economics also affects household income. For
584 example, if water bills are charged on a flat monthly rate, if users pay per volume at a
585 central watering point, or if there are few users on a water system it may be more difficult
586 for households to afford water access. Stakeholders also emphasized that household water
587 vulnerability is affected by the economy in rural Alaska. They described how the
588 economy in rural Alaska is influenced by how robust the local job market is, the time that
589 people have available for subsistence work and other activities, and environmental and
590 physical barriers to certain jobs and industries.

591 Through discussion with stakeholders after the merged CLD was developed, four
592 processes and one reinforcing loop were identified in the sub-model. These processes and
593 loop illuminate connections between factors and their impact on water access. First, if
594 there is more access to operations and maintenance funding, there will be more village

595 level capacity to operate and maintain systems, if skilled operators are available. Good
596 operations and maintenance in a village will likely decrease necessary capital
597 expenditures required to repair systems, as a result there may be more funding available
598 to construct new water systems in underserved areas. Stakeholders said this would
599 positively impact water access and availability because it would reduce the number of
600 days that a system is non-functional.

601 Second, stakeholders revealed that there is no direct causal relationship between
602 health care costs and funding for water infrastructure, such as for construction or for
603 operations and maintenance. Stakeholders described the process of how medical care
604 costs have been increasing and while the health care budget is separate from funding for
605 water infrastructure, if the overall state budget is too high there may be greater hesitation
606 to fund water and sewer capital projects. As a result, water security may be affected since
607 funding for construction, or operation and maintenance of water systems would be
608 reduced. Therefore, the prevalence of water-related illness may increase or stay at the
609 same rate. This will increase hospitalizations, doctor visits, and medical costs.

610 Third, a process identified in the sub-model is: with more available jobs, and a
611 stronger economy in rural Alaska, there are fewer household income constraints, which
612 reduces household water vulnerability because water is more affordable. This would
613 mean households would have more water available for personal hygiene and make them
614 more available to work and accept potential jobs due to reduced illness and improved
615 mental health.

616 Fourth, the impact of regulations on the economics of water infrastructure was
617 highlighted. As regulations regarding water quality increase, the capital cost of building

618 infrastructure increases, which may reduce funding agencies' interest in providing the
619 capital necessary to construct infrastructure. This would result in no new water
620 infrastructure being constructed, or improvements of existing infrastructure. Stakeholders
621 described how more regulations regarding the operations and maintenance of water
622 systems, increases the capital cost of the systems. Since communities carry this expense,
623 it may decrease their interest in building water infrastructure.

624 Fifth, the merged CLD revealed a reinforcing loop. Although the economy in
625 rural Alaska is not strong at the moment, stakeholders emphasized that if the economy in
626 rural Alaska were to improve, extreme water conservation in households could decrease
627 because water usage would become more affordable. As people can afford to be less
628 conservative with water use, water access and availability in the home could be
629 increased, which may increase school attendance since people are not afflicted with as
630 many water-borne or water-related diseases (Cooper-Vince et al., 2017). The graduate
631 rate would then increase. Stakeholders said that as graduation rates go up, those
632 individuals are qualified for more jobs, and the economy in rural Alaska would continue
633 to strengthen.

634

635 *4.1.3 Health sub-model*

636 The health sub-model consists of several main factor groupings: lung and skin
637 disease, gastrointestinal illness, mental health, and quantity of water consumed. In the
638 health sub-model, stakeholders identified additional processes linking variables of
639 household water vulnerability. First, stakeholders described how an increase in access
640 and availability of water improves sanitation infrastructure and decreases use of honey

641 buckets and outhouses. This decreases personal discomfort and inconvenience, and
642 therefore increases mental health by reducing stress. Stakeholders described how
643 improved mental wellbeing may also increase village level capacity to operate and
644 maintain water systems, or to apply for funding. With increased operations and
645 maintenance funding, the community's water access will be maintained or improve,
646 further benefitting mental health. One stakeholder emphasized that mental health is a
647 result of the improved water and sanitation improvements, not a cause of improved
648 capacity that leads to increased water and sanitation access.

