Place, Race and Capital: A Political Ecology of Oil and Gas Expansion in Kitimat, British Columbia

by

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Abstract

Employing a political ecology approach, this thesis analyzes the historical legacy of industrial projects and current responses to oil and gas expansion in the unceded territory of the Haisla Nation, Kitimat British Columbia. Through an analysis of place, race and capital, this analysis illuminates a complex web of power and multiple layers of injustice and dispossession involved in processes of industrial development. As the terminus of the proposed Enbridge Northern Gateway Project, as well as the site for a number of proposed Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) projects, the future of this territory will be conditioned by the convergence of complex global political economic forces and multiple local interests on the ground. By paying attention to questions of race, this thesis seeks to bring political ecology literature focused on industrial projects into conversation with critical race theory.

Keywords: British Columbia; Kitimat; oil and gas; industrial development; political ecology; critical race theory

Mom, you provided me with some of my earliest lessons in compassion, empathy and justice. Dad, you encouraged me to travel west and have always been an endless source of strength and support. While there are many who contributed to the words written in this text, it is for you both that they are dedicated.

Acknowledgements

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List of Acronyms

CEAA	Canadian Environmental Assessment Agency
CFN	Coastal First Nations
COSEWIC	Committee on the Status of Endangered Wildlife in Canada
CSIS	Canadian Security Intelligence Service
FNCIDA	First Nation Commercial and Industrial Development Act
HNC	Haisla Nation Council
JRP	Joint Review Panel
LNG	Liquefied Natural Gas
NEB	National Energy Board
PTP	Pacific Trail Pipelines
SIRC	Security and Intelligence Review Committee
WPC	World Petroleum Council

Glossary

Bitumen	A viscous and dense form of petroleum extracted from the Athabasca region of Alberta, among other deposits in Alberta and Saskatchewan (Preston, 2013). In order to transport by pipeline, bitumen is blended with *Condensate* to create a product called diluted bitumen or 'dilbit' (Joint Review Panel, 2013c) (compare with *Synthetic Crude Oil*).
Capital	Commonly understood as "an asset to be mobilized by a group, individual or institution as wealth" (Heffernan, 2009, p.58). For many human geographers, however, capital is not a thing, but it is a social relation with spatial and ecological expressions, that "attaches natural characteristics to things that are socially produced" (p.59). Following Marx (1967), Heffernan (2009) states that "what matters are the relations by which some have money, others do not, how money is put to work, and how the property relations that engender such a social world are reproduced" (p.59).
Coastal First Nations	An alliance of First Nations on British Columbia's North and Central Coast and Haida Gwaii including Wuikinuxv Nation, Heiltsuk, Kitasoo/Xaixais, Nuxalk Nation, Gitga'at, Metlakatla, Old Massett, Skidegate, and Council of the Haida Nation (Coastal First Nations, n.d.).
Coastal GasLink	A proposed 48-inch, 700km natural gas pipeline from near Dawson Creek, BC to the *LNG Canada* liquefied natural gas export facility in Kitimat (District of Kitimat, 2014a).
Condensate	"[a] gasoline-like mixture of light oil components usually obtained from natural gas production" (Joint Review Panel, 2013c, p.7) used to dilute *bitumen* for pipeline shipment.
Discourse	The way in which language is "controlled, selected, organized and redistributed" (Foucault, 1972, p.210) to produce regimes of truth. As described by Foucault (1978) "it is in discourse that power and knowledge are joined together" (p.100).
Douglas Channel Energy Partnership (BC LNG)	A proposed small-scale natural gas liquefaction facility on the west bank of the Douglas Channel, within the District of Kitimat and traditional territory of the Haisla Nation (Douglas Channel Energy Partnership, n.d.) which would use existing natural gas pipeline capacity (District of Kitimat, 2014a).
Enbridge Northern Gateway Project	A proposed twin pipeline system from Bruderheim, AB to Kitimat, BC, as well as a terminal facility on the west side of Douglas Channel in Kitimat, BC. The westbound pipeline would carry diluted bitumen to the terminal facility for shipment abroad and the eastbound pipeline would carry condensate (Enbridge Northern Gateway Pipelines, 2010a).

Environmental Conflict	From a political ecology perspective, "[i]ncreasing scarcities produced through resource enclosure or appropriation by state authorities, private firms, or social elites [that] accelerate conflict between groups" (Robbins, 2004, p.14).
Joint Review Panel	Useful when "a project may cause significant adverse environmental effects or [when] there is a high degree of public concern" (National Energy Board, 2012), a Joint Review Panel is an independent body mandated to assess the environmental effects of a proposed project. A joint review panel is also established in order to avoid duplication of assessments in cases, like that of the Enbridge Northern Gateway Project, where a proposed project requires a decision from both provincial and federal governments (CEAA, 2013).
Kitimat LNG	A proposed liquefied natural gas export facility in Kitimat, BC serviced by the proposed *Pacific Trail Pipeline* (District of Kitimat, 2014a).
Liquefied Natural Gas	Natural gas that is cooled to -160 degrees Celsius to keep it in liquid form, enabling it to be shipped at overseas (BC Ministry of Energy and Mines, 2012a)
LNG Canada	A proposed liquefied natural gas export facility in Kitimat, BC serviced by the proposed *Coastal GasLink* project (District of Kitimat, 2014a).
Neoliberalism	"[A] theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterised by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade" (Harvey, 2005, p.3-4).
Pacific Trail Pipeline	A proposed 42-inch, 470km natural gas pipeline from Summit Lake (north of Prince George, BC) to the *Kitimat LNG* project in Kitimat, BC (District of Kitimat, 2014a).
Race	"[A] social construct rather than a biological fact, a temporally and spatially contingent and mutable system of categorisation, only intelligible in terms of racial hierarchy" (Wilson, 2012, p.10). Race is also 'real' (Alcoff, 2001) in that it "shapes material structures of power and distributions of resources, and regulates bodies and spaces" (Wilson, 2012, p.10).
Synthetic Crude Oil	Similar to conventional crude oil, synthetic crude oil is *bitumen* that has been converted at facilities called upgraders (Joint Review Panel, 2013c).

When we try to pick out anything by itself, we find that it is bound fast by a thousand invisible cords that cannot be broken, to everything else in the Universe | John Muir

1. Introduction

I stepped onto the tarmac at the Terrace Airport on a cold day in January 2012. From the plane, just moments before, I could see the morning sun rising in the distance, and the shapes of the mountains giving way to the ocean in the west. Now, however, below the cloud line, the valley was dark and the air was chill and damp. This was not at all like my last trip to Northwest British Columbia. Two years prior, in July 2010, I had taken the Inside Passage to Haida Gwaii for a field course on Environmental Education, and then traveled home to Vancouver via Prince George. It was summer time then, and my movement across the land was made with the kind of ease afforded by sunny skies, warm air and an open calendar. This time, however, felt different. I was enroute to Kitimat, down a mountain valley in winter, to seek out a potential field site for my graduate work and to attend one of the sessions of the environmental assessment for the proposed Enbridge Northern Gateway Project.

I had first heard about the Enbridge Northern Gateway Project during my first trip to the Northwest in 2010. The proponent, Northern Gateway Pipelines Limited Partnership (Northern Gateway), had recently submitted their application to the Canadian Environmental Assessment Agency (CEAA). The CEAA was responsible for conducting an environmental assessment for the proposed project. In their application to CEAA, Northern Gateway outlined the plan for a twin pipeline to operate from Bruderheim, Alberta to Kitimat, British Columbia, carrying diluted bitumen westbound, and condensate, used as a dilutant, eastbound. The project also included a tank and terminal facility in Kitimat which would accommodate the transfer of diluted bitumen into, and condensate out of, tankers for transportation at sea. Two years after this initial application, I was attending the first session of hearings associated with the environmental assessment. These hearings were hosted by the Joint Review Panel, a three-person panel mandated by the Minister of the Environment and the National Energy Board, to assess the environmental effects of the proposed project. Thinking back to that summer in Haida Gwaii in 2010, I never imagined how this project would

ignite a catalyzing debate on the expanding oil and gas industry in British Columbia. More personally, I also didn't know how this project would lead me to where I am today.

Listening to the oral hearings during that initial visit in January 2012 confirmed for me that Kitimat is a landscape of transformation, both materially and symbolically. Kitimat has a powerful history of industrial development, which includes an exisiting aluminum smelter and port site. Understanding this and other historical transformations related to industrial projects would be central to any analysis of current development projects. Furthermore, I knew that a central facet of any analysis of transformation in the area must be attentive to the fact that these industrial proposals, whether by Northern Gateway or by an LNG proponent, are proposed on unceded indigenous territory. In the case of Kitimat, industrial development does, and would, occupy the traditional territory of the Haisla Nation.

Moreover, as I continued to read about, meet with individuals from, and visit the community throughout 2012, other interacting and relevant factors began to emerge beyond the enormous proposal for Northern Gateway. For example, the Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) industry emerged as a key industrial proponent, with the potential to shape landscape transformation for years to come. In LNG proposals, natural gas would be transported from the site of extraction, in this case primarily from northeast British Columbia, and would then be liquefied at a facility for shipment by sea. With all of this in mind, Northern Gateway slowly became only one part of a broader network of connections, and all just as important to the ongoing transformation of this region. History has much to tell us about how Kitimat has transformed over time and how it has become, as one community member aptly described it, the 'ground zero' (Swift et al, 2011) of the oil and gas debate in British Columbia. Furthermore, unpacking this powerful history helps to explain why responses to development, whether in support of or in resistance to particular projects, came to the surface in this specific moment in time.

It is now well known that Kitimat is the site of several proposed oil and liquefied natural gas projects. The town is also undergoing a modernization of its aluminum smelter, constructed in the 1950s by the Aluminum Company of Canada; this smelter has been a formative part of this landscape's recent transformation and to the many

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stories that people tell about this place. Importantly, the town now known as Kitimat simply did not exist prior to the initiation of Alcan's aluminum project. But another Kitamaat did. Kitamaat Village, just 11km south from the town of Kitimat, is home to the Haisla Nation, the indigenous nation that claims approximately 5000 square miles of traditional territory in this region (see Figure 1.1, p. 4). The townsite of Kitimat was developed on the indigenous territory of the Haisla Nation, land that was never ceded or given away to any state or government body. According to the Canadian Census, Kitimat's population totalled 7046 in 2011 (Statistics Canada, 2012b), whereas the population of Kitamaat Village was 514 (Statistics Canada, 2012a). Acknowledging the occupation of indigenous lands by development projects and settler societies, I began to see that past development in this area was experienced and understood in multiple ways. Similarly, multiple perspectives have propelled the Enbridge Northern Gateway Project into a national dialogue on the future of oil and gas in Canada. Despite efforts to tell a singular (colonial) history of this place called Kitimat, this landscape is actually comprised of multiple stories, both diverging and intersecting.

Blaikie (1995) notes that place is not uniform in its meaning, but rather "landscapes and environments are perceived and interpreted from many different and conflicting points of view which reflect the particular experience, culture and values of the viewer" (p.203). Thinking about how landscapes are understood and experienced over time, through the lens of industrial expansion and landscape transformation, illuminates how environmental conflict and responses to such conflict, are contingent on and rooted deeply in place. I define environmental conflict in this analysis from a political ecology approach, which sees that "[i]ncreasing scarcities produced through resource enclosure or appropriation by state authorities, private firms, or social elites accelerate conflict between groups" (Robbins, 2004, p.14). This thesis seeks to explore the conflict emerging in response to oil and gas proposals in Kitimat through the application of a political ecology approach.

While political ecology tends to embrace a range of definitions, the definition I utilize throughout this thesis comes from Watts (2000), who defines political ecology as a way "to understand the complex relations between nature and society through a careful analysis of what one might call the forms of access and control over resources and their implications for environmental health and sustainable livelihoods" (p.257). I sought to
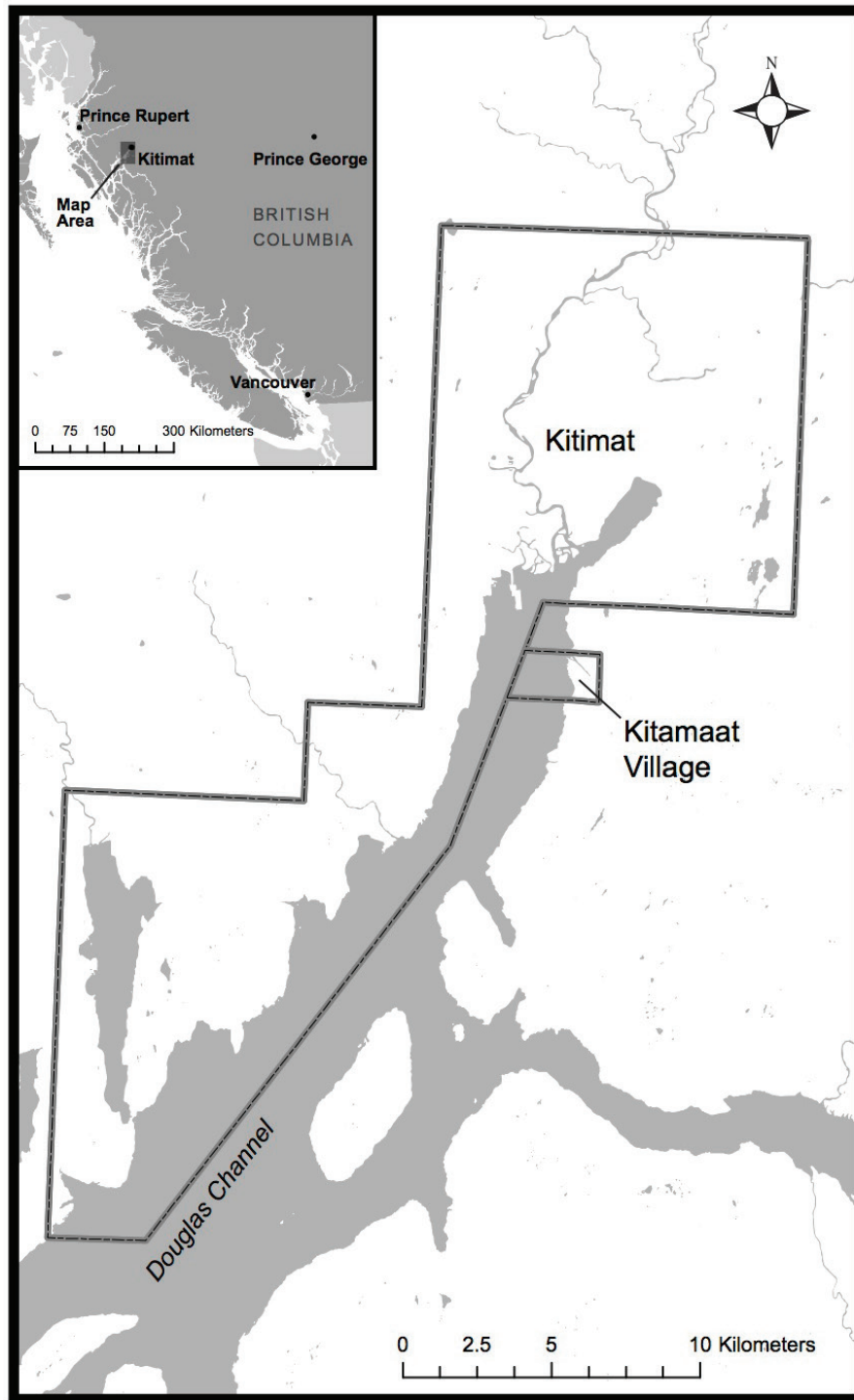
Figure 1.1. ***Map of Kitimat and Kitamaat Village.***

Note: The boundaries of the District of Kitimat extend along the west shore of Douglas Channel. Kitamaat Village is located 11km south of the District of Kitimat, on the east side of Douglas Channel (Cartography by John Ng, 2014).

explore these complex relations between nature and society by using the following research questions:

1. First, how have multiple and dynamic meanings of place contributed, over the last 60 years, to the development of current environmental conflict in the Kitimat region?

2. Secondly, through what processes of conflict and collaboration with provincial government, environmental organizations, and industry have members of the Haisla First Nation realized the importance of regional collaboration to oppose the Enbridge Northern Gateway Project?

3. And lastly, what narratives and representations of indigenous people, both historical and contemporary, have enabled dispossession and displacement in the Kitimat region and British Columbia more broadly?

I believed that understanding the answers to these questions would improve our understanding of the complexity of industrial expansion in this region and further explicate the intersections of race, place, and development in the Canadian neo-colonial context.

This thesis will follow my explorations of these intersections, and is organized into chapters thematically. Chapter 2 will discuss my fieldwork process and methodology. My main research objectives were to identify contested meanings of place in the Kitimat region for various actors, showing how conceptualizations of place are attached to particular values and ideas about land use and to trace the experiences of dispossession and displacement involved in industrial development in the Kitimat region over the last 60 years with a particular focus on indigenous perspectives. To achieve these research objectives, I used semi-structured interviews, participant observation and archival research. Furthermore, Chapter 2 will also illuminate how my research questions evolved over time, including offering an explanation as to why I ultimately abandoned my second research question. In doing so, I will ask important questions with respect to the challenges of fieldwork of this kind and make some reflections on what it means to conduct research with indigenous communities.

Chapter 3 will explicate the theoretical underpinnings that I used in my work. Political ecology as an approach presents a conceptual framework well suited for exploring complex interactions between nature and society. By combining the concerns of ecology and a broadly defined political economy (Blaikie and Brookfield, 1987), political ecology has long been employed to understand conflicts and claims over land and natural resources (Robbins, 2004). My analysis is also informed by a post-colonial analysis and elements of critical race theory. Both of these theoretical approaches provide a lens from which I unravel the ongoing colonial context in British Columbia and Canada.

From this point, I will seek to explore three narratives in succession, which will illuminate my understandings, my conclusions and also offer questions that require future exploration. The first story, Chapter 4, will focus on what first brought me to the region. The Enbridge Northern Gateway Project was what initiated my interest in the region and was what catalyzed much of my later learning and understandings. In this chapter, I explore how this project agitated various notions of place in Kitimat and the surrounding region, and ignited multiple responses to the Project. I will also seek to situate Northern Gateway in historical context, comparing it with the Kitimat oil port inquiry of the 1970s and other relevant projects. Then, by exploring some of the responses to the Enbridge Northern Gateway Project, I will show how notions of place underpin these debates. Specifically, resistance efforts by various individuals and community groups position Northern Gateway as a threat to multiple notions of 'home'.

Building from this discussion of place, through an analysis of capital, Chapter 5 will make connections between Kitimat and deepening regional, national and global linkages. I will seek to show how understandings of place, including those of Kitimat and Kitamaat as home, are articulated within and against capitalist organizing logics that characterize ongoing development and industrialization in the region. The reconfiguration of land, labour and capital under deepening capitalism has and continues to play an important role in informing understandings of place, including which industrial projects do or do not belong here. Specifically focusing on the industrial development of the Alcan aluminum smelter (1950s), the Eurocan pulp complex (1969) and the Ocelot/Methanox methanol and ammonia development (mid 1980s), I will illuminate some of the key moments of landscape transformation in this region. In doing so, I seek

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to situate these developments as part of an ongoing legacy of dispossession for indigenous peoples in the region.

Next, I will examine what emerged unexpectedly as an agent of transformation in the region, the Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) industry. Chapter 6 seeks to explore the expanding industry of LNG and how it raises questions about race, racism and development. In this chapter, I will outline what I mean when I say race, and then draw attention to the ways that race and racialization have become threaded into discourses of industrial development in Kitimat in the last 60 years. In general, I argue that ideas about race are both discursive categorizations which lead to material effects, but are also productive of particular bodies and spaces in a material way. By analysing the LNG industry in Kitimat, I will explore how current legislation and processes of capital accumulation operate in conjunction with already powerful tools of dispossession. From this examination, I hold that these tools continue to benefit the state and settler society by clarifying regulatory frameworks and stabilizing unceded indigenous territories for industrial expansion and economic investment. It is my aim that this chapter will weave together the intersections of place, capital and race, and I will argue, therefore, that an analysis of race becomes central to understanding the complicated politics of industrial development in the Kitimat region.

Overall, by following contemporary industrial development and its linkages beyond Kitimat, this thesis illuminates a complex web of power with spatial and temporal reach. There exist multiple layers of injustice involved in processes of extraction and development that can only be unpacked through full consideration of the specificity of place. By paying attention to questions of race, this thesis seeks to give vocabulary to political ecology work focused on industrial projects and analyses that can sometimes miss critical perspectives on race and racism(s). Going forward, critical work on responses to oil and gas expansion in the Canadian neocolonial context would benefit from further illuminating these ongoing processes of dispossession in historical context and explicating how control over land, resources and capital has been aided by mobilizations of power, particularly racializing discourses. Furthermore, the widespread view that trajectories towards deepening capitalism and market processes are inevitable and even natural (Watts, 1994) must be unsettled in order to find alternative and more just pathways forward.

2.   Methods and Methodology

This study is based on fieldwork conducted throughout 2012 that included a preliminary one week visit in early January 2012, a secondary 10 day visit in June and July 2012 and finally a longer stay from August to December 2012. This last duration of fieldwork consisted primarily of living in the community of Kitimat, but also included a one week stay in Prince George in November 2012, and a 6-day stay in Prince Rupert in December 2012, in order to follow the Joint Review Panel hearings for the Enbridge Northern Gateway Project in these communities. I went to Kitimat to understand community perspectives on industrial expansion, particularly the Enbridge Northern Gateway Project, and to untangle how multiple and dynamic meanings of place have contributed to current environmental politics in the region. Visiting Kitimat throughout the course of a year proved illuminating. It allowed me to build on my knowledge over time and revealed changes to the community over the course of 2012. Travel beyond Kitimat also provided ample opportunity to understand how these politics are connected by relationships to these other communities and to the region as a whole (see Figure 2.1, p. 9).

In my aim to understand these community responses to industrial expansion, I sought to explore three main research questions:

1. How have multiple and dynamic meanings of place contributed, over the last 60 years, to the development of current environmental politics in the Kitimat region?

2. Through what processes of conflict and collaboration with provincial government, environmental organizations, and industry have members of the Haisla First Nation realized the importance of regional collaboration to oppose the Enbridge Northern Gateway Project?

3. What narratives and representations of indigenous people, both historical and contemporary, have enabled dispossession and displacement in the Kitimat region and British Columbia more broadly?

Figure 2.1. ***Map of Field Locations***

Note: In addition to extensive fieldwork in the Kitimat and Kitamaat Village area (inset), fieldwork was also conducted in Prince Rupert and Prince George in the Fall of 2012 (Cartography by John Ng, 2014)

And in order to address these research questions, my main research objectives were:

- To identify contested meanings of place in the Kitimat region for various actors, showing how conceptualizations of place are attached to particular values and ideas about landscape use.

- To trace the experiences of dispossession and displacement involved in industrial development in the Kitimat region over the last 60 years with a particular focus on indigenous perspectives.

- To document the changing role that members of the Haisla First Nations have played in environmental governance and decision making in their territory, showing how previous experience informs current concerns over their land and waters.

- To identify changing narratives and representations of the Haisla within written historical accounts of the Kitimat region, and of First Nations themselves in British Columbia and Canada, more broadly.

To meet these four research objectives, my fieldwork consisted of semi-structured interviews, participant observation and archival research. This chapter explains these methods and important parts of the methodological process, including the decision not to pursue the second research question. I end this chapter with a reflection on the research process, including the murky distinction between research and activism, 'the field' and the everyday.

I first travelled to Kitimat in January 2012 to determine its potential as a research site and to establish preliminary connections. I selected Kitimat based on a purposive sampling technique. Teddlie and Yu (2007) discuss four strategies of purposive sampling, and relevant to my study is the category of sampling special or unique cases: "employed when the individual case itself, or a special group of cases, is a major focus of the investigation (rather than the issue)" (p.80). In looking at the Enbridge Northern Gateway Project, Kitimat was the proposed terminus for the project's twin bitumen-condensate pipeline, and also the site of the terminal facility for supertankers that would carry raw bitumen to market. Additionally, Kitimat had a significant existing and past industrial base on unceded Haisla territory, providing a rich historical context for

understanding landscape transformation, colonialism and resource development in the present context.

For selecting informants, I used theoretical sampling, a type of purposive sampling where 'participants are deliberately sought according to information required by the analysis as the study progresses' (Morse, 2004). This strategy was useful as I was able to select informants as my understanding developed over time. For example, after my initial visit to Kitimat in January, I had been able to make a list of individuals who spoke at, or who were involved in the hearings for the Enbridge Northern Gateway Project that I attended in Kitamaat Village. As I planned my second trip in June, I used this list as a reference for those I would contact about my research. Several of these initial individuals became key informants, whom I became more closely connected with as my research evolved over the course of the year. Then, during my visit in June and July, based on the knowledge I had acquired from the beginning of my fieldwork and from these initial interviews, I was able to identify other informants who were necessary to contact in order to gain insight into what was important and significant for continued understanding.

All interviews were semi-structured. As described by Mason (2004), semi-structured interviews reflect "an ontological position that is concerned with people's knowledge, understandings, interpretations, experiences and interactions". By using open ended questions, this interviewing style allowed informants to interpret and respond to questions with what was significant for them from their experience, rather then using closed-ended questions which might foreclose these conversations altogether. At the same time, however, by preparing an interview guide ahead of time, I ensured that key topics and issues were covered.

Several challenges arose over the course of my fieldwork with respect to the interview process. Some of these challenges are worth noting, as I foresee that they could apply more broadly to individuals working in similar situations in future. Firstly, many individuals whom I wished to interview were deeply involved in resistance efforts against the Enbridge Northern Gateway Project, including community organizing, and were thus inherently busy with the Joint Review Panel process related to this project's environmental assessment, among other efforts. Despite developing ongoing

relationships with these individuals throughout my fieldwork, and seeing them at various hearings, community events and meetings over the course of 2012, finding a time to sit down and speak more formally was very difficult. There were moments when I decided not to continue pursuing a formal interview due to the time and labour involved for these individuals. When involved in research on a politically active topic, I think it is important for a researcher to think about the points at which their involvement and academic interventions in a community or network of individuals becomes an impediment to acts of resistance or a burden to someone's energies.

Another challenge was how political sensitivity around the issue of development in this region affected the number of informants. While I engaged in many fruitful conversations at community events, in coffee shops or on the road, the total number of individuals who agreed to a formal interview was 11 participants. As a researcher, I became acutely aware of the implications that industrial project proposals, and specifically the Enbridge Northern Gateway Project, had for community relationships. Kitimat is a relatively small community, not only in terms of population but also with respect to relationship networks. On more than one occasion, it was made clear to me that it was not customary for people in the community to speak outwardly about political issues. And for those that chose to, it was not without risk or consequence. I recall one story of an individual who discussed a fissure between himself and a childhood friend because of his opposition to the Enbridge Northern Gateway Project. Thus, selecting informants meant that I focused on individuals who were already publically engaged in dialogue on these topics. Even with the strategy pursued, some individuals still wanted to remain anonymous in our conversations, and other individuals, upon learning more about my research interests, decided not to participate at all.

Lastly, and most importantly, was the question of engaging meaningfully with the Haisla Nation Council (HNC) and indigenous community members. Diverse literature has been written on the role of research in the imperial project (e.g. Mitchell, 2002; Said 1978). In particular, Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) argues that research on indigenous people by white Western researchers has been a powerful tool of empire. Since part of my research involved ethnographic methods such as interviews, participant observation and extensive field work (Fetterman, 2004), I was aware that "[w]hile the primary goal of ethnography is immersion in the life-worlds and everyday experiences of a group of

people, the ethnographer inevitably remains in significant ways an outsider to the worlds of those studied" (Emerson et al., 1995, p.35). As an outsider, I adopted a reflexive perspective to be cognizant of how the gathering of information and its subsequent use is inherently political (Assembly of First Nations, 2009). This meant spending a lot of time alone, writing about how I felt about the research process, asking questions about my role in the community and whether my questions were worthwhile. It also meant reaching out to community members to build meaningful relationships, without pursuing any formal research goals.

As discussed by Kirkham and Anderson (2002) "careful attention to the social and historical positioning of the researcher vis-à-vis research participants" (p.10) is paramount in informing a postcolonial approach to research. Attention to this dynamic demands an understanding of the cultural considerations of performing research in First Nations communities (Canadian Institutes of Health Research et al., 2010). With this in mind, I was confronted with the reality that my second research question was not appropriate, nor could it be answered in a way that was truly decolonizing. My second research question asked, "through what processes of conflict and collaboration with provincial government, environmental organizations, and industry have members of the Haisla First Nation realized the importance of regional collaboration to oppose the Enbridge Northern Gateway Project?" Answering such a question required that I connect with the Haisla Nation Council and to a significant extent, members of the Haisla community. However while initial contact was made, I ultimately, after much reflection, decided not to pursue the second research question as initially proposed.

There were multiple reasons that contributed to this decision. Two of these reasons are worth discussing at length, one being a practical consideration confronted by any junior researcher, and the other methodological and ethical in character. Firstly, as I moved through my fieldwork, the time constraints involved in a 2-year masters program presented a very real barrier to developing a meaningful and consensual relationship with the HNC. Acting as a 'parachute' researcher, one who collects data at their convenience and then exits just as quickly (Brant Castellano, 2004), is an unfortunately common constraint on research. This constraint does compel consideration of what sorts of fieldwork are possible, and appropriate, particularly for junior researchers, and all the more so in situations involving indigenous people. Simply

put, I think that we must engage in asking whether or not the benefits to the researcher and to the academy are equally or equitably distributed to the communities involved (Castleden et al, 2012b).

