

Making Material Borders

Petro-Cultures and Modern Citizenship

Scott Obernesser

Introduction

The 2018 film *Green Book* loosely retells the story of Dr. Don Shirley's (Mahershala Ali) 1962 musical tour through the US South. Shirley is accompanied by Frank Vallelonga (Viggo Mortensen), a bouncer at the Copacabana Club. At the request of Shirley's record label, Vallelonga would act primarily as Shirley's driver, but also as a security guard, if needed. Early in the film, the label presents Vallelonga with a copy of Victor Hugo Green's Jim Crow-era travel book *The Negro Motorist Green-Book*, a travel guide that identified Black-friendly businesses throughout the United States. The *Green-Book* mimicked a rash of travel guides distributed throughout the US during the nation's first age of automobility, increasing domestic tourism and, in turn, stipulating the need for a more comprehensive national road network.¹ In *See America First: Tourism and National Identity, 1880–1940*, Marguerite Shaffer claims the growth of domestic tourism in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries was, “central to the shifting notions of citizenship shaped by the emergence of America as an urban-industrial nation state” (6).² Shaffer further explains “mobile citizenship,” citizenship defined by one's ability to *see* the country and *experience* the nation, “re-defined political rights in consumer terms, celebrating seeing over speaking, purchasing over voting, and traveling over participating” (6). Other scholars—such as

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- 1 Most of these guides were created and published by oil companies, the target audience being largely middle-class white Americans. In a review of Green's *Green-Book*, William Smith explains the guide “is a book badly needed among our Race since the advance of the motor age. Realizing the only way we knew where and how to reach our pleasure resorts was in a way of speaking, by word of mouth, until the publication of ‘The Negro Motorist Green-Book.’ ... We earnestly believe ‘The Negro Motorist Green-Book’ will mean as much if not more to us as the A. A. A. means to the white race” (Green 2).
 - 2 Shaffer recognizes increasingly complex renderings of citizenship throughout the twentieth century, where the boundaries of citizenship status are defined by any number of sub-divided identifiers that create and exclude membership according to social, cultural, or political distinctions.

Engin Isin and Patricia K. Wood, Leti Volpp, and Ayelet Shachar—have theorized similar conceptions of citizenship based around identity, immigration, or national belonging. What many of these studies identify is the increasingly paradoxical position of a global human mired in citizenship rights regulated by increasingly abstract and indiscriminately discriminatory nation states. In terms of the *Green-Book*: that white US citizens and Black US citizens required separate travel guide archetypes to shape, direct, and even participate in nationally evolving citizenship rituals at the mid-century conveys citizenship not as a solid state, but as a constantly shifting vector regulated within the boundaries of the state's fluctuating allowance.

In this project, I trace an arc of US citizenship bounded by oil, encompassing geographic, racial, generational, and ontological distinctions from the mid-century to the post-9/11 era. In particular, I focus on modern petro-infrastructure as a material criterion of citizenship, specifically infrastructure's exclusionary/inclusionary capacities that precondition citizenship with material obligations to petro-capitalism. This is to say that visibility is a central vector by which citizenship is measured and regulated by national material networks—in the twenty-first century, those material networks take the form of petro-infrastructure: roads, highways, and automobiles, but also cultural recognition, commerce, or energy production, as we see most notably in the modern dilemma over oil pipelines like the Dakota Access Pipeline (DAPL) and the Keystone XL pipeline. I will focus on two primary examples: first, the history and actuation of national highway planning and construction, emphasizing consciously manufactured consequences in minority communities. While this practice is most clearly exposed by Robert Moses' reconstruction of New York City beginning in the 1920s,³ the consequences of infrastructure and access perpetuate racist practices that separate and bind minority communities from their surrounding region. Eddy Harris' 1993 memoir, *South of Haunted Dreams: A Ride Through Slavery's Old Backyard*, observes continuing discrimination for Black Americans through the example of Atlantic Beach, South Carolina. Second, I will examine oil pipelines, particularly the DAPL in North Dakota, as attempted sites of continued Western commitment to petro-capitalism, despite growing opposition to new construction. As Louise Erdrich makes clear in her short story "The Red Convertible," the reservation has long been a conflictual site between economic/cultural perceptions of citizenship, petro-culture, and the realities of mobility, access, and exclusion. Opposition to the DAPL, led primarily by the Standing Rock Sioux tribe and other Indigenous communities, represents citizens who benefit least from these material networks, yet experience disproportionate ecological impact and economic gain. Ultimately, what begins as material expectation transforms into ideological allegiance, leaving those on the outskirts of citizenship seeking inclusion through petro-infrastructure.

3 Though, Shaffer indicates these infrastructural inequities begin far earlier.

tures constructed expressly to filter out those who cannot effectuate a corresponding material compliance.

The Shifting Nature of Citizenship in the Twenty-First Century

Many scholars make clear that citizenship, both conceptually and in practice, is immensely complicated. Early in *Citizenship and Identity*, Isin and Wood broadly describe citizenship as, “both a set of practices (cultural, symbolic and economic) and a bundle of rights and duties (civil, political and social) that define an individual’s membership in a polity” (4). Citizenship might, incorrectly, be perceived as a gateway: once achieved, the rights, privileges, protections, and conveniences of citizenship are fully granted to that citizen (Shachar, 3–10). However, Isin and Wood go on to explain that globalization undermines “personal attachment to membership in the state,” even while a more contemporary digitality transforms political allegiances and agencies.⁴ Shachar’s *The Birthright Lottery: Citizenship and Global Inequality* claims that privileges guaranteed to affluent nations and corresponding citizens come, ultimately, at the expense of a larger global poor. Yet, this same inequity applies within nation-states as well. As the *Green-Book* legacy makes clear, “the sets of practices” and “bundles of rights and duties” afforded to a nation’s citizens do not equitably define membership for all individuals. The 15th Constitutional Amendment, ratified in 1870, guaranteed citizens’ voting rights—specifically voting rights for African Americans—but voter suppression tactics prevented widespread voting until the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and persists in new forms with each election cycle. This is not even considering the battle for women’s suffrage, guaranteed in the 19th Constitutional Amendment ratified in 1920, or Native American struggles for citizenship, who, though naturally born, were not recognized citizens or voters until the 1924 Indian Citizenship Act. And again, nearly sixty years *after* the Voting Rights Act, the US is facing unprecedented conflicts concerning voter rights in the wake of the 2020 elections, where urban Black communities and other minority voting blocs essentially determined a Democratic Party victory.⁵ While many attacks on voter freedoms manifest in silly declarations (usually procedural obstacles that are an inconvenience but are “not insurmountable objects”), the more serious limitations make use of existing material networks to limit access to polling, redistribute minority populations, or redraw voter precincts (Millhisier).