649 This finding supports water security research that has been conducted in other
650 rural, remote and marginalized households other Arctic regions, such as Labrador, and in
651 distant geographies, like Nepal, Bolivia, and Uganda (Biggs, Duncan, Atkinson, & Dash,
652 2013; M. Hanrahan, Sarkar, & Hudson, 2016; Mushavi et al., 2019; Sarkar et al., 2015;
653 Wutich & Ragsdale, 2008). The findings of this participatory modeling process support
654 recent literature that identifies a connection between a sense of choicelessness,
655 depression, and emotional distress tied to water insecurity (Brewis, Choudhary, &
656 Wutich, 2019; Cooper-Vince et al., 2017; Mushavi et al., 2019; Wutich & Ragsdale,
657 2008). For example, Mushavi et al. (2019) describe the statistically significant association
658 between water insecurity and depression symptom severity among men and women in
659 rural Uganda. In Haiti, Brewis et al. (2019) documented how water insecurity has a direct
660 and independent impact on depression and anxiety levels in households. These studies
661 emphasize the impact of household water insecurity on health and reveal that the lived
662 experience of water insecurity differs with age and gender (Cooper-Vince et al., 2017;
663 Mushavi et al., 2019).

664 Households in the Arctic and in the non-Arctic contexts suffer from stress and
665 anxiety due to lack of sufficient water supplies. The relationship between water insecurity
666 and emotional distress, and its mechanisms are critical to consider as household water
667 insecurity is addressed through health and policy interventions (Brewis, Choudhary, et
668 al., 2019; Mushavi et al., 2019). In order to address the impacts of water shortages on
669 mental health and manage water resources effectively, the dialogue between
670 governments, utility operators, and community leaders must be informed by how
671 households use water supplies, perceive drinking water quality, and cope with water
672 shortages.

673 In the health sub-model, stakeholders also identified how as access and availability of
674 water increase, funding goes up, which increases water quantity and quality. As a result,
675 stakeholders explained how this diminishes the replacement of water with sugary
676 beverages, such as soda. Stakeholders described how increased water access therefore
677 decreases the incidence of dental and medical complications, such as insulin resistance,
678 diabetes, and obesity from sugary drinks. A recent study found that not having access to
679 in-home piped water has a borderline significant effect on behaviors surrounding sugar-
680 sweetened beverage consumption and general perception of health in rural Alaska
681 (Mosites et al., 2020).

682 *4.1.4 Social sub-model*

683 The social sub-model consists of several main factor groupings: population
684 changes, community resilience, and hydrosocial impacts. In the sub-model, stakeholders
685 described several factors that influence household water vulnerability including the
686 inability to repair systems due to missing parts. Stakeholders also described difficulty in

687 securing funding for water systems, which are exacerbated by language barriers and the
688 challenges of grant writing. Stakeholders emphasized the hydrosocial impacts of water
689 vulnerability, such as lifestyle changes, convenience, and social stigmas.

690 Stakeholders also discussed the connection between water and food security. The
691 process they described occurs when people have increased access to piped water supply,
692 which leads to more time for subsistence work, such as gathering food. As a result, food
693 security increases. In turn, this increases household income because less money has to be
694 spent on store-bought food. This may mean that there is more money available to
695 purchase water, which may further reduce household water vulnerability.

696 These findings support research in other contexts that have demonstrated how
697 water and food insecurity are acute and chronic stressors that undermine human health.
698 Brewis et al. (2019) revealed that water insecurity chronically coexists with household
699 food insecurity. In their examination of cash expenditures and food and water insecurity,
700 Stoler et al. (2019) found that water infrastructure interventions that increase households'
701 water costs may exacerbate water insecurity, especially for the lowest-income
702 households. Along the Texas-Mexico border, Jepson (2014) revealed that factors such as
703 service reliability or physical capacity to access water reduced household water security
704 among the economically disadvantaged. In her work, Jepson (2014) further documented
705 the significance of water quality acceptability to households and whether they were water
706 insecure.

707 Similar to food sharing practices documented in the Arctic, water is shared within
708 a household and between kin. Water sharing practices have been documented in other
709 regions, such as sub-Saharan Africa and Bangladesh, where water is shared between

710 neighbors and families as a coping strategy against water shortages, lack of access, and
711 unaffordable water supplies (Brewis, Rosinger, et al., 2019; Stoler et al., 2019; Wutich et
712 al., 2018). In sub-Saharan Africa, these practices were a form of general reciprocity with
713 no expectation of direct payback between households (Brewis, Rosinger, et al., 2019).
714 These water sharing practices can buffer households from the negative health impacts of
715 water shortages (Stoler et al., 2019). Stakeholders stressed that funding is an issue of
716 political will, advocacy, and problem awareness. With increased statewide knowledge of
717 the water challenges that rural Alaska faces, stakeholders believe funding for rural water
718 systems will increase.

