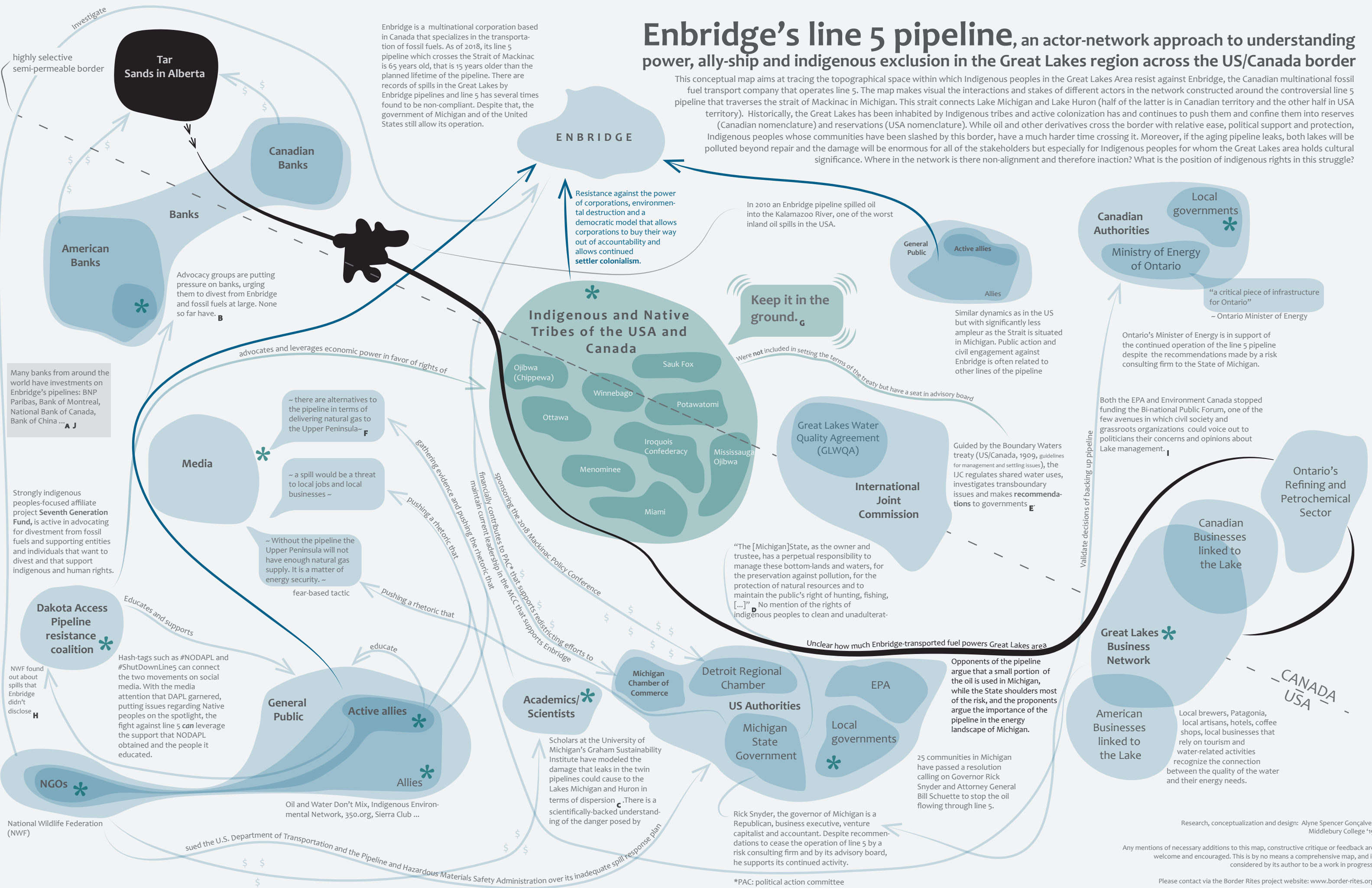


Enbridge's line 5 pipeline, an actor-network approach to understanding power, ally-ship and indigenous exclusion in the Great Lakes region across the US/Canada border