As many of my colleagues in this collection make clear, citizenship has only become more complicated in the twenty-first century: identity and belonging have be-

4 Also see Aytekin Isman and Ozlem Canan Gungoren’s article “Being Digital Citizen.”

5 Simply look at battles in Georgia and Texas over voting rights restrictions as evidence of this continued discrimination.

come increasingly important to citizenry, but this mirrors a global movement in mass communications and digitality that diffuses state boundaries previously regarded as firm geographical and, therein, embodied boundaries of citizenship. The end of Keystone XL, which I discuss later, is proof of such diffusion. While the legislation, expectations, and allowances that constitute citizenship in the US are in constant flux, late-capitalist petro-infrastructure obscurely maintain the very divisions at the heart of debates concerning citizenship. Rhetorical struggles to define citizenship—whether online or in the Capitol Building—are *not* reflected in, say, interstate highway construction, where discussions of rights and equality are superseded by the need to modernize, affirming much-needed national maintenance and vital structural upgrades. In the US, rebuilding domestic infrastructures is almost universally applauded.⁶ But, improving and reinforcing modern petro-capitalism's existing infrastructures perpetuates structures of racial injustice and, further, spreads those injustices subtly beyond regional boundaries. In *South of Haunted Dreams*, Eddy Harris realizes the racist ideologies he initially associates with the South are actually national ideologies disseminated via roads and highways. Further, progressive communities attempting ideological change are, in essence, erased from the nation. Herein lies the paradox: "normalized" citizenship requires participation in the nation's economic and cultural material networks, but othered citizens are regulated or excluded by the same material networks. If citizens are no longer able to make use of the infrastructures that connect them to a larger regional and national consciousness, their citizenship status is threatened, or, even invalidated.

The "Old South" Is Just The South: Citizenship Obstructions in *South of Haunted Dreams*

Take, for instance, the story of Atlantic Beach, South Carolina, as remembered by Eleanor Tate. Tate is an artist and writer Harris meets while cruising the US East Coast. Tate's home, the *very* small Atlantic Beach, lies on the northern border of Myrtle Beach, a popular American beach destination since the late-nineteenth century. Domestic tourism surged in the early-twentieth century, particularly during World War I—however, segregation prevented Black southerners from vacationing at white beaches or white resorts. As tourism increased through the 1920s, a man named George Tyson realized the need for a Black resort. In the 1930s, Tyson bought some acreage north of Myrtle Beach and began constructing a resort that would

6 At least, infrastructure in the more traditional sense: roads, tunnels, and bridges (aka: the petro-sense).

cater to wealthy Black people along the coast.⁷ Tyson was unable to keep hold of the land over the course of the Depression and the resort was purchased by a group of Black doctors, lawyers, and teachers. Between 1940 and 1970, Atlantic Beach, nicknamed “The Black Pearl,” was a haven for Black families: a place of relative luxury where nationally known entertainers performed, but most importantly, where “blacks could relax and vacation without insult or racial harassment” (Harris 195). In the 1970s, Atlantic Beach started a slow decline. The town, Tate explains, was decimated by integration as Black businesses were not prepared to compete with white resorts in the area.⁸ “As soon as it was all right to go to the white hotels,” Tate asks, “who could be bothered with the black ones?” (196). Tourism declined over the 1970s and 1980s and the town fell into financial ruin. Tate’s history ends there, though Harris notes she continues to work towards “something to uplift them [other residents] so they could be better off, spiritually and physically” (196). Residents facing financial crisis desperately sought new attractions that would bring in tourists but also preserve Atlantic Beach’s Black history. This led to the Atlantic Beach Bikefest (sometimes referred to as Black Bike Week), an oft-disputed motorcycle rally that has come to define Atlantic Beach in the twenty-first century, despite the town’s long, rich history. More importantly, Bikefest exhibits the efforts citizens must go through to reestablish visibility and recognition once their citizenship is imperiled through infrastructure exclusion.

Via road-building, petro-culture profoundly impacts citizenship through wealth and population distribution. What makes Atlantic Beach such an interesting case study comparatively is its specific placement within modern oil capitalism and the community’s racial purposefulness. Simply look at a map of the South Carolina coast and you will see that Atlantic Beach bisects two predominantly white cities: Myrtle Beach and North Myrtle Beach. In 1968, North Myrtle Beach annexed coastline surrounding Atlantic Beach, but Atlantic Beach residents refused incorporation. Why, after years of exclusion and distrust, would Atlantic Beach suddenly accept invitation into the once-homogenous white beach community? After all, the town had developed in response to alternative conditions of citizenship oppressively forced upon African Americans during Jim Crow. Black citizens were denied access to the material networks that accompany citizenship privileges (such as a beach vacation or other versions of domestic tourism) and responded by acquiring and cultivating

7 Atlantic Beach is not listed in *The Negro Motorist Green-Book* because, from what I can tell, it did not need to be identified as Black-friendly. Atlantic Beach was well known for catering specifically to Black patrons. The date of publication could also be a factor: the first version of the *Green-Book* was published in 1936, but Atlantic Beach did not gain in popularity until after World War II. However, since the *Green-Book* was still used well into the 1960s, I find this the less likely speculation.