719

720 *4.1.5. Infrastructure sub-model*

721 The infrastructure sub-model consists of several main factor groupings: piped or
722 haul system, and village level capacity. In the sub-model stakeholders discussed the
723 relationship between a lack of funding for water systems, the Arctic's difficult
724 topography, and inadequate infrastructure. Due to the environmental conditions and
725 remote geography of Alaska, stakeholders described the difficulty in providing sufficient
726 infrastructure. Stakeholders also emphasized that future infrastructure should consider
727 community capacity, belief structure, and local preferences. In considering such factors,
728 infrastructure will be more long-lasting and resilient.

729

730 *4.2 Policy Implications*

731 The 14 stakeholders described policy solutions that could help alleviate
732 household water vulnerability. The solutions are presented under the following five main

733 themes: economics, social, regulatory, technological, and environmental, which were
734 developed around the policy tool that could be used to produce a new outcome under the
735 respective theme. It is important to note that many of the policy recommendations
736 described below are cross-cutting. For example, although one policy may predominantly
737 impact an economic issue and therefore be labeled an ‘economic policy solution,’ the
738 policy may also influence social aspects of remote Alaskan households.

739

740 *4.2.1 Economic policy solutions*

741 Economic solutions proposed by stakeholders emphasized a need for increased
742 operations and maintenance support from federal and state governments for water
743 systems. Another stakeholder suggested that it would be best to promote for-profit native
744 corporations to fund water and sewer systems in villages. This funding could add jobs,
745 improve access to water, and decrease long term capital expenditures. Some stakeholders
746 proposed creating a government-run fund to support operation and maintenance of
747 existing systems. This would help marginally financially feasible communities get
748 support for their water systems regarding basic elements, such as billing collection,
749 maintenance and procedures, and emergency plans. Stakeholders agreed that current
750 financial mechanisms in Alaska are outdated and that more communities need to become
751 qualified to apply for loans and build water infrastructure and to support operations and
752 maintenance. Increased construction funding would allow for improved water monitoring
753 and treatment. A stakeholder said that regionalized funding would be ideal because each
754 region has different challenges.

755 Better funding for operations and maintenance would allow for improved
756 institutional and community capacity to operate and maintain water systems. It would
757 also create more positive outcomes in operation and increase the longevity of capital
758 funding investments, which may lead to more built infrastructure. One means of
759 increasing community capacity is through operator training and certification, which
760 stakeholders said is a necessary policy. For example, people could be certified to operate
761 their village's specific water system. This would overhaul training requirements for rural
762 water systems and better consider operators' language and education background. A
763 stakeholder encouraged the implementation of a best practices scoring system so that
764 operations and maintenance may be better funded from an outside entity. Through a
765 scoring system, the likelihood of utility success would increase.

766 Several stakeholders said that subsidizing user fees has helped people access
767 water. These stakeholders emphasized that the federal or state subsidy would assist small
768 villages with operation and maintenance expenses so that systems do not degrade due to
769 deferred maintenance. Yet, these stakeholders emphasized the need for direct research to
770 support this claim. Future research must demonstrate that subsidies for water are effective
771 at a local level. A different stakeholder believed the opposite, stating that subsidies to
772 help finance water are not a good option because water is not cheap to collect or treat. If
773 subsidies were implemented, there is concern that they may lead to water waste or a lack
774 of conservation since water would become more affordable.

775

776 *4.2.2 Social policy solutions*

777 Social policy solutions focused on improving the quality of life and public health

778 in rural Alaska in both the short and long term. Stakeholders said there should be policy
779 initiatives to build up the local economy in these remote villages. By alleviating poverty
780 and the depressed economy, communities' health would improve due to less water
781 conservation as water becomes more affordable. Long-term policies should affect the
782 wellbeing of rural communities, such as ensuring that there is sufficient housing so that
783 overcrowding does not occur. Policies should also support mental health initiatives in a
784 comprehensive manner. Another social policy proposed by stakeholders is for Alaska to
785 implement a soda-tax in order to pay for preventive services such as dental screenings,
786 tooth brushing education, and exercise programs or outdoor trails in order to offset
787 adverse health impacts from soda consumption.

788 Additionally, stakeholders emphasized that schools should continue to recognize
789 the value of Native culture with culturally specific curriculums that focus on the
790 traditional lifestyle. Policies should recognize the differences between life in rural Native
791 Alaska and urban areas, specifically reducing the technical complexity of infrastructure,
792 capital costs, and operations and maintenance costs. Policies should help tribes apply for
793 water rights such as intake and outtake permits in order to secure water access. It is also
794 important that all of Alaska commit to providing higher education that incorporates
795 information on rural Alaska, such as the disparity between urban and rural water and
796 sanitation systems.