Recent discussion in geography has sought to explore these sorts of processes undertaken in research involving indigenous peoples and the shift from conventional research 'on' indigenous peoples to research 'with' indigenous peoples (Castleden et al, 2012a). In hindsight, I realized that my second research question, as initially proposed in the early stages of my proposal, was structured in the more conventional approach, with the Haisla Nation as the *subject* of study. Methodologically, I realized this was reproducing many of the problematic processes that I wanted to avoid, particularly the pattern of settler academics speaking 'for' an indigenous community. So instead, I decided to re-orient my focus not to conduct research *on* the Haisla but rather to analyze how industrial development in Kitimat is part of an ongoing colonial relation in Canadian society, and to explore who benefits from the continued dispossessions and occupation of unceded indigenous territory. It is my aim that my insights might still extend support to Indigenous scholars in the academy and to those who are better equipped to do long term community based work in a decolonizing way.

These considerations and the re-orientation of my research questions echoed the importance of using a postcolonial methodology, as well as a reflective axiology. Firstly, Kirkham and Anderson (2002) describe how a postcolonial methodology, as a conceptual framework, casts the entire project through a political lens, "a lens which attends to the micropolitics and macrodynamics of power" (p.10). Benjamin (2005) reiterates that ethnography can be used in conjunction with other methodologies, like postcolonialism. This methodology implored use of an iterative process, particularly attuned to my role as a researcher and the way in which geography has developed over time as a product of colonial processes (Powell, 2008; Castleden et al., 2021b). Relatedly, axiology refers to "the ethics or morals that guide the search for knowledge and judge which information is worth seeking in order to better understand reality" (Wilson, 2008, p.34). Axiology essentially asks "[w]hat part of this reality is worth finding out more about?" (p.34) and "[w]hat is it ethical to do in order to gain this knowledge"(p.34). Using this methodology and axiology ultimately compelled a new

direction in my thinking and thus the second major reason for my abandonment of the second research question. Essentially, I believe it was the wrong question for me to ask.

Postcolonial studies have also been reframed by scholars like Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) who point out that there is a "sneaking suspicion that the fashion of post-colonialism has become a strategy for reinscribing or reauthorizing the privileges of non-indigenous academics because the field of 'post-colonial' discourse has been defined in ways which can still leave out indigenous peoples" (p.24). For example, Tuhiwai Smith describes several examples in which researchers ignore indigenous ways of knowing and their current concerns through continuing to justify exploration and exploitation of indigenous lands and people for the greater good of mankind. Striving to understand the role that research, of all kinds, has played in the imperial project and the ways in which it can produce ontological and epistemological exclusions is an important critique that must continue to be addressed.

2.1. Reflections

Throughout the course of my fieldwork, I remained hesitant about the role that ethnography and ethnographic methods of participant observation have played in the colonial period. As Tuhiwai Smith (1999) has suggested, in the past ethnography became a way of "culture collecting" (p.61). By employing post-colonial methods, and using a theoretical framework rooted in postcolonial theory and critical race theory, my aim was to unsettle these problematic methodological foundations. Ethnography, for example, has been reshaped in postcolonialism seeking to overcome its colonial history through an examination of the subject position of the ethnographer and his/her role in knowledge production (Chilisa, 2012). In addition to (re)thinking about my role in the research process, I also employed other methods used in qualitative research in postcolonialism. Throughout my research, for example, I used a colonial discourse analysis to highlight the "(neo)colonial construction of the other" (Chilisa, 2012, p.68). Furthermore, in my archival research, I sought to "uncover blind spots" (Chilisa, 2012, p.69) in archives and text, in order to reveal which (and whose) history was being privileged over others. By analyzing colonial discourse and by looking at historical texts,

I offer a counter story to the colonial account of Kitimat's history, seeking to dismantle, replace, or diminish the colonial discourse with an anti-hegemonic one.

Furthermore, the study of place allowed me to see the interactions of race and development as contextual, situating the formation of racism, dispossession and erasure at a specific spatial and temporal conjuncture. As Biersack (2006) has suggested however, a place-based political ecology is centred on the terrain of postcolonial studies, but it remains for political ecology to decolonize. That is to say, it is not enough for researchers to be critical in their theoretical leanings, but we must also be concerned with our praxis as well (Brown and Strega, 2005). Being anti-oppressive means "choosing to do research and support research that challenges the status quo in its *processes* as well as its outcomes" (Potts and Brown, 2005, p.260). If there is one thing that still lingers in my mind in terms of methods and methodology, it is this question of how to become an anti-oppressive researcher. Potts and Brown (2005), describe this challenge (and necessity) at length:

> Given a simple choice between being an oppressive and an anti-oppressive researcher, hopefully we would all choose the latter. However, the choice is not really that simple or straightforward. Committing ourselves to anti-oppressive work means committing to social change and to taking an active role in that change. Being an anti-oppressive researcher means that there is political purpose and action to your research work. Whether that purpose is on a broad societal level or about personal growth, by choosing to be an anti-oppressive researcher, one is making an explicit, personal commitment to social justice. Anti-oppressive research involves making explicit the political practices of creating knowledge. It means making a commitment to the people you are working with personally and professionally in order to mutually foster conditions for social justice and research. It is about paying attention to, and shifting, how power relations work through the processes of doing research (p.255).

There is, therefore, a "need and necessity for researchers to not only acknowledge but also examine their location and how that location permeates their inquiry at every level" (Brown and Strega, 2005, p.10). I think that my reflections and shifting trajectory of research began a process towards being anti-oppressive as a researcher. With this in mind however, I agree with Potts and Brown (2005) when they say that anti-oppression is "the art of daily life" (p.258), and therefore, the "key in recognizing oppression is

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seeing the oppression that occurs through the various activities, social relations, and social practices we engage in with others" (p.258). So, despite my personal growth during this research process, I know there is still much work to do to be anti-oppressive in my praxis, both as a researcher, and as a human being.

For example, throughout my fieldwork I struggled with how and when to make my political stance known. Reflections such as this call into question the often artificial boundary articulated between scholars and activists, and between the 'field' and everything else. Katz (1994) blurs the line between 'the research' and everyday life, arguing that social scientists can occupy an unstable *space of betweenness* that,

> reflects a commitment to a project of critical scholarship and political subjectivity that at once connects me to a community of similarly engaged intellectuals, the political subjects in communities where I work, and a global cosmopolitan community of historical actors opposed to capitalism, racism and patriarchy (p.67).

Furthermore Sundberg (2007) expresses discomfort over delineating a clear boundary between researcher and activist arguing that "we are all subjected to and implicated in neoliberal projects" (p.270) and that we "cannot analyze or critique our way out of the socio-economic relations in which we are embedded and from which we benefit" (p.270). Following this, Sundberg (2007) asks if "our entanglements oblige us to take a more explicit stance regarding the when, where, how and why of our own political engagements, agendas and practices?" (p.270). I argue, from my experience in the field and given the injustices at hand in the move towards oil and gas expansion I witnessed, that as critical scholars we must be clear about our politics. This does not always mean loudly stepping into the blurry space between research and activism, but sometimes entails being an ally, and involves a conscious act of stepping back to make space for other (more marginal) voices to speak instead.

3.   Theory

When I initially became interested in the proposal for the Enbridge Northern Gateway Project, I was already approaching it with a set of understandings and ways of looking at the world. Initial undergraduate study in the broad field of environmental geography provided me with a lens that was focused on the interrelationships between history, politics, economy, environmental conflict and ecological change. With this background and interest, I began asking the questions that informed the basis for my research:

- How have multiple and dynamic meanings of place contributed, over the last 60 years, to the development of current environmental conflict in the Kitimat region?
- What narratives and representations of indigenous people, both historical and contemporary, have enabled dispossession and displacement in the Kitimat region and British Columbia more broadly?

One of the upper division courses that I took in my undergraduate studies focused on what became the theoretical cornerstone for this thesis, the burgeoning field of political ecology. This section will outline this theoretical approach, review some of its foundational components and present how I used it to think through the complex responses to oil and gas expansion in the Kitimat region. While political ecology tends to embrace a range of definitions, I find it most helpful here to follow Watts (2000), who defines political ecology as a way "to understand the complex relations between nature and society through a careful analysis of what one might call the forms of access and control over resources and their implications for environmental health and sustainable livelihoods" (p.257). In this definition, the goal of political ecology is to explain environmental conflict in terms of struggles over knowledge, power, practice, and resources as well as politics, justice and governance.

Despite the strengths of political ecology to explore and explain environmental conflict, I believe that the struggle for justice, especially in the case of First Nations and

indigenous communities in the Canadian context more broadly, compels the addition of a critical approach to race and racism, not always found in political ecology. To provide for this, I will explore the theoretical foundations of critical race theory, broadly defined, and suggest that there are important linkages that can be made between these two bodies of literature that help us to understand the complexities at hand in the current debate around oil and gas expansion and the neo-colonial context. In these conversations and throughout this thesis, I use the term colonial to refer to both a historical period wherein there was an extension of European power and control into the region now known as Canada, as well as the ongoing period of settler occupation that we now live in today. In the latter circumstances, I evoke the terms post-colonial and neo-colonial to name this contemporary period, and in doing so, align myself with scholars who argue that colonialism "does not cease with the mere fact of political independence and continues in a neo-colonial mode to be active in many societies" (Ashcroft et al., 1995, p. xv) Following this, this thesis argues that ideas about race work within struggles over land and resources, and often in a remarkably subtle and invisible ways. Because of this, critical approaches to race and racism can offer insightful clarity to political ecological explorations of environmental conflict. In particular, a focus on the intersections of race and development in a political ecological analysis highlights the contingent character of responses to oil and gas expansion and the critical necessity for justice.

3.1. Political Ecology

In thinking about multiple and complex struggles over the environment or natural resources, political ecology has evolved to embrace a range of definitions. Despite the wide range of definitions associated with this theoretical approach, Robbins (2004) identifies that the many definitions read together reveal some common assumptions and preferred starting points. Bryant and Bailey (1997) have described these fundamental assumptions, as "the idea that costs and benefits associated with environmental change are for the most part distributed among actors unequally…[which] reinforces or reduces existing social and economic inequalities…[and this holds] political implications in terms of altered power of actors in relation to other actors" (p.28-9). So, political ecology research tends to be concerned with revealing winners, losers, hidden costs and in

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understanding "the differential power that produces social and environmental outcomes" (Robbins, 2004, p.11).

Seminal authors in political ecology demonstrate the breadth of topics that are appropriate for such analysis. Escobar (1995), for example, analyzed the role and power of discourse in the environment and development sector while Neumann (1998) attended to the cultural politics of 'wilderness' conservation in Africa, which included attention to race. Blaikie and Brookfield's *Land Degradation and Society (1987),* however, is considered to be the first comprehensive text to codify political ecology. In this seminal text, Blaikie and Brookfield (1987) argue that political ecology combines the concerns of ecology and a broadly defined political economy. A narrow definition of political economy, from a formal materialist/Marxist analysis, only implicates labour and ownership relations (Robbins, 2004). The strength of a broadly defined political economy, however, can be helpful for understanding non-cash economies and a whole "range of spheres where power is exerted, whether it is control of labour, land or ideas" (Robbins, 2004, p.80).

Another key contribution made by Blaikie and Brookfield (1987) is the conceptual tool known as a cross-scale chain of explanation. This tool advocated that research,

> start with the land managers and their direct relations with the land…[t]he next link concerns their relations with each other, other land users, and groups in the wider society who affect them in any way, which in turn determines land management. The state and the world economy constitute the last links in the chain (p.27).

This concept is helpful insofar as it suggests that we must contextualize our understanding of environmental conflict and change through an analysis of diverse influences at various scales (including, local, regional, national and international) and with numerous actors (local people and land managers, wider society, state, corporations, world economy). For example, at a local scale, culture, poverty, education, land tenure, gender, and biophysical conditions, among other things, might affect environmental change and landscape transformation. At a regional scale attention to property relations, settlement history, or physiographic variations may be more revealing.

While being attentive to scale can help to progressively contextualize (Vayda, 1983) our analysis, geographers have cautioned about the assumptions concealed in scalar thought (Isin, 2007). Drawing from Sack (1980), Isin (2007) argues that scalar thought is a way of representing relations between scales as if they were "*exclusive* (i.e. contiguous and non-overlapping), *hierarchical* (i.e. nested and tiered), and *ahistorical*" (p.211). This way of thinking about scale is important to how politics play out. As Isin (2007) outlines, British colonization in North America instituted scalar systems of settlement (in the hierarchical form of towns, regions, provinces, federal government, for example) and that "[e]ssentially, all settler societies colonized by European empires conform to these principles" (p.216). These scales have therefore been (re)produced over time, and in the Canadian context, these scales were mapped onto already occupied indigenous territory. As Halseth (2009) points out, before European contact, First Nations throughout the territory now called British Columbia were involved in long-distance trading relationships, making this region "a fully occupied and organized economic and political landscape" (p.251). Colonial systems of governance, and hierarchical systems of settlement seen today, are not natural scales, therefore, but instead overlap indigenous systems of social organization. When analysing the interactions of scale and their implications for political ecological issues, therefore, we must be attuned to the fact that scales are produced through scalar thinking and thus have "fluid, multiple and overlapping forms of existence" (Isin, 2007, p.211) rather than fixed, distinct or natural features.

According to Bryant and Goodman (2008), one of Blaikie's theoretical contributions was this turn towards multi-causal chains of explanation and post structuralism more broadly. A post structural perspective is concerned with thinking about the nature of knowledge itself and its relationship to establishing or subverting systems of power (Robbins, 2004). The scholarship of Foucault is instructive in this perspective, particularly his central thesis about the co-constitutive relationship between power and knowledge, and the contention that truth is an effect of power. For Foucault (1980), "Truth is a thing of this world: it is produced only by virtue of multiple forms of constraint. And it induces regular effects of power. Each society has its regime of truth, its general politics of truth: that is, the types of discourse that it accepts and makes function as true" (p.131). For Foucault (1972), discourse encompasses the way in which

language is "controlled, selected, organized and redistributed" (p.210) and "it is in discourse that power and knowledge are joined together" (Foucault, 1978, p.100). As Robbins (2004) explains, in political ecology, what is important is how societies form particular taken-for-granted forms of discourse that become naturalized and 'true'. Furthermore, political ecology seeks to understand how these truths are "made powerful by state institutions, media companies, experts and families" (p.66).

Both of these aspects of political ecology are useful to this analysis. Firstly, chains of explanation seeks to grapple with the complexity inherent in environmental conflict and sees responses or adaptations to environmental change as outcomes that require explanation. I use this concept throughout my analysis to try to unravel the interacting influences at various scales which have contributed not only to current responses to oil and gas expansion, but also to past industrial development in the Kitimat area. Furthermore, my analysis has been informed by a post-structural perspective in the course of my research insofar as I suggest that forms of knowledge have been productive in legitimizing continued capital accumulation and the dispossession of indigenous communities, including the Haisla Nation. In order to advance this critique, I take apart and question these dominant truth claims and hegemonic discourses using the theory of Foucault while also linking them to a Marxist understanding of material processes of capital circulation and resource exploitation.

This thesis is organized around these ideas and explores three broad themes: place, capital and race. These three concepts are all highly contested in academic literature and are also crucial to understanding how oil and gas expansion is unfolding in the Kitimat region. In the subsequent sections I will explain, in succession, how a political ecology approach is useful when thinking about these organizing conceptual themes. The final section of this chapter puts the three themes of place, capital and race into conversation with one another, showing their intersections in the field of political ecology. Specifically, while existing theoretical work in the field has brought race into conversation with political ecology, this thesis offers a specific contribution which links race to industrial expansion and capital accumulation in Kitimat and the Canadian context. Ultimately I argue that an analysis of race, under the broad umbrella of critical race theory, should hold a central role in analyses of development from a political ecology perspective.

3.1.1. Place

My first research question asks how multiple and dynamic meanings of place have contributed, over the last 60 years, to the development of current environmental politics in the Kitimat region. As suggested by Relph (1976) "[w]e live, act and orient ourselves in a world that is richly and profoundly differentiated into places, yet at the same time we seem to have a meagre understanding of the constitution of places in the ways in which we experience them" (p.6). Chapter Four, and its focus on place, seeks to engage with understandings of place through an analysis of historical events and dominant discourses of development which have contributed to Kitimat's formation. Specifically, I see place as a "grounded site of local-global articulation and interaction" (Biersack, 2006, p.16) insofar as its specificity is derived from "a distinct mixture of wider and more local social relations" (Massey, 1993, p.68) and political economic processes. As Massey (1993) argues, "all these relations interact with and take a further element of specificity from the accumulated history of a place, with that history itself conceptualized as the product of layer upon layer of different sets of linkages both local and to the wider world" (p.68). This is made particularly clear by exploring the construction and development of the Alcan aluminum smelter in the Kitimat region in the 1950s. The colonial history describes this process of development as industry conquering wilderness, and in doing so, giving birth to a modern community, now Kitimat. As part of this chapter, however, I offer a counter story which emphasizes indigenous claims to land and territory in this region, and the processes of dispossession within industrial development through the capitalization and consolidation of land and resources in the hands of industry.

Political ecology pays attention to several key elements that were useful to this exploration of place: "(1) a focus on the land users and the social relations in which they are entwined; (2) tracing the linkages of these local relations to their wider geographical and social settings; and (3) a historical analysis to understand the contemporary situation" (Neumann, 1992, p.87). The element of history is an important link in political ecology's chain of explanation. Robbins (2004) describes the benefits of historical research in challenging, "the quick development 'snapshots' of environmental research conducted in the present" (p.61). As called for by a political ecology approach, the inclusion of history informs an understanding of the contemporary situation. In this study,

a historical approach deepens our understanding of the confluence of events and experiences, and various notions and intersections of place, that have led to this crucial point of oil and gas expansion and its associated responses.

Robbins (2004) acknowledges, however, that "the writing of history is a political and social act, linked to, and embedded in, larger events and movements, including colonialism, imperialism, the cold war, and the contemporary struggles for global economic expansion and control" (p.62). For example, as briefly mentioned above, a colonial history of Kitimat, written with a focus on industrial development and the advancement of capital in a 'wilderness' landscape, is a political act insofar as it silences the indigenous history which preceded the formation of Kitimat and the aluminum smelter. A historical analysis sensitive to the politics of power contributes to a much fuller understanding of the contemporary context, and traces the linkages of local relations to their wider geographical and social settings, another important component of a political ecology approach. Specific to my project, knitting together a history of Kitimat attuned to the politics of power helps to deconstruct dominant discourses and organizing logics, such as capitalism and settler colonialism, which are largely missing in conventional historical accounts. Furthermore, writing counter histories can give context to current struggles over land and resources, and in the case of Kitimat, can situate responses to oil and gas proposals in a broader understanding of indigenous dispossession and displacement. As Willow (2009) argues, the environmental dimensions of indigenous struggles are part of a broader political phenomenon "where local and global politics collide" (p.56). In Chapter Four I also unpack discourses of home, which are often utilized in resistance movements against the proposed Enbridge Northern Gateway Project, and suggest that these discourses are actually multiple and dynamic in character. This nuanced understanding of home can be rendered invisible in mainstream deployment of the word, but attention to historical processes of dispossession brings to light the significance of Indigenous claims to homeland, here meaning when communities are native to place, which is different from other concepts of home used by settler society.

Understanding the contested character of place means unravelling the ideas that people carry about the landscape in which they live and the normative claims that they, and others, make about what should and shouldn't happen to the environment or who

should be able to access particular resources. For example, in an analysis of Clayoquot Sound, in Coastal Vancouver Island, Reed (2007) argued that the involvement of state and environmental non-governmental organizations contributed to a complex regional political history where multiple social groups, including but not limited to First Nations, competed to define and redefine governance over the environment. Understanding how the conceptualization of place in the Kitimat area is simultaneously contested or reproduced by other stake-holders, like non-indigenous people, mainstream environmental groups or industry, for example, helps to reveal tensions in the production, control and access to lands throughout this coastal region. As I will explore throughout this thesis, Kitimat is seen by some indigenous community members and settler community groups, as a place worthy of protection, particularly against the proposal for the Enbridge Northern Gateway Project. Simultaneously, however, members of government, industry, *and* community perceive Kitimat as an industrial town, apt for further resource development. These tensions will explain how multiple meanings of place are related to various expectations about what a particular location should be used for. These ideas can then be transformed into actions that either reproduce or resist existing human-environment relationships. Place, therefore, is contested terrain.

3.1.2. *Capital*

Tracing historical processes of landscape transformation in the Kitimat region under a political ecology framework compels an analysis of capital at various scales of influence. As outlined in the seminal definition, a political ecology approach combines the concerns of ecology and a "broadly defined political economy" (Blaikie and Brookfield, 1987, p.17). This broadly defined political economy had undergone some scrutiny for being vague and hard to define (Peet and Watts, 2004; Mann, 2009) but as suggested in my introduction, a later definition of political ecology has made this aspect of analysis clearer. The definition used, in the context of this research, is borrowed from Watts (2000) who sees political ecology as a way "to understand the complex relations between nature and society through a careful analysis of what one might call the *forms of access and control over resources* and their implications for environmental health and sustainable livelihoods" (p.257, emphasis added). So, being attentive to political

economy has meant, for the purposes of this thesis, a focus on tracing the patterns of capital accumulation and various forms of access to and control over resources, including land, in the Kitimat Valley.

Two fundamental conceptual tools within Marxist philosophy have had a great influence in the development of the political ecology tradition and are helpful starting points to understanding why a study of capital is relevant in this analysis. As explained by Robbins (2004), the first precept of Marxist philosophy is "the assertion that…social and cultural systems are based in historical (and changing) material conditions and relations -- real stuff" and the second notion "is that capitalist production…requires the extraction of surpluses from labour and nature" (p.46). And though many political ecologists would not identify as Marxist, these conceptual tools help round out analyses of environmental change by "paying serious attention to who profits from changes in control over resources, and…[asking] who takes what from whom" (p.52).

Given the colonial history of Canada, an analysis of capital and its circulations helps to unravel 'who profits' both historically, and currently, by continued development and industrial expansion. As argued by Blaut (1993), colonialism and capitalism are interlinked in their lineage and organizational logic. In his analysis, Blaut argues that there was a climate of ideas, with origins as early is the 16th-17th centuries, which posited that history is a progressive process. In close association with the rise of capitalism, there was a need to establish a belief system that progress is inevitable, natural and desirable. This belief needed to be pervasive and in order to have individuals and communities, "accept changes to the legal system which would permit more rapid and widespread capital accumulation, to persuade the landowning class to treat land as a commodity and invest their real holdings in risk enterprises, to introduce laws and practices to mobilize labour for emerging capitalist activities at home and abroad, to persuade Europeans in general to accept the painful changes being imposed on them, and so on" (Blaut, 1993, p.19). By 1870, there was a broad agreement among European thinkers about the basic nature and dynamics of the world, including a belief that biological and social evolution were fundamental truths.

Colonialism also provided an influx of knowledge about non-European people and places that could be taken up in such knowledge production, and "…of great

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importance were the detailed reports that colonial administrators everywhere were required to submit, reports providing information about native legal systems, land tenure rules, production, and much more" (Blaut, 1993, p.23). Furthermore, the colonial process demonstrated that there were practical, political and economic interests in proving certain things to be true in "order to facilitate the administration and economic exploitation of these regions" (p. 23). This system, then, completes an apparatus which has a "..relatively constant blindness to the importance of colonialism, historically and even today…" (Blaut, 1993, p.19-20) despite the fact that these knowledges arose out of colonialism. In this way, Blaut's analysis links with political ecology's post-structural theoretical leanings. The production of knowledge about indigenous communities, and relatedly, the formation of a belief system about the natural or inevitable trajectory of progress, have worked together in a powerful way to subvert and dispossess indigenous people throughout colonial North America. In this example, we can identify what Foucault (1980) called a "regime of truth" (p.131) and the way in which discourse is where "power and knowledge are joined together" (Foucault, 1978, p.100). These regimes of truth are utilized in conjunction with material processes of capital accumulation and dispossession. In particular, the (dis)possession of land is a key component of colonialism. As suggested by Said (1994),

> Underlying social space are territories, land, geographical domains, the actual geographical underpinnings of the imperial, and also the cultural contest. To think about distant places, to colonize them, to populate or depopulate them: all of this occurs on, about, or because of land. The actual geographical possession of land is what empire in the final analysis is all about (p.78).

So, importantly, as Harris (2004) argues there is a "materiality of colonialism" (p.167) that needs to be unravelled.

Linking the productive power of discourse to material processes is particularly useful in this analysis, as a way in which to understand and explain the legacies of colonialism in the contemporary period. As Blaut (1993) extended his analysis into the early 20th century, he accounted for the fact that most of the world had essentially been carved up by colonies and "the essential problem now was exploitation and the maintenance of control in the face of native resistance" (p.26). The geographic

expansionist tendencies of colonial empires began to give way to a new 'diffusion of modernization' by the 1940s and 1950s, which coincides with the early days of industrial development in the Kitimat region. This new diffusion "…meant the diffusion of a modern economy (with major corporations owned by the colonizer), a modern public administration (the colonial political structure), a modern technical infrastructure (bridges, dams and the like, built by the colonizer) and so on" (Blaut, 1993, p.28). Most recently, as Preston (2013) has suggested, settler colonialism in Canada "colludes with capital in a multitude of ways; land-centered, it requires private companies and public agencies to work together to secure access to land and resources while strategically managing 'the Indian problem'" (p.49). In these examples, we can see that the organizing logic of colonialism has not dissolved, but instead has been reconfigured in order to legitimize continued capital accumulation. An analysis of capital, using both Foucault and Marx, is particularly useful for unpacking political ecological questions related to current oil and gas development and its close association with ongoing indigenous dispossession in the Kitimat region and British Columbia more broadly.

3.1.3. Race

The final analytical chapter in this thesis seeks to attend to ideas about race and their deployment and (re)formation in processes of capital accumulation, oil and gas development, and environmental change. As discussed in Chapter Six, I borrow from Kalpana Wilson (2012), in her definition of race as "a social construct rather than a biological fact, a temporally and spatially contingent and mutable system of categorisation, only intelligible in terms of racial hierarchy" (p.10). I also hold that race is 'real' (Alcoff, 2001) in that it "shapes material structures of power and distributions of resources, and regulates bodies and spaces" (Wilson, 2012, p.10). I use this secondary aspect to highlight the embodied characteristics of race, and its deep relationship to material structures of production, exchange and capital accumulation.

The theme of race is threaded into one of the dominant narratives within political ecology, the environmental conflict thesis. Robbins (2004) describes this thesis as follows:

Increasing scarcities produced through resource enclosure or appropriation by state authorities, private firms, or social elites accelerate conflict between groups (gender, class, ethnicity). Similarly, environmental problems become 'politicized' when local groups…secure control of collective resources at the expense of others by leveraging management interventions by development authorities, state agents, or private firms. So too, existing and long-term conflicts within and between communities are 'ecologized' by changes in conservation or resource development policy (p.173).

One of the fundamental lessons in this argument, which is helpful to this analysis, is how it draws on past experience in development activities that shows them "to be rooted in specific assumptions about the class, race, and gender of participants in the development process, often resulting in poorly formed policy and uneven results" (p.173-4). A useful conceptual framework for such an analysis comes from the theoretical field of postcolonial theory.

This body of literature, and the term postcolonial itself, is contentious, and subject to much debate. As argued by Ashcroft et al. (1995), in their introduction to *The Post-colonial Studies Reader,* "the field itself has become so heterogeneous that no collection of readings could ever encompass every theoretical position now giving itself the name 'postcolonial/post-colonial'" (p.xv). Despite this breadth, two main ideas are threaded into the term postcolonial. Firstly, it refers to the contemporary post-colonized world, where unequal power relations prevail between colonial nations and former colonies, but also between writers, economists, scientists and other interpreters of these relations (Robbins, 2004). This definition is applicable for early works in political ecology that focused on the global 'South' (Bryant, 1992), and thus analyzed relations between 'developing' nations after the formal retreat of colonial governments. Political ecology, however, has since shifted focus towards an analysis of the global 'North' (McCarthy, 2002; Walker, 2003). So, in the case of Canada, postcolonial extends its definition beyond the model of an imperial 'centre' retreating from a colonial 'margin' (Ashcroft et al., 1995) to the ongoing tensions between indigenous communities and the legacies of the settler colony that continues to occupy the land. This ongoing occupation is what I mean, throughout my thesis, when I refer to settler society, or settler colonialism. In this way, I agree with those who argue that postcolonial analysis rests on the idea that the effects of colonialism are ongoing (Braun, 1997).

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Postcolonial refers to more than the contemporary period of time however. It also refers to a methodology which challenges writers "not only to explore and explain the dominant writings and theories about historically colonized peoples in terms of their contributions to global inequity and oppression, but also to rewrite history from the point of view of the colonized, rather than the colonizer" (Robbins, 2004, p.64). As outlined in Chapter Two, postcolonial is not just a theory then, but a way of conducting research. Using a historical analysis, important to political ecology, can be useful in paying attention to the dominant theories about indigenous communities that pervade settler colonial culture. It is also helpful in gaining insight into how "sociopolitical, cultural, and environmental manifestations of injustice continue to contour First Nations residents' lived realities and views of the world" (Willow, 2009, p.37).

Also useful to the *Race* section of my thesis is the concept of indigeneity, or simply, as I take it, what it means to be indigenous. Political ecology research on indigeneity in Indonesia has demonstrated the way in which the concept of articulation, as drawn from Hall (1986), can give insight into how particular groups express their identities and realign their relationships to the nation, government and their traditional territory (Li, 2000). Articulation has a dual meaning here, referring to the "dual process of rendering a collective identity, position or set of interests explicit (articulate, comprehensible, distinct, accessible to an audience) and of conjoining (articulating) that position to particular political subjects" (Li, 2000, p.152). As Hall (1994) acknowledges, while cultural identities have histories, these identities are not relegated to some essentialized past, but rather are subject to the continuous 'play' of history, power and culture.

