ACME An International Journal for Critical Geographies

# Industrial Camps in Northern British Columbia: The Politics of 'Essential' Work and the Gendered Implications of Man Camps

**Vanessa Sloan Morgan**

University of British Columbia, Okanagan
vanessa.sloanmorgan@ubc.ca

**Dawn Hoogeveen**

Simon Fraser University
dawn_hoogeveen@sfu.ca

**Sarah de Leeuw**

University of Northern British Columbia
sarah.deleeuw@unbc.ca

**Abstract**

This place and gender-based paper arises from bearing witness to, and critically engaging, the heightened vulnerabilities that a global pandemic (COVID-19) brings to the geographies of so-called northern British Columbia (BC), Canada. We consider how vulnerabilities in northern geographies are produced through layers of coloniality and racialized extractive-capitalism and then, subsequently, how those heightened vulnerabilities are ignored and disregarded in support of corporate interests. We explore the risks and gendered nature of industrial camps—or 'man camps.' By focusing on man camps, we demonstrate how, by continuing to operate during a pandemic and in regions where people have pleaded for them to shut down, man camps are environments that amplify physical, environmental, health, and sociocultural risks. We also outline how man camps further subject northern communities to corporate colonial violence, especially by ignoring many Indigenous leaders' demands for camps to close. Using anti-colonial and place-based analytical lenses and methods in critical feminist iterative discourse analysis, we also draw from statements by health workers, Indigenous leaders, and media articles to

Published with Creative Commons licence: Attribution–Noncommercial–No Derivatives

highlight the predicted spread of the virus across northern BC geographies. The paper interrogates how and why extractive facilities, and the man camps they rely upon, are deemed essential services despite extractive facilities relying on transient workforces housed in industrial camps that had (predictable) COVID-19 outbreaks. Importantly, we celebrate voices (often of women-identifying Indigenous activists, matriarchs, and front-line workers) tirelessly calling for attention to the gendered and racialized impacts of industrial 'man camps.'

**Keywords**

Resource extraction, gender-based violence, COVID-19, northern British Columbia, industrial man camp, colonial geographies

---

## Introduction

> "The virus may not discriminate, but responses do."
> —Starblanket and Hunt 2020

This place and gender-based paper arises in response to avoidable and predicted tragedies that unfolded (and continue to unfold) in the northern geographies of so-called British Columbia (BC), Canada between March 2020 and winter 2021.[1] Our paper was first drafted in the summer of 2020. In those summer months, we witnessed heightened vulnerabilities in northern geographies, produced by layers of coloniality and racialized extractive-capitalism. We also saw how those heightened vulnerabilities were subsequently ignored and disregarded in support of corporate interests. As we revised the manuscript during the winter of 2021, what many (including us) had feared began to unfold: COVID-19 spread into northern BC communities, many of which are remote and close-knit, and many of which are Indigenous. There is much speculation—and confirmed evidence (e.g., Follett Hosgood 2020c)—that spread of the virus, especially into Indigenous communities, is due in large part to the ongoing operation of industrial camps.

Since drafting this paper in June 2020, repeated letters from Indigenous hereditary chiefs, Indigenous organizations, and front-line workers circulated to demand the closing of industrial camps in order to prevent the spread of COVID-19 (e.g., BC Health Care Workers 2020; Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs 2020a, 2020b; Unist'ot'en Camp 2020; Wet'suwet'en Dinï'z 2020; Wet'suwet'en Ts'ako ze' and Skiy ze' 2020). In this sense, the ongoing and evolving situation in which this paper is rooted is of a specific moment and place: the COVID-19 moment in northern BC. This paper extends, however, well beyond current pandemic times and far beyond the particular communities upon which we focus. Tlingit scholar Anne Spice (2018) outlines how "the settler accumulation of energy, capital, and territory is reliant on the parallel distribution of toxicity and violence to Indigenous nations, and forms of immediate state violence … tied to the slow environmental destruction of Indigenous homelands" (50). Nick Estes (2019), a citizen of the Lower Brule Sioux Tribe, extends understandings of settler accumulation to encompass industrial 'man' camps. Estes argues that camps have always paralleled shifting forms of colonial capital accumulation that have also existed on stolen Indigenous lands. Industrial camps in many forms have caused irrefutable harms to Indigenous communities since the fur trade: "trading forts were the first man camps—the vanguards of capital that extracted wealth not

---

[1] So-called northern British Columbia is an area governed and stewarded since time immemorial by 17 overlapping First Nations and, today, it is the home of close to 47,200 First Nations people, representing 35.6% of the province's First Nations population. Thousands of Métis and non-status Indigenous peoples share these same geographies.

only from the land, but also through the conquest of Indigenous women's bodies" (Estes 2019, 79). Viewed in this way, the 21st century 'man' camps at the centre of this paper are deeply embroiled in ongoing forms of coloniality and are intimately intertwined with gender-based violence that has long co-existed with theft of Indigenous lands and resources.[2]

Just as this paper extends beyond the COVID-19 moment and reaches into the long and ongoing legacies of coloniality, it also extends beyond any neatly defined sub-discipline of geography. We do, however, make a geographical argument. Our argument is that relationships between corporate and state access to unceded Indigenous lands and resources are always intertwined with the politics of labour, gender, and racialization to vie for what is deemed essential, what is conceived of as healthy, and what, ultimately, is valued for/as life. Fundamentally, this paper is rooted in an anti-colonial, gendered analysis. We hope that revealing gendered, racialized, and place-based entanglements—entanglements that are often 'out of site/sight' for many geographers (Amnesty International 2016a)—will encourage further collective work against violent coloniality. We are deeply informed by the work of Indigenous geographers, such as Kwagu'ł scholar Sarah Hunt (Tłaliłila'ogwa) (2013) and Cree scholar Michelle Daigle (2018), who demonstrate how coloniality is always intertwined with systemically entrenched racism, how coloniality permeates colonial jurisdiction over lands and waters of what is considered Canada, and how (with sharp anti-Indigenous edges) coloniality disproportionately bears down on women and gender non-binary peoples (see also Driskill 2016; Goeman 2017). The paper delves into the definitively gendered risks and the tragic nature (now proven) of the man camps that continue to operate during a pandemic in regions where people have pleaded with them to stay away (e.g., Bellrichard 2020a). Our work is anchored in critical engagement with and elevation of community statements: it also stems from our lived observations and conversations. Due to a lack of aggregated data on COVID-19 and man camps, and also in performing a targeted discourse analysis of what we have seen (and not seen) on the topic (Lazar 2007), we work with public media publications from the Canada Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), *The Tyee*, and *The Narwhal*, written between March 2020 and January 2021, that cover the spread of COVID-19 across northern BC. As white settler researchers currently working in northern BC, we have, collectively, worked in industrial man camps, have loved ones who work or have worked in the camps, or have resided in close proximity to them. We understand the topics we write about herein—resource extraction, gender-based violence, and even the current pandemic—as deeply embroiled in coloniality and persistent forms of capitalism that result in deep differences in lived experience. By sharing statements from health workers and Indigenous organizations and leaders who have repeatedly and publicly condemned continued operations of the camps, we ask: how and why are extractive facilities—that rely on transient workforces housed in industrial camps—deemed essential? In

---

[2] To be clear, women also work in man camps as skilled trades people, cooks, medical staff, etc. Conversations with many women who work in industrial camps reveal tensions in calling these camps 'man camps', thereby erasing the many non-men who are also employed and reside in industrial settings. Our use of the term 'man camps' in this paper in no way intends to erase the labour of women and non-binary peoples in these spaces. While we do not intend to erase non-men's work by using the term 'man camp,' we maintain that a distinct form of toxic masculinity—that has repeatedly led to violence against women, particularly Indigenous women, and a myriad of other gender-based impacts—radiates from and is systemically embedded in these camps. As Canada's Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (MMIWG) attested: "Indigenous women face significant barriers to participating in the extraction industry due to work environments that are often hypermasculine and hypersexualized. For Indigenous women working within these camps and these industries in general, there are elevated rates of workplace racism, sexual harassment, and violence. These camps are also often far from law enforcement, and therefore are largely unpoliced" (National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls 2019a, 593). We thus use the term 'man camp' to shine a light on these impacts. For more on the clear link between the impacts of man camps and violence against women—particularly Indigenous women—see: Amnesty International 2016a, 2016b; Estes 2019; Linnett 2020; Manning et al. 2018; National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls 2019, 584–93).

order to tackle this question, we briefly outline the context of coloniality, industry, and gender in northern BC before turning to BC's response to the pandemic and statements by Indigenous leaders and local actors.