797

798 *4.2.3 Regulatory policy solutions*

799 Regulatory solutions recommended by stakeholders included revising or tailoring
800 regulations to reduce burdensome requirements in specific circumstances in order to

801 allow construction of less costly systems on the way to a fully compliant system. These
802 systems would be supported by system specific testing and modeling based on local
803 source water contaminants and would be overseen by trained and certified operators.
804 Changes to regulations would improve water access in rural households. Stakeholders
805 emphasized that regulatory reform is necessary so that there is not a water system policy
806 that is “one size fits all” across diverse communities and topographies. A stakeholder said
807 that some public health improvements are burdensome and that new regulations would
808 help communities find good water systems that meet their needs and capacity.

809 Currently, there are no water quantity standards, but there are water quality
810 standards. Stakeholders emphasized the importance of water quantity in alleviating poor
811 health. Many stakeholders said that if the quantity of water being delivered to households
812 can be increased, it should be, even if that water is of less good quality. These
813 stakeholders emphasized that there should be ways to provide more water to households
814 through diverse or untreated water sources, even if they are not up to EPA standards. For
815 example, policies could also provide funding for alternative systems, such as rainwater
816 catchment systems or grey water recycling and reuse, which may not meet potable water
817 standards at the state or federal level but could improve quality of life in households and
818 communities.

819 In order to improve management of water systems, a stakeholder proposed that
820 the state government assume ownership of the water system. While this would be good
821 for the operations and maintenance of the water system, it would be difficult to finance.

822 Several stakeholders emphasized that remote maintenance initiatives, such as ARUC
823 should be replicated for communities across Alaska. One stakeholder said that a
824 regionalized collaborative should be created with local buy-in and support.

825

826 *4.2.4 Technological policy solutions*

827 Many stakeholders proposed that technological innovation and solutions are
828 needed to address the challenging topography in villages, which makes infrastructure
829 difficult to construct and maintain. In particular, stakeholders said there should be a long-
830 term policy to change how water is provided from conventional pipes to non-
831 conventional systems, and to promote household-level solutions. There need to be new
832 designs and construction of water delivery infrastructure from source water to the
833 household or central watering point.

834

835 *4.2.5 Environmental policy solutions*

836 Environmental solutions were proposed by stakeholders due to the onset of
837 climate change. They stated that there is a need for new design criteria to drive a
838 consistent approach for resilient water systems. Other stakeholders argued that there
839 should be policies in place to help communities relocate as their infrastructure is
840 challenged by storms or rising sea levels. These policies could include funding assistance
841 for community relocation and promoting access to new sites. Stakeholders suggested that
842 funding be made available to address climate change impacts to water systems and
843 support adaptation strategies adopted by communities. There should additionally be
844 policies to fund studies of climate change projections, the magnitude of its impacts, and

845 the pace of change so that communities can make informed decisions and adapt to and
846 mitigate climate change impacts. Stakeholders also emphasized that policies address
847 environmental concerns, such as pollution from natural and man-made sources.

848

849 *4.2.6 Obstacles to policy solutions*

850 Major hurdles to these policies include climate change, funding, education, and
851 the value that the public places on unique Native cultures. Climate change is a pressing
852 concern for household water vulnerability. A stakeholder described how the lack of
853 ingenuity regarding water sources from regulators has limited governments' use of
854 diverse water sources and has left households with poor water access. Climate change
855 will continue to challenge water policy and management due to uncertainty regarding
856 specific impacts and lack of data.

857 Funding is another central obstacle to addressing water vulnerability because
858 water systems are costly. Water systems in remote Alaska are highly decentralized and
859 require a significant level of technology to operate, yet there is a limitation on the
860 community's ability to maintain them. As populations continue to change, or decrease
861 due to outmigration, it becomes more difficult to fund water systems. Stakeholders were
862 additionally frustrated that there is little state and federal funding support for operations
863 and maintenance of water systems. Scales of government also complicate funding and
864 make it difficult to plan and coordinate strategies across groups. Alaska only receives 1%
865 of the State Revolving Fund (SRF), and those funds are competed for by the many
866 communities across the state.

867 Another hurdle that was mentioned by stakeholders is the public’s valuing of
868 unique native cultures. Currently there is not much external awareness and understanding
869 of the water issue in rural Alaskan households throughout the state, in urban areas, or in
870 the rest of the U.S. For sustainable water access, stakeholders stated that local community
871 values and perceptions of water must be integrated into water management and
872 technology. Stakeholders emphasized that the lack of school resources in remote
873 communities can result in lower education levels that hinder efforts to address household
874 water vulnerability, discourage water use for hygiene, and increase extreme water
875 conservation. Stakeholders also mentioned that the lack of economic opportunities and
876 institutional capacity in remote Alaska are hurdles to decreasing household water
877 vulnerability.