8 Similar phenomena occurred throughout the country, i.e., Farish Street in Jackson, Mississippi or Michigan Ave. in Detroit.

spaces such as Atlantic Beach. Residents like Tate refuse to sacrifice a notable Black space to the white communities that had historically ostracized them, knowing that annexation would require a distinct “whitening” of their community (Harris 196).

As one might expect, rejecting annexation carried serious consequences, particularly regarding infrapolitics throughout the region. On that same map of the South Carolina coast, you can see that Atlantic Beach has been essentially hemmed in by roadways maintained by North Myrtle Beach *without* extending into Atlantic Beach itself. Harris immediately comments on Atlantic Beach’s roads, which are “rutted” and difficult to navigate compared to the highways he is used to (194). Atlantic Beach’s poorly maintained roads signal the community’s absence from the material infrastructural and economic networks in the region. “It is not a very pretty place,” Harris writes, “dusty streets with no sidewalks. The grass at the edge of the roads has been worn completely away. Broken bottles in the streets ... Too many broken down cars” (194). Vacation destinations thrive on aesthetic appeal—if Atlantic Beach is “not a very pretty place,” that separation from the regional economy compounds an already discriminatory redistribution of wealth and population. Roads to the south and west of Atlantic Beach run primarily through Myrtle Beach, while roads north of Atlantic Beach redirect travelers back into North Myrtle Beach. Even S. Ocean Blvd, constructed directly adjacent from the ocean for the entirety of the North Myrtle Beach coast, detours *around* Atlantic Beach—the only section of Ocean Blvd that does not directly follow the coast. Apart from Highway 17, which bounds the northern edge of town, Atlantic Beach is completely cut off from coastal tourism.⁹ The further Atlantic Beach is separated from surrounding infrastructures, the more the roads that actually do allow access into the town fall into increasing disrepair, and the town becomes what Tate recognizes as a space distinctly bounded from local and national economies. Rather than the blatant violence and spectacular racial discrimination Harris initially expects of the US South, petro-infrastructure exhibits how the racial politics of citizenship are renegotiated via subtle (less visible) regulations and insidious systems.

In an effort to gain stability amidst the economic turmoil brought on by exclusion, Atlantic Beach took on a new symbol: the motorcycle. The Atlantic Beach Bike-fest was modeled after mid-century Harley Davidson rallies in neighboring Myrtle Beach that were exclusively white (as was much of biker subculture in the immediate postwar era). The festival was first imagined in 1980 as a collaborative effort between City Councilman John Skeeters and the Carolina Knight Riders Motorcycle Club (MC) to invigorate the economy and maintain cultural independence from surrounding white neighborhoods (King 150). The rally would generate much needed revenue but would also offer a distinctly Black alternative to discriminatory rallies

9 Highway 17 was constructed in the 1920s as part of the United States Highway System and *before* Atlantic Beach was established.

in surrounding townships. While there was some dispute as to the nature of the rally (residents wanted a wide “social event” while bikers imagined something more exclusive), Bikefest quickly gained in popularity, exceeding sixty thousand participants by 1997. P. Nicole King explains, the “festival offers hope for the town both because the event permits Atlantic Beach to act as a location for the growth and diversification of African American leisure culture, and because it brings back the lively, crowded streets, blasting music, and sidewalk vendors so fondly recollected by early inhabitants of the town” (150). The Black Pearl was known for lively recreation; what is livelier than a motorcycle rally?

Throughout the 1990s Bikefest became increasingly controversial within surrounding white communities. The festival drew criticism for reasons that were discriminatory, rooted in the region’s segregated history. As the event grew, reports of “public nudity, drug activity, what appeared to be a stabbing and a near riot” earned Bikefest a reputation for being unruly and out of control (King 154). However, there had been no stabbing and no riot; King explains the number of incidents did not warrant the massive outcry from nearby Myrtle Beach (154). Many surrounding residents were particularly upset by the noise of the festival—young Black bikers had moved from the Harley (emblems of post-war white MCs) to louder, faster Japanese bikes (King 169). This was in part due to speed pleasures, but was certainly a commentary on class and race as well: imported Japanese bikes were cheaper than Harley’s and were not associated with the largely white, racist Outlaw MCs. White residents complained this was proof that Black youth partied “differently” and made “more noise than their white counterparts” (153). The noise of the bike disrupts racist narratives, a “metaphor for the nation’s descent from an imagined bygone era of race relations, when blacks knew their place and were deferential to whites” (King 153). King’s distinction here is important: white US citizens enjoyed their version of citizenship and Black US citizens enjoyed a different/deferential citizenship, one regulated by white culture through the region’s material infrastructural networks. Black bikers “roared through barriers in the *de facto* segregation of the region’s leisure space,” reclaiming Atlantic Beach amidst furious attempts at hostile takeover (153).

Yet, as we have established, citizenship is more complicated than we might initially imagine: even as Bikefest roars through discriminatory barriers, it is a site of resistance that can be regulated indirectly by petro-infrastructures, therein limiting activist impact. Bikefest helped Atlantic Beach continue independently into the twenty-first century. The festival shows one method for othered citizens to create space that allows opportunity to act out citizenship rights. At the same time those exact spaces identify chokepoints where infrastructure can regulate self-determination. King aptly explains Atlantic Beach and the town’s new symbol—the motorcycle—as an example of how racist ideology “travels with new technologies” (154). Bikers were separated from the motorcycle itself. The machine, historically a symbol of

cultural dissidence, became a new way of framing racial conflict: white motorcycle rallies were an essential part of Grand Strand culture while the singular Black motorcycle rally remained a target (169). The transversal nature of this conflict conveys the inadequacies of activism *using* material networks built by the oppressor. Atlantic Beach represents a collective effort to reclaim citizenship through oil; however, the material networks that connect citizens to the privileges of a polity become the very infrastructures that counter the town's attempts at reclamation. Notably, King identifies this as a strategy to consolidate power that goes beyond just racial modifiers. The controversies surrounding Bikefest are not simply issues of race, but rather a "larger trend in southern (and American) politics" that defines citizenry discriminately against "age, class, sexuality, and taste" (155).