**Context**

In early spring 2020, a Freedom of Information (FOI) request issued by CBC to the provincial government questioned whether or not industrial man camps were essential. The FOI request revealed a telling email: on March 23rd, 2020, the then Deputy Minister of Energy, Mines and Petroleum Resources, Dave Nikolesjin, wrote to Lori Halls, then Deputy Minister of Emergency Management BC, saying, "I can't argue Site C, LNG Canada, etc. are essential" (Bellrichard 2020b)[3]. We (authors of this paper) also struggle to see how industrial extraction sites under construction should be deemed essential by BC's provincial government. Our belief, however, is not universally shared. It is thus incumbent on us to explore and unpack not only our reasoning but also the reasoning of at least some provincial government officials. Doing this requires an understanding of the politics and broader contexts informing governmental decisions that ultimately deem man camps essential; however, understanding politics and broader contexts includes illuminating views of those so often disregarded in colonial decision-making contexts. Voices of often women-identifying Indigenous leaders (Wet'suwet'en Ts'ako ze' and Skiy ze' 2020; Unist'ot'en Camp 2020; see also Wet'suwet'en Dinï'z 2020), in addition to the front-line workers who tirelessly call for closure of the sites (Front Line Health Workers in B.C. 2020), are the very voices so often overlooked in processes that ignore the gendered and racialized impacts of man camps (Gibson et al. 2017; Bond and Quinlan 2018; Linnett 2020).

As we write this paper, the pandemic caused by COVID-19 is creating unprecedented shock waves across the globe. From predicted economic collapses to a drastic widening of already large gaps in social services and health care, from transformed social realties to relief in air pollution due to a lack of economic activity, humans in all corners of the planet are witnessing and experiencing a time of change and uncertainty. Adjoining these uncertain times is a tragic loss of life, impacting those who are older, who have pre-existing health conditions, and who already bear the burden of systemic and systematic discrimination that negatively impacts social determinants of health. Burdens of poor health around the world can clearly be linked to white supremacy and hetero-patriarchal capitalism, predicated on race, class, sexuality, gender, health status, and geographical location (Million 2013; Women's Earth Alliance and Native Youth Sexual Health Network 2016). It is true that a virus does not discriminate. However, as Gina Starblanket and Dallas Hunt (2020) point out, government responses (including lack of response) to COVID-19 unquestionably play out in uneven and differentiated intersectional ways.

In Canada, government responses to potential and inequitable threats of COVID-19 follow troubling trends that existed in pre-pandemic times. Across northern BC, COVID-19 has disproportionately impacted Indigenous communities. BC's Northern Health Authority—the body that oversees health services across the northern part of the province—reported that 36% of those who contract the virus identify as Indigenous, despite Indigenous peoples comprising 17% of the population (Sterritt 2020). These troubling facts have led Indigenous leaders, such as the Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council's President Judith Sayers, to identify the startling lack of data on detailed health outcomes for Indigenous communities (see Sterritt 2020). Demands for disaggregated health data have been echoed by BC's Office of the Human Rights Commissioner during the COVID-19 pandemic (British Columbia's Office of the Human Rights Commissioner 2020). This lack of data reveals the difficulty in quantifying the gendered and racialized impacts of COVID-19 in the province, an absence in information that spans

[3] Dave Nikolesjin has since left his position as Deputy Minister and resigned from the provincial government.

well beyond the pandemic. Instead, people in our lives who continue to work in and reside near man camps and local media are the primary source for following the virus's spread in northern BC. This trend follows a troubling finding by the Women's Earth Alliance and Native Youth Sexual Health Network (2016) which discusses the impacts of resource extraction on communities: "The very health of Indigenous nations is threatened, but there has been little action by policy makers and international bodies because of a lack of formal documentation of the damages" (2). There is also apprehension on behalf of industry and governments to make clear the linkages between the negative impacts of resource extraction on communities and the tendency to glorify and celebrate economies and jobs. Within the Province of British Columbia, it is common for the government to celebrate offering "the ideal business environment for the extractive industries" (Trade and Invest British Columbia n.d.). Data of the social costs of maintaining this business environment are absent, including during the COVID-19 pandemic. Despite the lack of hard data on the social costs of the resource sector, with the information that we do have we now turn our attention to overviewing industrial man camps and their irrefutable link to gendered violence in northern geographies.

### *Coloniality, Man Camps, and Gendered Impacts of Extractive Labour*

Industrial man camps litter remote northern landscapes across Canada. The camps often operate on a 'fly in/fly out basis.' Crews work intensive weeks 'on,' and then return to wherever home is during weeks 'off.' Home life and camp life can be separated by thousands of kilometres. This cycle is repeated indefinitely. Man camps operate across Canada's more remote and northern landscapes and house thousands of workers (see Figure 1). These landscapes overlap with unceded Indigenous territories, communities, lands, and geographies. With state support in the form of tax incentives and land subsidies, the camps experience little oversight while operating full throttle and in spite of many public health and activist critiques, even *pre*-pandemic (e.g., Amnesty International 2016a).

**Figure 1:** Cedar Valley Lodge, September 2, 2020, adjoining LNG Canada on Haisla Territory in Kitimat, BC. Photo Credit: LNG Canada, 2020.

Indigenous scholars, community leaders, and activists have long highlighted the historic and ongoing gendered and racialized impacts that settler colonial decision-making has on Indigenous communities. Clear links have been made between colonial extraction, insatiable energy demands, and underfunded services for Indigenous and northern peoples, which all contribute to gender-based violence (see Figure 2).

**Figure 2:** Linking the legacy of colonialism to environmental decision-making in rural, remote, northern, and Indigenous communities, and their gendered impacts on Indigenous women, girls, and, as the MMIWG Inquiry and communities have long affirmed, Two-Spirit and gender non-conforming peoples. Source: Amnesty International 2016a, 7.

For instance, Helen Knott (2018), a social worker and acclaimed writer of Dane Zaa, Nehiyaw, and European descent, points to how "the ideology that land is solely a resource for profit enables man-camps, which then foster environments that can lead to violence against women" (150). Nick Estes (2019), pointing to the rich testimonies in the Women's Earth Alliance and Native Youth Sexual Health Network's report 'Violence on the Land, Violence on Our Bodies,' summarizes how "many Indigenous activists today have identified 'man camps'… as hubs for the exploitation of Indigenous women through trafficking and sex work" (79).[4] Canada's National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous

[4] For detailed, first-hand accounts of the violence that radiates from man camps, see: Women's Earth Alliance and Native Youth Sexual Health Network 2016, 30-34. We do not reproduce those stories here, not because they are not important—

Women and Girls (MMIWG) addresses the gendered and racialized violence that radiates from these camps, finding:

> substantial evidence of a serious problem demonstrated in the correlation between resource extraction and violence against Indigenous women, girls, and 2SLGBTQQIA people. Work camps, or 'man camps,' associated with the resource extraction industry are implicated in higher rates of violence against Indigenous women at the camps and in the neighbouring communities. (National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls 2019a, 593)[5]

With these known impacts even in pre-pandemic times, communities and Indigenous organizations across northern BC have repeatedly called for man camps to be closed, including and especially in the face of COVID-19 (Bowering 2020; Leonard 2021; Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs 2020a, 2020b; Wet'suwet'en Ts'ako ze' and Skiy ze' 2020; Wet'suwet'en Dinï'z 2020). Although we are still learning about the novel coronavirus, we do know it thrives amongst closely-quartered people who also move between multiple geographies. These are exactly the conditions of industrial man camps and their occupants across Canada.

Understanding coloniality as deeply embroiled in gender-based violence prompts unpacking the gendered geographies of camps and their heightened risk to rural and remote northern and Indigenous communities, women, girls, and Two-Spirit peoples (Women's Earth Alliance and Native Youth Sexual Health Network 2016, 30–34). These risks are perpetuated amidst a pandemic that has systematically exploited cracks of health and social service systems across the globe. Looking closely at the tragic impact of COVID-19 in Canada's highly gendered industrial camps provides chilling insight into ways that racialized, colonial, and gender-based violence is operationalized by a state of capitalist coloniality across multiple scales and different geographies.

An outbreak of COVID-19 in an industrial camp reveals geographies of mobility, capital, and power. Viral outbreaks impact the fly in/fly out workers of the camp. Camps, however, also employ camp staff, including cleaners, healthcare providers, bus drivers, and culinary workers, many of whom live in surrounding and local (often First Nations) communities. Further, workers access the same services as local communities, exacerbating health risks for these communities.