878

879 *4.3 Future areas of research*

880 Through the participatory modeling process, several areas for future research
881 were identified. To date, there has not been a large-scale effort to identify economic
882 opportunities around subsistence activities or declare areas of Alaska “subsistence only”
883 in order to recognize that Western economic development is not viable. Future research
884 could include a more diverse array of stakeholders in the modeling process, such as
885 community members and leaders of Alaskan Tribal Organizations. Future research must
886 show where operations and maintenance funding fall short. Those findings may stimulate
887 political will to change funding policies. There should also be more research on the
888 impacts of newly gained water access on communities, and how piped water supply
889 impacts traditional water use habits and local water knowledge.

890 This research contributes to our understanding of how water vulnerability is
891 considered by stakeholders who implement water policy in Alaska. Future research could
892 build on this work by conducting participatory modeling with rural communities instead
893 of water policy stakeholders. Currently, the participatory modeling results highlight
894 consequences of household water vulnerability that may be perceived as negative
895 pathways resulting from not having water access or locally available water sources. In
896 order to improve comparison of water challenges around the Arctic, there needs to be
897 more research on water access and water availability issues in all Arctic regions,
898 especially in Russia and Greenland. Future research could also quantify the CLDs
899 developed in this article and couple the quantified CLDs with hydrological models.

900

901 **5. Conclusion**

902 This article examined household water vulnerability in Alaska through
903 stakeholder engagement and the development of CLDs, by looking at how water policy
904 stakeholders conceptualize the key processes and dynamic factors that affect household
905 water vulnerability. From the individual and merged CLD models generated during the
906 research, five thematic models emerged: economic, environmental, infrastructure, social,
907 and health. This article explored the processes and feedback loops illuminated in the
908 environmental and economic sub-models in depth. The environmental sub-model
909 revealed that environmental and physical barriers, and climate change impacts affect
910 household water vulnerability. The economic sub-model illuminated how household
911 income constraints, operations and maintenance funding, medical care costs, available

912 jobs in remote Alaska, regulations, a strong economy, and time for subsistence work
913 impact household water vulnerability.

914 This research highlights how capturing the perspectives of stakeholders who
915 implement water policies, and incorporating interdisciplinary ideas from physical, social,
916 economic, and political sectors into a model can lead to innovative solution strategies that
917 better reflect the human-hydrological cycle and account for the system's many diverse
918 and complex relationships. The findings from this research provide knowledge into the
919 unique experience of household water vulnerability in Alaska and the Arctic contexts.

920 Through participatory modeling, this research provided new insights into the formal and
921 informal institutions that influence household water vulnerability in the Arctic. Research
922 in other contexts emphasizes the importance of historical, socio-cultural, and legal factors
923 in determining how water is allocated, distributed, and regulated. Wilson et al. (2019)
924 describe how governance in the context of indigenous households and communities must
925 account for the informal decision-making processes around water, and how water systems
926 have been shaped by historical and ongoing colonialism. The findings from participatory
927 modeling in Alaska therefore deepen understanding of how water governance is linked to
928 political and economic interests that exist within institutional arrangements and social
929 relations (Nicole J. Wilson, Harris, Nelson, & Shah, 2019).

930 The results reveal that CLDs can help represent the socially relevant complexity
931 of a system. Not only do CLDs identify the complex factors, but they also include the
932 feedback dynamics. Through the simplification process used in this article, it was
933 possible to see connections between factors and highlight policy solutions by visualizing
934 the system as interconnected, versus a cause-and-effect relationship based on linear

935 principles (Bureš, 2017). Participatory modeling allowed for a rigorous assessment of the
936 role social institutions have in affecting household water vulnerability in remote Alaska,
937 which to date has been largely lacking in water vulnerability analyses (Padowski,
938 Gorelick, Thompson, Rozelle, & Fendorf, 2015). The analysis provides insight into the
939 unique factors that challenge households in Alaska from achieving water security.

940 The models improve understanding of the Alaskan water system, thus providing a
941 conceptualization of a path towards water systems management that is coordinated and
942 effective in the long-term (Halbe et al., 2013). The visualized system dynamics may also
943 allow stakeholders to envision different pathways that can build capacity in water
944 governance, institutions, and individuals, thereby reducing household water vulnerability
945 (Halbe et al., 2013). Future water policies should explore the feedback loops between
946 variables and consider the dynamic tradeoffs households must balance in their effort to
947 mitigate water vulnerability.

948

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