In the Canadian context, Ashcroft et al. (1995), suggests that indigenous people in this 'settled' geography have become the 'cause célébre' of post colonialism and that no 'other group seems so completely to earn the position of colonised group, so unequivocally to demonstrate the processes of imperialism at work" (p.214). A troublesome legacy of colonization, however, is the inscription of the indigenous subject as the "ultimately marginalised" (p.214), locking them into a essentialist binary of being 'authentic' and 'inauthentic'. And importantly, these notions of authenticity are relational to (settler) colonial subjects. As discussed by Banerjee (2000), "no one existed as an authentic 'primitive', until s/he was colonised, bounded and deprived of practical political

relations to 'mainstream' society and to the world" (p.425). Postcolonial analysis unpacks this discourse, revealing that this appeal to authenticity is "not merely an ontological contradiction, but a political trap" (Ashcroft, 1995, p.214). This type of analysis links back to Foucault's regimes of truth and the co-constitutive relationship between power and knowledge. As explored in Chapter 6, settler colonial interventions into indigenous communities and implicit claims that particular indigenous individuals are not conforming to what it means to be indigenous are examples of these binaries in action. The concept of articulation is therefore useful in understanding the contingent way in which such indigenous subjectivities are brought together at specific spatial and temporal conjunctures (Li, 2004), how they may be articulated in opposition to another identity, and how these identities are positioned by and positioned within the narratives of the past (Hall, 1994). In the context of industrial projects in Kitimat, by deconstructing the "binary oppositions and strategic silences" (Wilson, 2012, p.6) embedded into discourses of development, a postcolonial analysis can help to reveal how race and racism operate in such processes as well as the contingent articulations of indigenous identities for those who navigate these tensions on a daily basis. Throughout this thesis I explore how indigenous identity is embedded in dialogue surrounding both support of, and resistance to, oil and gas expansion. Furthermore, by highlighting the intersection of race, capital and development, I show that current struggles over the environment are linked to rearticulated settler colonial mythologies about indigenous communities and ongoing processes of dispossession.

3.2. Putting Place, Capital and Race Together

As I will explore throughout the main analytical chapters of my thesis, the themes of place, capital and race interact in a critical way to produce and reproduce uneven power relations and asymmetrical material outcomes. Support of, and resistance to, oil and gas development in the Kitimat region is complicated by contested notions of place, uneven circulations of capital and access to resources, as well as ongoing process of dispossession for indigenous communities. An analysis of race, in conjunction with a political ecology approach, provides tremendous explanatory power in this case study.

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Early political ecology was rooted in analysis of class inequalities, but recent works in the field have extended their analysis to recognize the inseparability of the politics of nature and the politics of race (Biersack, 2006). Indeed, "*[w]orking together,* race and nature legitimate particular forms of political representation, reproduce social hierarchies, and authorize violent exclusions" (Moore, Kosek and Pandian , 2003, p.3). In order to grapple with this "cultural politics of race and nature" (p.2), political ecology scholars seek to unravel the intersections of race in environmental struggle. Di Chiro (2003), for example, roots political ecology in environmental justice literature to explore how activists create "multiracial/ethnic, oppositional political networks" (p.207) to resist destructive modes of production. Furthermore, in an analysis of struggles over forests in southwestern United States, Kosek (2006) explores how forests and Hispano bodies are defined by resource dependence and use, and how multiple understandings of nature make forests and bodies intelligible. I argue that these examples, among others, demonstrate how an analysis of race is helpful within a political ecology approach to understand the processes at work in development projects and environmental conflict.

As I will suggest throughout my thesis, understanding the significance of race and racism in development projects also requires an understanding of the relationship these have with material processes of capital circulation. Capital accumulation is "*productive of difference"* (Wilson, 2012, p. 11) and this is demonstrated in both where and for whom that accumulation occurs. As Wilson (2012) explains, "this continues to be evident in the context of neoliberalism, which frequently sustains, intensifies and incorporates pre-existing inequalities" (p.11), such as those of gender, or ethnic group.[1] Conflicts and crisis are a logical outgrowth of deepening capitalism (Biersack, 2006, p. 13), simply because of its inherent contradiction that "capitalist production relations…degrade or destroy the *conditions* of production, including and especially the environment" (O'Connor, 1998, p.8). I explore the symbolic and material intersections of

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[1] For David Harvey (2005), "neoliberalism is in the first instance a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterised by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade. The role of the state is to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate to such practices" (p.3-4).

race and capital in Chapter 6 and argue that discursive constructions of race, are *productive* of material outcomes and implications as well as *reproductive* in the embodied and lived experiences of particular groups over time.

Race is also an important component in analysis of place and development. As Biersack (2006) argues, capitalism no longer supervenes but instead *intervenes*, "engaging with *the local,* accommodating and negotiating with it as a condition of its own 'penetration'" (p.16, emphasis added). Thus, attention to place helps to reveal the intervention of capitalism and demonstrate the contingent and specific intersection with particular ideas about race and racism(s). Understanding place as "a grounded site of local-global articulation and interaction" (Biersack, 2006, p.16) is useful in showing how, as Stuart Hall (1997) suggested, capitalism learns to live with and through specificity (p.29). By thinking through the empirical case of Kitimat, British Columbia, I seek to highlight how ideas about race have not been used solely to limit, assimilate, and repress indigenous communities but are also extremely *productive* in the formation of knowledge and beliefs within the dominant society, the story they tell about themselves and the political economic system sustained by them. And, this 'productive network' of power is linked to material processes of exclusion, dispossession and embodied realities for individuals and communities that are only discernable through attention to the specificities of place.

In terms of understanding the complex intersections of race and nature, the field of critical race theory provides a rich body of scholarship that can and has been brought into productive conversation with political ecology (see Pulido 2000; Baldwin, Cameron & Kobayashi, 2011, and Kosek, 2006, for strong and relevant examples of critical race theory). Many analyses of race and racism, as they operate within North American and European social formations, are broadly identified within critical race theory (Wilson, 2012). In their description of this evolving field of scholarship, Delgado and Stefancic (2013) argue that "..a culture constructs social reality in ways that promote its own self interest…[critical race scholars] set out to construct a different reality. Our social world, with its rules, practices, and assignments of prestige and power, is not fixed, rather, we construct it with words, stories, and silence" (p.3). One of the primary tenants of CRT that I grapple with in this thesis is the contention that race and racism "looks ordinary and natural to persons" (p.2) in the particular culture in which it is produced. As I explore

in Chapter 6, ideas about what it means to be indigenous in Canada, and racisms towards indigenous communities, are remarkably naturalized in settler colonial culture. In order to unpack this notion, I use another central practice of critical race theory, to "analyze the myths, presuppositions, and received wisdoms that make up the common culture about race and that invariably renders….minorities one-down" (p.3). Another important contribution of critical race theory, that I only begin to tease apart in this thesis, is that of interest convergence. According to Delgado and Stefancic (2013), this concept argues that white elites will tolerate or encourage racial advances only when they promote white self interest. In the context of Kitimat, I suggest that race and racism has not been reduced under conditions of intensified industrial development in recent years, but instead, is simply reconfigured and extended under purported 'liberal' and 'progressive' development solutions, which ultimately serve the interest of continued regimes of capital accumulation. In this regard, I use the words liberal, to refer broadly to liberalism and its main features of individualism, freedom and equality (Turner, 2006) and how these features play in these processes of development. As I discuss later in Chapter 6, the key liberal concept of human progress has underpinned colonial development projects, and therefore, as Wilson (2012) argues, questions of liberalism, race and capital "have been and remain mutually constitutive" in these efforts (p.160).

Bringing critical race theory into conversation with political ecology therefore helps to explain the central position of race in processes of development and environmental change. The theoretical imperative for an analysis of race is suggested by Sarah White (2002), when she argues that a "silence on race is a determining silence that both masks and marks its centrality to the development project" (p.408). As Robbins (2004) warned, however, political ecology must be careful in its approach to explaining things and to "avoid mistakes of reductionism, it needs to operate less from the universal and more from the particular, explore the context as well as the conditions of power, and eschew any simple narratives of social difference rooted in single-variable explanations" (p.50) So, political ecology provides an important foundation for our understandings and opens spaces for communication across disciplines. Decisions made around the environment are loaded with history, specificity, and embodied lived experiences. The ability of political ecology to work in conjunction with other theoretical

perspectives helps to explain the complexities at hand and highlights that there are never any given trajectories or outcomes in the interactions between nature and society.

# 4.	Place and Development

This chapter examines one of the overarching themes that emerged in my fieldwork, and responds primarily to my first research question: How have multiple and dynamic meanings of place contributed, over the last 60 years, to the development of current environmental conflict in the Kitimat region? Environmental conflict refers here to the contention within political ecology theory that "[i]ncreasing scarcities produced through resource enclosure or appropriation by state authorities, private firms, or social elites accelerate conflict between groups" (Robbins, 2004, p.14). In the case of Kitimat, the development proposal for the Enbridge Northern Gateway Project has led to conflict in the form of vocal opposition by community groups, including Kitimat-based Douglas Channel Watch, and indigenous organizations, including the Haisla Nation Council. This chapter seeks to analyze this conflict through an exploration of place, accounting for various meanings of place that are articulated in resistance efforts and responses to development. In doing so, I then link these understandings of place and expand upon them using the organizing themes of capital in Chapter 5 and race in Chapter 6.

The first section of this chapter outlines the proposed Enbridge Northern Gateway Project, highlighting its relevance to the Pacific Northwest and the Kitimat region, as well as its connection to Asia. I then briefly outline some of the responses to this proposal from community members, including members of the Haisla Nation. In particular, I will show that resistance strategies often draw upon unique characteristics of the landscape in order to argue that this place should be protected from development. Kitimat is discursively produced, in these strategies, into what Grove (2009) calls, "a territorialized object of conservation" (p.210). The landscape in these efforts derives much of its meaning from arguing that territorial or fixed features, like the significance of a particular stream or watershed, are worthy of protection. These territorialized understandings of place, however, confront and come up against other understandings of the landscape, particularly when faced with proposed industrial development. In these cases, Kitimat is discursively reframed as "deterritorialized space of potential

development" (Grove, 2009, p.211), or as an "indistinct economic space" (p.211) undifferentiated from elsewhere except through the common language of property, ownership and other capitalist understandings of nature.

In order to better understand my meaning with respect to place and space, it is useful to explore how a similar situation of proposed development arose in the late 1970s with the West Coast Oil Ports Inquiry. Exploring this Inquiry demonstrates a historical case of this encounter between incongruous understandings of place and space that helps us to understand the contemporary situation. I will then outline sense of place as a conceptual framework to show how it can be a useful tool to unpack responses to large scale industrial projects like the Enbridge Northern Gateway Project. The final section then summarizes this portion of research by elucidating how notions of home are articulated in resistance efforts by members of community organizations and the Haisla Nation.

4.1. The Enbridge Northern Gateway Project

In May 2010, Northern Gateway Pipelines Limited Partnership (Northern Gateway) submitted an application for their proposed Enbridge Northern Gateway Project for environmental assessment. Environmental assessment, according to the Canadian Environmental Assessment Agency (CEAA) is a "process to predict environmental effects of proposed initiatives before they are carried out" (CEAA, 2013). As such, the purpose, according to CEAA (2013), is to "minimize or avoid adverse environmental effects before they occur" and "incorporate environmental factors into decision making". The project proposed three integrated operations:

1. a 1,170 kilometre oil export pipeline and associated facilities

2. a 1,170 kilometre condensate import pipeline and associated facilities, and

3. a tank terminal and a marine terminal to be located near Kitimat, British Columbia (Enbridge Northern Gateway Pipelines, 2010a).

The twin pipeline system would run between Bruderheim, Alberta and the coastal marine terminal facility in Kitimat which would accommodate the transfer of oil into, and condensate out of, tankers[2] (Enbridge Northern Gateway Pipelines, 2010a). The bitumen export pipeline would send its product westbound to the coast, while the condensate import pipeline would operate eastbound. Collectively, these project components are referred to as the Enbridge Northern Gateway Project (the Project) (Enbridge Northern Gateway Pipelines, 2010a).

In 1998, Enbridge Inc. conducted analysis for the Project to determine "the need for, and feasibility of, a pipeline to meet the long-term needs of Western Canadian oil production and provide Canadian producers with access to alternative markets" (Enbridge Northern Gateway Pipelines, 2010a, p. 1-1). These markets included those in the Asia-Pacific Rim and in the western United States. According to Northern Gateway's application, by 2002, the need for a new oil export pipeline had progressed and within two years, the Project was formally announced to the public (Enbridge Northern Gateway Pipelines, 2010a). Some of the reasons why the Project was 'needed', according to Northern Gateway, include the need "to diversify markets for Canadian oil" (p.1-3), to allow Canada "to increase the security of its markets and add significantly to the benefits that Canadians derive from oil exports" (p.1-3) and to create "the opportunity to diversify and significantly expand sources of condensate supply and availability" (p.1-3).

In the first volume of the Project's application for environmental assessment, Enbridge Inc. describes the process of selecting Kitimat for its terminal facility, including the assessment of alternative locations for the marine terminal in Alaska, Washington

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[2] In this instance, I use the term oil as it is the word used in the environmental assessment application authored by Enbridge Northern Gateway Pipelines. Whenever possible, I use the term bitumen (in lieu of oil), as it is the technical term for what the industry, and the Canadian government, prefer to publically call 'oil' (or relatedly, 'oil sands'). Bitumen, a 'tar-like' (rather than 'oil-like') viscous and dense form of petroleum, is the substance that is extracted from the Athabasca region of Alberta, among other deposits in Alberta and Saskatchewan (Preston, 2013). Bitumen, which would be transported on the westbound pipeline to Kitimat, must be chemically processed to become 'oil-like'. Condensate, which would be imported on the eastbound pipeline, is a diluent for bitumen (Enbridge Northern Gateway Pipelines, 2010a)

and other areas in British Columbia, including Stewart, Port Simpson, Prince Rupert, Bella Coola, Squamish and Vancouver (Enbridge Northern Gateway Pipelines, 2010a, p.4-1). According to the application, a port comparison report released in 1978 was integral in the decision to narrow down the possible terminus locations to four choices, based on the lowest relative risks for accidental oil releases: Port Simpson, Prince Rupert, Kitimat and Port Angeles (Enbridge Northern Gateway Pipelines, 2010a).[3] Ultimately, Kitimat was selected as the preferred alternative for the marine terminal and some of the considerations informing this decision include:

- the need for year-round, ice free access
- sufficient channel width and water depth and a suitable turning basin to permit safe transit by large tankers
- a tanker berth area sheltered from the effects of open water wave conditions
- feasibility of pipeline access to the terminal
- an area accessible from the existing road system without major road construction
- ease of access to and development of marine infrastructure
- the need to limit environmental effects
- availability of suitable land to locate the tank and marine components of a terminal
- availability of nearby existing onshore and marine infrastructure (Enbridge Northern Gateway Pipelines, 2010a, p. 4-4).

In this description, Northern Gateway frames Kitimat as a "Project Development Area" (p.2-5), articulating an economic and technical understanding of place. Kitimat is the industrial site deemed most appropriate as the pipeline terminus after being measured against other locations. In this description then, Kitimat becomes, as Grove (2009) stated, a "deterritorialized space of potential development" (p.211), an understanding that is clearly the outcome of a confluence of global, national, regional and local actors converging in this place.

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[3] The Port Working Group port comparision report, "Potential Pacific Coast Oil Ports: A Comparative Environmental Risk Analysis", was released in 1978, after a working group was established by Fisheries and Oceans Canada (DFO) and Environment Canada to "compare the relative vulnerabilty of 11 potential west coast ports to the effects of accidental oil releases" (as cited in Enbridge Northern Gateway Pipelines, 2010a, p.4-3).

Despite the proposed needs and benefits of the Project, and the preliminary analysis informing the project development area, public concern mounted alongside the Project's proposal. In March 2010, just prior to the submission of the Project's formal application, Vicky Husband, a recipient of the Order of British Columbia in 2000 for her work protecting coastal landscapes in the province, argued that the debate around the Project would "be bigger than Clayoquot Sound" (Hume, 2010). The Clayoquot region, on the west coast of Vancouver Island, was the site of a series of blockades and protests in the 1980s and 1990s when environmental organizations and First Nations held provincial and federal governments accountable for environmental protection of old growth forests that were being threatened by the logging industry (Reed, 2007).

It is no surprise then that at the time of the application in 2010, the Minister of the Environment decided that the Project should be assessed using a joint review panel, useful when "a project may cause significant adverse environmental effects or [when] there is a high degree of public concern" (National Energy Board, 2012). Furthermore, a joint review panel is also established in order to avoid duplication of assessments in cases, like that of the Enbridge Northern Gateway Project, where a proposed project requires a decision from both provincial and federal governments (CEAA, 2013).

The Joint Review Panel (JRP), comprised of three panel members, was mandated in January 2010 by the Minister of Environment, Jim Prentice, and National Energy Board Chair, Gaetan Caron (National Energy Board, 2010), and was tasked with reviewing the application under both the *Canadian Environmental Assessment Act (CEAA)* and the *National Energy Board Act.* The Canadian Environmental Assessment Agency administers the federal environmental assessment process (and in this case, jointly with the provinces of Alberta and British Columbia), while the National Energy Board is a federal agency that regulates pipelines, energy development and trade (National Energy Board, 2010). The National Energy Board reviews inter-provincial and international pipelines and is required to conduct environmental assessments in accordance with the *Canadian Environmental Assessment Act* (Van Hinte et al., 2012).

As part of the JRP process, members of the public were able to participate in the Project's review, with the Panel receiving and considering all information from both the proponent, Enbridge Northern Gateway Pipelines Ltd., and members of the public, "on

the record" (National Energy Board, 2012). Based on the record of information gathered, the JRP then produces a report "that contains all the information for the environmental assessment as well as the Panel's recommendations regarding whether the Project should be approved and the reasons for this recommendation" (National Energy Board, 2012, para 3). While responses to this proposed project developed over time, the breadth and nature of public response really came into focus in a formal way when the Joint Review Panel process was launched. Just prior to the first public hearing, 4,300 individuals and groups were registered to speak to the Panel, and it was estimated in the media that the review process would take 18 months or more to complete ("Northern Gateway pipeline hearings", 2012).

4.1.1. Response

Given the immensity of responses to the Enbridge Northern Gateway Project, I focused on Kitimat because of its unique position along the project route. It is the terminus for the bitumen-condensate pipeline, the site of the marine terminal facility that "would accommodate the transfer of oil into, and condensate out of, tankers" (Enbridge Northern Gateway Pipelines, 2010a), and is the port for the outbound tankers carrying bitumen to market. This community also has a recent history of major industrial projects and large-scale landscape transformations which, as we will see, play a formative role in the current socio-political context of the region. Furthermore, Kitimat also lies within the unceded territory of the Haisla Nation, who were, at the time of my first visit, members of Coastal First Nations (CFN). According to Davis (2009), the CFN is a regional alliance comprised of nine coastal First Nations that came together in 2000 "to directly challenge the forces that were undermining First Nations self-determination and the integrity of their territories, livelihood, and cultural practices through the 1990s" (p.141). In 2010, Coastal First Nations released a declaration which stated:

> As Nations of the Central and North Pacific Coast and Haida Gwaii, it is our custom to share our wealth and live in harmony with the broader human community. However, we will not bear the risk to these lands and waters caused by the proposed Enbridge Northern Gateway pipeline and crude oil tanker traffic.
>
> We commit to reduce our own carbon footprint, and call on others we share this land with to do the same.

Therefore, in upholding our ancestral laws, rights and responsibilities, we declare that oil tankers carrying crude oil from the Alberta Tar Sands will not be allowed to transit our lands and waters (Coastal First Nations, 2010).

Coastal First Nations, the Haisla Nation, and several community groups in Kitimat were among the stakeholders along and beyond the project route who registered to participate in the Joint Review Panel process. The Joint Review Panel process for the Enbridge Northern Gateway Project was immense and included 180 hearing days in 21 different communities, 9 of which were First Nations communities (Joint Review Panel, 2013a). According to the Joint Review Panel (2013a), 1, 179 people provided oral statements and 47 Aboriginal groups participated as interveners. In total, the Joint Review Panel spent 884 hours hearing oral evidence, oral statements, cross examination and final arguments (Joint Review Panel, 2013a). Given the size of the project, concerns raised by participants were, and continue to be, complex and multiple, such as environmental damage from pipeline ruptures or oil tanker spills, indigenous rights and title to unceded territory along the project route, allocation of economic benefits to communities and governments, and creation of (secure and long term) employment, among others.

Debates over oil and gas expansion are not new conversations for communities in northern British Columbia. While the province is currently embroiled in a heated debate over such development, it is interesting that within the last forty years, Kitimat was previously the site for a proposed oil port development, although for importing oil, not exporting it. The following section explores the West Coast Oil Ports Inquiry in order to situate the Enbridge Northern Gateway Pipeline in historical context. I also make some comments on the significance of this event, so that in the subsequent chapter, I can show how competing understandings of place are threaded throughout these related developments over time.

4.2. Oil Port Development: A Prologue

In 1976, Kitimat Pipe Line Limited submitted a proposal to the National Energy Board for an oil port at Kitimat. Kitimat Pipe Line Limited was incorporated in November of 1976 and five of its sponsors were companies operated by, or affiliated with,

companies that ran refineries in the northern United States (Cressey, 1977b). Responding to a perceived demand for oil in Canada and the US, this proposal, together with two other proposed oil ports along the coast, were designed to import oil from Alaska and abroad. Similar to the current proposal for the Enbridge Northern Gateway Project, after undertaking an evaluation of alternative port sites, Kitimat Pipe Line Limited saw Kitimat as a key node in the flow of petroleum and determined that it was "the most desirable location for a crude oil tanker receiving and off-loading facility" (Cressey, 1977a). In 1977, in response to these proposals, the federal government appointed the West Coast Oil Ports Inquiry to assess the effects upon Canada of developing an oil port on the coast of British Columbia, or on adjacent US coastlines. Unlike current assessment of the Enbridge Northern Gateway Project, this inquiry did not focus on pipeline development. Specifically, this inquiry, overseen by federally appointed Commissioner Andrew Thompson, focused on the "potential physical, biological, social and economic effects of tanker traffic utilizing such a port as well as the effects of port development itself" (Thompson, 1977, p.1). Despite this focus on the port, the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry (commissioned in 1974 under the leadership of Mr. Justice Thomas Berger) was fresh on the minds of participants during the West Coast Oil Ports Inquiry (Thompson, 1977).

Before the inquiry could get underway, however, resistance was already mounting against the idea of tanker ports along the west coast. As Blaikie (1995) notes, "landscapes and environments are perceived and interpreted from many different and conflicting points of view which reflect the particular experience, culture and values of the viewer" (p.203). While these understandings of place can sometimes go unquestioned by the observer, moments of proposed industrial development serves to agitate these conflicting points of view. Vocal opposition, then, is a form of explicit articulation of place that is opposed to, or is in conflict with industry's interpretation of place. During the Inquiry in July 1977, for example, the Kitimat Oil Coalition, representing approximately twenty community groups and professional organizations in BC and Alberta, formally opposed oil port development on the west coast of Canada or in adjacent US waters (Pearse, 1977). In their statement to the Inquiry, the Coalition explained their position and their understanding of place:

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> We, who depend upon the sea for our living, or who benefit in many real and perceived ways from its wholeness, vastness and inherent diversity, are unalterably opposed to its degradation for the short term economic benefit of a few (Pearse, 1977, p.13).

And while the District of Kitimat strongly endorsed the development of an oil terminal at Kitimat, the Kitimaat[4] Band Council, representing the Haisla community, strongly opposed the development. In the Kitimaat Band Council's statement, they responded to Kitimat Mayor George Thom and the District of Kitimat's position of support:

> Kitimat's Mayor Thom believes that establishment of an oil port will help the economy of his town and enhance the stability of the community as a whole. We believe an oil port and tanker traffic might well wreck the economy of our village, and undermine the stability of neighbouring villages all along the tanker route.
>
> It is the Native people, who make their living from the environment along the tanker route, who stand to lose the most from a devastated shoreline. Mayor Thom's remarks that the environmental risks in the Kitimat region are not as high as elsewhere, without considering the Native interest, is therefore insulting. And his statement that Kitimat is 'no environmental wonderland' is very disturbing to the Haisla people. Once out of sight and smell of the industries of Kitimat, the region is astonishingly beautiful and very productive. It has supported the Haisla people for countless centuries, and to a considerable extent continues to support them today. We wish only that the land and waters be left undisturbed, so that it can continue to support our children and our children's children.
>
> Kitimat's council's concern for the environment seems to be expressed largely in financial terms. But how does one assess the financial value of a lost way of life? How can one mend a shattered culture with a dollar? (Pape, 1977, p.14).

These statements from the Kitimat Oil Coalition and the Kitimaat Band Council clearly demonstrate the encounter between multiple understandings of place. In particular, Maxine Pape, the representative from the Kitimaat Band Council, articulates that there is a distinction between Kitimat as a place which provides sustenance and a way of life, and Kitimat as a space for development, valued in economic terms. Furthermore, Pape identifies that while the connections between Kitimat and Kitamaat Village can seem

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[4] While Kitamaat is the current spelling for the Haisla community as referenced on their website, Kitimaat was the spelling used throughout the West Coast Oil Ports Inquiry documentation.

very tangled, particularly in the everyday, the very material distinction between the two places does become agitated under conditions of industrial development. During the West Coast Oil Ports Inquiry, Pape sought to articulate this difference:

> We, the Haisla Indians of Kitimaat would like to make a clear distinction between the two Kitimats. Kitimat is an industrial city at the head of the Douglas Channel. It is the location of an aluminum smelter and pulp mill, and is already committed to heavy industry. This city's council has chosen to endorse the oil port proposal. Kitimaat is an Indian community, situated four miles down channel, and directly opposite the proposed oil port. The Village Council, with the overwhelming support of the people, emphatically opposes the oil port proposal (Pape, 1977, p.14).

This distinction was important not only during the 1970s, but is also helpful in understanding the contemporary situation. In 2011, during introductory panel sessions for the Enbridge Northern Gateway Project, the development of these two intersecting, yet distinct, places was once again gestured to by the former Chief Councillor of the Haisla Nation, Dolores Pollard:

> From the time—when you think about the age of the town of Kitimat, it's not even 55 years old, and for 55 years we have stood back and we have watched economic development happen in our territory…For too many years, in the short 55 years that we've had contact directly with the direct neighbours of the town of Kitimat, we have absolutely gained nothing" (Pollard, 2010, para. 615-616).

Resistance to the proposed oil port at Kitimat during the 1970s also came from individuals and organizations beyond the communities of Kitimat and Kitamaat Village. In the spring of 1977, the Greenpeace Foundation in Vancouver announced that it would challenge a proposed supertanker route along the British Columbia coast (Weyler, 2004). Rex Weyler, board member for the Greenpeace Foundation from 1974 to 1979, writes about the organization's direct confrontation with Kitimat Pipe Line Limited in May 1977. Greenpeace had already forged strong alliances with fishermen, indigenous groups, the United Church, rural environmentalists and other community groups dedicated to stopping an oil tanker route through Douglas Channel, the 100 mile inlet into Kitimat (Weyler, 2004, p.453) (Figure 4.1, p. 46). After hearing that Kitimat Pipe Line Limited would host the annual conference of the North Central Municipal Association of Mayors on a Canadian Pacific cruise ship, the *Princess Patricia,* on the Douglas Channel, Greenpeace formulated a mass flotilla to join them (Weyler, 2004, p.453). The

president of Greenpeace boarded a 90 foot United Church vessel; the United Fishermen and Allied Workers sent their own boat; members of the Gitga'at community at Hartley Bay gathered trollers, seiners and herring skiffs; rural families arrived in sailboats, prams and dinghies; and a Greenpeace crew sailed from Vancouver in a 67 foot cruise ship, the *Meander* (Weyler, 2004, p. 454).

Figure 4.1   Aerial view of Douglas Channel.

Note: Aerial view of Douglas Channel, looking southwest. The Port of Kitimat, Rio Tinto Alcan's aluminum smelter and the Kitimat River are all visible on right hand side of the photo. (Photo by author, June 2012).

When the Princess Patricia emerged around Promise Island, thirty boats awaited them across the mouth of the inlet (Weyler, 2004, p.454). Chief Clifton from the Gitga'at community requested to speak with the visitors on the Princess Patricia, but the captain of the cruise ship refused to stop. The Meander and another Greenpeace zodiac moved into the path of the oncoming Princess Patricia in an attempt to stop it, but when the oncoming ship did not slow down, the Meander backed out of the way. The zodiac, however, maintained its position and was struck by the oncoming Princess Patricia,

sending two Greenpeace activists into the waters. Fortunately, both individuals survived and journalists on board the *Princess Patricia*, and above in a CBC helicopter, captured the entire incident. By the time the *Princess Patricia* arrived in Kitimat, a protest greeted them shouting "No supertankers!", having already seen or heard the news.