Here, King presciently anticipates ongoing problems defining citizenship beyond reductive versions of identity politics, while acknowledging the vectors US cultures plot various citizens upon. Interestingly, in the case of Atlantic Beach, we witness how visibility via the region's material networks is central to the town's larger assertions within the community—conversely, we witness how petro-infrastructures are restructured to essentially conceal the town and its citizens from that community. Visibility becomes *the* central vector for establishing citizenship: the hope is visibility demands recognition, recognition implores representation, and representation finally awards the full rights and privileges of citizenship. Beginning with Western European notions of property rights, the reality is visibility has long been countered by aggressive erasure disguised in material production—or erasure, thinly veiled as "nation-building," has preconditioned visibility in ways that constantly anticipate and limit othered peoples from full citizenship rights. This practice has deep historical reach: Isin and Wood note that Australia, the US, and Canada all became nation-states "at the expense of, not with the cooperation of, Native Nations already inhabiting those territories" (68). Thus, visibility has been one of the more confrontational conditions of Native and European relations in the Americas for centuries. Despite the few spectacular examples like King Philip's War or Custer's Last Stand, "face-to-face encounters were often unnecessary" because European powers who had laid claim to lands traded territory they had no physical connection to (68). "This political practice," Isin and Wood explain, "in its oblivion, was the beginning of a long history of silencing and rendering invisible Native peoples" (68). Unlike Atlantic Beach, whose citizens "needed" to be erased, European and, eventually, US colonizers had been working to erase Native tribes for centuries despite varying adaptive resistances.

This is not to say tribes did not make efforts to regain National recognition. As Cristina Stanciu makes clear, the history of Native American citizenship has been contested throughout the entirety of continental colonialism. Each era of US westward expansion resulted in forms of erasure: Native American Removal in the mid-nineteenth century displaced southeastern tribes west of the Mississippi

River, followed by the Dawes Act in 1887 which divided Native lands into individual parcels in an effort to both assimilate Native peoples and destroy tribal unities. By the early-twentieth century, Stanciu claims Native Americans were able to author forms of their own citizenship through organized activism vis-à-vis the Society of American Indians (SAI) and the Red Progressives, therein navigating the tenuous relationship between “two competing nationalisms—American and Indian” (112–113). Stanciu further notes, “the most politically active and savvy members of the SAI argued for political integration rather than an erasure of Native identities and sovereignty through a blind replication of the imagined model of immigrant Americanization,” evoking models of welcomed early-twentieth century European immigration while acknowledging the immensely complicated history between US Federal governance and tribal sovereignty (112). House Resolution 108 in 1953 effectively abolished tribal sovereignty until the mid-1990s, when congress passed legislation aimed towards tribal self-governance and economic development. Though the 1924 Indian Citizenship Act stated all Native Americans born in the US were officially granted citizenship, abrupt and self-serving transitions between guiding Federal policies worked to destabilize Native American identity.¹⁰ Offering citizenship might seem like a proverbial olive branch, when in fact it serves as another form of erasure.¹¹

Indigenous Literatures as Activisms in Louise Erdrich’s “The Red Convertible”

Erasure has evolving contemporary consequences. I see these consequences clearly represented in two examples: first, in Native peoples’ struggles with identity, National obligation, and material economies, expertly conveyed in Louise Erdrich’s short story “The Red Convertible”; and second, in ongoing protests against the DAPL—bourgeoning positive activisms *not* focused on citizenship through petro-infrastructures. Stanciu explains that Native Americans have long imagined progressive forms of citizenship that end wardship without vanishing,¹² where *representation* is affected as a function of US jurisprudence while tribal identity remains tribal (114). Still, pursuing belonging is a consistent theme in late-twentieth and twenty-first century Native American literatures, a conflict complicated by what

10 See Vanessa Evans’s chapter in this volume, “‘You’ve Heard it Now’: Storytelling and Acts of Citizenship in Cherie Dimaline’s *The Marrow Thieves*”, for a discussion of how citizenship is reimagined by Indigenous characters after the settler apocalypse comes to what is currently known as Canada.

11 Stanciu gestures at the Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy as one example.

12 Here, Stanciu refers to the common critical trope of the Vanishing Indian.

citizenship (in its more reductive Western European imagining) offers, what it requires, and what it ultimately rejects. In its most contemporary form, this conflict is the struggle for *human* visibility defined by or projected through visible/invisible material infrastructures—particularly petro-infrastructures—that link or separate tribes from national trends beyond reservation boundaries. This doubly imposes Federal regulations in tribal self-determination and self-governance: it encourages Native peoples to assimilate through road building or automobility—positive, visible extensions of citizenship—while simultaneously marking geographies for modernization—infrastructural “necessities” forged through invisible spaces so as to remain invisible from “normalized” citizens. Erasure fabricates the prospect of national belonging while unduly coopting land and resource that does not—cannot—create the more progressive synergistic citizen Stanciu explores.