### *The Unseen Labour of Man Camps in the Face of COVID-19*

Industrial man camps are towns unto themselves, necessitating tailored transportation services, meal providers, and housing services. Service workers, such as cleaners and cooks, in industrial man camps are often underpaid, have access to limited protective gear, and are contracted by companies based elsewhere, providing limited accountability. For instance, cleaners working at LNG Canada's facility under construction in Kitimat, BC are employed by Dexterra, a Toronto-based company. When the first publicly reported outbreak occurred at LNG Canada and 50 people tested positive, cleaning staff sounded the alarm on the concerning lack of safety that they, as the front line of defence against the virus for the entire workforce, had access to (Follett Hosgood 2020c). When the second outbreak of COVID-19 was reported at LNG Canada, it was amongst drivers with Diversified Transport who travelled between

---

quite the opposite, in fact. They are stories of such power that including them as a footnote, or without permission, would not, in our mind and for the purpose of this paper, be respectful. We strongly encourage readers to visit the report.

[5] The MMIWG Inquiry provides five specific calls for extractive and development industries to address violence against Indigenous women and girls, and Two-Spirit peoples. To view these calls, see National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls 2019b, 196.

communities during construction of the facility and the adjoining Coastal GasLink pipeline (Kurjata 2020b).

To be clear, we are not underestimating the economic impact the pandemic is having on communities globally, including communities in northern BC and especially those with dramatically inflated costs of living due to an influx of industry. Extractive economies and subsequent labour is part and parcel of the broader settler colonial context that overlies northern BC: its seeming singularity appearing as the only option for economic livelihoods (Daigle 2018; Pasternak 2015). This 'seeming singularity' for economies is not isolated to the unceded and ancestral territories across so-called BC. As Daigle (2018) observes, across Mushkegowuk lands and waters—also known as the Treaty 9 territories in northern Ontario, Canada—"the focus has been on replacing Indigenous modes of reproduction with industrial production by way of entrepreneurial and employment opportunities made available through resource extraction" (163). Daigle continues, explaining that these employment opportunities, even pre-COVID-19, "are fraught with safety and health risks" (163). Many communities' economic livelihoods indeed rest on extractive projects, including providing services and subcontractors that depend on industrial camps and workers. However, despite many fly in/fly out workers being confined to camp, camp support labourers, many of whom are racialized and (Indigenous) women, travel in and out of the camps for work every day. As Birru, a janitor based in LNG Canada, observes, at the end of your rotation, "even if you're young, you go back home to your grandparents, to your fathers, to your mothers. It's scary" (Follett Hosgood 2020c).

The spread of the virus in a northern community could overwhelm local health services even in the best-case scenario. An influx of cases due to hundreds of transient workers and staff who are expected to clean up and serve food and then return home to surrounding communities would be disastrous. This potential disaster has not been overlooked by community leaders, with many Indigenous communities across Turtle Island/North America pointing to a long history and recent memory of devastating diseases being spread by those seeking to access Indigenous lands and resources[6] (e.g., Barrera 2020; Council of the Haida Nation 2020; Estes 2019; Lakhani 2020). If one were to drive west from where this paper is being written, they would pass, on the unceded and ancestral territories of Lheidli T'enneh First Nation in Prince George, BC, Canada, forest service roads that lead to Coastal GasLink's 9A Lodge, which neighbours the Unist'ot'en Healing Lodge and Huckleberry Lodge near the Gidimt'en territory checkpoint on Wet'suwet'en territory (Coastal GasLink 2020). In both of these camps, workers have tested positive for COVID-19 (Follett Hosgood 2020b; Unist'ot'en Camp 2020). They would also drive past many of the communities along the Coastal GasLink pipeline route—many Nations of whom have signed benefit agreements for the pipeline itself. Here, they would find securitized roadblocks and signs that say 'no visitors' due to COVID-19. Yet, if one were to look at orders by the Provincial Health Officer since March 2020, they would see acknowledgement of the public health risks associated with man camps. For instance:

> Note that given the *risks* associated with industrial camps, it may be appropriate, based on the advice of your local Medical Health Officer, to do some testing of suspected cases in camps regardless of current provincial guidance for COVID-19 testing in community settings [emphasis added]. (BC Ministry of Health and BC Centre for Disease Control 2020, 5)

[6] The Council of the Haida Nation, alongside Gitxaala Nation, Heiltsuk First Nation, Nuxalk Nation, Lax Kw'alaams, Skidegate, and Haida Nation, hosted a united coast webinar in May 2020. Leaders expressed concern about the province of BC opening hunting and fishing, which has led to an influx of people from outside of communities flocking to northwest coast territories. The webinar shared how each Nation is asserting jurisdiction to protect the health and well-being of communities, and to provide care for one another (Council of the Haida Nation 2020; see also Turner 2020).

As we scale back from the immediate situation and throughout responses to COVID-19, two things become clear. Firstly, First Nations have never stopped asserting jurisdiction over ancestral territories. As Tlingit scholar Anne Spice (2016) observes of Indigenous resistance against industrial activities globally, "these movements may appear to be *interruptions* of the normal progression of relations between settler states and Indigenous peoples, they are in fact *continuations* of hundreds of years of Indigenous resilience and resistance [emphasis in original]" (n.p.). When viewed in this sense—just as Nick Estes (2019) observes of the longstanding role of man camps as colonial infrastructure of gendered violence—demands for people from outside the community to stay away are fundamentally assertions of self-determination: assertions of life (i.e., Wet'suwet'en Ts'ako ze' and Skiy ze' 2020). This assertion of life is troubling when coupled with a second observation: despite the known health risks associated with man camps, the province of BC ordered them to remain open when the majority of the province went into lockdown. Below, we dive into this point by exploring how these camps were deemed 'essential'. In so doing, we illuminate how colonially driven extractive capitalism prevailed, even during a life-threatening pandemic.

## British Columbia's Response to COVID-19 and 'Essential' Services

On March 17th, 2020, the province of British Columbia announced a province-wide state of emergency to prepare for the upswing of COVID-19 and to support its prevention. The province's announcement followed the closure of all non-essential services and banning of gatherings with more than 50 people. Like many places across the globe, BC, the westernmost province of Canada, was bracing for a pandemic that was already resulting in tragic loss of life and overwhelming healthcare systems internationally. The virus was clearly and increasingly shining a light on social and political inequities that plague communities across the globe. The province of BC was initially hit much less hard than the rest of the country and the world in terms of the outbreak (see Figure 3). Within the province itself, northern BC experienced a noticeably smaller infection rate (and has a noticeably smaller population) when compared to the remaining regions of the province (see Figures 3 and 4). However, experts predicted a second wave of infection in the fall of 2020.

## Case Rates Comparison

Cumulative diagnosed COVID-19 case rates by select countries vs BC and Canada.

Note: QC, and, to a lesser extent, ON, have the largest impact on the values for the rest of Canada.

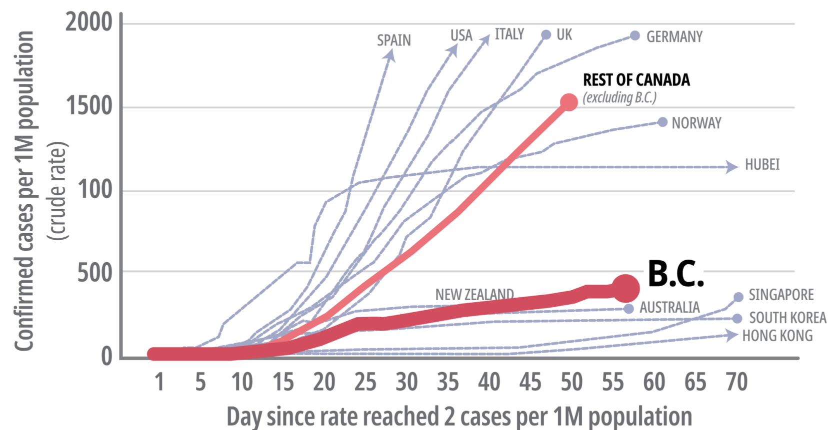


**Figure 3:** British Columbia case rates internationally compared, May 4th, 2020. (BC Ministry of Health and BC Centre for Disease Control 2020, Slide 12)

