

Table 1: Discourse illustration

Event	Time	Keystone	State government	Federal government	Local indigenous organization(s)	Local residents	Labor unions	Dakota Rural Action	Bold Nebraska	Sierra Club	350.org	Indigenous Environmental Network	TransCanada whistleblower
Canada National Energy Board–OH-1-2009 ¹	Mostly 2009	⊙	○	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	○	○	⊙	○	○	○
South Dakota Public Utilities Commission–HP09-001 ²	Mostly 2009	⊙	⊙	○	○	○	○	⊙	○	○	○	○	○
Montana Department of Environmental Quality–Certificate of Compliance	March 2012 ³	⊙	⊙	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Senate of Canada–TransCanada whistleblower testimony	June 6, 2013	⚠	○	⊙	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	⊙
South Dakota Public Utilities Commission–HP14-001 ⁴	Mostly 2014	⊙	⊙	○	⊙	⊙	○	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙
Nebraska Public Service Commission–OP-0003 ⁵	Mostly 2017	⊙	⊙	○	⊙	⊙	○	⊙	⊙	○	○	○	○
Montana Department of Environmental Quality–401 Water Quality Certification	Mostly 2020	⊙	⊙	○	○	⊙	○	○	⊙	○	○	○	○

¹ <https://apps.cer-rec.gc.ca/REGDOCS/Item/View/550305> ² <https://puc.sd.gov/Dockets/HydrocarbonPipeline/2009/hp09-001.aspx>

³ <https://deq.mt.gov/DEQAdmin/mfs/keystonexl/keystonexlcomprehensive>

⁴ <https://puc.sd.gov/Dockets/HydrocarbonPipeline/2014/hp14-001.aspx> ⁵ <https://psc.nebraska.gov/natural-gas/keystone-xl-pipeline>