Erdrich’s “The Red Convertible,” from her 1984 collection *Love Medicine*, illustrates a version of citizenship in which US petro-cultures dictate Native American identity—a citizen missing Stanciu’s proposed synergy. The story is narrated in 1974 from the perspective of Lyman Lamartine, a recurring Chippewa in Erdrich’s works who recounts the history of “a red Olds” convertible purchased early in 1969, co-owned with his brother Henry, “until his boots filled with water” and “bought out my [Lyman’s] share” (177). The Chippewa are part of the larger Ojibwe Peoples stretching from “Bands” (tribes) in the northern-US Midwest into Eastern Canada. Lyman and Henry are part of the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians based in North Dakota parallel to the contemporary Canadian border.¹³ Already we see a number of ways Nativity and geography complicate citizenship in traditional Western-European terms. First, as American Indians born after 1924, Henry and Lyman are US citizens. Second, both are members of the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians, a federally-recognized tribe, meaning the Turtle Mountain Band is in a government-to-government relationship with the US Federal government—essentially, this allows the tribe some semblance of self-governance and entitles them to minor support from the US Federal Government through the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA).¹⁴

Third, and perhaps most importantly: as part of the Ojibwe Peoples, the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians are linked to innumerable migratory Bands that traveled seasonally throughout the Great Lakes Region’s significant waterways for millennia. This is to say that Henry and Lyman are part of a pre-colonial tribal conscious that moved freely across the contemporary Canadian-US border. When Henry and Lyman take the Olds on a long summer road trip across the western United States and Canadian provinces, they implicitly acknowledge an ancestral history that mirrors that pre-colonial mobility, but that we would now consider

13 The Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians is Erdrich’s own Band.

14 For more information, see: <https://www.bia.gov/frequently-asked-questions?page=6>.

“transnational.” By Western-European definitions of citizenship, Henry and Lyman present a mire of complexities that imprint upon the brothers in significant ways. By Native standards, the brothers contribute to what N. Scott Momaday prefaces the entirety of *The Way To Rainy Mountain* upon: the generational journey, a Native journey—for Momaday, the journey is specific to the Kiowa but the practice extends to many intracontinental American tribes (3). In 1983, Kenneth Lincoln termed the same ancestral compulsions as a regenerate “sense of relatedness” (8–11). And the same forces press Victor to return his father’s body to the Spokane Reservation in Sherman Alexie’s “What It Means to Say Phoenix, Arizona” despite his father’s long geographical absence from the region and Victor’s own spiritual cynicism—skepticism outweighed by a “sudden need for tradition” (62). This kind of impulse—a sort of mycelial humanitarian/ancestral/environmental compulsion—is much closer to Stanciu’s synergistic optimism.

This far more complex “citizenship” is powered by ancestry, revitalization, spiritual guidance, and adaptation—not the material networks of petro-capitalism or social recognitions of petro-culture. What Erdrich makes clear is how difficult this placement on the vector is. With economic, social, governmental, and infrastructural forces all complicating individual representations, reaching a productive vector for a larger populace is even more difficult. The brothers symbolize the central citizenship conflict vis-à-vis the red Olds: Lyman emblemizes a form of citizenship marked by successful assimilation through capitalism, while Henry represents the consequences of citizenship for those incorporated into and rejected by Western-European materiality. The red Olds functions as a material emblem of the brothers’ citizenship status, but also as entry into the larger material networks that both sustain and implicate the modern petro-citizen. In essence, the convertible becomes the vehicle for a deeper discussion of belonging and community, as imagined by Isin in “Citizens without Nations.”

Lyman is proud of the red convertible for a number of reasons. First, the convertible sets him apart from other Chippewa on the reservation. “I was the first one to drive a convertible on my reservation,” Lyman states, implying his own acumen as an earner and the material benefits that follow (177). Lyman has a unique talent for making money, “unusual in a Chippewa” (177). He claims to have “good luck with numbers,” but he also recounts various capitalist ventures, beginning at a very young age, that ultimately reveal the secret of Western capitalism: “the more money I made,” Lyman explains, “the easier the money came” (178). These successes foreshadow a recurring identity conflict throughout Erdrich’s larger oeuvre, but the convertible is Lyman’s first tangible material pleasure acquired *because* of his difference. The car is flashy and fun, which is what first attracts Lyman’s attention, and it suggests his “difference” might be capitalized on for his own benefit. For instance: Lyman acquires his money for the Olds through a (perhaps embellished) confluence of hard work and luck that lands him with a significant check from a US insurance company.

Henry, however, only has enough because of two checks: “a week’s extra pay after being laid off, and his regular check from the Jewel Bearing Plant” (178).¹⁵ Lyman takes advantage of a system that has historically denied his people success, while Henry is subject to more common US labor narratives: downsizing and exploitation.

A second reason Lyman is proud of the Olds is it allows him to participate in the domestic tourism Shaffer identifies as a ritual of US citizenship—here, I would extend Shaffer’s argument, noting the move towards a highway-citizenship at the mid-century is only further reinforced by US oil investments throughout the 1950s, 60s, and 70s.¹⁶ “We went places in that car, me and Henry,” Lyman reminisces (179). They head south along the Little Knife River towards Fort Berthold, west into Montana, and even north into Alaska. They travel roads built by the Federal government and consume fuel refined by global and US-based corporations. In this way, Lyman and Henry are very much consumed by petro-modernity’s material networks. Lyman even subscribes to automobility’s romantic cultural ethos when he remembers the Olds. The car, he says, seemed more than just a machine: it seemed to be alive, not “simply stopped, parked, or whatever” but “reposed, calm and gleaming” as if it had been patiently waiting for Lyman and Henry to find it (178). The car, a machine, is imbued with life because it emblemizes possibilities beyond the boundaries of the reservation—beyond centuries of erasure. This is the same trap we see at Atlantic Beach: working to achieve citizenship through petro-infrastructures. It is this conflict that ultimately defines the brothers’ divergent paths: Lyman, who had “good luck with numbers,” and Henry, who was “never lucky in the same way” (182).

When Lyman and Henry begin to explore their US citizenship via petro-infrastructures outside the reservation, they implicitly accept the consequences that come with those citizenship rights. In late-1969, Henry is drafted into the Army and sent to Vietnam. After World War II, Frederick Buell explains how oil binds together National triumphs over fascism and celebrations of emerging US global power: “the allies floated to victory on a sea of oil,” after which wartime petrochemicals become part of daily American life as “agent[s] of chemical *and* social metamorphosis” (81). But where oil is the surreptitiously celebrated material champion of WWII, during Vietnam oil is conversely *the* emblem of destruction (human and environmental *vis-a-vis* petrochemicals) and wanton violence. Large oil reserves allowed the US to deploy and sustain massive military operations overseas for more than a decade.