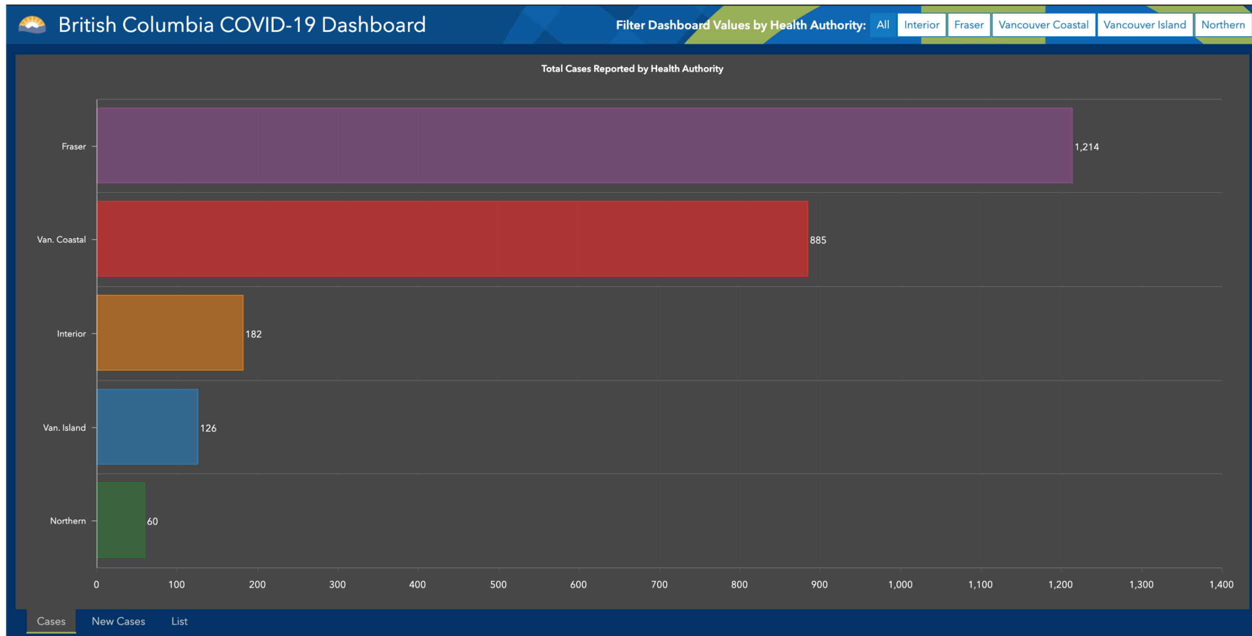


**Figure 4:** Comparison of confirmed COVID-19 cased across five health authorities in British Columbia, May 20th, 2020 The pan-provincial First Nations Health Authority is not represented. (BC Centre for Disease Control and Provincial Health Services Authority 2021)

As winter set in, numbers increased dramatically, leaving northern BC with the highest per capita rate of COVID-19 infections in the province and the lowest number of available health services (see Figure 5).

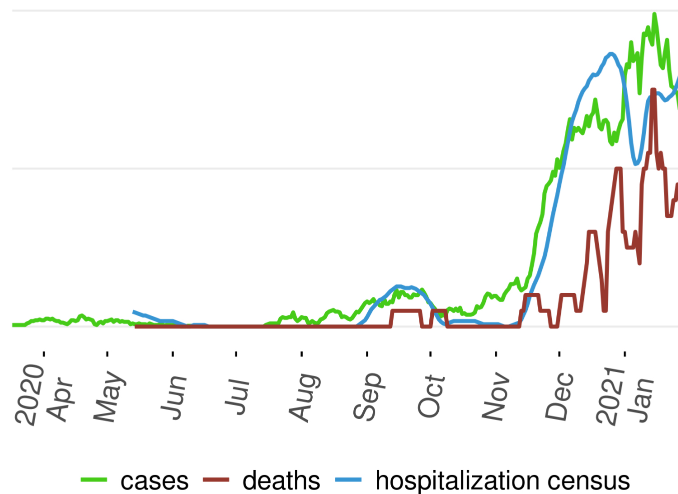


**Figure 5:** Daily COVID-19 cases, deaths, and hospitalizations per 100,000 population across the Northern Health Authority, April 1st, 2020 to January 31st, 2021.
(BC Centre for Disease Control and Provincial Health Services Authority 2021)

Despite the numbers that were at first low and then dramatically increased, there is a series of stories behind the metrics that are worth telling. These stories highlight matrices of power that reveal how industrial capitalist coloniality is maintained. As others have argued, if one understands that industrial

capitalist coloniality is a maintained and manufactured state of being, one can also work to dismantle it (Spice 2018; Yazzie 2018). In order to do so, it is helpful to understand what is deemed 'essential' in the eyes of settler colonial governments, even during a pandemic.

### *Defining Essential Services*

The Government of BC defines 'essential services' as "those daily services essential to preserving life, health, public safety and basic societal functioning. They are the services British Columbians come to rely on in their daily lives" (Government of British Columbia 2020, n.p.). Included in these services—ones that are *required* to remain open—is a long list of healthcare services, services integral to maintaining local food supplies (e.g., transportation, grocery stores, agricultural operations), and services associated with financial and legal institutions. Critical infrastructure remains on this list of essential services, including gas stations, drilling and production, refineries, and more. Industry and manufacturing are deemed essential services because they "ensure global continuity of supply of mining materials and products" (Government of British Columbia 2020, n.p.). 'Construction' is included under the moniker of a service that was originally deemed non-essential, yet remained on the list of 'essential' services under the Provincial Health Office's orders (for a complete list, visit: Government of British Columbia 2020). By December 2020, construction shifted to an 'essential' service without further explanation. Media in Canada revealed a push-and-pull as conservative jurisdictions and politicians hesitated and stalled at shutting down economies, while health experts warned of the consequences of not taking the virus seriously (Bowering 2020; Bellrichard 2020b)

What is important to note about 'essential services' (such as the construction of large-scale critical infrastructure, which in BC encompasses the Site C Dam, Coastal GasLink, and LNG Canada) is that these projects are not yet providing services—they are non-operational. Yet, large-scale extractive projects in BC rarely close, requiring the industrial man camps adjoining these projects to remain open for construction to continue. For instance, the Site C Dam, a massive hydroelectric project being built on Treaty 8, Dene territories in the northeast corner of BC (Amnesty International 2016b; Behn and Bakker 2019), has continued operations, with a workforce of approximately 800 people in May 2020 (BC Hydro 2020). LNG Canada, a large-scale Liquid Natural Gas processing facility being built on unceded Haisla territories in the northwest next to Kitimat, BC, laid off a majority of its workforce to remain open when the province shut down in March 2020. From March to May 2020, LNG Canada reported 590 workers living in housing accommodation, versus the 1,800 prior to provincial restrictions (LNG Canada 2020). Notably, the health of workers who were laid off in March—many of whom were sent home to often rural and Indigenous communities across the province—did not receive ongoing monitoring. Site C, Coastal GasLink, and LNG Canada remain under construction despite often-vocal opposition and amidst a global pandemic (Cox 2020a; Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs 2020a). In fact, as of October 31st, 2020, Coastal GasLink boasted an increased workforce, with 4,016 workers across the pipeline's construction route (Coastal GasLink 2020).[7]

Exacerbating the purely extractive capital logic driving ongoing construction during a pandemic is the remarkable fact that *none of these facilities will be operating for domestic use*. The majority of the energy (in the case of Site C) and gas (in the case of LNG Canada and Coastal GasLink) are slated for international export to the US and Asia, respectively (e.g., BC Hydro 2017). Still, their construction has been classified as necessary alongside 'essential services' (e.g., nursing, food transportation) during the

[7] On January 12th, 2021, the Provincial Health Officer ordered workforces along the pipeline route, and sites such as Site C and LNG Canada, to be reduced until mid-February 2021. This order came on the heels of multiple COVID-19 outbreaks in man camps and surrounding communities, and multiple letters demanding the closure of man camps. Even with a reduced workforce, these sites have remained open (BC Ministry of Health 2021).

pandemic. Hundreds of staff—from those housed in industrial camps to transport, cleaning, and culinary staff who are often from local communities and service workers' quarters—*must* continue to work. Such orders led the Union of BC Indian Chiefs (2020) to write an open letter to the federal and provincial government at the outset of the pandemic, stating that, "Corporate exceptionalism cannot become a pandemic response strategy for the Governments of B.C. and Canada".[8] Additionally, local communities have repeatedly raised alarm bells about the potentially disastrous effects the virus could have with the continued movement of workers. For instance, in March 2020, Byron Stewart, a municipal councillor in Fort St. John, the largest urban area near the Site C dam, stated:

> Site C is not a vital thing to our society … It is not an emergency service, it is not front-line service. It is a structure that's being built. I personally would just like to see the province step in and shut it down, and send everybody home. (Cox 2020a)

BC's Provincial Health Office has, however, stressed that measures are in place for industrial camps to operate safely. Measures include spacing workers, ensuring workers self-isolate if they are feeling ill, and limiting travel between camps and local towns (BC Centre for Disease Control and BC Ministry of Health 2020). On April 23rd, 2020, these interim guidelines were turned into requirements, with an adjoining enforcement plan released (BC Ministry of Health 2020).