This conceptual map aims at tracing the topographical space within which Indigenous peoples in the Great Lakes Area resist against Enbridge, the Canadian multinational fossil fuel transport company that operates line 5. The map makes visual the interactions and stakes of different actors in the network constructed around the controversial line 5 pipeline that traverses the strait of Mackinac in Michigan. This strait connects Lake Michigan and Lake Huron (half of the latter is in Canadian territory and the other half in USA territory). Historically, the Great Lakes has been inhabited by Indigenous tribes and active colonization has and continues to push them and confine them into reserves (Canadian nomenclature) and reservations (USA nomenclature). While oil and other derivatives cross the border with relative ease, political support and protection, Indigenous peoples whose communities have been slashed by this border, have a much harder time crossing it. Moreover, if the aging pipeline leaks, both lakes will be polluted beyond repair and the damage will be enormous for all of the stakeholders but especially for Indigenous peoples for whom the Great Lakes area holds cultural significance. Where in the network is there non-alignment and therefore inaction? What is the position of indigenous rights in this struggle?

Enbridge is a multinational corporation based in Canada that specializes in the transportation of fossil fuels. As of 2018, its line 5 pipeline which crosses the Strait of Mackinac is 65 years old, that is 15 years older than the planned lifetime of the pipeline. There are records of spills in the Great Lakes by Enbridge pipelines and line 5 has several times found to be non-compliant. Despite that, the government of Michigan and of the United States still allow its operation.



Resistance against the power of corporations, environmental destruction and a democratic model that allows corporations to buy their way out of accountability and allows continued settler colonialism.

In 2010 an Enbridge pipeline spilled oil into the Kalamazoo River, one of the worst inland oil spills in the USA.

Keep it in the ground. ^c

Were not included in setting the terms of the treaty but have a seat in advisory board

Similar dynamics as in the US but with significantly less amplitude as the Strait is situated in Michigan. Public action and civil engagement against Enbridge is often related to other lines of the pipeline

Ontario's Minister of Energy is in support of the continued operation of the line 5 pipeline despite the recommendations made by a risk consulting firm to the State of Michigan.

Both the EPA and Environment Canada stopped funding the Bi-national Public Forum, one of the few avenues in which civil society and grassroots organizations could voice out to politicians their concerns and opinions about Lake management. ⁱ

Guided by the Boundary Waters treaty (US/Canada, 1909, guidelines for management and settling issues), the IJC regulates shared water uses, investigates transboundary issues and makes recommendations to governments ^e

"The [Michigan] State, as the owner and trustee, has a perpetual responsibility to manage these bottom-lands and waters, for the preservation against pollution, for the protection of natural resources and to maintain the public's right of hunting, fishing, [...]" ^d No mention of the rights of indigenous peoples to clean and unadulterat-

Unclear how much Enbridge-transported fuel powers Great Lakes area

Opponents of the pipeline argue that a small portion of the oil is used in Michigan, while the State shoulders most of the risk, and the proponents argue the importance of the pipeline in the energy landscape of Michigan.

25 communities in Michigan have passed a resolution calling on Governor Rick Snyder and Attorney General Bill Schuette to stop the oil flowing through line 5.

Rick Snyder, the governor of Michigan is a Republican, business executive, venture capitalist and accountant. Despite recommendations to cease the operation of line 5 by a risk consulting firm and by its advisory board, he supports its continued activity.

Scholars at the University of Michigan's Graham Sustainability Institute have modeled the damage that leaks in the twin pipelines could cause to the Lakes Michigan and Huron in terms of dispersion ^e. There is a scientifically-backed understanding of the danger posed by

Oil and Water Don't Mix, Indigenous Environmental Network, 350.org, Sierra Club ...

sued the U.S. Department of Transportation and the Pipeline and Hazardous Materials Safety Administration over its inadequate spill response plan

Advocacy groups are putting pressure on banks, urging them to divest from Enbridge and fossil fuels at large. None so far have. ^b

Many banks from around the world have investments on Enbridge's pipelines: BNP Paribas, Bank of Montreal, National Bank of Canada, Bank of China ... ^{a j}

Strongly indigenous peoples-focused affiliate project **Seventh Generation Fund**, is active in advocating for divestment from fossil fuels and supporting entities and individuals that want to divest and that support indigenous and human rights.