15 Like Henry, much of the tribe worked at the Turtle Mountain Jewel Bearing Plant in Rolla, North Dakota, making parts for extremely accurate watches, something many WWII veterans recognized as a national security need after watching the Axis powers use time accurately against them. Ironically, when Henry goes to Vietnam, he’s made much of the destruction that occurs in the jungle (and his mind) possible by building those discrete mechanical pieces.

16 Buell explains, “postwar [oil] exuberance” reinvents the “oil-electric energy system” (81).

More notable was the widespread use of petrochemical herbicides, defoliants, and incendiaries—the most famous being Agent Orange and napalm.¹⁷ Henry comes home from the war three years later, “very different” (182). Baptized into US Cold War geopolitics through napalm and Rainbow Herbicides, Henry is the one who pays for the brothers’ forays into citizenship rights. He clings to the emblems that supposedly mark his place within US culture, like his “field jacket and the worn-in clothes he’d come back in and kept wearing ever since” (186). He suffers from PTSD: once contemplative, quiet, and meditative, Henry is now restless, “jumpy and mean” (182). In their youthful optimism, the brothers gravitate to the rights of national fraternity promised to them through the mythos of US citizenship, pursuing citizenship through ritualistic observation on the highway. What they find are moments of pleasure followed by a much larger commitment: a demand to sacrifice both mind and body to the machinations of petro-capitalism that sustain US material networks. “The change was no good,” Lyman says (182).

Lyman does not understand what is happening to Henry. He first considers the hospital, but his mother claims “they don’t fix them in those places ... they just give them drugs,” another reference to the infusion of petrochemicals in US culture through pharmaceuticals (Buell 81). Lyman even acknowledges, “we wouldn’t get him there in the first place,” noting that Henry is denied community access despite suffering for institutional citizenship (183). In fact, Henry seems a fulcrum of Isin’s Derridean application of “friendship” that avoids the “risks associated with naturalization, genre, race, gens, family, and the nation” imbued in the image of community (465). In “Citizens Without Nations,” Isin discusses “how community has been mobilized as a strategic concept invoking certain images against others in political struggles” (450). In a very material way, Henry is rejected. At the same time, there are “no Indian doctors on the reservation,” no Chippewa doctors who might treat Henry in the old ways, reminiscent of the troubles Tayo faces in Leslie Marmon Silko’s *Ceremony* (1977) when he returns home from war. Where can Henry go if he is rejected by the encompassing phallogocentric community that has, over generations, erased his ancestral community? Henry embodies “the vexed relationship between citizenship and nationality,” part of the genealogy Isin critiques

17 Agent Orange is one of the Rainbow Herbicides deployed as a part of Operation Ranch Hand (*Blue Water*). A study by the Institute of Medicine published in 1994 states “herbicide operations in Vietnam had two primary military objectives: (1) defoliation of trees and plants to improve observation, and (2) destruction of enemy crops” (Institute of Medicine 3). Essentially, planes and helicopters would spray jungles with defoliants, napalm would burn the dying plant life, and the herbicides would prevent any new growth. Ecological warfare dramatically changed Vietnamese ecology and agriculture, the extent of which the National Academy of Sciences has been unable to accurately measure (9). According to *Blue Water Navy Vietnam Veterans and Agent Orange Exposure*, similar exposures to toxic petrochemicals occurred during ship maintenance, which had great—though varied—impacts on sailors (8).

concerning “how citizenship became membership that binds an individual to the community of birth” (450). Desperate for some healing, Lyman thinks back to the last time he and Henry seemed happy: driving the West in the red convertible.

Lyman and Henry’s complication comes in their recognized citizenship as both US citizens and Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indian members *and* purposeful exclusion from either “community”—hence Derrida and Isin’s warnings concerning the term. I would expand to note the brothers are denied access—denied recognition, belonging, health, or political voice—through material exclusion: as US material networks proliferate, they further strand those othered peoples by reinforcing material boundaries. It leaves individuals like Henry with no support and individuals like Lyman with no way to help. It is no wonder, then, that Lyman’s attempt to heal Henry is channeled through US petro-citizenship, the very symbol that initiated their earliest negotiations. Hoping to focus Henry’s anxiety, Lyman takes a hammer and busts the red Olds to shit, despite keeping it in pristine condition the three years Henry was in Vietnam. “By the time I was done with the car,” he says, “it looked worse than any typical Indian car that has been driven all its life on reservation roads, which they say are like government promises—full of holes” (184). He destroys the Olds as a machine—as a vehicle that allows access to the material networks that sustain US citizenship outside the reservation—and in so doing destroys what Olds symbolizes: the brothers’ difference from the rest of the Chippewa within the reservation. Derrida and Isin warn against community conceptually, but Lyman inadvertently recognizes that Henry’s sickness, signs of post-traumatic stress, are in part due to his abrupt transition from the cultural personages of US life—the paved highway, oil-petrochemical commerce, and of course the Vietnam War itself—to the cultural personages of Turtle Mountain Reservation life. What Lyman views as task-based medicine—a sense of purpose fixed upon repairing the convertible—is inadvertently a warrant to retune Henry with his more immediate surroundings.