It is worth putting these measures in context. Industrial man camps are composed of semi-disposable portable units cordoned into small spaces (see Armstrong 2018 for pictures of workers' quarters at Site C). The units are closed and contain crews, sometimes made up of hundreds of workers, eating and practising hygiene in shared spaces. Cedar Lodge, which opened in September 2020 and houses workers in Kitimat at LNG Canada's plant, can accommodate 4,500 workers; the population of Kitimat, BC in 2016 was approximately 6,400 people (Statistics Canada 2019) (see Figure 1). David Bowering, the former Chief Medical Officer of the Northern Health Authority, which has an Office of Health and Resource Development, has publicly stated that social distancing measures in camps "literally can't be done" (cited in Cox 2020b). In an open letter to BC's Chief Medical Health Officer in March 2020, Bowering (2020) asked for industrial camps to be closed, calling them "essentially land locked cruise ships." In a media interview days later, Bowering explained that:

> especially with a virus where the symptoms are potentially very minimal, where the men working in these camps have a lot of incentive to not report on the risk [in case] they may be locked down and quarantined rather than get to go home after the shift is over. The last place you want to be in a COVID-19 outbreak, where things are really unusual and restrictions are everywhere, is not at home. (Cox 2020b)

The risks associated with man camps continuing operations during the COVID-19 pandemic is, and has always been, known (see BC Centre for Disease Control and BC Ministry of Health 2020, 5; Follett Hosgood 2020a). Yet, the gendered impacts of these camps remaining open have been, historically and in the face of the current pandemic, continually denied by industry. With that in mind, we now turn our attention to the social and gendered geographies of man camps.

---

[8] A joint report released in June 2020 demonstrates how mining companies and other industrial bodies are profiting from COVID-19, including trends such as painting companies as "public minded saviours" (Earthworks [USA] et al. 2020, 13) by way of financial contributions to local communities and health services. Corporations in northern BC have also performed these tactics. For instance, in March 2020, LNG Canada publicly announced that they contributed half a million Canadian dollars to local health services to prepare for COVID-19 (LNG Canada 2020).

### ***Social and Gendered Geographies of Man Camps***

In important ways, industrial camps are both physical and social geographies. They are deeply gendered, often permeated by what has been documented as toxic masculinity. The Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (MMIWG) offers testimony and lived experiences of thousands of Indigenous women, Two-Spirit peoples, and their loved ones. The Inquiry found that "increased rate[s] of violence [in northern and remote geographies] is largely the result of the migration into the [man] camps of mostly non-Indigenous young men with high salaries and little to no stake in the host Indigenous community"; additionally, "the influx of people as a result of 'man camps' near or within Indigenous, remote and rural communities further results in stress on already limited social infrastructure, such as policing, health, and mental health services" (National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls 2019b, 593). Scholars have reiterated these concerns, attesting that "the model of the temporary industrial camp requires a mobile workforce that is disconnected from the region, and this reinforces and recreates historical patterns of violence against Indigenous women" (Gibson et al. 2017, 6).

Additional research echoes the MMIWG Inquiry's findings (2019a, 2019b), demonstrating a correlation between man camps and intense industrial activities, including heightened rates of sexually transmitted infections (Goldenberg et al. 2008), domestic abuse (Amnesty International 2016b), and inaccessible housing costs (Goldenberg et al. 2010; Ryser and Halseth 2011). These impacts influence Indigenous and non-Indigenous women differently. Indigenous women often bear the brunt of violence stemming from camps in more overt yet ignored ways, with gender-based violence intersecting with white supremacist and systematically entrenched racism. While we were writing the first version of this paper, the Secwepemc Tiny House Warriors, who have re-occupied Secwepemc territories to prevent the construction of the Government of Canada-owned Trans Mountain pipeline, posted a video of men (and one woman) who invaded and heavily damaged their homes (the men drove a Land Defender's truck into the side of their house). They terrorized residents and desecrated a memorial to missing and murdered Indigenous women in support of resource extraction (Manuel 2020). Days later, Dakota Two-Spirit activist Geraldine McManus reported that their prayer lodge—Spirit of the Buffalo camp, which stood in the way of the Line Three pipeline in Manitoba—had been burned down (Hatherly 2020). This violation was, once again, in the name of resource extraction and (settler) economic development. These are but two recent examples in a long list of many violent public acts associated with resource extraction in Canada that remain poorly investigated or publicized. With heightened economic volatility due to the pandemic, blatant and violent racism is exacerbated.

Industrial camps are distinct geographies. They are often located in out-of-the-way parts of the country. Almost no people from the public will ever see or experience them. The camps are often not accessible by road, let alone paved roads. Events that happen in camps receive almost no public attention, let alone public reporting. Research has begun to show what communities adjacent to man camps have long known—that gender-based violence increases closer to man camps (Manning et al. 2018; National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls 2019a, 593; Stienstra et al. 2016). It thus becomes imperative for anti-colonial work to focus on both the gender-based violence and racism radiating from and systematically entrenched in man camps and the ways that violence impacts Indigenous and non-Indigenous women, gender non-conforming, and Two-Spirit peoples differently. In a report released by the Native Women's Association of Canada, Bond and Quinlan (2018) highlight that Indigenous women are five times more likely than non-Indigenous women in Canada to suffer a violence-related death. Further, "the risk of sexual violence, substance abuse, sexually transmitted infections due to rape and sex trafficking is particularly high for Indigenous women and girls in proximity to industrial camps" (Bond and Quinlan 2018, 24). These correlations are in no way a coincidence; rather, they are

symptoms of the distinct colonial and capitalist geographies that create gender-based violence and are maintained through settler colonialism.

Despite these known impacts and the repeated violence experienced by communities proximate to man camps, federal and provincial governments continue to overlook or downplay links between violence against women—especially Indigenous women and Two-Spirit peoples—and man camps (Hunt 2013; Gibson et al. 2017; Bond and Quinlan 2018; Linnett 2020). Indeed, resource regulations (such as the Environmental Impact Assessment process) fail to adequately consider gender-based impacts (Hoogeveen et al. 2020). In February 2020, this neglect by the environmental assessment process led Wet'suwet'en hereditary chiefs to court, where they charged the provincial BC government with failing to include the potential for gendered violence in their assessment process of a proposed man camp to adjoin the Coastal GasLink pipeline (Linnett 2020). These charges drew directly on the MMIWG Inquiry's findings. Now, in the midst of a pandemic, small and remote northern and Indigenous communities continue to bear the brunt of the influx of workers deemed 'essential,' while also taking care of community members' health and well-being.

**What is Truly Essential About Non-Essential Services?**

> We understand that the province has declared oil and gas work an essential service, however, we strongly encourage you to reconsider. First, the economy cannot come before Indigenous lives; second, the protocols in place do not protect our most vulnerable communities; and lastly, our Houses and Clans have a right and responsibility to make decisions about what happens on our territories. (Wet'suwet'en Ts'ako ze' and Skiy ze' 2020, para. 3).
>
> The expansion of economic enterprises cannot be considered essential when it directly endangers the health and wellbeing of every one of us. The threat is too great to Northern communities, Indigenous and non-Indigenous, whose access to healthcare and necessary resources for containing COVID-19 are already limited. (Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs 2020, para. 5)

On April 23rd, 2020, the BC Provincial Health Officer released regulations (stronger than 'guidelines' [BC Centre for Disease Control and BC Ministry of Health 2020]) to prevent the spread of COVID-19 in industrial and food animal processing facilities (BC Ministry of Health n.d., 2020). Days before these regulations, seven workers who later tested positive for COVID-19 returned to northern and interior BC from the Kearl Lake oil facility in Alberta (Earthworks [USA] et al. 2020, 5; Lindsay 2020). Two weeks later, four more workers from this facility tested positive when they returned to BC. The Kearl Lake oil facility, however, remains open (Imperial Oil 2020). Kearl Lake served as a warning of what was to come in northern BC. Continued operations of the site also underscored the words of David Bowering, Former Chief Medical Officer of BC's Northern Health Authority, about prioritizing capitalism over human and environmental health: "The determination of what's essential seems to me to be coming from the companies rather than coming from government" (cited in Cox 2020b). Since our first draft of this paper in summer 2020, multiple outbreaks have occurred across northern BC man camps: two at LNG Canada (Kurjata 2020a, 2020b), multiple positive workers housed at man camps across Coastal GasLink's construction (Leonard 2021), and over 30 cases at Site C Dam (Alaska

Highway News 2021). Cases and outbreaks have continued while we have revised this paper.[9] Despite demands by Indigenous matriarchs, health professionals, and Indigenous organizations, man camps have continued their operations with tragic consequences (Follett Hosgood 2020b, 2020d).