The following month, in June 1977, one month before the opening statements of the Inquiry, Kitimat Pipe Line Limited requested that the National Energy Board hold its application in abeyance (in a state of suspension), stating that another application by the Trans Mountain Pipe Line Company would be the most economical way of transporting crude from the west coast to Edmonton (Cressey, 1977a). Trans Mountain sought to expand its pipeline system in Canada and the US and expand its oil port facility at Cherry Point, Washington (Hall, 1977, p.7). Kitimat Pipe Line Limited still participated in the Inquiry and stated that while they supported the Trans Mountain Pipe Line Company, if a suitable port site could not be found in the Vancouver region, Kitimat still remained a viable option (Cressey, 1977a). And indeed, by the time of the Inquiry's interim report in February 1978, called the Statement of Proceedings, the US Congress had rejected Trans Mountain's proposal as environmentally unacceptable. This ruling came following an amendment to the Marine Mammals Protection Act in October 1977, which had been passed by the United States Congress, and effectively ruled out Cherry Point as a major oil port (Thompson, 1978). Following this rejection of Trans Mountain, Kitimat Pipe Line Limited reapplied for approval of a larger port and pipeline project at Kitimat. In 1978 however, the oil port in Kitimat was rejected based on the potential for environmental damage that it posed. Federal Minister of the Environment, Len Marchand, played a key role in this rejection, as well as MP for the Kitimat area, Iona Campagnolo; Minister of Fisheries, Romeo Leblanc; and the Minister of Transportation, Otto Lang (Fortems, 2012). In an interview in 2012, Marchand explained that he believed "[a]t some point, a tanker will go down" (Fortems, 2012, para 5).

4.2.1.   Lessons Learned

While the proposal for the oil port at Kitimat did not come to fruition in 1978, this series of events hold significance for the current oil and gas debate in this region. The integration of technical information and public opinion into the inquiry process was first initiated during the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry by Thomas Berger, and was now

extended by Commissioner Andrew Thompson (Ellis, 1978). This integration influenced how environmental assessments have been conducted, including informing the Joint Review Panel process of the Enbridge Northern Gateway Project. In the case of the West Coast Oil Ports Inquiry, Commissioner Thompson highlighted this new phenomenon in Canadian political life; "Should someone ask me what I consider to be of utmost importance in this Inquiry, I would say 'the process itself!" (Thompson, 1977, p.1). Thompson (1977) highlighted how the scale and complexity of development projects discourages public understanding:

> The discussion of issues tends to be left to experts in government and industry. The flow of information is limited by technical jargon and by its division into components and subcomponents which are examined by a variety of agencies. People turn away from public affairs in the face of such barriers to understanding (p.2).

Commissioner Thompson believed these challenges represented the "undemocratic tendencies" (Thompson, 1977, p.2) of the inquiry process. He further elucidated these tendencies by highlighting that large resource and energy projects require institutional alliances between government at all levels and industry, and that this relationship can sometimes foreclose exploration of viable alternatives (Thompson, 1977, p.2). Choices about development, for both communities and government, in the context of decision making, can thereby become narrowly defined by "erecting barriers to outside scrutiny" (Thompson, 1977, p.2). It is because of this difficulty that Thompson asked the public to engage seriously with community hearings, so that a diversity of voices could be heard (Thompson, 1977, p.2).

In reading the proceedings and information written by Commissioner Thompson, it is clear that some of the 'undemocratic tendencies' he warned about, such as concerns surrounding the comprehension of information, accessibility to participate meaningfully in public hearings and the institutional alliance between government and industry, have not fully been resolved today and have deepened, or become more taken for granted, along with the deepening of capitalism. Some of these legacies are explored throughout the remainder of this work, showing how power has been consolidated through these processes of assessment and alliance-building, particularly for places like Kitimat with histories of industrial development. For now however, it is important to understand that responses to the Enbridge Northern Gateway Project are made in the

context of past attempts to develop an oil port in this region, however different the historical situation, and that in both cases, community members played a role in resisting these proposals. In order to understand how resistance has been and continues to be articulated, it is helpful to unpack how these community members know and understand the place they call Kitimat.

4.3. Sense of Place

Agnew (2011) described sense of place as identification with a place as a unique community, landscape and moral order. Here, a strong sense of 'belonging' to a place, either consciously or as shown through everyday behaviour, like participating in place-related affairs, would be indicative of 'sense of place'. In the case of Kitimat, sense of place is demonstrated by members of the community in acts of collective resistance and solidarity against the Enbridge Northern Gateway Project. At the same time, other community members deploy other understandings of sense of place in their acts of support for Northern Gateway and other oil and gas expansion proposed for the region. At the interface of these varying notions of place emerges a rich and diverging sense of what Kitimat was, is, and should become.

Literature on place, and sense of place, is rife with debate and these concepts are central themes in geography (see examples from Windsor and McVey (2005)). Questions about defining the meaning of place (Cresswell, 2004), time-space compression (Harvey, 1989), and placelessness (Relph, 1976) are all part of a rich intellectual body of knowledge from which exploration of place can be instigated. One challenge to understanding the importance of place is the idea that the world is becoming increasingly 'placeless' as "space-spanning connections and flows of information, things, and people undermine the rootedness of a wide range of processes anywhere in particular" (Agnew, 2011, p.318). With this challenge in mind, I argue that while these interconnections of place are significant and deepening, place still has a strong role in how we understand environmental problems. Relph (1976) argues "[t]hat the significance of place…is apparent in the actions of individuals and groups protecting their places against outside forces of destruction, or is known to anyone who has experienced homesickness and nostalgia for particular places" (p.1). Indeed, rather than

undermine sense of place, responses to landscape transformation, as seen in large scale industrial development, instead illuminate "the fluidity and dynamic character of places as they respond to interconnections with other places" (Agnew, 2011, p.326). Agnew (2011) argues that "places tend to have permeable rather than fixed boundaries and are internally diverse rather than homogenous with respect to their social and other attributes even as they express a certain communality of experience and performance" (p.326). Borrowing from Agnew (2011), I will show how resistance to the Enbridge Northern Gateway Project in Kitimat reveals how industrial development and landscape transformation can agitate a particular territorialized sense of place, which is both internally diverse *and* communal in its articulation. Furthermore, I argue that rather than this articulation being some static notion of place, these responses *simultaneously* acknowledge and respond to the way that this place is connected to, and dependant on, other notions of place.

4.4. Place and Home

During the time of the West Coast Oil Port Inquiry, in the spring of 1977, former Canadian Energy Minister Jack Davis spoke at a meeting with the State of Washington:

> "Well, if I was an oil company looking at the two, Cherry Point…versus Kitimat, I would much prefer Kitimat because the damages in the Puget Sound-Strait of Georgia area have some dollar signs on them. People with property-waterfronts and so on. In the Kitimat area there's practically nobody." ("Davis prefers Kitimat", 1977)

Despite his gesture to some contemporary *terra nullis*, many did call the Kitimat region home, and Davis' statement served to ignite a fierce opposition to the development of an oil port in Kitimat. Just as community members decried the discursive erasure by Davis and sought to show their visible presence during the confrontation in Douglas Channel in 1977, some forty years later community members continue to vocalize their relationship to Kitimat, including their understandings of its special characteristics, in the face of proposed industrial development.

In order to understand resistance to the Enbridge Northern Gateway Project, then, it is useful to see how Kitimat is articulated as 'home' to the Project proponents.

Tuan (1991) argued that the making of places is about the production of certain kinds of homeliness. Here I mean that home evokes notions of rootedness, attachment and a place where you can be yourself. Further, bell hooks (1990) argues that home can be empowering, a place of resistance, a place where people are relatively free to forge their own identities. Important to exploring how notions of home emerge in the case of Kitimat is to ask quite simply, whose home are we talking about? This section seeks to explore how the discourse of home was deployed by community members during hearings in opposition to the Enbridge Northern Gateway Project and to highlight important distinctions between the District of Kitimat and Kitamaat Village. Importantly, I seek to unpack the colonial context involved in the formation of the town of Kitimat to show how notions of home are multiple and complicated, even when they are articulated against the same perceived threat. So, how do notions of Kitimat as home, in the settler context, and in the context of indigenous territory, contribute to a sense of place, or perhaps more accurately 'senses of place', and in particular, how does thinking about place in this way lead to particular responses to proposed industrial developments?

4.4.1.   Industrial Development out of Place

In the case of the Enbridge Northern Gateway Project, the proposed development is deemed, for some, to be an incursion on this sense of place as 'home'. Community members giving testimony at the Joint Review Panel hearings in June 2012, held in Kitamaat Village, drew on this notion of home repeatedly: "This project is not welcome in our home" (Minchin, 2012, para. 7847), "we are called to be good stewards of this home of ours" (DeSousa, 2012, para. 8124) and further, "We have the right to stand up for our home" (Stenson, 2012, para. 8662). These statements are illustrative of how attachments to place as home are constituted by a deep 'care for place' (Relph, 1976). These attachments are not only articulated in such formal venues as community hearings, but in personal conversation as well.

I reflect on a conversation I had at a café with a non-indigenous community member in Kitimat who talked about her emotional connection to the view of the Douglas Channel from a park in the upper part of town. She explained to me that when in the town of Kitimat, you don't see the aluminum smelter or any other industry, as they are located separate from the townsite, down a long access road (personal communication,

October 19, 2012) (Figure 4.2, p. 52). The proposed Enbridge Northern Gateway Project, however, would bring increased vessels down the channel that would be noticeable from the viewpoint at the park. She told me how she wasn't sure she would be able to live in Kitimat if that change were to occur. This, and other conversations, reminded me that visual forms of the landscape contribute to the spirit of place (Relph, 1976) and contribute to how community members respond to and experience industrial development.

Figure 4.2   View of Douglas Channel.

Note: View of Douglas Channel, looking southwest from Coghlin Park on Hwy 37, in Kitimat, October 2012. Kitimat's industrial area is located on the west side of the Channel (on the right side of the photo); Kitamaat Village is located on the east side of the channel (left) (Photo by author, October 2012).

In terms of visual markers of industry, Haisla community members living in Kitamaat Village are exposed to industrial processes in an entirely different way from the experiences of those living in the townsite of Kitimat (Figure 4.3, p. 53). While this industrial development has historically been fraught with exclusion and dispossession (as we will see in the next chapter), Haisla have been disproportionally exposed to the intrusive visual reminders of these processes in an everyday way, with projects like Rio Tinto Alcan just across the channel. Furthermore, unlike the non-indigenous community

member who expressed how she might decide to leave if the channel's view were to be obstructed, indigenous interpretations of place are explicitly rooted in territory and thus foreclose such mobility.

Figure 4.3   View of the Port of Kitimat.

Note: View looking northwest, from Kitamaat Village, toward the Port of Kitimat, Rio Tinto Alcan and Kitimat's industrial area. (Photo by author, June 2012).

Ellis Ross, the Chief Councillor for the Haisla Nation, put this distinction into perspective when he spoke at the hearings in Kitamaat Village for the Enbridge Northern Gateway Project in January 2012:

> It's mandated to me by my community... if there's a potential for environment degradation, don't do it. That's something that non-Haisla culture hasn't absorbed yet. So on top of all this experience we have, what can we expect? Well, we can expect that all those people that had jobs during a project in the golden years, once that dries up, they'll leave. They'll look for better, greener pastures. They'll go to Fort McMurray, they'll go to Vancouver, they'll go elsewhere. They'll just pack up and leave. Haisla don't have that option, we have to stay here. It's more than just a matter of choice, it's an obligation (Ross, 2012, para. 4318-4320).

Understanding this relationship to the landscape means illuminating the distinction that exists in a connection to place for Haisla that cannot be compared with settler society. Home, in this context, is contingent on land and territory; in this way, I seek to use

homeland to describe this distinction in articulations of home for indigenous community members. Importantly, home is also a "place where identity is continuously reinforced through connection to the past" (Windsor and McVey, 2005, p.150). For the Haisla community, the progressive loss of access to land and resources through industrial development has meant the loss of traditional knowledge, a disruption in place-based teachings and one of the most illustrative examples of this is the loss of oolican[5] in the Kitimat region.

Oolican, a smelt-like fish, and the grease rendered from it, sometimes called 'oolican oil', are highly prized by First Nations of the north Pacific coast (Phinney et al., 2009). The importance of oolichan to the Haisla Nation can be traced to the very founding story of the community at Kitamaat Village. In *Tales of Kitimaat*, Gordon Robinson (1956) relates his version of the story, which begins with a legendary monster in Kitimat Arm that is discovered by a group of hunters. So terrible was the monster, that it was not until Waa-mis, a young man from Oweekeeno Lake, near present-day Rivers Inlet, who had fled from his village after accidentally killing his wife, that anyone dared enter the Kitimaat Arm to confront this monster:

> While some distance from the river they saw the sight for which they had come- the river opened a huge gaping, white mouth then slowly closed it again. Terror came to his men's hearts but he, being the leader, was determined to see just what the thing was and in spite of their fear they kept paddling on until the thing opened its mouth again. It was then that they saw that what had been believed to be a mouth was, in reality, a flock of countless millions of seagulls feeding on small fish in the river. The gulls, at times, would all sit on sand bars and then all of a sudden the whole flock would fly up. This was when the mouth was believed to be open.
>
> When the party had taken enough of the small fish, now called eulachan or oolachan, they returned to their camp at Kildala where the oldest woman cooked and ate the fish to see if it was good. Shortly afterwards she fell into a deep sleep for the fish were so fat that they made her drowsy. When she awoke she pronounced the fish very good and Waa-mis then moved his camp to the Kitamaat River Valley and pitched his new camp at the mouth of what is now called Anderson Creek for that was then the mouth of the Kitamaat River (Robinson, 1956, p. 22).

[5]   While transcripts from the Joint Review Panel use the spelling 'eulachon', I utilize oolican, another common spelling, as reflected on the website for the Haisla Nation (n.d.).

Chief Councillor Ellis Ross, recounting this story during his testimony at Joint Review Panel hearing in Kitamaat Village in January 2012, shared, "I can't imagine that. If there's thousands upon thousands of seagulls doing that at a distance of maybe greater than seven miles viewing it, imagine how much eulachon was in the river that those seagulls are feeding on" (Ross, 2012, para. 4238). At the same hearing, Hereditary Chief Samuel Robinson, on the other hand, having experienced oolichan runs before their decline in Haisla territory, stated,

> Up the river, we spend our days there, harvesting eulachons. In my childhood days, you didn't need a net, you didn't need hook, and you didn't need anything. You can pick the eulachons out of the water. In fact you could walk across to the other side. That's how plentiful it was when we were thriving (Robinson, 2012, para. 3851).

The Haisla historically harvested oolichan in both the Kitimat and Kildala Rivers, both of which run into the Douglas Channel (Moody 2000).

Chief Marilyn Furlan, in her testimony to the Joint Review Panel in January 2012, described the importance of "watching your grandparents or your parents prepare" (Furlan, 2012, para. 4100). The collection and preparation of oolichan grease was indeed a family tradition. However, as she explains, "The last time my two children -- my two oldest children harvested any eulachons in our river right by Kitimat River bridge was in 1972. We scooped it up with fish nets and put it in an ice cream pail and brought it home and cooked it fresh. That was the very last time we ever went into the Kitimat River for eulachons" (Furlan, 2012, para. 4135).

Tirrul-Jones (1985) also substantiates the significance of 1972, stating that oolican fishing was curtailed on the Kitimat River in this year because "pollution by industrial and municipal effluent discharges made the Eulachon foul-tasting and inedible" (as cited in COSEWIC, 2011, p.42). In a conversation in Prince Rupert in December 2012, former chief councillor for the Haisla Nation Gerald Amos described his personal experience with this event:

> [W]hen they opened…the pipe to pump effluent from the pulp and into the river, I was there as a 20-21 year old, it was the last time we ever processed oolicans into oolican oil from that system, because you could smell them, the effluent coming out of the oolican. So…the oolicans in 5

of our rivers are now gone, as far as I'm concerned they are all but extinct (personal communication, December 10, 2012).

Furthermore, by the early 1990s, First Nations across the province of British Columbia expressed concerns over declines in oolican runs (Stoffels, 2001). The Department of Fisheries and Oceans initiated several studies in response, including a distribution and preliminary stock assessment in the Lower Kitimat River (Pederson et al., 1995). By 2011, the Committee on the Status of Endangered Wildlife in Canada (COSEWIC) (2011) stated that oolichan fisheries around the province had declined by approximately ninety percent from their historic levels. While the exact causes of these declines is still being explored, industrial pollution in the Kitimat River was addressed as a concern specific to this coastal region (Stoffels, 2001).

As part of the younger generation of Haisla in the region, current Chief Councillor Ellis Ross cited how the decline in oolican has impacted traditional knowledge, in hearings for the Enbridge Northern Gateway Project in January 2012:

> Regardless of what happens here in the next 10 years, I'm going to recount to my grandkids what happened here today and the results. It will become traditional knowledge because, quite frankly, I don't have traditional knowledge in the same manner as Sammy Robinson does or in the same manner as Henry Amos. I was too young to go up the Kitimat River before the eulachon was wiped out. I missed out in that teaching. Hundreds of thousands of tonnes of eulachons annually, these are the stories that are passed down to me now. It's not about this is where you go to fish; this is where your fishing camp is. It's about this is where it used to be. This is what we used to do. That is my traditional knowledge that has been passed down to me…So I was telling you, I missed out on all that, and it's a crime. It's an absolute crime. (Ross, 2012, para. 4224-4230).

Decisions made about the environment are thus made in the context of homeland and are always informed by this legacy of marginalization, dispossession and displacement.

Thinking about environmental conflict in Kitimat through the entry point of sense of place thus agitates the very meaning of place itself; what does Kitimat mean? Whose Kitimat are we referring to? What belongs in this place? And importantly, who says? How does one discourse of place enable erasure of another? I have elucidated how resistance to the Enbridge Northern Gateway Project by community actors articulates

the proposed development as a threat or incursion into home life, whether it is the visual reminders on a familiar landscape during your daily walk, or a change in resources available for your dinner table. While I have identified one possible distinction between articulations of home by indigenous community members and settler society, it is clear that these multiple senses of place are held together in tension and are aimed at resisting the same perceived threat.

I borrow here from Grove (2009) to think about how this articulation acts to produce Kitimat as a territorialized object of conservation. Articulating Kitimat as home relies on describing characteristics that are explicitly spatialized: the visual form of the landscape as seen from the park and the oolican harvested in the local rivers for sustenance, for example. These are the things that are deemed worthy of protecting. Following on the legacy of Commissioner Thompson, community hearings called upon the public to go on the record in a formal way to specify these potential impacts. As Sheila Leggett, the Chair of the Joint Review Panel for the Enbridge Northern Gateway Project clarified during her opening remarks in Kitamaat Village in January 2012, "Sharing your knowledge and views on the impact that the proposed project may have on you and your community and how any impacts can be eliminated or reduced is of great help to us…" (Leggett, 2012, para. 3809). Community hearings for the Enbridge Northern Gateway Project were therefore productive of these articulations of sense of place. However, as Grove (2009) argues, environmental conflict can be productive of other types of co-existing geographies: market forces, global energy economies, federal and provincial policies, and national tribal law, all interact with this place, and the articulation of these factors are not always explicitly reliant or connected to its spatiality in the way that articulations of home are.

In order to further navigate the tensions and contradictions between the dynamic and sometimes contradictory senses of place, further explorations of how place can be defined as open and permeable are worth pursuing. Place is not solely comprised of spatially specific characteristics, but continues to interact with forces beyond itself. In the case of Kitimat, understanding the politics of nature means understanding not just these more territorialized understandings of Kitimat but also making sense of regional, national and global interactions with place. Importantly, in trying to operationalize resistance to

industrial projects, how does the notion of Kitimat as 'home' stand against an ever neoliberalizing, interconnected geography? It is to this pursuit that we now turn.

5.   Place and Capital

Differing responses to development in Kitimat, whether support or opposition, became more clear by conceptualizing project proposals as either belonging in place, or being out of place. Unpacking responses to the Enbridge Northern Gateway Project through the lens of home shows how this discourse has been articulated over time in resistance efforts, such as the Coastal First Nations Declaration. A focus on home also serves to illuminate the colonial context of this region. But what blind spots are created when we focus in on the boundaries of home, and what can we learn from thinking about the interconnections of Kitimat to various scales beyond the limits of home life? Indeed, at the same time that notions of home have emerged in the context of Enbridge Northern Gateway, I am struck with the way in which these ideas of home have developed *amid* deepening regional, national and global linkages. Community members are not positioning these current proposals against some static idea of home, but rather, notions of home have developed through and within deepening capitalism over time.

Chapter Four unpacked territorialized understandings of place in the articulation of Kitimat as home. Place here was spatially specific, having characteristics that either make Kitimat apt for development, or conversely, make it unfit for a particular industrial project. What is missing from this analysis is the ability to look across space, to see how globalizing forces fit into this dialogue. What can be said about Kitimat as what Grove (2009) has called, "a deterritorialized space of potential development" (p.210)? By this I mean, more simply, to reflect on how Kitimat is translated into an object of development, and becomes undifferentiated from other spaces of capitalism. Current understandings of place, including those of Kitimat as home, have been informed by capitalist ideologies. Understanding the interaction between capitalist logics and this place is therefore paramount to understanding the context of resistance. The reconfiguration of land, labour and capital under deepening capitalism in this place has and continues to play an important role in informing understandings of place, including which industrial projects do or do not belong here.

Indeed, the Kitimat region has changed over the last 60 years, and by illuminating some of the key moments of landscape transformation, this chapter reveals the complicated politics of development this region now encounters. I will first outline these key moments of reconfiguration, specifically focusing on the industrial development of the Alcan aluminum smelter (1950s), the Eurocan pulp complex (1969) and the Ocelot/Methanox methanol and ammonia development (mid 1980s). Most significant here is understanding how these changes are part of an ongoing legacy of dispossession for indigenous people of the region. Looking through time at this industrial past will bring us back to the present Enbridge Northern Gateway Project with a deeper understanding of the interactions between place and capital. Important here is to think about how these projects come to represent a deterritorializing force in understandings of place. Following Agnew (2011), I seek to explore how current development proposals are productive of capitalist abstractions of space, and also of space produced by economic transactions and state policies. And, relatedly, it is important to look at how resistance movements respond to these abstractions. I conclude by drawing upon another facet of proposed development in Kitimat, the Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) industry, which adds a fascinating addition to the oil and gas debate. Through this example, I demonstrate that the politics of development in Kitimat are far more nuanced than the previous chapter suggests, and that the analysis of flows of capital helps us to unravel these complications.

5.1. Key Moments of Landscape Transformation

Escobar (2001) has argued that "places gather things, thoughts and memories in particular configurations" (p.143). Useful to explorations of environmental conflict therefore, is an environmental history perspective, which combined with political ecology, casts important light on the temporal dynamics of landscape transformation and some of these 'things, thoughts and memories' that have accrued in place. In the case of Kitimat, the historical legacies of industrial projects provide an important context for the emergence of responses, both for and against current oil and gas expansion in the region today. Of course, the Enbridge Northern Gateway Project is one among many other past and current industrial proposals in coastal British Columbia, but the region of

Kitimat in particular has a unique relationship to resource extraction and industrial development.

5.1.1.   Alcan and the Aluminum City: the conventional history

In the late 1940s, on the invitation of the Government of British Columbia, the Aluminum Company of Canada (Alcan) began surveying the province's north in anticipation of its next aluminum project. The huge energy potential provided by the region was ideal for the company's third power development and aluminum smelter (Beck, 1997). This energy potential came in the form of a large amount of water locked into several lakes on the eastern side of the coastal mountains that, if redirected to the coast, could provide hydroelectric power (Kitimat Museum, 2010b). In 1949, the Government of British Columbia passed the Industrial Development Act, which enabled the Lieutenant Governor in Council "to issue water licenses and lease or sell land to any person proposing to establish or expand the aluminum industry in the province" (Hartman, 1996, p.153). Based on this Act, in 1950, the province entered an agreement with Alcan and issued a Conditional Water Licence and a permit to "Permit the Occupation of Crown Land' (Hartman, 1996).[6]

Accounts of this project attribute Alcan with "an immense revision of geography" (Avery, 2006) which included the third largest rock-filled dam in the world, a ten-mile tunnel and a powerhouse located inside a mountain, a fifty-mile transmission line over mountains and glaciers, a smelter at the end of Douglas Channel (see Figure 5.1, p. 62), and finally the townsite of Kitimat itself (Robinson, 1962; Beck 1997). Documentation of this project emphasized the immensity and scope of the undertaking. *Life Magazine*

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[6]   Crown land is land held by governments in the name of the Monarch, and are a legacy of colonization. As discussed by Egan (2012), by the late 18th century, treaties became a way in which the Crown, or colonial government, took possession of indigenous lands. Importantly, while the Crown's perspective held that land had been ceded in these treaties, indigenous people often had very different perspectives, including an understanding that land could not be 'owned' (by them or anyone) (for more on this, see Egan, 2012). Despite this colonial logic, Crown lands account for a vast majority of the land base, and can be further subdivided into provincial Crown land and federal Crown land. According to the BC Ministry of Forests, Lands and Natural Resource Operations (2010), the province of BC has the second highest percentage of provincial Crown land (94%) relative to other provinces, and this encompasses 88.7 million hectares.

(1952) for example, reported the story with the title, "At Kitimat, Men Juggle Geography" (as cited in Elder, 1997). Significantly, the project was the largest private-sector endeavour ever undertaken in Canada at the time (Alcan, 1999), representing an enormous capital investment in the region. In October 1952, just two years after signing a power agreement between the provincial government and Alcan, the reservoir behind the Kenny Dam began to fill with water and by 1954 settler families began to move into the first neighbourhood in the town of Kitimat (Beck, 1997).

Figure 5.1 Aerial photo of Rio Tinto Alcan aluminum smelter.

Note: Looking northeast, with Douglas Channel behind the helicopter (Photo by author, July 2012)

Kitimat's development plan strategically divided the landscape into residential neighbourhoods, a town centre, a service centre and an industrial area (District of Kitimat, 2009) (Figure 5.2, p. 63). The provincial and federal government then connected the new town of Kitimat with the rest of the province and country through the construction of a road and railway system between Kitimat and Terrace (Robinson,

1962). The town of Kitimat, then, did not develop slowly over time, but rather 'boomed' into existence. As I explain later on however, this boom did not occur in unoccupied territory or 'wilderness' but rather emerged in a landscape already inhabited by people and communities, including First Nations.

Figure 5.2 Aerial photo of Kitimat

Note: Looking southwest. The town centre, also known as City Centre, is located along the bottom of the picture. The residential neighbourhood of Kildala, shown here, is located southwest of City Centre, and the neighbourhoods of Whitesail and Nechako (not depicted here) are located to the north east. The industrial area is located to the southwest of City Center, shown here in the upper left quadrant of this photo (Photo by author, July 2012).

5.1.2.   Eurocan, Methanex

Optimism around further industrial expansion in the region stemmed from the same attractive geography that originally drew Alcan to the region, including "flat land suitable for heavy industry, significant sand and gravel resources, [a] secure hydropower supply and an available deep water harbour" (District of Kitimat, 2009, p. 4). Further

industrial development had been integrated into the initial town plans. Following Alcan's aluminum project, a pulp complex, Eurocan, was built in the industrial area of Kitimat in 1969 and produced paper products shipped internationally (District of Kitimat, 2009). In 1982, a methanol plant began operating in Kitimat, followed by an ammonia plant in 1986. These industrial projects, known together as Ocelot/Methanex, became the largest consumer of natural gas in British Columbia and operated until November 1, 2005, when operations were halted due to the high cost of natural gas in North America (District of Kitimat, 2009). Furthermore, on November 5, 2009, the Mayor and Council of Kitimat announced to the community that Eurocan, operated by West Fraser Timber Co. Ltd, would be permanently closed (District of Kitimat, 2009). In a conversation in October 2012, Rose Klukas, the Economic Development Officer for Kitimat, described the closure:

> Like a big rollercoaster. We've always kind of lived in a bit of an economic bubble sustained by these three industries for decades, right? All of them were here for decades and so we'd always be able to ride out what happened around us and really were only hit this last time when the mill decided to close its door and of course with that 550 jobs, which is just huge (personal communication, October 24, 2012).

According to Kitimat's Community Profile (District of Kitimat, 2009), in 2006, 42.9% of the population was employed in the manufacturing industry. These closures, therefore, presented a devastating economic challenge to the community.

5.2. Indigenous Territory and Dispossession

The above description is the conventional colonial history of this region, which reflects the ontology and epistemology of western modernization, with an emphasis on infrastructure development and resource exploitation. By knowing more about the processes involved in developing these industries in this region, we can better understand the context of current responses to oil and gas development in Kitimat, including the challenge surrounding employment opportunities. However, this sort of modern development story is what Escobar (1995) calls a historically produced discourse, an invention of the post 1945 era and part of a larger history of the expansion of western reason. The place where Kitimat now lies has a history that pre-exists the

town we know today and knowing more about this history helps to illuminate the significance of these recent landscape transformations.

The word 'Kitamaat' originally comes from the Tsimshian people, who originated in the Prince Rupert and Metlakatla areas, and means 'People of the Snow' (Haisla First Nation, n.d.). Given the lineage of this name, what is especially absent from the colonial history of Kitimat is the story of how First Nations were affected by, adapted to and resisted the modernizing policies and industrial development described above. Before colonization, this region was "a fully occupied and organized economic and political landscape" (Halseth, 2009, p.251) and yet where indigenous people saw 'place', settlers arrived to see wilderness and peopleless 'space' (Cresswell, 2004). This section will illuminate the discursive and material dispossessions consolidated in industrial expansion in the Kitimat region.