What Lyman cannot predict is the mechanical work places Henry, again, at least partially within the petro-modern framework he experienced before, during, and now after the war. Like Atlantic Beach attempting to restore its place within their regional material network, Henry is reincorporated into the very infrastructural system that rejected him time and time over. When the convertible can finally run again, Lyman and Henry go for a drive, east this time “toward Pembina and the Red River” (186). “‘The top was down and the car hummed like a top,’ Lyman says. ‘It was beautiful. When everything starts changing, drying up, and clearing off, you feel like your whole life is starting. Henry felt it, too’” (186–187). Here, Lyman finds refuge in seasonal progression, spring as rebirth where Lyman and Henry feel like nature: shedding the old and starting anew. At the same time, Lyman refers to the convertible itself and the roads it allows them access to. Just as when they first purchased the Olds, the car seems to offer up a whole new chain of possibilities. However, this is not

1969 and the brothers are more cautious. When they reach the river, Lyman claims he is, “feeling what Henry was going through at that moment,” a “squeezing inside of me and tightening and trying to let it go at the same time” (187). Lyman realizes Henry’s attempts to mend, but not the obstacles that prevent his healing.

Here is, perhaps, a place where we encounter a different version of citizenship—an ecological citizenship akin to the “friendship” Derrida and Isin explore—rooted in a seemingly paradoxical, global mycelial humanitarianism recognized *in* environmental networks *rather* than the material networks of petro-capitalism. The brothers’ proximity to the river heightens their environmental awareness. The convertible tethers them to a deceptive “American” route they recognize does not represent their Native American roots: both recognize nature, *not* the Olds, is restorative. For Henry, the recognition is deep and indescribable because it conflicts with the trauma he has encountered through petro-culture. He tries to give Lyman the convertible, but Lyman does not want it. The urge towards nature, away from the material networks of petro-capitalism, is so strong that Henry leaps into the Red River, overwhelmed by the high water. Lyman remembers Henry’s last words: “My boots are filling” (189). “He says this in a normal voice,” Lyman recalls, “like he just noticed and he doesn’t know what to think of it. Then he’s gone” (189). Lyman does not mourn Henry’s death. He does not drive home, or to the police to begin search and rescue. Instead, he turns on the convertible’s high beams, puts it in first gear, and watches as the Olds “plow[s] softly into the water” (189). The car disappears. Lyman, specifically, recognizes the Olds as a poison, that his truest moments of belonging occur in “this one place with willows,” where one could lie under the branches and feel comfortable, “feel good” (179). Most importantly, he recognizes these moments do not require the Olds—in rejecting the Olds, Lyman admits the car bounds the brothers within a reductive, Western model of citizenship that cannot account for the far more complex—and far more productive—eco-ancestral kinship. The reductive form of US citizenship that Stanciu critiques drowns Henry in petro-culture’s burdens and expectations. Erdrich, however, suggests an alternative citizenship informed by ecological networks, rooted in the willow and the river, yet experientially aware of the petro-modern nation-state’s material networks. These experiences give birth to a new generation of American Indians who do not simply accept that reservation roads are “like government promises—full of holes” (184). They recognize that their citizenship bears inequitable burdens for a larger population that has shut them out culturally, geographically, and materially. They now work towards a more balanced, rooted recognition, a version of citizenship that reflects Erdrich’s alternative imagining.

Non-Violent Agitants as Adaptive Contemporary Citizenship

Facing the complex nature of citizenry in the twenty-first century, rather than reverting to reductive rhetorics that dominated the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, is essential to recognizing a new form of global citizenship that tangibly matches the inclusive, imaginative potentials Erdrich and others propose. This is the form of citizenship, I argue, agitants in North Dakota explore opposing the DAPL. I use the term “agitants” specifically to reference both how “water protectors” have been referred to in media but also to emphasize their dissent. Meredith Privott describes the DAPL protesters, led by the Standing Rock Sioux women “water protectors,” resistance as protection, not protest (75). Privott interviewed Misty Perkins regarding the difference—Perkins explains protest implies a land dispute, whereas protection safeguards “the land and waters against its very destruction for ALL OF US, for ALL life” (75).¹⁸ Perkins’ emphasis on “ALL life” is one way “water protectors” have begun to agitate the shifting limitations that embody an older, less inclusive citizenship, leading towards a more contemporary vision that can account for twenty-first century citizenships. A Guest Editorial by Shawn McCoy in *Pipeline and Gas Journal* conveys an oppositional narrative: that the Sioux were uncooperative with the US Army Corps of Engineers, unresponsive to meetings conducted by corporate and government officials, and have falsely woven “an emotionally charged tale of greed, racism, and misbehavior by corporate and government officials” (2). But, as Danielle Delaney states in “Under Coyote’s Mask: Environmental Law, Indigenous Identity, and #NODAPL”: “To be recognized by the law, one must use the law’s language as a character within the larger national story. This requires that one fit inside the legal narrative, the history of jurisprudence, and the juridical decisions about the stories judges find compelling” (303). McCoy’s claims that the Sioux did not adhere to federal law ignores the Federal government’s history regarding Native Americans—as Delaney clarifies: “Finding space within the story that the law tells about federal power has been a challenge for American Indians and Alaska Natives since the Cherokee Cases” (303). What the “water protectors” have done in their activism is agitate their role within that story, working towards recognition *not* through the material networks of petro-capitalism, but rather through mycelial humanitarian and environmental networks. They do not repeat Henry’s mistakes in “The Red Convertible” or the mistakes we see at Atlantic Beach. This generates a new point-of-entry recognizing *agency*.

The DAPL represents two larger symbolic problems. First, investing in long-term petro-infrastructure perpetuates global commitments to late-capitalism, the very

18 See Anah-Jayne Samuelson’s chapter in this volume, “We had to control the narrative”: The Innovations and Limitations of Youth Citizenship, for a discussion of how protest can function as an act of citizenship.

systems that bound and reduce citizenship to nineteenth and twentieth-century nation-state models. Second, re-routing the DAPL through the Standing Rock Indian Reservation, despite vehement opposition from the Standing Rock Sioux tribe and other allies, shows the double-nature of what a material citizenship requires from many peoples. The DAPL was initially routed north of Bismarck, North Dakota, but was redirected per EPA guidelines because the pipeline threatened Bismarck's city water supply. Redirecting the pipeline south of Bismarck, through the Standing Rock Indian Reservation, threatened the "confluence of the Missouri and Cannonball Rivers, the tribe's central source of drinking water and a sacred site" (Privott 75). Additionally, the pipeline would "pass under Lake Oahe, a large reservoir created by the Oahe Dam on the Missouri River and used by the Standing Rock Sioux and Cheyenne River Reservations as their primary source of water" (Dorau 3). In other words: threatening Bismarck's water supply was untenable, whereas threatening Native peoples' water was acceptable.¹⁹ Though all US citizens, the material needs of one citizenry outweigh expected citizenship rights for a different vector of that citizenry—material infrastructures manipulate pockets of citizens, undermining the very nature of the protective obligation citizenship supposedly embodies.