The impact of industry pushing forward at all costs is compounded by recent and longstanding historical memory of disease outbreaks in northern and remote Indigenous communities (Barrera 2020). As Wet'suwet'en Ts'ako ze' and Skiy ze' asserted in their November 30th, 2020 letter to the Chief Medical Officer of BC, demanding that man camps be closed:

> We, as the Indigenous peoples of this land, are essential to the land and the history of this country. Our languages, land and culture are essential to who we are as a nation—a people. Without it, Canada and BC have completed their genocide of our people, and as Tsakë ze' and Skiy ze' we cannot allow it. (Wet'suwet'en Ts'ako ze' and Skiy ze' 2020, para. 7)

As many Indigenous community leaders, health workers, and academics have attested, COVID-19 presents a risk to Elders, knowledge keepers, and language speakers in ways incomparable to non-Indigenous counterparts (Council of the Haida Nation 2020). In northern communities specifically, the threat of the disease is compounded by strains on an already-stretched healthcare system: "the threat is too great to Northern communities, Indigenous and non-Indigenous, whose access to healthcare and necessary resources for containing COVID-19 are already limited" (Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs 2020a). The colonial state remains, however, intent on accessing Indigenous lands and resources for capital gain despite the potential loss of life. The interests of industry and stakeholders continue to be prioritized over the lives of northern communities.[10] As Gina Starblanket and Dallas Hunt (2020) sharply observe:

> the ability to provide or withhold medicine and rations in times of calamity have historically been used as ways of extending Canada's political authority over Indigenous people. This becomes all the more alarming and critical given that COVID-19, like many diseases, renders Indigenous elders—our knowledge-keepers and language holders—particularly susceptible to illness and death. This virus not only places us at risk, but the future well-being of coming generations as well. (para. 11)

Wet'suwet'en Ts'ako ze' and Skiy ze' echo Starblanket and Hunt's observations:

> The province has a responsibility to Indigenous people. Many policies have been put in place to destroy our people, lands, language and culture. These policies have been very effective and we must protect what we have left. The unnecessary death of one language speaker or knowledge keeper would have devastating effects on our families, communities, and governance system. Making a conscious decision to bring transient workers into our territories and communities is telling us that the economic gain of the province or state is more important than our language and cultures. You are telling us that the economic gain of the province is more important than our lives. Your behaviour and attitude facilitates the states' genocide of our people and lands. (Wet'suwet'en Ts'ako ze' and Skiy ze' 2020, para. 4)

---

[9] In April 2021, a report was released by Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada, affirming that sexual harassment of Inuit women in northern workcamps was "no surprise" (Ritchot 2021). This report built on research that took part before and during the pandemic (2014-2020).

[10] In April and May 2020, Site C and LNG Canada released statements assuring investors that their progress was on track despite the pandemic.

Potential loss of Indigenous language, knowledge, and culture is clearly articulated and linked to the settler colonial present. Quietly deeming industrial camps essential services erases the lived and localized impacts of resource economies on northern, and especially Indigenous, communities. While impacts are not straightforward and include economic benefits and employment opportunities, understanding the complex geographies of extractive projects and northern communities generates a more fulsome picture. Referring to not-yet-operational extractive projects and infrastructure as 'essential' raises questions about how and to whom settler states like BC are accountable. Are resource economies more important than lives?

## Conclusion

By failing to account for gendered and racialized implications of deeming extractive projects and their adjacent man camps essential, BC further entrenches a state of gendered coloniality. Indeed, failing to centre the well-being (and we mean personal well-being but also that of the land/waters that we collectively depend on for life) and voices of Indigenous women, Two-Spirit, and gender non-conforming peoples who experience direct, gendered impacts from resource extractive and colonial conditions further entrenches the violent dynamics that are at the heart of the tragedies unfolding across so-called northern BC. A 'business as usual paradigm' anchored in exceptionalism—alongside neglecting to listen to those who, day in and day out, experience these consequences—has been extended to large-scale resource projects that prioritize extractive capitalism over health, safety, and honouring Indigenous self-determination and lives. This corporate exceptionalism maintains a white settler colonial present and continues colonial legacies of erasure, thereby maintaining continued conditions for gender-based violence. As the title of Amnesty International's (2016a) report on gendered violence and the Site C Damn project makes clear, violent geographies of gendered coloniality too often remain "out of sight and out of mind." We hope this paper echoes calls to action beyond the geographies of northern British Columbia. Please use your voice and position to resist unfettered toxic colonial capitalism.[11]

## References

Alaska Highway News. 2021. "Site C: COVID-19 Daily Update." *Alaska Highway News*, January 8, 2021. https://www.alaskahighwaynews.ca/site-c/site-c-covid-19-daily-update-1.24104829.

Amnesty International. 2016a. "Out of Sight, out of Mind: Gender, Indigenous Rights, and Energy Development in Northeast British Columbia, Canada." Executive Summary. https://www.amnesty.ca/sites/amnesty/files/Out%20of%20Sight%20Out%20of%20Mind%20ES%20FINAL%20EN%20CDA.pdf.

---

[11] To support and learn more about Indigenous Nations' legal initiatives in light of resource extraction, visit: https://raventrust.com. To learn more and to support shelters and services in northern BC that serve women impacted by gender-based violence, see: http://tamitik.ca/ (Kitimat), https://ksansociety.com/ (Terrace), http://www.ncts.ca/transition-house.html (Prince Rupert), https://www.pgefry.bc.ca/ (Prince George & Burns Lake), http://domesticpeace.ca/ (Bulkley Valley), http://communitybridge.ca/ (Fort St. John), and http://www.spcrs.ca/ (Dawson Creek). To learn more about how to support Wet'suwet'en Nation's legal defence and healing centre, visit: http://unistoten.camp/support-us/donate/.

Amnesty International. 2016b. "The Point of No Return: The Human Rights of Indigenous Peoples in Canada Threatened by the Site C Dam." London, UK: Amnesty International. https://www.amnesty.ca/sites/amnesty/files/Canada%20Site%20C%20Report.pdf.

Armstrong, Jordan. 2018. "An inside Look at Life in the Site C Work Camp." *Global News*, November 16, 2018. https://globalnews.ca/news/4672618/an-inside-look-at-life-in-the-site-c-work-camp/.

Barrera, Jorge. 2020. "Epidemics and Resilience: How the Algonquin Have Faced Nearly 200 Years of Disease Outbreak and Survived." *CBC News*, May 10, 2020. https://newsinteractives.cbc.ca/longform/algonquin-epidemics.

BC Centre for Disease Control, and BC Ministry of Health. 2020. "COVID-19: Interim Communicable Disease Control Guidelines for Industrial Camps." Government of British Columbia. https://www2.gov.bc.ca/assets/gov/health/about-bc-s-health-care-system/office-of-the-provincial-health-officer/covid-19/covid-19-pho-guidance-industrial-camp-guidelines.pdf.

BC Centre for Disease Control, and Provincial Health Services Authority. 2021. "BCCDC COVID-19 Epidemiology App." May 17, 2021. https://bccdc.shinyapps.io/covid19_global_epi_app/.

BC Hydro. 2017. "Project Need." Site C Clean Energy Project. 2017. https://www.sitecproject.com/why-site-c/project-need.

BC Hydro. 2020. "BC Hydro Scaling down Construction Activities on Site C; Critical Work to Continue." Site C Clean Energy Project. March 18, 2020. https://www.sitecproject.com/bc-hydro-scaling-down-construction-activities-on-site-c-critical-work-to-continue.

BC Ministry of Health. 2020. *Industrial Camps*. https://www2.gov.bc.ca/assets/gov/health/about-bc-s-health-care-system/office-of-the-provincial-health-officer/covid-19/covid-19-pho-order-industrial-camps.pdf.

BC Ministry of Health. 2021. "Industrial Projects Restart -- January 12, 2021." Order of the Provincial Health Officer. https://www2.gov.bc.ca/assets/gov/health/about-bc-s-health-care-system/office-of-the-provincial-health-officer/covid-19/covid-19-pho-order-industrial-projects.pdf.

BC Ministry of Health. n.d. *Provincial Infection Prevention and Control Officers*. Accessed April 27, 2020. https://www2.gov.bc.ca/assets/gov/health/about-bc-s-health-care-system/office-of-the-provincial-health-officer/covid-19/covid-19-pho-delegation-industrial-camps.pdf.