5.2.1. Industrial Development: Harnessing Nature

By the time Alcan arrived to survey the area in the 1940s, First Nations in the region had already been reconfigured through European contact, the Indian Act of 1876 and the associated reserve system[7]. Thomas Berger, in his 1977 report for the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry, described this process:

> It was to be the white man's mission not only to tame the land and bring it under cultivation, but also to tame the Native people and bring them within the pale of civilization. This sense of mission has remained the dominant theme in the history of white–native relations. In Northern Canada . . . the white man's purpose was the same: to subdue the North and its people. (Berger, 1977, p.85)

There is considerable discursive power deployed in Berger's description and his connection between the taming of nature and the control of indigenous bodies and communities throughout the colonial project. By assigning small fractions of land to indigenous communities, the reserve system demonstrates a significant form of material

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[7] The Indian Act of 1876 consolidated all previous legislation regarding what were called 'Indians' and 'Indian lands' and was amended over time "to prohibit cultural practices and public assembly, to confine Indians to reserves, and to prevent the pursuit of land claims" (Union of BC Indian Chiefs, 2005, p.19).

power as well; this materiality of colonialism is often obscured with a focus on cultural and discursive power and for that reason, "a fuller understanding of colonial powers is achieved by explaining colonialism's basic geographical dispossessions of the colonized" (Harris, 2004, p. 165). Cole Harris' *Making Native Space (2002)* is foundational in this regard, tracing the geographical history of the reserve system in British Columbia. In the case of the Haisla, Indian Reserve Commissioner Peter O'Reilly visited Kitamaat in 1889 and from the approximately 5000 square mile traditional territory of the Haisla Nation, he granted the Haisla 1640 acres of land, including two village sites (Kelm, 2006, p.xv). These allocations were described by Indian Agent Ivar Fougnier in 1905: "The reserves of this band are situated in the Douglas Channel and are the poorest reserves and of smaller dimensions according to the size of the band than any other agency" (as cited in Kelm, 2006, p.xvi). This process occurred throughout the province and over time "British Columbia was divided into two vastly unequal parts that came to underlie all its other developments: a tiny fraction of land set aside for Natives, the rest available in various tenures, for developments" (Harris, 2002, p.xviii).

Therefore, making space for development in the Kitimat region was already contingent on past processes of state-led material dispossession. As argued by Harris (2004), "the initial ability to dispossess rested primarily on physical power and the supporting infrastructure of the state" and following this, "the momentum to dispossess derived from the interest of capital in profit and of settlers in forging new livelihoods" (p.165). The legislation and permits that enabled the Alcan development to proceed were predicated on this initial dispossession and with this in mind, Hartman (1996) aptly acknowledged that many aspects of the government "agreement with ALCAN were little more than development-oriented give-aways, which are more politely called incentives" (p.153). Land for the future townsite of Kitimat and associated infrastructure, formally expropriated from indigenous communities through the reserve process, was sold to Alcan for the remarkably low price of $5.00/ha (Hartman, 1996).

It was not just the Haisla on the Douglas Channel that were affected by this development. Also prominent in the Alcan example is the resettlement of the Cheslatta T'en, which occurred in order to pursue damming the Nechako River for the aluminum company's private hydroelectric project, the Kenny Dam (Kitimat Museum, 2010a). The resulting Nechako reservoir has an approximate surface area of 1200 km^2 (Hartman,

1996) and flooded numerous reservations and grave sites (Windsor and McVey, 2005). In this case, part of the agreement with the provincial government required Alcan to pay an annual rental of about $0.25/ha for land flooded, but did not require the company to remove or pay for any timber flooded by the reservoir (Hartman, 1996). The few non-indigenous individuals who were displaced were paid an average of $1544/ha of flooded land, while conversely, the Cheslatta were paid an average of $77.22/ha (Windsor and McVey, 2005).

The experience of the Cheslatta T'en community in the development of this project has been likened to "deliberate 'administrative' destruction" (p.148), or a "place annihilation" (Windsor and McVey, 2005). Members of the Cheslatta were given less than a two week notice to vacate village sites (while non-indigenous were given an average of two years) and there were allegations that documents of 'surrender' of land were forged (Hartman, 1995; Windsor and McVey, 2005). Windsor and McVey (2005) conclude that "the displacement of the Cheslatta was…the result of a lack of sense of place on the part of Alcan, the federal and provincial governments and their agents' (p.158). Again, as Windor and McVey (2005) argue, these material tools of dispossession were matched with a powerful discursive apparatus.

Notions of 'progress' were intimately connected with white society. This was not only the case of Berger's findings, but in the Kitimat region as well. In the 1952 film produced by International Harvester, actor Raymond Massey describes for the audience how "Man harnesses nature in northern Canada" in the construction of the Alcan complex (Alcan, 1999, p.4). Harvester World Magazine (1952) reported Alcan's project as "An Incredible Bid for Aluminum in Uninhabited Mountain Waste" (Meyer, 1952, p.3). The forging of Kitimat, therefore, meant the pushing back of the frontier and the introduction of a new and modern community into the 'wild'. These discursive erasures of previous history and peoples, demonstrating the modernizing and frontier mentality of industrial development in the 1950s, are co-produced over time by material erasures in the colonial project.

The Cheslatta were not the only indigenous peoples to experience a reconfiguration of their community during the same period. Importantly, the Haisla Nation is comprised of two closely related communities, the Haisla (Gitamaat) and the

Henaksiala[8] (Gitlope) people, who officially amalgamated in 1948-9 (Powell, 2006). At the time of the official amalgamation, many from the two communities had already united in Kitamaat Village (Powell, 2006). According to a BC Archives report *By Punt to the Kitlope (2006), a*ccess to schools and other services was an important factor for this move. It is interesting to consider, however, some of the other historical legacies which may have informed this resettlement (Powell, 2006).

European contact is believed to have occurred around 1792-3 in this region and both the Haisla and the Henaksiala communities were devastated by contact epidemics, ultimately resulting in a dramatic reduction in their populations (Powell, 2006) (see Appendix A for summary of timeline). In the case of the Haisla, in 1836 smallpox halved their population from 825 people to 409. Mary-Ellen Kelm (2006) describes this historical moment in *The Letters of Margaret Butcher*:

> Where once the people inhabited several villages either along Douglas Channel or Gardner Canal, gradually they moved to the central village sites at Kitamaat and Kitlope. By the 1930s, the Kitlope themselves were so greatly reduced that they too moved to Kitamaat leaving only a memorial totem pole to watch over the dead. Even that was removed to a Swedish museum in the 1930s (p.xvi).

Furthermore, the Henaksiala was formed of two branches, the Kitlope and the Kemano; the Kitlope, as described above, began to move to the community of Kitimat in the early twentieth century from the mouth of the Kitlope River. The Kemano lived at the mouth of the Kemano River, future site of the powerhouse for Alcan's aluminum smelter (Powell, 2006). During our interview together in December 2012, Louise Avery, curator for the Kitimat Museum and Archives, shared a perception about this community, the Kemano, in the late 1940s: "Yeah, there were 11 families living down there, and stories are that the Indian Agent came in and said it's time to go, you have a month, get out of here. I mean this was their home right?" (personal communication, December 6, 2012). While Avery went on to say that there was no conclusive evidence to suggest that resettlement was directly connected to surveying or other early project work related to

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[8] As written in BC Archives Living Landscapes Report entitled *By Punt to the Kitlope* (Powell, 2006). Also referred to as Henaaksilal in the Haisla Nation Statement of Intent with the BC Treaty Commission (1994).

Alcan (personal communication, December 6, 2012), what is important here is that by the time Alcan was mapping the area for its future development, the Kemano, like the Kitlope and the Haisla, had already been reconfigured and affected by earlier colonial legacies, including early settlement and missionary agendas (Kelm, 2006).

Councillor for the Haisla Nation, Ellis Ross, brought this interaction to the fore in his testimony at the Joint Review Panel hearings in Kitamaat Village in January 2012:

> If the picture I painted was a pretty depressing, gloomy picture, it's because you can't really whitewash what happened to the Haisla in the last 60 years. There's no positive spin you can put on it. Every impact affected Haisla first, it affected them deeply and still continues to affect them today. You can't hide it. (Ross, 2012, para. 4333)

With this continued dispossession in mind, we can now turn to understanding current responses to oil and gas expansion in Kitimat in the contemporary context.

5.3. Place and Capital

Kitimat has been and continues to be described as a place that is not only apt and ready for development but one that has already been imbricated in an industrial past. As expressed by the Economic Development Officer of Kitimat, Rose Klukas, in an interview in October 2012, "And of course we have room to grow. So our location on tidewater, having the port, makes us an ideal location for industrial development" (personal communication, October 24, 2012). As further explained by Klukas:

> One of the reasons that industry…has located here is because of the Port. In the early '50s, Alcan decided to build their smelter here based on a number of reasons including that they could produce their own hydroelectricity to power their plant and aluminum production is a high intensive power process. So they did that and it's economical for them to do that. But of course the other reason is that it's an ice free deep water port close to markets overseas, particularly China, Korea, Japan. And that's attractive today because much of the commodity in Canada is, there's a large demand for it, in those markets, right? (personal communication, October 24, 2012).

The linking of Kitimat to its industrial history can therefore lend support for new developments in the present day. Kitimat, in this context, is very much framed by its

linkages to global flows of capital and market institutions, and these linkages have deepened over time. In thinking back to the early years of the Alcan development, Klukas provided the following distinction:

> And surely it was a remote place, right…So now today that isn't an adjective that can describe our community any longer, right. We are easily accessible, obviously you can, I can fly to Vancouver and come home in the same day, right. And all the rest of the infrastructure that allows us to move between communities and of course the internet makes the world a smaller place. So I think that's one of the really big things is that, I don't think that we could be considered remote any more (personal communication, October 24, 2012).

Thus, in the present context of proposed oil and gas expansion, Kitimat lies at the centre of complex global political economic forces. Drawing from Lefebvre (1991) and Soja (1989), Agnew (2011), explores how uneven economic development, under capitalism, is jointly produced by dominant practices and discourses. For Lefebvre (1991), 'abstract' space produced by economic transaction and state policies has colonized concrete space, which Agnew interprets as 'place'. Grounding this in the case of Kitimat, oil and gas expansion in the area is intimately connected to these abstract spaces of capitalism. By following the "paths out of town" (Cronon, 1992, p.37), Kitimat becomes immediately connected to multinational corporations, global markets and state policies, all of which act upon 'concrete space', or place. Resistance to these abstract spaces of modern capitalism is based, for Lefebvre (1991), on the production of counter-discourses built on "residues of an older 'authentic' existence and new practices in concrete space" (Agnew, 2011, p.324), on memories, and experience in place.

Throughout my fieldwork, community members engaged with and resisted processes of rationalization and abstraction endemic to capitalism. One of most impressive examples of this engagement was the case of what came to be known as the 'missing islands' video (Uechi, 2012). In August 2012, Enbridge became the target of much criticism after members of the public argued that the company's animated depiction of the Enbridge Northern Gateway Project used for promotional purposes had removed some 1,000 square kilometres of islands in the Douglas Channel (Lavoie, 2012). In particular, Lori Waters, a Vancouver Island woman who works in medical and scientific design, illustration and animation, filed complaints to the federal Competition Bureau, arguing that "the distortion of the Douglas Channel map misrepresented the

Northern Gateway pipeline as being safer than it would be in reality" (Uechi, 2012). Enbridge responded by arguing that the video was meant to be "broadly representational" and was meant for "illustrative purposes only" (Lavoie, 2012). Opponents of the Enbridge Northern Gateway Project engaged in this debate throughout the fall of 2012 and drew upon it in resistance efforts. For example, in December 2012, at the Joint Review Panel hearings in Prince Rupert, community members made signs with each of the missing islands from the video and carried them during an afternoon protest outside the hearings (Figure 5.3).

Figure 5.3 Demonstration in Prince Rupert, BC

Note: Demonstration outside of the Joint Review Panel hearings for the Enbridge Northern Gateway Project in Prince Rupert, BC in December 2012. Posters depict islands that were not depicted on a promotional video used by Enbridge Northern Gateway (Photo by author, December 2012).

The missing islands video demonstrates capitalist abstractions of space in action, produced here by a representational video for the planning and marketing stage of the Project. As suggested by Enbridge, each island was not important to the larger whole;

the video was made 'for illustrative purposes only'. This technique of representation, however, has a distinct colonial lineage. Mitchell (1991) describes how such mechanisms of representation are essential to the colonial process in his analysis of the colonization of Egypt:

> To colonise Egypt, to construct a modern kind of power, it would be necessary 'to determine the plan'…Egypt was to be ordered up as something object-like. In other words it was to be made picture-like and legible, rendered available to political and economic calculation. Colonial power required the country to become readable, like a book, in our own sense of such a term (p.33).

While Mitchell's work focuses on Egypt, his argument holds relevance here. Representation has been used throughout the colonial project and plays a key role in meaning making. Maps in particular are structured by social forces, informed by power, and are "…only facts within a particular cultural perspective" (Harley, 1989, p.3).

In *Deconstructing the Map,* Harley (1989) implores that we "..read between the lines of the map – 'in the margins of the text' – and through its tropes discover the silences and contradictions that challenge the apparent honesty of the image" (p.3). The 'effect of truth' built into these images, and other dominant discourses commonly practiced in capitalism can be challenged by people in place through the production of counter discourses that build on memories and experience (Agnew, 2011). By attempting to write each of the islands back onto the map, whether through editing still frames of the video to pass around social media websites, or by creating signage at a protest, community members argued that each island was significant in how the project was understood. This resistance, therefore, was in dialogue with a representation or abstraction of Douglas Channel that shows more space than place (Cresswell, 2004, p.11). Community members drew upon their knowledge of the Douglas Channel to map specific places back into a conversation otherwise dominated by industry messaging. As argued by Cresswell (2004), place is a way of seeing, knowing and understanding the world. This example demonstrates two different articulations of place (and space) coming into contact.

The interconnections between Kitimat and the world are simultaneously the source of praise and a source of much anxiety for community members. I was struck by

the excitement in the community when it was announced that Tim Horton's would be opening during the time of my fieldwork. Positioned as a researcher from the city of Vancouver, I saw the infiltration of the popular coffee chain as a force of 'placelessness', as discussed by Relph (1976); Kitimat's uniqueness was somehow being lost to an "increasingly homogeneous and alienating sameness" (Agnew, 2011, p.319). Since then, and having reflected more carefully, it is clear that Kitimat is not "an isolated, traditional and passive 'place' increasingly transcended in the march of history…by the increasing power of mobility" (Agnew, 2011, p.318). Instead members of the community have been and continue to be active in their engagement with these mobilities and furthermore, they demonstrate an understanding of Kitimat's connections with regional and global processes. Industry, and the infrastructure that comes along with it, is not always seen as incongruous with Kitimat but rather has been formative in its meaning and constitution for all community members.

5.3.1.   *Industrial Development in Place*

Given resistance efforts to the Enbridge Northern Gateway Project, it seems counter-intuitive to suggest that in fact, industrial development has and continues to be formative in understandings of Kitimat. This is not to suggest that all individuals understand or experience this interconnection in the same way or that all industrial development has the same characteristics. As we have seen already, and I hope to continue to articulate, environmental change and landscape transformation do not impact or affect all people in a homogenous way. At the same time, through shifting relationships of place and capital over time, industrial development has become deeply embedded in articulations of Kitimat's character and its future. This section explores this complexity and contradiction and argues that despite resistance, industrial development is central to the constitution of Kitimat's identity.

The municipality of Kitimat's slogan, "Kitimat: a marvel of nature and industry", envisions a balance between the industrial and the natural world. Naming is one way in which space is imbued with meaning and is transformed into place (Cresswell, 2004). And, importantly, naming is done in the context of power. As we have seen, attention to the colonial context of this landscape illuminates very different meanings that extend beyond and before the development of industry and the emergence of the town now

known as Kitimat. This process of erasure, alluded to in the previous section, is particularly powerful in the way that Kitimat is discursively, again and again, born into existence through the parentage of its first major industrial project, Alcan's aluminum smelter.

Kelm (2006) describes how the Kitimat Valley was 'reborn' in 1953 with the arrival of Alcan (p.xxx). This articulation of place as being hinged on the development of Alcan continually came up throughout my fieldwork, and is exemplified in a interview I had with the curator of the Kitimat Museum and Archives, Louise Avery, in December 2012:

> Well I think the only reason we're all here is because of industry. There wouldn't be a community up here unless they were doing resource extraction or you know, or even just the water, the hydro, is extraction of a resource (personal communication, December 6, 2012).

The discourse of attributing Kitimat's birth to Alcan has been reimagined today in the context of proposed oil and gas expansion. For example, the Economic Development Officer for Kitimat, Rose Klukas, stated on the *BC Jobs Plan* website that the employment promised by the modernization of the aluminum smelter and several liquefied natural gas proposals was "evidence of the rebirth of Kitimat" (BC Jobs Plan, 2012). Through the use of videos, online documents and other promotional materials, the town actively promotes investment in the area.

The liquefied natural gas proposals that Klukas referred to emerged throughout the course of my fieldwork as significant projects in the Kitimat area. Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) is a shippable form of natural gas, cooled to liquid form at -160 degrees Celsius (BC Ministry of Energy and Mines, 2012a). Natural gas is transported from the site of extraction via pipeline, in this case primarily from northeast British Columbia, and then liquefied at a facility for shipment by sea. The breadth of LNG projects proposed for Kitimat is extensive. At the time of this writing (February 2014), as outlined on the website for the District of Kitimat (2014a) under Economic Development, a summary of the LNG projects associated with the Kitimat area includes, but is not limited to:

- *Kitimat LNG (KM LNG):* a $4.5 billion liquefaction plant and marine terminal with a proposed initial plant capacity of 700 million cubic feet of natural gas per day, or

five million tonnes of LNG annually. An export permit for this project was issued in October 2011 and in January 2014, Kitimat LNG was awarded the Engineering, Procurement and Construction Contract to a joint venture involving Fluor Canada and JGC Corporation of Japan. Project partners, Apache and Chevron, have begun site preparation at Bish Cove on the west side of Douglas Channel, along with the construction of the access road from the townsite and temporary worker accommodations on the site of the former Eurocan Pulp and Paper Mill.

- *Pacific Trail Pipeline (PTP):* a $1.3 billion natural gas pipeline which would provide a direct connection between Summit Lake in north-central British Columbia to the Kitimat LNG terminal (470 km). It is expected to move one billion cubic feet of natural gas per day. Chevron and Apache Canada are each 50 per cent owners of PTP. Provincial environmental approval was granted in June 2008 and in February 2013, PTP signed a $200 million benefits agreement with 15 First Nations along the pipeline right-of-way.

- *LNG Canada:* as announced by Shell Canada in May 2012, LNG Canada is a proposed $12 billion LNG export facility in a joint venture with Korea Gas Corporation, Mitsubishi Corporation and PetroChina Company Ltd. In February 2013, the National Energy Board awarded a permit to export up to 24 million metric tonnes of LNG annually over 25 years. Two months later, in April 2013, a project description was filed with the federal and provincial environmental assessment agencies. LNG Canada expects the project will be operational by the end of the decade, pending regulatory approvals and investment decisions.

- *Coastal GasLink:* a $4 billion natural gas pipeline which would travel 700 km between the Dawson Creek area and the LNG Canada facility, transporting an estimated 1.7 billion cubic feet of natural gas per day. TransCanada Corporation was selected by Shell Canada, and its partners, to design, build, own and operate the Coastal GasLink project.

- *Douglas Channel Energy Partnership (BC LNG):* a proposed small scale, barge-based LNG facility on the west side of Douglas Channel, which would use existing capacity from the Pacific Northern Gas pipeline (already in operation). An energy export permit was granted in February 2012 for up to 1.8 million metric tonnes of LNG annually over 20 years. BC LNG is a partnership between the Haisla Nation, LNG Partners, Golar LNG and an unnamed Asian firm.

Given this list, it is clear that the LNG industry proposed for the Kitimat region is intimately connected to other regions in northern British Columbia, and is furthermore woven into a very complicated network of global relations. It is also worth noting that these projects are not driven solely by market forces and the corporations leading the projects but are well supported by the province's liquefied natural gas strategy, released in February 2012 (BC Ministry of Energy and Mines, 2012a).

The inclusion of the LNG industry in this analysis provides a deeper understanding of the complicated meaning of place in Kitimat. In this example, Kitimat, a word of indigenous origin, is taken up into an industrial identity once more. Beyond the discursive dispossession involved in the reframing of what the name Kitimat has come to mean in relation to place, it is worth thinking about how deepening capitalism in this region enacts a more material and everyday dispossession. To illustrate this, I am reminded of a conversation with a middle-aged Haisla individual who spoke about his desire for one of the LNG projects to begin construction and how its development would mean good work, and good money (personal communication, October 6, 2012). He was not alone in his support for the employment and other benefits promised by LNG. Not only did I hear individuals, Haisla and others, talk about employment opportunities promised by LNG projects during my time in Kitimat, but also these conversations have clearly continued on. In late 2013, in a newspaper article for *The Globe and Mail*, Chief Councillor Ellis Ross explained the context of industrial employment and situated the current promise of jobs within a context of insecurity for his community:

> Back in 2004, when the first gas company came to us, we, as a council were basically broke…We had no initiatives on the table and we had no prospects. We had nothing. As far as I could see, every commercial development had failed (Meissner, 2013a).

Furthermore, Ross explained that many Haisla were unemployed and on welfare and from this situation, how the Council started to think about "[h]ow to start building a better life for our members" (Meissner, 2013a). Labour in Kitimat has thus become intimately connected to industrial development despite a history of exploitation and land degradation wrought by the introduction of such projects. Simply put, the meaning of labour has changed and has been shaped by the incentives and promise of industrial expansion. In this model of capitalist development, labour has been commodified as

alternative (non-capitalist) and indigenous forms of production and consumption have been undermined. Dolores Pollard, former Chief Councillor for the Haisla Nation, explained to the Joint Review Panel during hearings held in Kitimat in August 2010:

> For too many years, in the short 55 years that we've had contact directly with the direct neighbours of the town of Kitimat, we have absolutely gained nothing; a 60 percent unemployment rate that has been consistent. And in traditional times, unemployment rate was not a factor because we had our bighouses and our longhouses and we had our food right at our beach and that's what's in jeopardy because we have a boundary on where we can get our crabs. (Pollard, 2010, para. 616)

The effects of the commodification of labour over time cannot be overstated. More recently, the closure of Kitimat's pulp and paper mill and methanol facility brought to the fore the vulnerability of this community to its increasing reliance on unstable forms of global mobile capital. Community members spoke vividly of the mass exodus of people leaving the community at the time of these closures: 3 of the elementary schools were forced to close and rental vacancy was nearly 45% (Meissner, 2013b). In light of this recent history, the argument by proponents of development, that the community needs the employment promised by industry, becomes ever more salient. Perhaps more striking however, is resistance *despite* this vulnerability.

Resistance to industrial development in this context can thus be understood more broadly as a reaction to the abstractions and exclusions that arise under deepening capitalism. Harris (2004), drawing from Marx, among others, argues that "the spatial energy of capitalism works to deterritorialize people (that is, to detach them from prior bonds between people and place) and reterritorialize them in relation to the requirements of capital (that is, to land conceived as resources and freed from the constraints of custom and to labour detached from land)" (p.172). The shifting character of labour is not the only example of the alienating practices of "accumulation by dispossession" (Harvey, 2009, p.63) operating in the case of Kitimat. The commodification and privatization of land and (neo)colonial processes of appropriation of assets by corporations and the state (in the form of natural resources, like water for hydro-electricity, for example) are demonstrative of the characteristic uneven development attributed to capitalism (Harvey, 2006). Each of these processes is evident in the geography of Kitimat. Harvey (2006) explores this "commodification of everything"

(p.113) and describes the consequences of these processes as written by Polanyi in *The Great Transformation* (1944)*:*

> To allow the market mechanism to be sole director of the fate of human beings and their natural environment…would result in the demolition of society. For the alleged commodity, "labour power" cannot be shoved about, used indiscriminately, or even left unused, without affecting the human individual who happens to be the bearer of this peculiar commodity. In disposing of man's labour power the system would, incidently, dispose of the physical, psychological, and moral entity 'man' attached to that tag. Robbed of the protective covering of cultural institutions, human beings would perish from the effects of social exposure; they would die as the victims of acute social dislocation through vice, perversion, crime, and starvation. Nature would be reduced to its elements, neighborhoods and landscapes defiled, rivers polluted, military safety jeopardized, the power to produce food and raw materials destroyed (as cited in Harvey, 2006, p.113).

Indeed we can think about myriad examples of the destructive consequences of unfettered deepening capitalism that Polanyi warns about, both in the case of Kitimat, and more broadly. It then follows that "struggles consequently arise around the ways in which commodification affects the web of life" (Harvey, 2006, p.114) and that anxiety around these effects brings to life movements in defence of the environment, social relations, cultural traditions, etc., as seen in the case of resistance in the Enbridge Northern Gateway Project.

And while there is an emergence of resistance which seeks to re-establish these 'protective coverings' that Polanyi is talking about, any analysis of these kinds of struggles, must be able to look at material life struggles under contemporary conditions. The LNG industry in Kitimat thus presents an important facet in the nuances and dynamism of resistance, reminding us that capitalism is productive of uneven geographies (Harvey, 2006) and uneven impacts. Not all individuals experience deepening capitalism in the same way, and therefore responses to particular projects are multiple and dynamic. A robust analysis of resistance and social movements must take into account material life struggles such as labour, particularly in a community such as Kitimat that has been reformulated over time to be dependant on industrial employment.

Through these examples, we can see that decisions made by community members about how they will support or resist a particular development is complicated by an already reconfigured landscape and messy geography of capital. This reconfiguration occurred over time where "capital was benefiting doubly, acquiring access to land freed by small reserves and to cheap labour detached from land" (Harris, 2004, p. 172); this landscape now continues to be reshaped in a neoliberal geography of increasingly mobile forms of global capital. Referencing Cresswell (2004), Agnew (2011) argues that "rather than the opposite to or disruptive of place, mobility is an inherent part of how some places are defined and operate" (Agnew, 2011, p.327). When community members choose to resist a particular project, it is evident that engaging with and understanding Kitimat's interconnections becomes vital. While Chapter Four argued that community members articulated a territorialized understanding of place through the discourse of home, Chapter 5 has argued that operating in conjunction with this discourse is an understanding by some of the deterritorialized forces within flows of capital. Furthermore, this chapter has shown how development in Kitimat is symptomatic of deepening capitalism in the region and in response, resistance movements are complicated and dynamic in character. In particular, the incorporation of indigenous people into processes of industrial development over time, has muddied the waters of resistance, wherein some individuals support particular development projects, while opposing others. Furthermore, I have emphasized that current industrial development is embedded in larger histories of dispossession and displacement for indigenous communities in the region. Given these histories, the story of oil and gas expansion in Kitimat requires a deeper theorization of race and racism in the Canadian context in order to understand more fully the injustices and consequences at hand. It is these intersections of place, capital and race that I now seek to elucidate.

6.   Place and Race

Articulations of place are inherently political, whether deployed in resistance efforts or through dialogues in support of a particular industrial project. Making meaning of place is about power, about who decides what is and what is not appropriate (Cresswell, 2004, p.27).   Chapter 4 focused on showing how sense(s) of place, and discourses of home, are deployed in resistance to the Enbridge Northern Gateway Project. Chapter 5 investigated deepening capitalism in the Kitimat region and articulations of this place as an industrial town with room to grow. As described in these chapters, Kitimat is simultaneously a place of local resistance, *and* an abstract space of global capital. Community members and others outside of the town organize against the perceived threat of the Enbridge Northern Gateway Project while at the same time industry representatives and members of government, among others, deem Kitimat suitable for industrial expansion. Importantly however, even in a single individual's expressions of place, it is not always easy to clearly untangle these differing articulations of place. So while the organization of these two narratives into separate chapters does well to reinforce the power of these ideas, it must be noted that, in practice, these articulations aren't always so distinguishable. In the contemporary context, there is no clear boundary "between an 'external' space of capitalist domination and an 'inside' space of local (ecological) resistance" (Grove, 2009, p.212). There are, however, notions that make these seemingly contradictory geographies speak to one another. This chapter will show how ideas about race and racism inform both resistance against, *and* support of, development in the Kitimat region. In this way, an analysis of race is a powerful tool of analysis to make this messiness intelligible, and more importantly, to show what is at stake in light of these proposals for oil and gas expansion.

So far, I have offered some examples of the importance that ideas about race have played in the ongoing debate around oil and gas expansion. In Chapter 4, I introduced the concept of homeland for indigenous individuals and communities in order to complicate the notions of home being articulated in struggles against the Enbridge

Northern Gateway Project. In the previous chapter, I posited a counter narrative to the modern development story by illuminating some of Kitimat's colonial history and positioning current industrial projects within an ongoing process of dispossession of indigenous people in the region. In both of these efforts, I sought to suggest that these counter narratives about the past operate simultaneously, though not evenly or equally, with dominant narratives. Indeed in each story, particular peoples, histories and senses of place are erased and silenced, while others are brought to the fore.

With this in mind, some worthwhile questions in the context of development in the Kitimat region include the following: (1) what role has race and racism played in past projects and development strategies; (2) how does an understanding of the work that racism does illuminate the multiple (and historically contingent) injustices involved in current proposals for oil and gas expansion; (3) how have the state and industry responded to some of the critiques about these injustices and sought to resolve them, and finally, (4) how can we see these 'progressive' resolutions, as extending and reconfiguring, but not limiting, racialization in the Canadian context? Progressive here refers to the notion that strategies that seek to incorporate indigenous people (and knowledges) into development projects are cast as inherently forward-thinking or enlightened in character by industry, government and other advocates.

This chapter engages with these questions and argues that an analysis of race becomes central to understanding the complicated politics of nature in the Kitimat region. I borrow from Kalpana Wilson (2012), in her definition of race as "a social construct rather than a biological fact, a temporally and spatially contingent and mutable system of categorisation, only intelligible in terms of racial hierarchy" (p.10). Moreover, I also hold that race is 'real' (Alcoff, 2001) in that it "shapes material structures of power and distributions of resources, and regulates bodies and spaces" (Wilson, 2012, p.10). I use this secondary aspect to highlight the embodied characteristics of race, specifically its deep relationship to material structures of production, exchange and capital accumulation.