For the former citizenry, the pipeline was a necessity: not only did it sustain US petro-capitalism into the future, but by the time the Standing Rock Sioux began formal opposition in 2016, the company overseeing the DAPL, Energy Transfer Partners, had already acquired (with great expense) lands in North Dakota, South Dakota, Iowa, and Illinois. As McCoy points out, "water protesters" impeded a project that was eighty-five percent complete and had already cost over three billion dollars (2). The pipeline, which is now active (and still contested) transports shale oil from northwest North Dakota to a terminus near Patoka, Illinois—from there, "the oil is transported around the world" with a significant volume shipped south to refineries in Louisiana (Dorau 1).²⁰ But what remains noteworthy throughout the years of conflict is the inequitable burden the Standing Rock Sioux shoulder for the material well-being of other US citizens who actively and violently refuse to recognize the Sioux. The Standing Rock Tribe saw little to no material gains from the DAPL on their land, especially as the resource (the oil itself) that justified the material infrastructure was "transported around the world" while reservation roads remain as Erdrich describes them.

19 For more on how infrastructure, health, and citizenship intersect (with a particular focus on the Flint water crisis), see Mita Banerjee's chapter in this volume: "What the Eyes Don't See: Medical Citizenship and Environmental Justice in Mona Hanna-Attisha's Medical Memoir".

20 The Standing Rock Sioux have a long history of federal mistreatment—despite the binding 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty, congressional actions in 1873, 1875, 1877, and 1889 (the infamous Dawes Act) all "greatly reduced" the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation (Faith).

Ultimately, the protests and legal battles could not be framed through petro-capitalist rhetorics. For the latter citizenry, the Standing Rock Sioux and allies, the focus became a mixture of Indigenous violations and environmental protection—that the pipeline was eighty-five percent completed was of no consequence when the last fifteen percent posed the largest threats to both Native rights and ecological health. “Water protectors,” “agitants” solidified in obstructionist, non-violent activism, focused their confrontation on water and, in so doing, what citizenship means for twenty-first century peoples. As Delaney states, “the more indigenous activists dressed their resistance in Western legal language and used theories unrelated to the tiny corner of legal accommodation the tribes have carved out for themselves within US federal law, the more they sought to ground their political protests and direct actions within indigenous language and values” (304). The DAPL protestors worked towards innovative activism focused on humanitarianism, recognition and sustainable ecologies for “ALL.” Perhaps most importantly, these same “agitants” moved beyond the treaties that governed Native policy in the US for centuries, creating new images alongside invective jurisprudence.

Conclusion

Facing the complex nature of citizenry in the twenty-first century realizes citizenship that tangibly matches the active, imaginative potentials exemplified by the DAPL protestors—particularly when the alternative is fixed within reductive rhetorics that dominated the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, *literally* trapped by the material infrastructures that substantiate reductive citizenship. I can identify two correspondingly positive futures as global peoples refine the nature of citizenship in the twenty-first century. The first—and least productive—comes in more recent progressive conceptualizations of “infrastructure” within impending US legislation. Rather than the typical “roads, bridges, and tunnels” that define infrastructure in terms of petro-capitalism, recognizing “infrastructure” as a much larger collection of labors, relationships, support, and connections does begin to address material limitations that restrict citizenship rights. This future presents new and recurring obstacles. Though well-intended, the dangers of reconceptualizing infrastructure conflict with the first symbolic problem the DAPL protestors worked to agitate and disrupt: reconceptualizing still requires we recognize these infrastructures through rhetorics that fundamentally bound citizenship. Even if childcare and leisure become part of infrastructure legislation, it is still legislation focused on definition, boundaries, and—ultimately—limitation.

The second—and more hopeful—future comes in a singular example of long-term activism successfully converging with shifting material desires. As of June 10, 2021, the Keystone XL Pipeline project has been officially cancelled.

The multi-nation pipeline funded by TC Energy required construction across Canada and the US, accompanied by trade deals between Canada, the US, and Mexico, effectively committing all *three* nations to petro-capitalist futures while reinforcing economic, material, and geographic ideologies. Keystone XL—material infrastructure—would again be the insidious foundation reinstituting policies that limited citizenship to political boundaries and constructed margins. And though the protests have been lauded as successful transnational activism, I would go as far as to say Keystone XL's termination is No-Nation activism: activism that recognizes life in the twenty-first century transcends bounded versions of citizenship, thus necessitating a vision of citizenship that reflects a porous global cohabitation of things. Afterall, as Joye Braun, “a member of the Cheyenne River Sioux and an organizer with Indigenous Environmental Network” states: “This pipeline would have come with such tremendous costs and expenses to health, to land, to water, which of course would be costs ... to everyday people” (Noor). As with the DAPL, the costs of Keystone XL would be inequitably shouldered by citizens who are continuously denied citizenship rights: they would act as Atlas for peoples that refuse citizenship rights and dare not look to see who shoulders their luxury. Similar to the plights in Atlantic Beach, a visible community refused citizenship recognition, and in “The Red Convertible” where Henry’s citizenship is repeatedly rejected despite his many attempts towards recognition through assimilation. Under those circumstances, the only real solution is in systemic agitation, disrupting the material infrastructures that ultimately determine what or who is recognized and the degree to which their contributions are received.

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