BC Ministry of Health, and BC Centre for Disease Control. 2020. COVID-19: Going Forward. Accessed May 17. 2021. https://news.gov.bc.ca/files/Covid-19_May4_PPP.pdf

Behn, Caleb, and Karen Bakker. 2019. "Rendering Technical, Rendering Sacred: The Politics of Hydroelectric Development on British Columbia's Saaghii Naachii/Peace River." *Global Environmental Politics* 19, no. 3: 98–119. https://doi.org/10.1162/glep_a_00518.

Bellrichard, Chantelle. 2020a. "Some Tourists Ignore Haida Nation Pleas to Stay Away during Covid-19 Pandemic." *CBC News*, March 19, 2020. https://www.cbc.ca/news/indigenous/haida-nation-tourists-covid-19-1.5503810.

Bellrichard, Chantelle. 2020b. "B.C. Officials Wrestled to Define Major Industrial Projects as Essential through Pandemic: 'I Can't Argue Site C, LNG Canada, Etc. Are Essential,' Wrote Deputy Minister." *CBC News*, October 9, 2020. https://www.cbc.ca/news/indigenous/bc-essential-services-sitec-lngcanada-1.5755918.

Bond, Adam, and Leah Quinlan. 2018. "Indigenous Gender-Based Analysis for Informing the Canadian Minerals and Metals Plan." Policy Paper. Akwesasne, ON: Native Women's Association of

Canada/L'Association des femmes autochtones du Canada. https://www.minescanada.ca/sites/default/files/indigenous-gender-based-analysis-cmmp_.pdf.

Bowering, David. 2020. "Open Letter to Dr. Bonnie Henry: Give Northerners COVID-19 Locations, Shut down Work Camps." *Alaska Highway News*, March 28, 2020. https://www.alaskahighwaynews.ca/opinion/letters/open-letter-to-dr-bonnie-henry-give-northerners-covid-19-locations-shut-down-work-camps-1.24108166.

British Columbia's Office of the Human Rights Commissioner. 2020. "Disaggregated Demographic Data Collection in British Columbia: The Grandmother Perspective." Vancouver, BC. https://bchumanrights.ca/wp-content/uploads/BCOHRC_Sept2020_Disaggregated-Data-Report_FINAL.pdf.

Coastal GasLink. 2020. "Construction Update." https://www.coastalgaslink.com/siteassets/pdfs/construction/updates/coastal-gaslink-construction-update-november-19-2020.pdf.

Council of the Haida Nation. 2020. *Council of the Haida Nation Video [United Coast Response to COVID-19]*. https://www.facebook.com/307576689312237/videos/vb.307576689312237/1408463619361617/?type=3&theater.

Cox, Sarah. 2020a. "'Send Everybody Home': Potential Coronavirus Outbreak at Site C Dam a Threat to Fort St. John, Local Officials Say." *The Narwhal*, March 26, 2020. https://thenarwhal.ca/send-everybody-home-potential-coronavirus-outbreak-at-site-c-dam-a-threat-to-fort-st-john-local-officials-say/.

Cox, Sarah. 2020b. "Former Chief Medical Officer Urges B.C. to Shut Industrial Work Camps during Coronavirus Pandemic." *The Narwhal*, March 31, 2020. https://thenarwhal.ca/former-chief-medical-officer-urges-b-c-to-shut-industrial-work-camps-during-coronavirus-pandemic/.

Daigle, Michelle. 2018. "Resurging through Kishiichiwan: The Spatial Politics of Indigenous Water Relations." *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 7 (1): 159–72.

Driskill, Qwo-Li. 2016. *Asegi Stories: Cherokee Queer and Two-Spirit Memory*. Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press.

Earthworks (USA), Institute for Policy Studies--Global Economy Program (USA), London Mining Network (UK), MiningWatch Canada, Terra Justa, War on Want (UK), and Yes to Life No to Mining. 2020. "Voices from the Ground: How the Global Mining Industry Is Profiting from the COVID-19 Pandemic." https://miningwatch.ca/sites/default/files/covid-19_and_mining_-_snapshot_report.pdf.

Estes, Nick. 2019. *Our History Is the Future: Standing Rock Versus the Dakota Access Pipeline, and the Long Tradition of Indigenous Resistance*. New York, NY: Verso Press.

Follett Hosgood, Amanda. 2020a. "BC's Work Camps Stay Open Despite Pandemic Risks." *The Tyee*, March 24, 2020. https://thetyee.ca/News/2020/03/24/BC-Resource-Workers-Could-Overwhelm-Northern-Hospitals/.

Follett Hosgood, Amanda. 2020b. "Wet'suwet'en Call on Province to Close Pipeline Work Camps: Female Chiefs Say COVID-19 Risk Means Work on Oil and Gas Projects Shouldn't Be Classed as an Essential Service." *The Tyee*, December 1, 2020. https://thetyee.ca/News/2020/12/01/Wetsuweten-Call-Province-Close-Pipeline-Work-Camps/.

Follett Hosgood, Amanda. 2020c. "Cleaners Are on LNG Canada's Frontlines. They're Scared." *The Tyee*, December 7, 2020. https://thetyee.ca/News/2020/12/07/Cleaners-LNG-Canada-Frontline/.

Follett Hosgood, Amanda. 2020d. "Northern First Nations Look for Answers as Work Camps Bring the Virus." *The Tyee*, December 15, 2020. https://thetyee.ca/News/2020/12/15/Work-Camps-Bring-Virus-Northern-First-Nations/.

Front Line Health Workers in B.C. 2020. "Re: Urgent Concerns from Wet'suwet'en Ts'ako Ze' and Skiy Ze' - A Letter of Support from Front Line Health Workers in B.C. and across Canada," December 2020. https://docs.google.com/forms/d/e/1FAIpQLScV93GadMxsWS1gBOg9nDDtAnLtVMRDfzSNtif81dHvIUERqA/closedform.

Gibson, Ginger, Kathleen Yung, L Chisholm, H Quinn, with Lake Babine Nation, and Nak'azdli Whut'en. 2017. "Indigenous Communities and Industrial Camps: Promoting Healthy Communities in Settings of Industrial Change." Victoria, BC: The Firelight Group. https://firelight.ca/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/Firelight-work-camps-Feb-8-2017_FINAL.pdf.

Goeman, Mishuana. 2017. "Ongoing Storms and Struggles: Gendered Violence and Resource Exploitation." In *Critically Sovereign: Indigenous Gender, Sexuality, and Feminist Studies*, edited by Joanne Barker. Durham, NC & London, UK: Duke University Press.

Goldenberg, Shira, Jean Shoveller, Mieke Koehoorn, and Aleck Ostry. 2008. "Barriers to STI Testing among Youth in a Canadian Oil and Gas Community." *Health & Place* 14, no. 4: 718–29. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.healthplace.2007.11.005.

Goldenberg, S.M., J.A. Shoveller, M. Koehoorn, and A.S. Ostry. 2010. "And They Call This Progress? Consequences for Young People of Living and Working in Resource-Extraction Communities." *Critical Public Health* 20, no. 2: 157–68. https://doi.org/10.1080/09581590902846102.

Government of British Columbia. 2020. "List of COVID-19 Essential Services." April 3, 2020. https://www2.gov.bc.ca/gov/content/safety/emergency-preparedness-response-recovery/covid-19-provincial-support/essential-services-covid-19?bcgovtm=20200319_GCPE_AM_COVID_4_NOTIFICATION_BCGOV_BCGOV_EN_BC__NOTIFICATION.

Hatherly, Dana. 2020. "RCMP Investigating after Fire Destroys Wigwam at Anti-Pipeline Camp." *CBC News*, April 27, 2020, Manitoba edition. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/manitoba/fire-destroys-wigwam-at-anti-pipeline-camp-1.5547088?fbclid=IwAR1AqUTJjDu9vJGtDbbvf5FpM2WqO4UdpNqqAEebgDcehNj8UVsfBtaxh-A.

Hunt, Sarah. 2013. "Witnessing the Colonialscape: Lighting the Intimate Fires of Indigenous Legal Pluralism." PhD diss., Simon Fraser University. http://summit.sfu.ca/item/14145#310.

Imperial Oil. 2020. "Protecting Our Kearl Workforce from COVID-19." April 2020. https://www.imperialoil.ca/en-CA/Updates/COVID-19/Protecting-our-Kearl-workforce-from-COVID-19.

Knott, Helen. 2018. "Violence and Extraction: Stories from the Oil Fields." In *Keetsahnak/Our Missing and Murdered Indigenous Sisters*, edited by Maria Campbell, Kim Anderson, and Christi Belcourt, 147–60. Edmonton, AB: University of Alberta Press.