This chapter begins by exploring this definition further, explaining what I mean when I say race, and how I am thinking about it here. Then I want to draw attention to some of the ways race has become threaded into the discourses of industrial

development in Kitimat during the last 60 years. In particular, the modernizing and frontier discourse of the 1950s has been supplanted by an industry strategy which communicates a willingness of industry to 'work with' nature, rather than against it. This shift has operated in conjunction with a similar strategy that seeks to include and 'work with' First Nations in industrial development projects[9]. Such discursive shifts require continual critique, particularly as development projects are ongoing and the strategies pursued to legitimize them reconfigure themselves with a persistent dynamism.

As an example of one incorporation of First Nations in industry, I explore the case of Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) expansion in the Kitimat region in relation to the Haisla Nation. After a brief description of this expansion, I elucidate how ideas about race are redeployed in light of both support for and resistance to such development and outline both discursive and material processes involved in such racializations. In this case, I contend that current legislation and processes of capital accumulation operate in conjunction with already powerful tools of dispossession. These tools continue to benefit the state and settler society by clarifying regulatory frameworks and stabilizing unceded indigenous territories primarily and ultimately for industrial expansion and economic investment to benefit the ruling elite and the deepening of capitalism. Ultimately, in bringing together ideas of place, capital and race, I argue that race, and the powerful work race does, simply cannot remain on the margins of political ecology. Questions of race must instead become a central facet of our analysis of environmental conflict and the politics of nature.

6.1. Race

My understandings and deployment of the word race in this chapter borrow heavily on the work of Kalpana Wilson's book, *Race, Racism and Development* (2012). In part, I agree with theorists, such as Wilson, who believe that race is "a social construct

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[9] This is not to suggest that industry always attains informed consent in these efforts, nor to suggest that these are actually enlightened or progressive strategies in an ethical sense. Instead, it is merely to say that in public relations campaigns and through project planning and development, industry now articulates a willingness to cooperate with indigenous communities and that this discursive strategy should be critiqued.

rather than a biological fact, a temporally and spatially contingent and mutable system of categorisation, only intelligible in terms of racial hierarchy" (p.10). Much scholarship has been done on the historically contingent and specific ways that ideas about race have been, and continue to be, utilized as justification for forms of objectification, exploitation and colonization (see Moore, Kosek and Pandian, 2003; Preston, 2013; Wilson, 2012 for just a few examples). Much of this literature has focused on the cultural politics of race.

Helpful here, for example, is *Race, Nature and the Politics of Difference,* (Moore, Kosek and Pandian, 2003) which questions how race and nature operate as terrains of power and explores how "the political stakes of race and nature lie in the ways they become *articulated* together in particular historical moments" (p.3). In the context of British Columbia, one provocative example of the 'political stakes of race and nature' is John Thistle's (2008) *Accommodating Cattle,* which examines two closely related 'wars' in the late 1800s that sought to accommodate cattle and eradicate creatures considered pests. The latter of the two wars focused on 'wild horses' that were believed by cattle ranchers to be 'evil' descendants of 'Indian horses' and carriers of mysterious diseases that spread to domestic stock (p.81). Thistle (2008) argues that a strategic campaign to eradicate these wild horses, organized by ranchers and state legislation, simultaneously worked to dispossess indigenous people and discredit their competing claims to land.

Social constructions of race, therefore, are and continue to be powerful tools of dispossession, erasure and colonization. With this in mind then, there is a second facet of race that I seek to engage with in this chapter. I also hold that race is 'real' in the material work that it does, that it "shapes material structures of power and distributions of resources, and regulates bodies and spaces" (Wilson, 2012, p.10). In order to clarify my point, it is helpful to start with the scholarship of Foucault, who emphasizes the co-constitutive relationship between power and knowledge, the regulation of populations and the creation of 'docile' bodies for capitalist production (Wilson, 2012). These ideas have been useful in analyses of development and colonization, and been influential within postcolonial literature more broadly (Wilson, 2012; Young, 1995)[10]. As argued by

[10] See Said (1978) and his concept of Orientalism, for a seminal example of postcolonial theory that employs Foucauldian thought.

Young (1995), Foucault's account of power as 'productive' is particularly appropriate when thinking about racism. In *Power, Truth, Strategy*, Foucault (1979) explains:

> What gives power its hold, what makes it accepted, is quite simply the fact that it does not weigh like a force, which says no, but that it runs through, and produces, things, it induces pleasures, it forms knowledge, it produces discourses; it must be considered as a productive network which runs through the entire social body much more than as a negative instance whose function is repression (p.35-6).

Using Foucauldian ideas about power as productive, I seek to explore the relationship between the embodied and lived reality of race, and dynamics of material structures of capital accumulation and extractive processes of natural resources (Wilson, 2012). Ideas about race have not solely been utilized to limit, assimilate, and repress particular individuals and groups of people but are also extremely *productive* in the formation of knowledge and beliefs about, and held by, the dominant society, the story they tell about themselves and the politic economic system sustained by them. And, this 'productive network' of power is immeasurably connected to material processes and embodied realities for individuals and communities.

As discussed by Parajuli (1998), for example, ecological destruction has been 'ethnicized' in the way in which particular groups "bear a disproportionately large share of the burden of displacement and other negative consequences of development programmes" (p.188); at the same time, the subordination of these groups of people has been 'ecologized', "in the sense that most of their deprivation results from deterioration of their environment and the way resources have been unevenly extracted for the benefit of people outside their ecosystem and region" (p.188). As Wilson (2012) suggested then, race can be directly linked to accumulation processes, and bodies are indelibly marked, or "materially produced" (p.175) by these circulations. Material embodiment, or "corporeal differentiation" (Orzeck, 2007, p.503), describes the results of successive periods of racialized capital accumulation.

As already discussed in Chapter 5, the case of the displacement of the Cheslatta T'en through the building of the Kenny Dam demonstrates the material production of bodies and its many links to capital accumulation. Windsor and McVey (2005) argue that after displacement, many of the Cheslatta could no longer hunt and trap (without being

charged with various offences), contracted TB resulting from poor diet, suffered from compromised immune systems, and some even committed suicide. This process of displacement was productive of particular bodies and communities with powerful embodied and lived implications. Broadly speaking then, historical and social factors work to "actively produce" (Alcoff, 2006, p.185) the body over time. So as suggested by Wilson (2012), we can "extend a focus from the (discursive) production of racialised bodies, to encompass the racialised production of (material) bodies" (p.171) by making the links between race and capital more explicit.

Also helpful for our understanding of material and embodied realities of race is environmental justice literature, which examines the interconnections between disadvantaged social groups, whether based on race, class, income, and other variables, and how these groups share a disproportionate burden of environmental problems (see Bullard, 1983; Buzzelli & Jerrett, 2004; Cutter, 1995; Helfand and Peyton, 1999; Pearce et al., 2006, Pulido, 2000, for examples). There are countless examples where this is evidenced, but there are a few that can begin our thinking. Bullard (1983) was seminal in the environmental justice literature, investigating the influence of racism in the siting of industrial pollution sources. Moving forward in time and into the Canadian context, in an analysis of environment justice issues in southern Ontario, Mascarenhas (2007) argued that under neo-liberal environmental governance, First Nations communities represent "the extreme cultural-spatial case of environmental and social inequality" (p.574), often being located near or downstream of major waste streams. And finally, related closely to this analysis of oil and gas expansion, Chalifour (2010) examined the environmental assessment process for a tar sands development upstream from the Fort Chipewyan community in Alberta. In her analysis she argued that environmental assessment "does little to ensure that the environmental harms created are fairly distributed among members of the public" (p.31) and that in the case of Fort Chipewyan, "the environmental assessment process contributed to the marginalization of Aboriginal voices in a debate about the potential health impacts of nearby oil sands developments" (p.33). In all of these examples, and as suggested by Bullard and Johnson (2000), there exists a "direct correlation between exploitation of land and exploitation of people" (p.571).

These examples highlight that ideas about race are both discursive categorizations, which lead to material effects, but are also, importantly, productive of particular bodies and spaces in a material way. This chapter tries to give consideration to both the discursive and material power associated with race, exploring how particular constructions of race are productive of outcomes that need explanation, and furthermore, how these outcomes of racism are embodied and experienced by actors in the case of Kitimat, BC.

6.2. Industrial Development: In Harmony with Nature

In the previous chapter, I explored how the success of industrial development in the Kitimat region rested on colonial conventions about wilderness and indigenous communities. In particular, the institution of the reserve system and discourses about the 'frontier' enabled and justified the infiltration of state and industry to 'harness' the environment, and by extension, those that lived there. In the case of the Aluminum Company of Canada, Windsor and McVey (2005) argue that the removal of the Cheslatta people was effected so easily not only because of the notion of 'progress' that drove investment in technology and industry, but also because of Western notions of non-white people as 'primitive' and white people as 'civilized' (p.157). These notions of indigenous people as non-modern and the regard of "native uses of land (and, indeed, non-native traditional and rural land use) as less socially important and less economically significant" (p.157) underwrote the large-scale expropriation of land and resources from these communities.

Wilson (2012) suggests that there is a tendency in discourses of development to appropriate and incorporate critical approaches (p.8). For example, whereas the surveying, construction and development of Alcan in the 1950s operated via a discourse of 'harnessing' nature (and by extension, indigenous communities), the discourse used to justify deepening capitalism in the Kitimat region has now shifted to one that is far more co-operative in character. To explore what I mean here, I first show how we have moved from a discourse of 'harnessing nature' to one of 'working with nature' and how that is interwoven with the politics of race in the case of Kitimat. Specifically, I give

examples of contemporary strategies to 'work with' and incorporate indigenous people in industrial projects.

The 1990s marked a turning point in the relationship between corporations and the environment. Redclift (2005) argues that this was a time when environmental concerns needed to be internalized and made central to governance structures of corporate business. We began to see the rise of 'green consumerism' and the idea that a 'green image' would be beneficial for industry from a public relations standpoint. Alongside this shift was investment in 'ecological modernization', or "the way in which new, cleaner technologies can be utilized effectively by businesses, within a policy framework that is conducive to more sustainable practices, and which holds out the prospect of a 'win/win' situation: stimulating economic growth without increasing pollution" (Redclift, 2005, p.216). This is demonstrated quite clearly in a report by Alcan in 1999 which stated that, while in the 1950s it was deemed in society's best interest to harness nature, "societies that evolved through industrial development [now] consider it in their best interest to live – to the extent possible - *in harmony with nature* " (Alcan, 1999, p.4, emphasis added).

The discourse of sustainability and working with nature also emerged in my conversations with community members as well. For example, in my discussion with Rose Klukas, Kitimat's Economic Development Officer in October 2012, she explained:

> KLUKAS: So, although we love industry, every time a proponent comes to town, I always say we love industry but it's not at the expense of nature. So our tagline is 'A Marvel of Nature and Industry'.
>
> HODSON: Right. Yea that must be a hard balance to strike…
>
> KLUKAS: Yes, yes and no. And I think in this modern times, most of the proponents that come here already know that… that their projects, they obviously have to go under [an] environmental assessment process, and you know you live in the day and age where people are aware, right? (personal communication, October 24, 2012).

It is clear that public relation strategists and corporations beyond Kitimat are very aware of this shift; increasingly, there is an understanding that consumers and citizens want information about how corporations are working with nature and are giving consideration

to environmental concerns.[11] It is not uncommon to see corporations setting up initiatives to support the protection or, or in some cases, the rehabilitation of, local species or habitats. For example, according to a Performance Report entitled *Shared Values*, Rio Tinto Alcan[12] was involved in several strategies and initiatives under the category of Natural Resource Stewardship in 2007, including "ongoing collaboration on monitoring and management [of oolican] with the Haisla First Nation" (Rio Tinto Alcan, 2007, p.11). Part of this ongoing monitoring includes research dating back to 1988 on the impact of Alcan's project, and potential upgrades. According to the 1999 Performance Report for Alcan, "when the past 12 years of biological data are analyzed in 2000, Alcan will have compiled the world's longest-time series of data on eulachon" (Alcan, 1999, p.30). Another report, entitled *Working With Water*, states that the Nechako White Sturgeon "is a species of special concern to Rio Tinto Alcan" and that it is genetically distinct from other white sturgeon, as well as listed under the federal Species at Risk Act in 2006 (Rio Tinto Alcan, 2010b, p.7). Working with the provincial government, the Freshwater Fisheries Society of BC and the Carrier Sekani Tribal Council, Rio Tinto Alcan helped to "conduct monitoring, research and operate a pilot conservation hatchery" (p.7). In 2009, 70,000 sturgeon larvae were released into the Nechako River from the Pilot Sturgeon Hatchery (p.7).

Shifting away from aluminum and Alcan, we can also think about the ways in which environmentalism and a sustainability discourse have pervaded the oil and gas industry in Canada as well. For example, the World Petroleum Council (2009a) describes itself on its website as the world's premier oil and gas forum, which seeks to "catalyse and facilitate dialogue amongst stakeholders and find sustainable solutions to key energy issues." The World Petroleum Council (WPC) has 69 member countries, including Canada, and represents over 95% of the world's oil and gas consumption and production (World Petroleum Council, 2009b). As part of its initiatives, the WPC Youth Committee was established in 2004 with the vision of engaging youth in the petroleum

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[11] Nature and environment are often discursively deployed in such a way that is taken for granted or undefined, but can have a whole suite of meanings. See Escobar (1999), Redclift (2005) and Ginn & Demeritt (2009) for a discussion of these varying contested concepts of nature and their social power.

[12] Alcan was amalgamated into Rio Tinto Alcan Inc. in 2007 (Rio Tinto Alcan, 2007).

industry to *design a sustainable future* (World Petroleum Council, 2009c, emphasis added).[13] It is important to note that while the WPC is comprised of member countries, the *Canadian National Committee of World Petroleum Council* (WPC Canada), the body that organizes the Canadian presence at the WPC, includes "over 60 representatives of the Canadian oil and gas industry from the private, public and academic sectors" (WPC Canada, n.d.). In 2013, sponsor members of the CAWPC included, but were not limited to Chevron, Government of Alberta, Nexen, and Suncor (WPC Canada, 2013).

Industry investment into natural resource stewardship, conservation, environmental monitoring, and sustainability forums are all examples of this shift towards a discourse of 'working with nature'. Importantly, this shift is well related with a shift in how industry talks about indigenous peoples. Redclift (2005) uses the example of tropical forest management to show how such discourses of nature can overlap with discourses of indigenous people. He argues that "[p]rotecting 'nature' becomes synonymous with protecting environments and endangered ecological systems, as well as the 'indigenous people' who inhabit these environments. It is not always clear where these discrete interests overlap or diverge." (p.220). Similar to the expectation of improved environmental performance, Lertzmann and Vredenburg (2005) argue that "there is a growing public expectation for improved ethical performance of resource industries to engage with Indigenous peoples" (p.239). In the case of Kitimat and resource development, we can point to several examples of this shift towards this 'desire to work with' First Nations.

In March 2010, for example, Rio Tinto Alcan and the Haisla First Nation ratified a landmark agreement called the Haisla Nation-Rio Tinto Alcan Legacy Agreement, which in principle "establishes a formal framework for the two organisations to *work together* for the next 30 years to maximise the opportunities and benefits of aluminium operations in Kitimat" (Rio Tinto Alcan, 2010a, emphasis added). According to Paul Henning, vice

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[13] Again, the term sustainable, in both iterations on the World Petroleum Council webpage and the WPC Youth Committtee webpage, is undefined. As Redclift (2005) points out, much of the mainstream debate about sustainable development has ignored culturally specific definitions of what is sustainable and while, "it is still routinely assumed that civil societies are pursuing the same social and cultural goals" (p.214), the simplicity evoked in the deployment of the world sustainable works to obscure its underlying complexities.

president of British Columbia Operations and Strategic Projects, Western Canada, Rio Tinto Alcan, the agreement, which was subjected to a six-week Haisla Nation ratification process, creates "a collaborative *working arrangement* between our two groups, and a new way forward for the Haisla Nation and Rio Tinto Alcan" (Rio Tinto Alcan, 2010a, emphasis added). Henning continues, stating that "[t]his pathway could only be made possible by supporting each other and actively *working together* over many years" (Rio Tinto Alcan, 2010a, emphasis added).

Secondly, in Volume 5A of Northern Gateway's application for environmental assessment, entitled 'Aboriginal Engagement', Northern Gateway states that it is "committed to *working with* Aboriginal groups to provide them with information about the Project, answer project-related questions, identity and address issues and concerns, and obtain community input…" (Enbridge Northern Gateway Pipelines, 2010b, p.1-1, emphasis added). Under the Aboriginal Partners section of their website, Enbridge Northern Gateway Pipelines (2014) states that "Enbridge respects indigenous peoples' traditions" and "are committed to *working with* First Nations members to ensure their concerns are addressed" (emphasis added). Moreover Enbridge Northern Gateway released a promotional video on their YouTube Channel in November 2013 entitled 'Working Together with First Nations". The video depicts the Chief of the Birdtail Sioux First Nation who, as described by the video summary, "explains how his people *work with* industry to ensure their community has the opportunities his people need to support their unique culture and heritage" (Northern Gateway, 2013, emphasis added).

And again, as a last example, we see this same discursive shift in the example of the expanding Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) industry in Kitimat. On the LNG Canada website, under First Nations Consultation, the company states, "LNG Canada is committed *to working with* First Nations in the proposed project area to ensure that project-related concerns and opportunities are identified and considered in the planning, development and operation of the proposed project." (LNG Canada, n.d., emphasis added). While the Premier of British Columbia, Christy Clark, advocates that "[n]ow is the time to adopt a more aggressive approach to environmentally responsible industrial development" (BC Ministry of Energy and Mines, 2012b, p.1), industry is simultaneously seeking ways in which to incorporate indigenous communities and interests into the fold. As I argue later in this chapter, this strategy of incorporation, operating within the

organizing logic of capitalism, in fact reconstitutes a legacy of oppression and dispossession for indigenous communities in the Canadian context.

There are many questions to ask regarding this shift to 'working with' indigenous communities. Firstly, to what extent is this shift a result of an imposition by law? From the state perspective, "processes of consultation and accommodation (and often consent, most commonly in the form of treaties) have characterized much of…[Canada's] recent relations with aboriginal peoples" (Mullan, 2009, p. 109). Following a series of court cases in the 2000s[14], the Supreme Court of Canada established the "duty to consult" doctrine which requires that, when making decisions that may have an impact on Aboriginal rights or treaty rights, governments have a duty to consult the potentially affected Aboriginal communities for both cases of asserted, but unproven rights, and treaty rights (Sanderson et al, 2012).

Furthermore, another important set of questions involve the role that liberalism, and its main features of individualism, freedom and equality (Turner, 2006), plays in these processes of development. As Wilson (2012) argues, the key liberal concept of human progress has underpinned colonial development projects, and therefore questions of liberalism, race and capital "have been and remain mutually constitutive" in these efforts (p.160). Indeed, it is worth asking the extent to which strategies to incorporate nature (in the form of sustainability measures) and indigenous communities (in for the form of consultation efforts), in deepening capitalism have been cast as 'progressive'. Are these 'progressive' solutions changing the relationship between both the state and industry in relation to indigenous peoples or are they simply reproducing similar (neo) colonial arrangements within the larger goal of continued capital accumulation? As Preston (2013) has suggested, in the Canadian context, resource extraction projects deemed to be 'ethical' economic opportunities can "obscure and normalize ongoing processes of environmental racism, indigenous oppression and violence" (p.43). All of these are important questions worth deliberating going forward, but they are beyond the scope of this thesis. Instead the rest of this chapter uses a

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[14] Court cases include *Haida Nation v. British Columbia (Minister of Forests), Taku River Tlingit First Nation v. British Columbia (Project Assessment Director)* and *Mikisew Cree First Nation v. Canada (Minister of Canadian Heritage)* (see Mullan, 2009; Sanderson et al., 2012 for detailed explanations of the duty to consult doctrine)

specific example from the Liquefied Natural Gas industry in the Kitimat region to show how strategies of capital accumulation under deepening capitalism reconfigure and reanimate ideas about race in the Canadian context.

6.3. LNG Development in Kitimat

Liquefied Natural Gas is natural gas that has been cooled to keep it in liquid form and unlike conventional natural gas, can be shipped overseas (BC Ministry of Energy and Mines, 2012a). In 2012, the Government of British Columbia released a strategy for liquefied natural gas in which BC Premier Christy Clark outlined some of her perspectives:

> Now, with liquefied natural gas (LNG), we have a rare and exciting opportunity to build a whole new industry and use its development to spur other positive changes, such as growth in our clean-energy sector.
>
> There will be challenges along the way. That is inevitable. It goes hand-in-hand with creating something new. As a government, we are committed to working closely with communities, First Nations and other important stakeholders. We are confident that, working together, we can reach our goals – investment, job creation and new economic opportunities – while protecting the environment and building a better quality of life for future generations. (BC Ministry of Energy and Mines, 2012a, p.1).

From this strategy, and its vision to have "[t]hree LNG plants in operation by 2020" (BC Ministry of Energy and Mines, 2012a, p.5), it is clear that Liquefied Natural Gas is playing a central role in the province's economic portfolio. In the year following the introduction of the provincial liquefied natural gas strategy, the Premier led two trade missions to Asia to lay out "B.C.'s attractive position as a future supplier for natural gas" (BC Ministry of Energy, Mines, and Natural Gas, 2013, p.5) and to visit "Japan and Korea - the world's largest importers of LNG - to raise the profile of B.C.'s natural gas prospects and ambition for growth and development" (p.5).

As discussed in Chapter 5, multiple investors have expressed interest in developing LNG export facilities in BC, many of which target Kitimat as the proposed site for development. At the time of the initial LNG Strategy, the Kitimat LNG facility had already earned federal and provincial environmental assessment approvals and in

October, 2011, earned the first ever federal license to export LNG from Canada (BC Ministry of Energy and Mines, 2012a). The one year update to the LNG Strategy described how, following Premier Clark's second trade mission, "one of the largest natural gas players in the world, Shell, announced plans to build LNG Canada with joint venture partners KOGAS, Mitsubishi and PetroChina" (BC Ministry of Energy, Mines and Natural Gas, 2013, p.5). LNG Canada is proposed for Kitimat as well.

An aura of hope and opportunity has arisen with the prospect of LNG development for a community and province historically mired in significant economic challenges. Broadly speaking, in the early 1980s, British Columbia experienced a deep economic recession, putting pressure on rural and small town economies (Halseth, 2009). Moreover, the offloading of responsibility by government and industry for key community and infrastructure services has reinforced an economic position of resource dependence in rural communities across the province (Markey et al., 2008). In Kitimat, the closure of Methanex and Eurocan in the mid to late 2000s, for example, had significant impacts on the community, and resource dependence came up several times in my conversations with community members. For example, during an interview in June 2012 with Dave Shannon, member of the community organization Douglas Channel Watch, described the changes he has seen in the region:

> Oh there's been a lot of change. Employment has gone down, there's been a lot of industries that have left. Kitimat used to have a methanol plant…and a pulp mill. They're gone. Ah, Terrace used to have a saw mill, two saw mills and…they used to make pulp that the Eurocan mill here would use to make paper from...Those are gone. So there's a lot of industries that have left. Prince Rupert is going down too. They're losing canneries, they're losing fish processing plants and they lost a pulp mill as well (personal communication, June 28, 2012).

While Shannon is pointing to the unemployment arising out of a timeline of plant closures, this quote also illuminates the legacy of industry in the region and the environmental injustice at work here. As discussed in Chapter 4, for example, oolican fishing was curtailed on Kitimat River after, according to Tirrul-Jones (1985), "pollution by industrial and municipal effluent discharges made the Eulachon foul-tasting and inedible" (as cited in COSEWIC, 2011, p.42). So not only is there a relationship between dependency and industrial employment, but it is also clear from this brief history that

various forms of industry have played a significant role in an ongoing process of dispossession and degradation of indigenous lands and resources in this region.

In spite of this injustice, however, for some community members LNG has marked a shift in a trajectory of economic downturn. In our conversation in 2102, Rose Klukas for example, stated that the community "in 2010 was… pretty down…[but] very quickly, soon afterwards it was like oh, you know, now we are being recognized in the oil and gas sector". This recognition has led to a feeling of promise and optimism. As suggested by the Mayor of Kitimat, Joanne Monaghan, "I honestly felt [four years ago] I was the mayor of doom and now I feel like the mayor of boom" (Meissner, 2013b). This period of boom, of course, is cast against a very recent experience in the community of lost employment and economic insecurity. When thinking about the promise of new development, Dave Shannon, member of the community organization Douglas Channel Watch, explained in an interview:

> So the region has change, I don't blame anybody…who sees the promise of jobs dangling in front of them for any length of time. I really can't… you know I can say everybody has the right to work, but I don't think that this job is the right one…The Enbridge thing is not right. Liquefied natural gas, yes. There's a lot of work available through that, and it's a finished product (personal communication, June 28, 2012).

In this example, we can see that the type of development also informs responses to it and that vocal opposition to the Enbridge Northern Gateway Project doesn't necessarily mean complete resistance to all industrial development in Kitimat.

Another group navigating this complicated position is the Haisla Nation Council. They remained vocally opposed to the development of the Enbridge Northern Gateway Project during the Joint Review Panel Process, but simultaneously acted as a key proponent of Liquefied Natural Gas expansion. The Haisla Nation Council are business partners on The Douglas Channel Energy Partnership, a proposed small scale natural gas liquefaction facility on the west side of the Douglas Channel, within the District of Kitimat and the asserted territory of their Nation (Douglas Channel Energy Partnership, n.d.). This project would utilize capacity from an already existing natural gas pipeline in the community. Furthermore, Kitimat LNG proposes to build a $4.5 billion liquefaction

plant and marine terminal situated on Haisla Nation reserve land at Bees Cove[15], southwest of Kitimat.

In order for Kitimat LNG to proceed on reserve land, a regulatory agreement was signed between the Haisla Nation (represented by the Haisla Nation Council), the BC Government and the Government of Canada in January 2013, utilizing a key piece of legislation, *the First Nation Commercial and Industrial Development Act* (FNCIDA). FNCIDA came into force in April 2006 and was written to address a "lack of adequate regulations for such development on reserve land [that] leads to regulatory uncertainty that can discourage investment in such large projects and hinder economic development" (Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, 2012, para. 1). Essentially FNCIDA, therefore, "provides for the adoption of regulations on reserves that are compatible with those off reserve" (para. 3), allowing complex commercial and industrial projects to proceed.

In a community notice published on the Haisla Nation website, Chief Councillor Ellis Ross described the role of the FNCIDA agreement on the day before he signed it in January 2013: "It allows KM LNG [Kitimat LNG] to proceed in a predictable way with clear regulatory oversight for the proponent, the Haisla community and the general public" (Ross, 2013). He went on to explain that the Haisla Nation is the only First Nation in BC to have successfully negotiated an FNCIDA regulation and implementation agreement and that if constructed, the Kitimat LNG facility would be "the most valuable on reserve industrial facility in Canada" (Ross, 2013).

6.4. Race and Development

The position of the Haisla Nation Council and their support of Liquefied Natural Gas has led to some interesting questions and media reports that are worth exploring in order to unpack how ideas about race are reanimated in the case of industrial development in the Kitimat area. The first document was an article that was published in

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[15] I use the spelling Bees here, as used by the Haisla Nation throughout their website. Other spellings, for example on the District of Kitimat website, use the spelling Bish.

the Alberta Oil Magazine in March 2012, and reposted to the Haisla Nation website under the title *Bridging the Last Divide*.[16] The editorial mandate of the Alberta Oil Magazine is to offer "its readers a unique insight into the Canadian energy sector, a community attracting international attention as 'the quiet energy superpower'" (Alberta Oil Magazine, 2014, para. 1). The magazine "is read by the energy sector's senior leaders and decision makers, throughout Alberta, across Canada and around the world" (para. 6). Given this target audience, the magazine and its contents offer a powerful message in the context of oil and gas development.

In the article in Alberta Oil Magazine, Macleod (2012) describes the Haisla as an "atypical Gateway opponent" (para 6) and "decidedly pro-business" (para. 6). The article explains that many First Nations "remain wary of Enbridge's plans" (para. 4) and that "[i]t is no secret that the fate of Northern Gateway, like energy projects throughout British Columbia, could well be decided in the courts" (para. 4).[17] Just one of the reasons suggested in the article for this reluctance to endorse Enbridge Northern Gateway is "fears of a Macondo-scale spill in the Douglas Channel" (para. 5). However Chief Councillor for the Haisla Nation, Ellis Ross, explained that some of this reluctance isn't simply fear of a bitumen spill: "It's not that simple. It comes from a long history of being marginalized and ignored when it comes to commercial projects. Everybody got rich while Haisla lost its resource and became poor. How fair is that?" (para. 5). Conversely, Ross stated that support for natural gas is "rooted in local perceptions that crude oil – its production, transportation and consumption – is an inherently riskier proposition compared to LNG" (para. 10). From this, we can see again, that responses to particular development projects depend not only on the quality and type of development being proposed, but also on the historical relationship between people and industry, including

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[16] The original title in Alberta Oil Magazine was "Oil sands export visions run through Ellis Ross" (Macleod, 2012).

[17] For example, affected First Nations groups could apply for court injunctions claiming inadequate consultation. Enbridge has a constitutional obligation to consult (under the duty to consult doctrine), but "what defines consultation -whether that means providing information, promisses of collaboration, or obtaining consent-remains untried" (Gerson, 2012, para 9). According to Tom Flanagan, a professor of political science at the University of Calgary, "there's no clear standard on what constitutes adequate consultation" (Gerson, 2012). Gerson (2012) also describes how First Nations could sue for potential damages against claimed lands.

the cumulative effects on the landscape following continued extraction and development. All of these variables converge to produce a complex and nuanced position towards proposed development in the Kitimat Valley.