Hash-tags such as #NODAPL and #ShutDownLine5 can connect the two movements on social media. With the media attention that DAPL garnered, putting issues regarding Native peoples on the spotlight, the fight against line 5 can leverage the support that NODAPL obtained and the people it educated.

National Wildlife Federation (NWF)

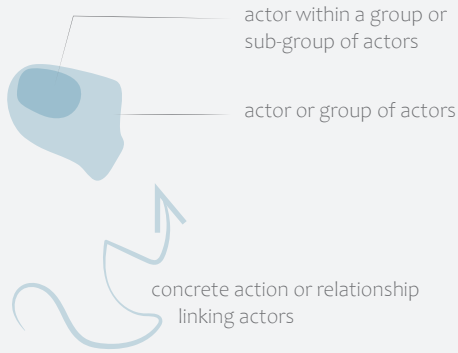
Research, conceptualization and design: Alyne Spencer Gonçalves Middlebury College '19

Any mentions of necessary additions to this map, constructive critique or feedback are welcome and encouraged. This is by no means a comprehensive map, and is considered by its author to be a work in progress.

Please contact via the Border Rites project website: www.border-rites.org

*PAC: political action committee

Legend



The text aims to help bring more context to the actor bubbles.

: ally-ship or potential ally-ship (current point or potential point of leverage) for the protection of the Lake waters, regardless of motivations

Further Readings

Sara Singleton (2008) 'Not our borders': *Indigenous people and the struggle to maintain shared cultures and polities in the post-9/11 united states*, *Journal of Borderlands Studies*, 23:3, 39-54, DOI: 10.1080/08865655.2008.9695707

Mengden, W. (2017). INDIGENOUS PEOPLE, HUMAN RIGHTS, AND CONSULTATION: THE DAKOTA ACCESS PIPELINE. *American Indian Law Review*, 41(2), 441-466. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor-org.ezproxy.middlebury.edu/stable/26492269>

HINDERY, D., & Hecht, S. (2013). Political Ecology, Pipelines, and the Conduits of Resistance. In *From Enron to Evo: Pipeline Politics, Global Environmentalism, and Indigenous Rights in Bolivia* (pp. 1-26). University of Arizona Press. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.middlebury.edu/stable/j.ctt18or1dv.7>

References

This reference section is as central to the map as any other part of it and should not be crammed on the corner, in a small font. The reader of this map is highly encouraged to actively use this section to further their research, to learn more, to go deeper and to understand the sources used.

- A** Mazasca Talks (Money Talks)
<https://mazaskatalks.org/thebanks#banks>
 - B** Letter to banks
<https://www.stopline3.org/news/2017/9/25/indigenous-led-coalition-calls-on-banks-to-divest-from-line-3>
 - C** University of Michigan's Graham Sustainability Institute
<http://graham.umich.edu/water/project/mackinac-oil-spill>
 - D** Michigan State department of environmental quality
https://www.michigan.gov/deq/0,4561,7-135-3313_3677_3702-10865-,00.html
 - E** Boundary Waters Treaty
<https://www.ijc.org/en/boundary-waters-treaty-1909>
 - F** FLOW's report on energy supply alternatives for UP
<https://flowforwater.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/Final-Line-5-Propane-Fact-Sheet-2017-02-06.pdf>
- More in depth report:
<https://flowforwater.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/FLOW-Composite-Report-12-14-15-FINAL-1.pdf>
- G** #KeepItInTheGround worldwide movement
<http://keepitintheground.org/>
 - H** National Wildlife Federation
<https://blog.nwf.org/2011/11/breaking-news-en-bridge-tar-sands-oil-spill-disaster-in-the-kalamazoo-river-is-worse-than-originally-reported/>
 - I** Letter from Binational Public Forum organizers
<https://freshwaterfuture.org/watchdog/lake-superior-binational-forum-funding-has-been-eliminated-by-us-epa>
 - J** Banks financing Enbridge
<https://www.ran.org/the-understory/whos-banking-enbridge/>