Kurjata, Andrew. 2020a. "COVID-19 Outbreak Declared at LNG Canada Worksite in Kitimat, as 14 Test Positive." *CBC News*, November 19, 2020. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/lng-canada-covid-19-kitimat-1.5808832.

Kurjata, Andrew. 2020b. "2nd COVID-19 Outbreak at LNG Canada Worksite in Kitimat, B.C." *CBC News*, December 17, 2020. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/lng-canada-worksite-covid-19-positive-diversified-1.5845876.

Lakhani, Nina. 2020. "Why Native Americans Took Covid-19 Seriously: 'It's Our Reality.'" *The Guardian*, May 26, 2020. https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2020/may/26/native-americans-coronavirus-impact?CMP=Share_iOSApp_Other.

Lazar, Michelle M. 2007. "Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis: Articulating a Feminist Discourse Praxis1." *Critical Discourse Studies* 4 (2): 141–64. https://doi.org/10.1080/17405900701464816.

Leonard, Chehala. 2021. "B.C. Health Care Workers Add Their Names to List Calling on Closure of Work Camps during Pandemic." *APTN*, January 3, 2021. https://www.aptnnews.ca/national-news/b-c-health-care-workers-add-their-names-to-list-calling-on-closure-of-work-camps-during-pandemic/.

Lindsay, Bethany. 2020. "B.C. Says Everyone with COVID-19 Symptoms Can Be Tested, as Total Cases Rise to 1,699." *CBC News*, April 20, 2020, British Columbia edition. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/health-officials-update-april-20-1.5538923.

Linnett, Carol. 2020. "B.C. Failed to Consider Links between 'Man Camps,' Violence against Indigenous Women, Wet'suwet'en Argue." *The Narwhal*, February 8, 2020. https://thenarwhal.ca/b-c-failed-to-consider-links-between-man-camps-violence-against-indigenous-women-wetsuweten-argue/.

LNG Canada. 2020. "March 27 - COVID-19 Update." March 27, 2020. https://www.lngcanada.ca/news/covid-19-response-update-4/.

Manning, Susan, Patricia Nash, Leah Levac, Deborah Stienstra, and Jane Stinson. 2018. "A Literature Synthesis Report on the Impacts of Resource Extraction for Indigenous Women." Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women. http://fnn.criaw-icref.ca/images/userfiles/files/REVISED%20Literature%20Synthesis%20Report_CEAA_Jan2019.pdf.

Manuel, Doreen. 2020. *Tiny House Under Attack*. Blue River, BC. Video, 5:48. https://vimeo.com/411293775?fbclid=IwAR0qTh7d5DFWavptW0IousZXZ80ro5UDmKDp3Cl9oKU2EuEi9Jk3-etG6mg.

Million, Dian. 2013. *Therapeutic Nations: Healing in an Age of Indigenous Human Rights*. Phoenix, AZ: The University of Arizona Press.

National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls. 2019a. "Reclaiming Power and Place: The Final Report of the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls." Volume 1a. https://www.mmiwg-ffada.ca/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/Final_Report_Vol_1a-1.pdf.

National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls. 2019b. "Reclaiming Power and Place: The Final Report of the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls." Volume 1b. https://www.mmiwg-ffada.ca/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/Final_Report_Vol_1b.pdf.

Pasternak, Shiri. 2015. "How Capitalism Will Save Colonialism: The Privatization of Reserve Lands in Canada." *Antipode Foundation: A Radical Geography Community* 47 (1): 179–96.

Provincial Health Services Authority, and BC Centre for Disease Control. 2020. “British Columbia COVID-19 Dashboard.” May 21, 2020. https://experience.arcgis.com/experience/a6f23959a8b14bfa989e3cda29297ded.

Ritchot, Mélanie. 2021. “Sexual Harassment of Inuit Women at Mines No Surprise: Pauktuutit President.” *Nunatsiaq News*, April 9, 2021. https://nunatsiaq.com/stories/article/sexual-harassment-of-inuit-women-at-mines-no-surprise-pauktuutit-president/.

Ryser, Laura, and Greg Halseth. 2011. “Housing Costs in an Oil and Gas Boom Town: Issues for Low-Income Senior Women Living Alone.” *Journal of Housing For the Elderly* 25, no. 3: 306–25. https://doi.org/10.1080/02763893.2011.595618.

Spice, Anne. 2016. “Interrupting Industrial and Academic Extraction on Native Land.” *Society for Cultural Anthropology*, December. https://culanth.org/fieldsights/interrupting-industrial-and-academic-extraction-on-native-land.

Spice, Anne. 2018. “Fighting Invasive Infrastructures.” *Environment and Society* 9, no. 1: 40–56. https://doi.org/10.3167/ares.2018.090104.

Starblanket, Gina, and Dallas Hunt. 2020. “Indigenous Communities and COVID-19: The Virus May Not Discriminate, but Responses to It Do.” *The Globe and Mail*, March 27, 2020, sec. Opinion. https://www.theglobeandmail.com/amp/opinion/article-indigenous-communities-and-covid-19-the-virus-may-not-discriminate/?__twitter_impression=true.

Statistics Canada. 2019. “Census Profile, 2016 Census: Kitimat [Population Centre], British Columbia.” August 9, 2019. https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/prof/details/page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo1=POPC&Code1=0420&Geo2=PR&Code2=59&Data=Count&SearchType=Begins&SearchPR=01&B1=All.

Sterritt, Angela. 2020. “COVID-19 Cases among First Nations in Some B.C. Regions Double Rest of Population.” *CBC News*, December 17, 2020. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/covid-19-cases-in-some-first-nations-double-non-first-nations-1.5845679.

Stienstra, Deborah, Leah Levac, Gail Baikie, Jane Stinson, Barbara Clow, and Susan Manning. 2016. “Gendered and Intersectional Implications of Energy and Resource Extraction in Resource-Based Communities in Canada’s North.” Feminist Northern Network. http://fnn.criaw-icref.ca/images/userfiles/files/SSHRC%20KS%20Report.pdf.

Turner, Jerome. 2020. “As B.C. Eases Restrictions, Remote Indigenous Communities Fear Travel Could Bring COVID-19: Ban Hunting, Fishing, Non-Essential Travel, Indigenous Nations Tell Government.” *Ricochet*, May 16, 2020. https://ricochet.media/en/3122/as-bc-eases-restrictions-remote-indigenous-communities-fear-travel-could-bring-covid-19.

Trade and Invest British Columbia. n.d. “Mining.” nd. https://www.britishcolumbia.ca/invest/industry-sectors/mining/.

Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs. 2020a. “OPEN LETTER: Coastal GasLink Pipeline Project Must Be Halted Due to the COVID-19 Outbreak,” March 30, 2020. https://d3n8a8pro7vhmx.cloudfront.net/ubcic/mailings/2802/attachments/original/2020March30_UBCIC_letter_re_C-19_CGL.pdf?1585550986.

Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs. 2020b. “Open Letter: Designation of Oil and Gas Work as ‘Non-Essential’ Is Critical for Protecting the Lives and Rights of Vulnerable First Nations Facing COVID-19,” December 8, 2020.

https://www.ubcic.bc.ca/open_letter_designation_of_oil_and_gas_work_as_non_essential_is_critical_for_protecting_the_lives_and_rights_of_vulnerable_first_nations_facing_covid_19.

Unist'ot'en Camp. 2020. "Wet'suwet'en Women Urge Dr. Bonnie Henry to Shut Down Indistrial Camps Amid COVID Outbreaks." December 2020. https://unistoten.camp/covidoutbreaks/.

Wet'suwet'en Dinï'z. 2020. "Re: Concerns about the Growing Numbers of COVID-19 Cases from Industrial Work Camps in Our Families," December 5, 2020. http://www.wetsuweten.com/files/OW_Bonnie_Henry_Industrial_work_camps_concerns_Dec_5_2020.pdf.

Wet'suwet'en Ts'ako ze' and Skiy ze'. 2020. "Urgent Concerns from Wet'suwet'en Ts'ako Ze' and Skiy Ze'," November 30, 2020. https://docs.google.com/document/d/1KGqKl6Vq12KHxfQwnugQayt2Dps_eIV-LELtYXLjmmQ/edit.

Women's Earth Alliance, and Native Youth Sexual Health Network. 2016. "Violence on the Land, Violence on Our Bodies: Building an Indigenous Response to Environmental Violence." http://landbodydefense.org/uploads/files/VLVBReportToolkit2016.pdf.

Yazzie, Melanie K. 2018. "Decolonizing Development in Diné Bikeyah." *Environment and Society* 9 (1): 25–39. https://doi.org/10.3167/ares.2018.090103.