I should say from the outset that it is not my aim to get at the reasons why the Haisla Nation Council have chosen particular responses to oil and gas development, at least insofar as one might make inferences as to whether or not those decisions are 'right' or 'appropriate'. Instead, I want to actually reflect on how such inferences and inquiries into First Nations decision-making, and speculation over their actions, reanimates colonial ideas about race. In *Bridging the Last Divide,* for example, what is most interesting is how the article highlights a key intersection of race and development. By offering Ellis Ross' rationale about past marginalization experienced by Haisla, the article attempts to offer a deeper understanding of decision making; however, it reinvigorates ideas about race, by accounting for how the Haisla Nation Council (HNC) are 'pro-business' despite Haisla, and many other First Nations', opposition to the Enbridge Northern Gateway Project. Furthermore, as suggested by the reference to concerns over an oil spill, First Nations, and indigenous people more generally, are often conflated with worries over the environment. As Willow (2009) argues, however, these "[s]tereotypical conceptions of indigenous people as inherent ecologists persist not due to any mysterious intrinsic quality but because of the value of these conceptions to those who perpetuate them" (p.38). Indeed, as she outlines, casting indigenous people in this way is deeply problematic for a whole suite of reasons, including the fact that it can invoke colonial visions of a pristine wilderness environment untouched by human contact, "thereby denying aboriginal peoples' historical presence" (p.38). Furthermore, essentializing indigenous peoples and communities within a framework of ecological nobility can incite "troubling charges of inauthenticity" (p.38) when indigenous actors make decisions that do not conform to these racialized expectations. At a community meeting in October 2012, for example, I witnessed some members of the Haisla Nation being asked to explain why the Haisla Nation Council was supporting LNG, especially given their opposition to the Enbridge Northern Gateway Project. I personally heard, on more than one occasion, these sorts of questions, many of which alluded to the hypocrisy of the Haisla Nation Council.

Notions of authenticity and indigeneity within analyses of capitalism and development have been subject to debate in the literature. There are some scholars who argue that contemporary advocates of indigenous rights rely on naturalizing discourses in their efforts (Li, 2010). Some anthropologists, for example, have promoted strong concepts of indigeneity, race or difference, especially when doing so supports particular values or agendas (Li, 2010).[18] Li (2010) argues that in these 'strategic' essentialisms, discursive (or symbolic) walls are erected, walls which leave "the world beyond its boundaries unchanged and confines those inside the wall to a set of constraints many of them reject, as they have shown by their actions over more than a century" (p.399). In her example, Li (2010) draws on cases in which some indigenous people insist on their right to buy, sell or mortgage their land, in contrast to others who reject individualized tenure. A very shallow analysis of this decision could produce a charge of inauthenticity for those indigenous communities who choose the former trajectory of land ownership. But what Li (2010) highlights is that a deeper analysis would suggest that these rejections cannot be seen as simply a matter of choice, but rather that they are more often a "matter of compulsion" (p.399), decisions made out of a desperate need for income.

As I have already suggested, capitalism is productive of difference. It does not emerge in any singular form or singular force, but rather is "an assemblage of disparate elements, practices, and processes each with its own history of violence, law, hope and struggle" (Li, 2010, p.400). Because of this dynamic specificity, what Mike Davis (2006) has called "relentless micro-capitalism", we must be cognizant of discursive strategies of indigeneity and be attentive to the specific and situated practices of dispossession in late capitalism. Taiaiake Alfred (2009) has been a strong voice in these sorts of critiques in the Canadian context. In *Peace, Power, Righteousness,* Alfred (2009) suggests there is a spectrum of indigenous identity and argues:

> [t]here are many political identities across Native America, and even within single communities, the dynamics of personality and psychology produce varying responses to the colonial situation. The people who choose to work for or with the colonial institutions have constructed a

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[18] Following Li (2010), for a discussion of such 'strategic' essentialisms in anthropology see Brosius (1999), Hale (2006), Ramos (2000), and Warren (1998).

political identity for themselves that justifies their participation…In the absence of a political culture firmly rooted in tradition, and a common set of principles based on traditional values, it is not surprising that individuals will tend to stray toward mainstream beliefs and attitudes (p.57)

Following this contention, Alfred (2009) argues that indigenous communities gaining control of governing structures is not enough to decolonize, but rather these movements can become "a kind of Trojan horse for capitalism, consumerism, and selfish individualism" (p.3). Linking this back to the case of Kitimat, debate surrounding the decision of the Haisla Nation Council to participate in LNG development is thus situated in an ongoing dialogue both within the academy, and within the community, over what it means to be indigenous in an increasingly complex geography of capital.

So, it is necessary to unpack how cultural identities have histories, and to remember that these identities are not relegated to some essentialized past, but rather are subject to the continuous 'play' of history, power and culture (Hall, 1994). As Hall (1989) aptly pointed out, racisms can dehistoricize, "translating historically specific structures into the timeless language of nature" (as cited in Baldwin, Cameron & Koyayashi, 2011).The concept of articulation, as drawn from Hall (1986), can give insight into how particular groups express their identities and realign their relationships to the nation, government and their traditional territory (Li, 2000). Articulation therefore has a dual meaning, referring to "the process of rendering a collective identity, position or set of interests explicit (articulate, comprehensible, distinct, accessible to an audience) and of conjoining (articulating) that position to definite political subjects" (Li, 2000, p.152). Thus, explicating how indigenous identities are articulated in relation to development projects shows the contingent way in which such identities are brought together at specific spatial and temporal conjunctures (Li, 2004) and how they are positioned by and within the narratives of the past (Hall, 1994). Furthermore, recognizing the political dimensions of struggles over land and territory can deepen our understanding of indigenous actors who "are real people who make difficult (and sometimes incongruous) decisions within (and occasionally against) a dynamic and unbounded cultural framework" (Willow, 2009, p.57).

As pointed out by Ellis Ross at the Joint Review Panel in January 2012, "You can't characterize First Nations as being frozen in time. You can't say, 'Why is that First Nation community not living the same way they did 100 years ago?' First Nations, to survive, have to evolve." (Ross, 2012, para. 4335). In the discourse surrounding the Haisla Nation Council (often conflated with all Haisla people[19]), and their relationship with LNG industry, there is a decisively historical and political perspective that must be accounted for, one that is often silenced with a sole focus on environment. Indeed, Gupta and Ferguson (1997) compel us to think of "all associations of place, people and culture as social and historical creations to be explained, not given natural facts" (p.4). We must seek to understand the complexity of decision making as *outcomes* that require explanation.

We can extend this line of inquiry to think about when the Haisla Nation Council left Coastal First Nations in December 2012 ("Haisla split", 2012). The Coastal First Nations, a regional alliance comprised of nine coastal First Nations, including the Haisla Nation, signed a declaration in 2010 stating that oil tankers carrying crude oil from Alberta would not be allowed to transit the land and waters of their territories (Coastal First Nations, 2010). When the Haisla Nation announced their departure from the alliance, the media were quick to report on what seemed like an incongruous decision. On December 5th, 2012, *The Globe and Mail* reported the headline, "Haisla First Nation withdraws from anti-Northern Gateway group" (Vanderklippe, 2012) and suggested that "[t]he move comes as the Haisla shift their position on oil exports from their traditional territory, which some see as evidence that opposition is beginning to wane" (para. 2). The next day, on December 6th, 2012, Chief Councillor Ellis Ross spoke to CBC News, under a different headline, "Haisla split with Coastal First Nations over LNG project" ("Haisla split", 2012), and clarified that the "Haisla remain 'absolutely' opposed to the proposed pipeline that would bring diluted bitumen from the Alberta oil sands to a tanker port in Kitimat" (para. 11) and that the decision to leave the Coastal First Nations was

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[19] This is important because the Haisla Nation Council is an organization that is a product of the Indian Act, and is therefore a colonial relic itself. The functioning of a band, for example, is controlled under the Indian Act. So we must be careful about conflating a governance institution, the Haisla Nation Council, with the identity, perspectives, and feelings of all individuals who are members of the Haisla Nation.

due to the alliance expressing concerns about air pollution associated with LNG development.

Whatever the case may be, what is critical here is not the 'real' reason for resignation from Coastal First Nations, or even the Haisla Nation Council's decision to be involved in LNG development. As I have suggested, instead this example illuminates how race and development intersect to reanimate ideas about race that rely on essentialisms and fail to address the deep context for these outcomes and decisions. Furthermore, essentializing all indigenous actors within a narrow (and often deeply racialized) understanding of what it means to be indigenous, with little understanding of historical processes, can do the colonial work of justifying further expansion and intervention into indigenous lands in the 'best interest' of communities. It is unfortunately a common colonial intervention for settler society to comment on managing the affairs of indigenous communities. Wilson (2012) describes this concept of 'trusteeship,' or Kipling's 'white man's burden', to account for the civilizing mission that has entrenched development ideals, and this not only seen in the historically defined 'colonial' period. For a more recent example of the trusteeship perspective, in the Fall of 2013, during a blockade opposing shale gas development by the Elsipogtog First Nation in New Brunswick, Jeffrey Simpson wrote a piece for the *Globe and Mail*, which offered the following advice:

> "If First Nations leaders want to be consulted over possible jobs or revenue-sharing, that would be one thing. If the leaders don't want shale gas ever, they should say so, rather than using the consultation argument as a cover. If they don't want to participate in development, then if it happens, it will happen somewhere else. Others will get all the benefit, and the Elsipogtog will carry on as before, very happy, perhaps, and very poor" (Simpson, 2013, para. 14-15).

Here we can see not only the author's comment on decision making, but also his suggestion that a binary exists that leaves indigenous people with the choice of development or poverty (albeit, a poverty by western economic standards). We must remember, however, that there are discursive dimensions of capitalism and development that are particularly productive of this attitude of inevitability. As Mitchell (1991) suggests, "[w]hat is overlooked, in producing this modern effect of order, is the dependence of such identity upon what it excludes. It is forgotten that the boundaries of

the outside…in this sense is something integral, something inside. How is such an overlooking, a forgetting, in the colonial order achieved?" (p.167). Blaut (1993), directs us to some of the processes involved in this production of colonial order. He suggests that the 'diffusion of modernization' in the 1940s and 1950s (around the time of Kitimat's industrial beginnings), "meant the diffusion of a modern economy (with major corporations owned by the colonizer), a modern public administration (the colonial political structure), a modern technical infrastructure (bridges, dams and the like, built by the colonizer) and so on" (Blaut, 1993, p.28). If independence was insisted upon, this new diffusionist ideology would convince people that the only way to develop was "…to retain the colonial economy, that is, to allow the colonizer's corporations and banks to continue their (profitable) work under the new regime: a system everyone today describes as neo-colonialism" (p. 28). This is the 'productive' power that Foucault was talking about. Here, the naturalized logic of development plays a potent, and often remarkably invisible, role in the incorporation of indigenous people in the industrial geography of Kitimat and Canada. This is the logic that must be critiqued.

And while Simpson's article was written with a decidedly benevolent tone (typical of the 'white man's burden' dynamic), the case of the Elsipogtog blockade showed that powerful ideas about race can still be articulated in tremendously violent ways. In addition to police and snipers intervening in the blockade, vicious and racist online comments emerged in response to the Elsipogtog case. Examples of online posts reported by *APTN*, included "Run the maggots over…take them out of there (sic) misery. Enough is enough!" and "Arrest everyone of them or bring in our army and deal with the warriors with real warriors…one law for all in this country" (sic) (Barrera, 2013). As Freire (2005) claims, "[f]or the oppressors…it is always the oppressed (whom they obviously never call "the oppressed" but—depending on whether they are fellow countrymen or not—"those people" or "the blind and envious masses" or "savages" or "natives" or "subversives") who are disaffected, who are "violent," "barbaric," "wicked," or "ferocious" when they react to the violence of the oppressors. (p.56). But, importantly, there "would be no oppressed had there been no prior situation of violence to establish their subjugation" (Freire, 2005, p.55). There is a characteristic amnesia, then, in this example and in this act of forgetting that notions about race and racisms are continually

reanimated and reworked in discourses of development and that this reworking can be done in explicitly violent ways.

So as suggested, race is not just a discursive formation. Ideas about race are also productive of material and embodied experience. We can think about how a life "living in the shadow of a nearby aluminum smelter" (Alberta Oil Magazine, 2014) has meant deprivation, dispossession and marginalization which has reconfigured the landscape and the people of this region in an indelible and very embodied way. Throughout the colonial past of Kitimat, and contemporary industrial development, modernizing and civilizing ways of thinking have shaped the character of communities under this logic of 'development' and progress. As already explored, constructions of race and racism led to the production of racialized spaces of containment in the reserve system of Canada. And in turn, as argued by Harris (2002), this process of containment into small, non-productive reserves was a deliberate attempt by the state to make indigenous communities shift from previous self-sufficient practices to low paid wage labour. This is an explicit example of the racialized production of material bodies (Wilson, 2012), wherein a productive network of ideas about property, capital and development shaped the character of particular people in an indelible way. As Mitchell (1991) suggests in the colonization of Egypt, the "most important trait of this character…was its industriousness. The individual was to be produced, and was to be produced as, essentially, a producer" (p.176). With this in mind, current legislation, such as FNCIDA, operates in conjunction with already powerful tools of dispossession and benefits the state and settler society by clarifying regulatory frameworks and stabilizing unceded territories for continued industrial expansion and economic investment. So, for Mascarenhas (2007), the use of land and resources under neoliberalism represents a new form of colonialism, which, by targeting resource rich territories and privatizing public resources, "is particularly virulent towards First Nations because it reduces their capacities to counter the complex and multiple environmental injustices that neo-liberalism produces" (p.566).

Importantly then, in the case of Kitimat, there has not just been a discursive production of racialised bodies, but also a racialised production of (material) bodies, both of which play an important role in how decisions are made today. Through formal colonial formations and now the legacy of settler colonialism, historical layers of material

dispossession for the Haisla Nation, among other events, have set the scene for current decision-making processes, legitimating particular trajectories while limiting others. As suggested by Li (2010) a deeper analysis reveals that sometimes decisions are not merely a matter of choice, but rather sometimes reflect a "matter of compulsion" (p.399). Decisions can be made out of a desperate need for income, in a landscape marred by resource depletion and degradation. Running parallel to this history of loss, current discourse surrounding indigenous decision-making reflects settler colonial notions of what it means to be indigenous and thereby reanimates ideas about race in development debates. Making sense of varied responses to these projects means unpacking mythologies of what it means to be indigenous; notions of indigenous communities as traditional, environmental and non-modern are co-produced by the capitalist modern settler colonial identity. In a landscape already undone and (re)produced by colonialism and capital, the reconfigured role of labour and the material requirements of daily life converge to inform both opposition to, and support of, oil and gas development. In this way, we can see that ideas about race, though reconfigured, have and continue to play a pivotal role in capital accumulation and industrial development in the contemporary period. As Sivanandan (2008) argues "[r]acism changes in order that capital might survive" (p.89). Because of this entanglement between race, place and capital, an analysis of race should play a central role in future political ecology.

7. Summary

This thesis has explored the intersections of three interlinked narratives, those of place, capital and race, all of which are threaded through the case of oil and gas development in Kitimat, British Columbia. Through an analysis of several project proposals, including the Enbridge Northern Gateway Project and the burgeoning LNG industry, I have brought the theoretical framework of political ecology into conversation with a post colonial approach and elements from critical race theory. One of the goals of this research was to identify contested meanings of place in the Kitimat region in order to unravel how conceptualizations of place are attached to particular values and ideas about land use. Another goal was to trace the dispossession and displacement involved in industrial development in the Kitimat region over the last 60 years. Along with this goal, I wanted to identify changing narratives and representations of Haisla and of indigenous community members in British Columbia and Canada more broadly. My research shows that in relation to industrial development, the specificity of place plays an integral role in how decisions are made, particularly when historical and ongoing processes of dispossession and degradation of the landscape are given ample consideration. Furthermore, this thesis contributes to a body of literature attentive to race and racism, arguing that race plays a central role in our ability to understand the complicated politics of industrial development.

Chapter Two outlined the methodology I undertook, and my fieldwork process, which included semi-structured interviews, archival research and participant observation. Given the centrality of race and racism in industrial development, I argued in this chapter that as critical scholars employing political ecological approaches to research, scholars, including myself, must move beyond being critical in theoretical leanings, and incorporate a critical anti-oppressive praxis as well. As I acknowledged in my reflection at the end of Chapter Two, the challenge of becoming an anti-oppressive researcher requires an ongoing commitment to reflecting on your practice, including considering ways in which research can become activism.

Chapter Three outlined the theoretical foundations of my thesis, which encompassed a political ecology approach informed by a post colonial analysis and critical race theory. In this chapter I outlined how this theoretical standpoint is helpful in analyzing the three themes of place, capital and race that I explored in subsequent chapters. I argued that bringing critical race theory into conversation with political ecology helps to explain the central position race plays in development and environmental change. The strength of political ecology is this ability to make space across disciplines and theoretical approaches, giving greater capacity to explore the complex history, specificity and embodied lived experiences involved in interactions between nature and society.

In my first thematic chapter, Chapter Four, I examined community responses to the Enbridge Northern Gateway project, focusing on an analysis of sense of place. Specifically, I elucidated that resistance to Northern Gateway articulates the proposed development as a threat or incursion into spaces of home. In this discussion, I showed that home has multiple meanings and that distinctions can be drawn between notions of home for settler colonial society and notions of homeland for those native to this place. Despite these distinctions, however, it is clear that these multiple senses of place were held together in the case of Northern Gateway, collectively aimed at resisting the same perceived threat.

Understanding place in the context of Kitimat also meant unravelling other types of co-existing geographies beyond those of home and homeland, including economic geographies. Chapter Five analyzed the theme of capital and the material life struggles of community members under contemporary conditions. I first outlined several key moments of landscape transformation relevant to the industrial history of Kitmat in order to show that capitalism is productive of uneven impacts and implications over time. By exploring some of the reformulations of land and labour involved in such transformations, I argued that decisions made by community members about whether they support or resist a particular development is complicated by an already reconfigured landscape and uneven geography of capital. Indeed, not all individuals experienced this industrial past in the same way. Linking back to Chapter Four, for indigenous communities, decisions made about the environment are made in the context

of homeland and are always informed by a legacy of marginalization, dispossession and displacement in the Canadian context.

Given these experiences and the legacy of industrial development on unceded Haisla territory in the Kitimat region, a deeper theorization of race in the Canadian context was required to understand the contemporary situation. Chapter Six brought the themes of place and capital into conversation with my thematic analysis of race. After outlining my definition and understanding of the word race, I explored how ideas about race are not only discursive formations but are also productive of material and embodied experiences. Building on the colonial history of the Kitimat region as explored in Chapters Four and Five, I argued in this chapter that modernizing and civilizing ways of thinking have shaped the character of Kitimat under a logic of development and progress. Furthermore, this network of ideas about property, capital and development shaped the character of people in the Kitimat community in an indelible way, including legitimizing the trajectory of becoming a producer under capitalist modes of production. In a landscape already undone and (re)produced by colonialism and capital, the reconfigured role of labour and the material requirements of daily life converge to inform both opposition to, and support of, oil and gas development. It is this constellation of ideas and transformations that also informs discourse around what it means to be indigenous, particularly as indigenous community members make various decisions in response to development proposals, some of which are deemed to be incongruous in relation to essentialized understandings of indigenous identity. Therefore, in the case of industrial development in Kitimat, I ultimately argue that ideas about race, though reconfigured, have and continue to play a pivotal role in enabling capital accumulation and industrial development in this region.

As referenced throughout Chapters Four, Five and Six, and with support from the environmental justice literature, I agree with scholars who acknowledge that indigenous communities experience a disproportionate share of the adverse effects under deepening capitalism and development projects. The themes of place, race and capital interact, therefore, in a critical way in the example of Kitimat to produce and reproduce uneven power relations and asymmetrical material outcomes. It is because of this entanglement of place, race and capital that I have sought to bring political ecology into conversation with post colonial analyses and facets of critical race theory. In doing so,

my specific and central contribution to the literature is making direct links between race, industrial development and capital accumulation in the Kitimat region and in the Canadian context. More broadly, I argue that because of the intersections of the three themes of place, race and capital, analysis of race and racism should hold a central role in research of development from a political ecology perspective going forward.

8.　Epilogue

One of the biggest challenges in writing this thesis was the continuous evolution of industrial development in British Columbia. It felt like everyday there was something new to learn: projects were being announced, governments at all levels were issuing statements and project approvals, communities and non-profit organizations were finding new strategies of resistance, and lectures were being organized to engage citizens in conversation. I learned, over time, to take note of these shifting situations simply so that I could proceed, knowing that at some point I could make reference to them here. This epilogue serves as a way to acknowledge some of these shifts and to demonstrate the dynamism of industrial development in British Columbia.

One of the most significant announcements related to oil and gas expansion occurred in December 2013 when the Joint Review Panel released its recommendation to approve the Enbridge Northern Gateway Project. This announcement was highly anticipated, coming three years after Northern Gateway's initial application in 2010 and following extensive testimony during 180 hearing days in 21 different communities across BC and Alberta, including 9 First Nations communities (Joint Review Panel, 2013a). In total, according to the Joint Review Panel (2013a), 1179 people provided oral statements, 268 participants cross-examined witnesses, and the Panel sat for 884 hours in order to hear oral evidence, oral statements, cross examinations and final arguments.

The Joint Review Panel's recommendation was announced in the form of two volumes entitled *Connections. Volume 1* outlined the recommendation for approval and explained that the report was "about connections and linkages across time and place, on land and sea, between the economy and the environment, and among people, resources, cultures, wellbeing, safety, and a way of life" (Joint Review Panel, 2013c, p.1). Furthermore, *Volume 1* explains how the JRP saw their role in the assessment process:

Our task was to recognize these connections. We weighed and balanced them to answer the fundamental question: Would Canada and Canadians be better off or worse off if the project goes ahead? (Joint Review Panel, 2013c, p.1).

Following this, *Volume 2* included a detailed explanation of the recommendation and also issued 209 conditions for their approval. According to the Joint Review Panel (2013d), the purpose of these conditions was to "mitigate potential risks and effects associated with the project so that the project would be designed, constructed, and operated in a safe manner that protects human health and the environment" (p.5). The 209 conditions of this recommendation are a legal requirement and "apply to the project if the federal government decides to accept the Panel's recommendation" (para 12). Under the new environmental assessment framework contained in a 2012 omnibus bill, the cabinet now has final decision-making power over the Project ("Northern Gateway pipeline report", 2014). This federal government's decision is expected to come by June 2014.

While *Connections* is an extensive set of volumes, two insights come from these reports that are worth mentioning. Firstly, *Connections* discusses the Joint Review Panel's findings as they relate to indigenous communities. In terms of benefits to indigenous communities, *Volume 1* explains that "there would be opportunities for affected Aboriginal groups to benefit from project-related programs such as ongoing wildlife studies, monitoring programs, and Northern Gateway's commitment to support training, and business opportunities" (Joint Review Panel, 2013c, p.25). *Volume 1* also outlines, however, that there would be adverse effects associated with the Project affecting some indigenous groups. With respect to these effects, the JRP states that, based on the evidence, "these effects would be temporary" (p.25). Furthermore, in response to many of the concerns raised about the impacts of an oil spill, *Volume 1* states that adverse effects occurring from "the unlikely event of a large oil spill" (p.25) would not be permanent or widespread. The notion of "opportunity" and project "benefits" discussed in this document reflect the logic of capital (as discussed in Chapter 5) which seeks to incorporate indigenous communities into the fold and legitimize industrial expansion.

Beyond discussion of the effects and benefits of the Project, *Connections* also discusses some of the concerns raised over the processes of consultation and assessment itself. For example, in *Volume 2*, the Joint Review Panel (2013d) found that many indigenous groups raised concerns about the adequacy of Northern Gateway's "efforts to engage them and to discuss their concerns" (p.40). Despite these concerns, the JRP found that Northern Gateway met the requirement for consultation and extended some further advice:

> The Panel believes it is critical for all parties to understand their respective roles and responsibilities in respect of the company's consultation activities and participation in the regulatory review process. The Panel finds that, when parties do not participate because they have concerns about the regulatory process or are opposed to the project, the opportunity has been lost to present their views to the Panel and to have them considered during the Panel's deliberations (Joint Review Panel, 2013d, p.41).

As discussed in Chapter 6, these recommendations reflect an ontology and epistemology of western progress, arguing that all citizens have particular roles and responsibilities that they must take up in the development process. The recommendations also fail to acknowledge the way in which such processes of consultation and assessment have played a crucial role in material processes of dispossession over time, particularly for indigenous communities.

A second outcome of the Panel's recommendation pertains not to the report itself but to the response after its release. One concern raised after the report was released pertained to the quality of assessment with respect to environment effects. In the case of some of these effects, *Volume 1* acknowledges two cases of significant adverse effects which could occur from the Project and "in combination with effects from past, present and reasonably foreseeable projects, activities, and actions" (Joint Review Panel, 2013c, p.52). This means that when assessing the Project in a cumulative way, or in association with other past, current and potential projects, the JRP found significant adverse effects on two environmental components, the woodland caribou and eight grizzly bear populations. The JRP stated that the effects for these animals would be significant *but* "[c]onsidering the overall benefits and burdens from the project, we recommend that significant effects in these two cases be found to be justified in the circumstances"

(p.52). Debate over the nature of effects to these, and other, wildlife populations arose throughout the assessment process; however, these concerns were not abated by the JRP's recommendation. Instead, since the release of *Connections*, concerns have escalated into a proliferation of legal challenges.

For example, after the release of *Connections*, a coalition of environmental groups, including ForestEthics Advocacy, the Living Oceans Society and the Raincoast Conservation Foundation, filed a lawsuit alleging that the report contained legal error and is based on insufficient evidence ("Northern Gateway pipeline report", 2014). One of their chief complaints was that the JRP lacked evidence to support its conclusion that the Project would not have significant adverse effects on certain aspects of the environment ("Northern Gateway pipeline report", 2014). The Gitga'at First Nation, from Hartley Bay also filed their own court challenge following the release of *Connections,* asking for a judicial review of the JRP recommendation ("Gitga'at Northern Gateway lawsuit", 2014). Furthermore, the Haisla Nation also added their name to the growing list of legal action. In their challenge, the Haisla Nation argue that the Panel failed in numerous ways, including "failing to assess the environmental effects of the project on Haisla Nation cultural heritage" (Rowland, 2014a, para 6), and "failing to provide a rationale for its conclusions regarding significant adverse effects" (para 6). The Haisla Nation also argued that the Panel failed to observe procedural fairness by "failing to assess impact on aboriginal rights or interest in its public interest assessment" (para 8).

In addition to asking that the Panel reconsider the public interest assessment, the Haisla Nation asked that "the court direct the Panel to provide its assessment of adequacy of Crown consultation to date" (para 5). In *Connections,* the Joint Review Panel (2013d) offered "no views in relation to the consultation activities undertaken by the Government of Canada to date" (p.41). As discussed in Chapter 6, governments have a duty to consult the potentially affected Aboriginal communities for both cases of asserted, but unproven rights, and treaty rights (Sanderson et al, 2012). However as suggested by Tom Flanagan, a professor of political science at the University of Calgary, "there's no clear standard on what constitutes adequate consultation" (Gerson, 2012). Most recently, in February 2014, the Haisla Nation stated that a hasty approval on the Enbridge Northern Gateway Project would be illegal in the absence of meaningful consultation with aboriginal groups (Lewis, 2014).

At a municipal level, the District of Kitimat, which maintained an official position of neutrality throughout the assessment process, is now preparing for a non-binding plebiscite on the Enbridge Northern Gateway Project scheduled for early April 2014. The official wording for the ballot question states:

> Do you support the final report recommendations of the Joint Review Panel (JRP) of the Canadian Environmental Assessment Agency and National Energy Board, that the Enbridge Northern Gateway project be approved, subject to 209 conditions set out in Volume 2 of the JRP's final report? (District of Kitimat, 2014c)

In preparation for the vote, members of Douglas Channel Watch, the Kitimat-based organization vocally opposed to Northern Gateway announced a door-to-door campaign to find out what people think and to encourage participation (Orr, 2014). Conversely, Northern Gateway created a website, *Vote Yes for Kitimat*, urging citizens to vote in favour of the project (Yes for Kitimat, 2014) and has also been running a number of advertisements in community newspapers and on the radio (Orr, 2014). This plebiscite, which seeks to gain crucial insight into the opinions of Kitimatians, emerges amid critique over the District's positionality (Rowland, 2014b), and ongoing concerns over the effects of industrial development in the region.

Thinking about some of these effects, one of the most vivid things I heard about the advance of industry in the community of Kitimat came to me in an informal conversation and blindsided me in its intensity. This individual, who was working on the modernization of Rio Tinto Alcan smelter and had experience working in Fort McMurray, told me that Kitimat was going to be "eaten alive" (personal communication, September 29, 2012). Those words stuck with me throughout the remainder of my fieldwork and reminded me to think about ongoing processes of industrial development and what the future would look like for the community. One of the ways in which to think this through is to unpack a recent concern over housing that has emerged in media reports and municipal documentation. This emerging issue of housing adds an added dimension to understandings and experiences of home, as discussed in Chapter 4, and their linkages to transformations of place and space under industrial development.

In January 2014, the District of Kitimat released a *Housing Facts* document and highlighted that "[i]nfrastructure capacity is under stress as Kitimat adapts to the arrival of new residents" (District of Kitimat, 2014b, p.1). Some construction has been undertaken in two new subdivisions, Strawberry Meadows and Forest Hills (District of Kitimat, 2014b). In light of this stress, however, the rental market has also been dramatically affected. According to *Housing Facts*, vacancy rates in Kitimat were 1.0% in October 2013, and this is believed to be related to "a recent influx in new temporary and permanent residents" (District of Kitimat, 2014b, p.2). Many new temporary workers that I met during my fieldwork, for example, were working on the modernization of the Rio Tinto Alcan aluminum smelter. Some of these individuals lived on site in the industrial area, in temporary facilities, while others rented apartments in the community.

In order to cope with this housing squeeze, Rio Tinto Alcan has contracted a cruise ship for Kitimat to house up to 600 workers hired to complete the aluminum smelter's upgrade (Austin, 2014). Other projects have been developed to address these types of residents, whether they are working for Rio Tinto Alcan, or another industrial project, like LNG. The District of Kitimat (2014b), for example, stated that a 2154 bed temporary worker accommodation facility will be built in one of the new subdivisions, Strawberry Meadows, adjacent to the downtown core. Kitimat's Mayor Joanne Monaghan expects up that up to 10 000 workers will require accommodation if all LNG projects proposed for the community are undertaken (Austin, 2014).

The number of homes for rent and purchase is not the only concern but also the affordability and the quality of these dwellings. The average value of a single family dwelling, including land, stands at a new high in 2014 and as vacancy rates decline for rental units, rents have risen (District of Kitimat, 2014b). The issue of both the quality and affordability of housing was flagged as early as 2012 when the *Comprehensive Housing Needs Assessment for the District of Kitimat* was completed (Terra Housing Consultants, 2012). The report explains the context of housing in the community in 2012 and also anticipates some of the issues that we now see unfolding today:

> Kitimat's unemployment rate is higher than in the Province as a whole and recent population loss due to industrial modernization and plant closures have negatively impacted local service and retail

businesses. As a result of these periods of high vacancy rates, many rental apartment and townhouse complexes have fallen to disrepair.

As the community strengthens under the economic stimulus of new industrial projects, the rental market has begun to change with lower vacancy rates and higher rents, yet there are no new purpose built rental units or social housing projects on the horizon. Housing quality remains low with most of the housing dating back to the 1950's when the community was established, and many of the rental housing units are in need of major repairs. (Terra Housing Consultants, 2012, p.2)

Renovations have been undertaken in light of these poor quality conditions. Advocates in Kitimat and nearby Terrace, however, are raising concerns over the practice of "renovictions", wherein landlords evict tenants to renovate units and ultimately increase rents ("Terrace, Kitimat low-income residents", 2014). Kitimat Housing worker Anne Moyles suggests that when this occurs, many low income community members can no longer afford to live in Kitimat and some have even had to leave in search of affordable housing elsewhere. This housing crisis, related not only to the number of homes but also to their quality and affordability, gives a new meaning and added complexity to the discussion of home in Chapter 4 and to further contemplation about who will be included in the years to come.

The issue of housing and home is grounded in place and in community, but is also linked to and affected by multiple regional, national and global processes. Another recent and prominent new story, which covered a conflict of interest accusation for lobbying of the Enbridge Northern Gateway Project, serves to demonstrate the significance of these linkages. In January of 2014, the online newspaper the *Vancouver Observer* reported that Chuck Strahl, the chairman of the Security and Intelligence Review Committee (SIRC), registered to lobby on behalf of Enbridge's Northern Gateway Pipelines Limited Partnership through his consulting agency Chuck Strahl Consulting Inc. (Millar, 2014). The Security and Intelligence Review Committee (SIRC) reviews the conduct and work performed by Canada's spy agency CSIS. Millar (2014) stated that Strahl's registration for lobbying activities in the case of Enbridge was a conflict of interest, and that it represented a "collusion of private interests within Canada's security apparatus". This lobbying activity was considered problematic because, as reported in November 2013, CSIS and the RCMP were found monitoring

activists and organizations opposed to the Enbridge Northern Gateway Project (McCarthy, 2013).

In response, Chuck Strahl defended his conduct, arguing that the *Vancouver Observer* is "aggressively 'anti-pipeline' and opposes Northern Gateway" and thus its story was influenced by this agenda (Hutchinson, 2014). Despite this, by the end of January Strahl announced that he would step down as chairman of SIRC to avoid being the "centre of the political fray" (Paris, 2014). In doing so, he reaffirmed that the Ethics Commissioner found him to be in compliance with the rules and his actions did not represent a conflict of interest. This news story prompted other investigative journalism into the issue and Greg Weston, National Affairs Specialist with the *CBC News* found that while "there is no evidence of any actual conflict of interest" (Weston, 2014) in Strahl's case, Strahl was not the only member of SIRC to have connections to oil, gas and pipeline industries: Denis Losier sits on the board of directors for Enbridge New Brunswick and Yves Fortier[20] previously sat on the board of TransCanada Pipelines Ltd, the company behind the Keystone XL pipeline which would carry Alberta bitumen to refineries in the southern United States (Weston, 2014), and proposing the Coastal GasLink natural gas pipeline to the LNG Canada project in Kitimat.

This series of new stories reminds us that what happens in Kitimat is connected to multiple contexts and processes. Not only is industrial development in Kitimat informed by lobbying efforts and governmental assessment processes, but it is also situated within a larger provincial, national and transnational struggles against pipeline development and other extractivist projects. For example, in May 2013, ten sovereign Indigenous nations walked out of a meeting with the US State department, reaffirming their opposition to the proposed Keystone XL pipeline (Devaney, 2013). Furthermore, in addition to the Coastal First Nation declaration banning oil tanker traffic in coastal territories (as discussed in Chapter 4), the Save the Fraser Declaration was signed in November 2010 by representatives from 60 First Nations (Gathering of Nations, 2010). This declaration banned the Enbridge Northern Gateway Project, or similar projects, from crossing the lands, territories and watersheds, or the ocean migration routes of

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[20] At the risk of being tangential, it is also interesting to note that Yves Fortier is the former chairman of Alcan Inc from 2002 to 2007 (Forbes, 2014).

Fraser River salmon. Since then additional signatories were added in ceremonies in Vancouver and Edmonton, increasing the total number of signatories to over 130 First Nations.

Furthermore, resistance has not only come in the form of declarations and legal challenges but also direct action. From a national perspective, throughout 2013, we saw the rise of the indigenous-led Idle No More movement with protests, blockades and other actions across Canada. At a more regional scale, and directly related to Kitimat, members of the Wet'suwet'en, a First Nation whose unceded territory extends from Burns Lake to the Coastal Mountains, began establishing a resistance community, or action camp, in the path of the Pacific Trail Pipeline in July 2010 (Unist'ot'en Camp, 2014). The Pacific Trail Pipeline, as mentioned in Chapter 5, is a natural gas pipeline that would connect Summit Lake in north-central British Columbia to the Kitimat LNG terminal. Since 2010, the resistance community, called the Unist'ot'en Camp, has grown and aims to "protect sovereign Wet'suwet'en territory from several proposed pipelines from the Tar Sands Gigaproject and shale gas from Hydraulic Fracturing Projects in the Peach River Region" (Unist'ot'en Camp, 2014, para 1). The action camp also challenges the meaning of consultation, and takes direct aim at the legitimacy of band councils to represent First Nations given the formation of these councils under the Indian Act. The Unist'ot'en state that "[t]he federal and provincial government, as well as Indian Act tribal councils or bands, have no right or jurisdiction to approve development on Unist'ot'en lands" (para 3).

These challenges to the state are significant and the federal government actively assesses any potential obstructions to resource development, like those posed by the Unist'ot'en and its allies. According to Lukas and Pasternak (2014), the Ministry of Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development has run 'risk management' programs since 2008, in order "to evaluate 'significant risks' to its agenda, including assertions of treaty rights, the expectations of aboriginal peoples and legal precedents at odds with government policies" (p.10). Furthermore, government reports predict that "failure to *manage the risks* could result in more 'adversarial relations' with aboriginal people, 'public outcry' and 'economic development projects [being] delayed'" (Lukas & Pasternack, 2014, p.10, emphasis added). This language of 'risk management reflects a

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broader neoliberal logic and economic rationality embedded in indigenous-state relations under deepening capitalism in the Canadian context.

So while development in Kitimat is facing its own challenges within the community, the Unist'ot'en Camp prompts us to remember that there are significant links to other communities and landscapes that will play a crucial role in how development plays out in future. Not only will resistance and responses along pipeline routes and around sites of extraction continue to evolve, but also linkages to climate change will inform how oil and gas development proceeds. In a report to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change issued in December 2013, the federal government acknowledged that Canada's greenhouse gas emissions will rise sharply after 2020 unless there are dramatic efforts to restrict emissions from the oil and gas sector (McCarthy, 2014). And while this admission sounds progressive, if we come full circle to where this epilogue began, we will see that how oil and gas expansion is assessed in a formal way does not necessarily match the urgency of this federal statement. Despite many who raised concerns about climate change during the early stages of public hearings for the Enbridge Northern Gateway Project, the Joint Review Panel concluded in their recommendation that "connections to oil sands development were not sufficiently direct to allow consideration of their environmental effects in its assessment of the project" (Joint Review Panel, 2014d, p.3). Thus, "upstream oil production in the Alberta oil sands region and its linkages to global climate change" (p.170) were not covered in the assessment.

Looking at the dynamic character of industrial development in Kitimat, British Columbia and how it is situated in global circulations of power and capital, I find it difficult to conclude to bring this thesis to a close. The processes of dispossession involved in such development, both historical and ongoing, are significant, complex and multiple, as are the environmental crises unfolding in their wake. When I am at a loss for words or direction, I often turn to the imagination found in novels and other literature to help me guide the way. So, in lieu of my own attempt to conclude, I seek instead to turn to inspiration found in David Mitchell's *Cloud Atlas*, where he eloquently suggests where to go from here and just how hard this path may be:

To wit: history admits no rules, only outcomes.

What precipitates outcomes? Vicious acts and virtuous acts.

What precipitates acts? Belief.

Belief is both prize & battlefield, within the mind and in the mind's mirror, the world. If we believe humanity is a ladder of tribes, a colosseum of confrontation, exploitation and bestiality, such humanity is surely brought into being…You & I, the moneyed, the privileged, the fortunate, shall not fare so badly in this world, provided our luck holds. What of it if our consciences itch? Why undermine the dominance of our race, our gunships, our heritage & our legacy? Why fight the 'natural' (oh, weaselly word!) order of things?

Why? Because of this: - one fine day, a purely predatory world shall consume itself…

Is this doom written in our nature?

If we believe that humanity may transcend tooth & claw, if we believe diverse races & creeds can share this world as peaceably as the orphans share their candlenut tree, if we believe leaders must be just, violence muzzled, power accountable & the riches of the Earth & its Oceans shared equitably, such a world will come to pass. I am not deceived. It is the hardest of worlds to make real (Mitchell, 2004, p.528).

It is my hope, going forward that despite how difficult it may seem, we strive to make space for solidarity with one another and that we continue to direct our energies into making a more just and equitable world real.

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Appendix A.

A Partial History of Colonization and Industrial Development in the Kitamaat Region

1792-3 European contact begins in the region, including the arrival of George Vancouver, and over time in the form of traders, surveyors, and prospectors (Powell, 2006). Juan Zayas, travelling with George Vancouver, explores Douglas Channel in 1793 (Kelm, 2006).

The Gitamaat and the Henaksiala communities (which lateramalgamated to form the Haisla people in 1948-9) are devastated by contact epidemics (Powell, 2006). The Gitamaat were formed from the remnants of (1) the Xa'isla, the Miya'na x ass, Zagwis, Paxw, Walhsto, C'imoc'a and elsewhere, (2) the Na'labila or Oxwdewala, and (3) the Gedala (Powell, 2006). The Henaksiala were formed of two branches: (1) the Kitlope, and the (2) Kemano (Powell, 2006).

1833 Maritime fur trade draws Haisla to Fort McLoughlin for trade (Kelm, 2006).

1836 Population of Haisla halved from 825 to 409 individuals due to smallpox (Kelm, 2006).

1860s Roman Catholic missionaries baptize some Haisla at Kitlope(Kelm, 2006).

1870 The Gitamaat move to a site about a mile above the mouth of the Kitimat River (Powell, 2006).

1874 Christianity arrives to the Gitamaat community; Kitamaat noble Waks Gamalayu returns from Victoria with a new name, Charlie Amos and brings with him the Christian faith (Powell, 2006).

1876 The Indian Act of 1876 consolidated all previous legislation regarding what were called 'Indians' and 'Indian lands' and was amended over time "to prohibit cultural practices and public assembly, to confine Indians to reserves, and to prevent the pursuit of land claims" (Union of BC Indian Chiefs, 2005, p.19).

Women's Missionary Society founded (Kelm, 2006).

1878 Charlie Amos appeals to Methodist missionary Thomas Crosby for support; Crosby sends Tsimshian Christian missionaries George and Mary Ann Edgar (Kelm, 2006).

1880 Alfred and Kate Dudoward, Tsimshian Christian missionaries, are sent by Thomas Crosby to assist Amos (Kelm, 2006).

1882 Susan Lawrence, first white missionary arrives to the present-day site of Kitamaat Village, forming the Kitamaat Mission (Kelm, 2006).

1883 George Robinson and George Anderson, with wife Cora, arrive to replace Lawrence; Robinson marries a Haisla woman of high rank and opens a store (Kelm, 2006).

1887 Potlatch outlawed by Canadian Government (Powell, 2006).

1889 Indian Reserve Commissioner Peter O'Reilly visits Kitamaat and from the approximate 5000 sq. mile traditional territory, allocates the Haisla 1640 acres of land, including two village sites (Kelm, 2006)

1892 Rev. George Raley arrives in Kitamaat Village (Powell, 2006)

Raley, until his departure in 1907, publishes a monthly newsletter about the mission called *Na-Na-Kwa* (Kelm, 2006).

Families from the surrounding area begin to move to Kitamaat Village site (Powell, 2006).

1894   First purpose-built church with a capacity of 200 opens in Kitamaat, hosting weekly prayer meetings and a Sunday school (Kelm, 2006).

1896   Women's Missionary Society sends Elizabeth Long to act as matron over a newly built boarding school for Haisla girls (Kelm, 2006).

1897   First survey party, led by Edward Wilkinson, arrives to find a route for a railway planned to the coast; Wilkinson sparks hope in settlers calling Kitamaat "a gateway to the Yukon, Cassiar and Omineca" (as cited in Kelm, 2006, p.xxiv).

1898   Additional survey parties visit the Douglas Channel to find a suitable route (Kelm, 2006).

Settlers begin to arrive following these surveys and some begin to stake large claims for land up the valley (Kelm, 2006).

1903   President of the Grand Trunk Railway, Charles M. Hays, visits Kitamaat (Kelm, 2006).

1905   Indian Agent Ivar Fougnier expresses dissatisfaction over the Haisla reserves set up by O'Reilly: "The reserves of this band are situated in the Douglas Channel and are the poorest reserves and of smaller dimensions according to the size of the band than any other agency" (as cited in Kelm, 2006, p.xvi).

1907   Boarding school for girls in Kitamaat burns to the ground (Kelm, 2006).

Rev. Raley leaves Kitamaat (Kelm, 2006).

1908   Grand Trunk Pacific announces the western terminus for the railline would be located at Prince Rupet, not Kitamaat (Kelm 2006).

1910   Post office established at Kitamaat Village (Powell, 2006).

1916   Margaret Butcher joins the Women's Missionary Society (founded in 1976) and sails from Vancouver to Kitamaat to work at the rebuilt boarding school, named by Raley, the Elizabeth Long Memorial Home (Kelm, 2006).

1918   Flu epidemic proliferates in Kitamaat, lasting two years; 22 percent of infants and 25 percent of those under 15 lose their lives (Kelm, 2006).

1930s   The Kitlope community, a branch the Henaksiala group, move to Kitamaat in the wake of contact epidemics (Kelm, 2006). A memorial totem pole, erected to watch over the dead, is removed and taken to a Swedish museum (Kelm, 2006).

1940s   Late 1940s, on the invitation of the Government of British Columbia, the Aluminum Company of Canada (Alcan) began surveying the province's north in anticipation of its next aluminum project (Beck, 1997).

1948-9 The Gitamaat and the Henaksiala amalgamate to form the Haisla people (Powell, 2006).

1949   Government of BC passes the Industrial Development Act which enables the Lieutenant Governor in Council "to issue water licenses and lease or sell land to any person proposing to establish or expand the aluminum industry in the province" (Hartman, 1996, p.153).

1950   Province enters an agreement with Alcan and issues a Conditional Water Licence and a permit to "Permit the Occupation of Crown Land' (Hartman, 1996).

1950s   Alcan begins to construct its aluminum project, which included the third largest rock-filled dam in the world, a ten-mile tunnel and a powerhouse located inside a mountain, a fifty-mile transmission line over mountains and glaciers, a smelter at the end of Douglas Channel and the townsite of Kitimat itself (Beck 1997).

1952   The reservoir behind Kenney Dam, in the Nechako region, begins to fill with water, flooding an approximate surface area of 1200 km^2, including numerous reservations of the Cheslatta T'en people and grave sites (Beck, 1997).

1954   Familes begin to move into the first neighborhood in the town of Kitimat (Beck, 1997).

1960   Residential schools begin to close across British Columbia (Kelm, 2006).

1969   Eurocan, a pulp complex, is built in the industrial area of Kitimat (District of Kitimat, 2009).

1972   Oolican fishing curtailed on Kitimat River; as stated by Tirrul-Jones (1985) "pollution by industrial and municipal effluent discharges made the Eulachon foul-tasting and inedible" (as cited in COSEWIC, 2011, p.42). The Haisla historically harvested oolichan in both the Kitimat and Kildala Rivers, both of which run into the Douglas Channel (Moody 2000).

1982   A methanol plant begins operating in Kitimat (District of Kitimat, 2009).

1986   An ammonia plant begins to operate in Kitimat; the methanol plant and ammonia plant, together operating as Ocelot/Methanex become the largest consumer of natural gas in BC (District of Kitimat, 2009).

1990s   First Nations across the province express concerns over declining oolican runs (Stoffels, 2001).

1995   Kitamaat Village Council wins the British Columbia Provincial Award from the Ministry of the Environment for their work to prevent logging in the Kitlope Valley (Kelm, 2006).

2000   Coastal First Nations (CFN), a regional alliance comprised of nine coastal First Nations, including the Haisla Nation, forms; according to Davis (2009) CFN sought "to directly challenge the forces that were undermining First Nations self-determination and the integrity of their territories, livelihood, and cultural practices through the 1990s" (p.141).

2005   Ocelot/Methanex halt operations due to the high cost of natural gas (District of Kitimat, 2009).

2006   Memorial pole from the Kitlope valley that was taken to a Swedish Museum in the 1930s is returned to Kitamaat (Kelm, 2006).

       The *First Nation Commercial and Industrial Development Act* (FNCIDA) comes into force in April 2006, written to address a "lack of adequate regulations for such development on reserve land [that] leads to regulatory uncertainty that can discourage investment in such large projects and hinder economic development" (Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, 2012, para. 1). Essentially FNCIDA, therefore, "provides for the adoption of regulations on reserves that are compatible with those off reserve" (para. 3), allowing complex commercial and industrial projects to proceed.

2007   Alcan amalgamated into Rio Tinto Alcan Inc. (Rio Tinto Alcan, 2007).

2008   Pacific Trail Pipeline receives provincial environmental approval in June of 2008 (District of Kitimat, 2014a).

2009   Eurocan announces they would permanently close (District of Kitimat, 2009).

       Pacific Trail Pipeline receives federal environmental approval (District of Kitimat, 2014a).

2010   Northern Gateway Pipelines Limited Partnership submits their application for environmental assessment (District of Kitimat, 2014a).

2011   Committee on the Status of Endangered Wildlife in Canada (COSEWIC) (2011) states that oolichan fisheries around the province had declined by approximately ninety percent from their historic levels.

National Energy Board grants a permit to Kitimat LNG to export up to 10 million tones of LNG annually over 20 years (District of Kitimat, 2014a).

Rio Tinto Alcan announces final investment decision to undertake the Kitimat Modernization Project, which will increase the smelter's production capacity by 48% (District of Kitimat, 2014a).

2012   Joint Review Panel for the Enbridge Northern Gateway Project commences hearings for its environmental assessment; hearings extending throughout 2012 included 180 hearing days in 21 different communities across BC and Alberta, including 9 First Nations communities (Joint Review Panel, 2013a). In total, according to the Joint Review Panel (2013a), 1179 people provided oral statements, 268 participants cross-examined witnesses, and the Panel sat for 884 hours in order to hear oral evidence, oral statements, cross examinations and final arguments.

National Energy Board awards a permit to the Douglas Channel Energy Partnership (BC LNG) to export up to 1.8 million metric tonnes of LNG annually over 20 years (District of Kitimat, 2014a).

Shell Canada announces the development of a proposed two billion cubic feet per day liquefied natural gas export facility, called LNG Canada, on the site of the former Methanex methanol plant (District of Kitimat, 2014a).

In October 2012, TransCanada Corporation files an application with the federal and provincial environmental assessment agencies for the Coastal GasLink project (District of Kitimat, 2014a).

Haisla Nation Council announces its departure from Coastal First Nations 2012 ("Haisla split", 2012).

2013   In January 2013, the Haisla Nation (represented by the Haisla Nation Council), the BC Government and the Government of Canada sign a regulatory agreement so that Kitimat LNG can proceed on Haisla reserve land; this agreement utilizes the *First Nation Commercial and Industrial Development Act* (FNCIDA).

In February of 2013, the National Energy Board awards a permit to LNG Canada to export up to 24 million metric tonnes of LNG annually over 25 years (District of Kitimat, 2014a). The federal and provincial environmental assessment agencies received the project application in April of 2013 and this process is expected to extend into 2015 (District of Kitimat, 2014a).

In December 2013, the Joint Review Panel (2013c) released its recommendation to approve the Enbridge Northern Gateway Project.

2014   Kitimat LNG awards the Engineering, Procurement and Construction Contract to a joint venture involving Fluor Canada and JGC Corporation of Japan; a final investment decision is expected in 2014 (District of Kitimat, 2014a).

District of Kitimat (2014b) releases a document on housing in Kitimat, highlighting that infrastructure capacity is under stress due to the arrival of new residents, including the arrival of temporary workers; advocates raises concerns over the practice of "renovictions", wherein landlords evict tenants to renovate units and ultimately increase rents ("Terrace, Kitimat low-income residents", 2014).

Gitga'at First Nation, Haisla Nation and other organizations file court challenges following the release of the Joint Review Panel's recommendation to approve the Enbridge Northern Gateway Project (Rowland, 2014a)

A non-binding plebiscite to survey the residents of Kitimat following the JRP recommendation is scheduled for April; Northern Gateway begins campaigning residents.

Appendix B.

Field Notes: Semi-Structured Interviews and Key Sites of Participant Observation

Table B1. Details of semi-structured Interviews and participant observation

Date	Location	Name (if given)	Description of Informant	Type of Interaction
January 11, 2012	Joint Review Panel Hearings, Kitamaat Village,	Anonymous	Middle-aged, self-identified Haisla, male	Informal Conversation
June 23, 2012	Bed & Breakfast, Kitimat	Anonymous	Middle-aged, Female	Informal Conversation
June 23, 2012	Car tour of Kitimat/Kitamaat Village and Visit to Informant's Home, Kiitmat	Dieter Wagner	Male, Member of Douglas Channel Watch, Born in Germany, Moved to Canada in 1961	Semi-structured Interview
June 24, 2012	Enbridge Rally, City Centre Mall Parking Lot, Kitimat	Anonymous	Female, Member of Douglas Channel Watch	Informal Conversation
June 25, 2012	Seamasters Restaurant, Kitamaat Village	Anonymous	Female, Member of Friends of Wild Salmon	Informal Conversation
June 27, 2012	Trail Walk in Hirsch Creek Park, Kitimat	Murray Minchin	Male, Member of Douglas Channel Watch, Postal Worker	Semi-structured Interview
June 28, 2012	Constant Cravings Café, Kitimat	Dave Shannon	Male, Member of Douglas Channel Watch, Engineer	Semi-structured Interview
June 30, 2012	Community Member's House, Kitamat	Anonymous	Female, Community Worker	Informal Conversation
September 2, 2012	Community Shuttle, Kitimat Fish Derby, Kitimat Visitors Centre, Kitimat	Anonymous	Middle-aged, Male, Resident of Kitimat since 2003	Informal Conversation
September 7, 2012	Kitimat Library, Kitimat	Anonymous	Male	Informal Conversation
September 15, 2012	City Centre Mall, Kitimat	Walter Thorne	Middle-aged, Male, Member of Kitimat Valley Naturalists	Semi-structured Interview
September 15, 2012	City Centre Mall, Kitimat	Susan Thorne	Middle-aged, Female	Semi-structured Interview

Date	Location	Name (if given)	Description of Informant	Type of Interaction
September 16, 2012	District of Kitimat Council Meeting, Public Safety Building, Kitimat	Anonymous	Female, Community Based Researcher	Informal Conversation
September 18, 2012	Library Courtyard Park, Kitimat	Anonymous	Middle-aged, Female, Member of Douglas Channel Watch	Informal Conversation
September 18, 2012	Hype Tea Shop, Kitimat	Anonymous	Female, Moved to Kitimat in 2011 from Edmonton	Informal Conversation
September 18, 2012	Radley Park Campground, Kitimat	Anonymous	University-aged, Female	Informal Conversation
September 19, 2012	Kitimat-Terrace Connector Bus, Hwy 37, Kitimat	Anonymous	Middle-aged, self-identified Nisga'a, Female	Informal Conversation
September 22, 2012	Kitimat Modernization Job Fair, Riverlodge Community Centre, Kitimat	Anonymous	Female, Representative of Kitimat Valley Institute	Informal Conversation
September 22, 2012	Tour of Kitamaat Village	Anonymous	Middle-aged, self-identified Haisla, male	Informal Conversation
September 24, 2012	Various Rental Apartments, Kitimat	Anonymous	Female, Rental Property Manager	Informal Conversation
September 27, 2012	Constant Cravings, Kitimat	Anonymous	University-aged, Female	Informal Conversation
September 29, 2012	Ol' Keg Pub, Kitimat	Anonymous	Male, Temporary Worker for Rio Tinto Alcan Modernization	Informal Conversation
October 3, 2012	Kitimat-Terrace Connector Bus, Hwy 37, Kitimat	Anonymous	Middle-aged, self-identified Haisla, male	Informal Conversation
October 6, 2012	Kitimat Ice Dogs Hockey Game, Tamitik Arena, Kitimat	Anonymous	Middle-aged, self-identified Haisla, male	Informal Conversation
October 13, 2012	Friends of Wild Salmon General Meeting, Northwest Community College, Terrace	Anonymous	University-aged, Male, Documentary Film Maker	Informal Conversation
October 14, 2012	Nobel Women's Initiative Breaking Ground: Women, Oil & Climate Change Event, Riverlodge Community Centre,, Kitimat	Anonymous	Female, Retired, Member of Douglas Channel Watch	Informal Conversation

Date	Location	Name (if given)	Description of Informant	Type of Interaction
October 17, 2012	City Centre Mall, Kitimat	Anonymous	Middle-aged, self-identified Haisla, male	Informal Conversation
October 19, 2012	Women Building Communities "Seizing Opportunities Amongst Change" Event, Minette Bay Lodge, Kitimat	Anonymous	University-aged, Female, Representative from Women Building Communities	Informal Conversation
October 20, 2012	Community Member's House, Kitamat	Anonymous	Adult, Female, self-identified Haisla	Informal Conversation
October 23, 2012	Dairy Queen, Kitimat	Anonymous	Middle-aged, self-identified Haisla, male	Semi-structured Interview
October 23, 2012	Kitimat Visitors Centre, Kitimat	Trish Parsons	Female, Executive Director, Kitimat Chamber of Commerce & Visitors Centre	Semi-structured Interview
October 24, 2012	Enbridge Rally, City Centre Mall, Kitimat	Anonymous	Adult, Male, News Reporter	Informal Conversation
October 24, 2012	District of Kitimat Office, Kitimat	Rose Klukas	Female, Economic Development Officer	Semi-structured Interview
October 27, 2012	Constant Cravings Café, Kitimat	Anonymous	University-aged, Female	Informal Conversation
October 28, 2012	Tour of Industrial Area, Kitimat	Anonymous	Middle-aged, Male, Temporary Worker for Rio Tinto Alcan Modernization	Informal Conversation
October 30, 2012	Enbridge Community Advisory Board Meeting, Kitimat Valley Institute	Anonymous	Adult, Female, Member of Douglas Channel Watch	Informal Conversation
November 9, 2012	Joint Review Panel Hearings, Ramada, Prince George	Anonymous	Adult, Male, Representative from Enbridge, Public Relations and Communications	Informal Conversation
December 6, 2012	Kitimat Museum and Archives, Kitimat	Louise Avery	Female, Curator at Kitimat Museum and Archives	Semi-Structured Interview
December 6, 2012	Kitimat Museum and Archives, Kitimat	Angela Eastman	Female, Assistant Curator at Kitimat Museum and Archives	Semi-Structured Interview
December 10, 2012	Joint Review Panel Hearing, Chances, Prince Rupert	Gerald Amos	Self-identified Haisla, male, former chief councilor Haisla Nation	Semi-structured Interview

Appendix C.

Reflections from the Field

I often reflect on my time doing research in the Northwest and am filled with a complicated collection of emotions. Reading through my field books reminds me of the many challenges and difficulties associated with working in community and the many considerations involved in trying to be a careful and thoughtful researcher. While I made space in my methods chapter to speak to some of these considerations, there are some challenges and aspects to the research process that I am still reflecting on and working through. These experiences are an integral part of the story of this research, and it is my hope that this reflection will make some of these challenges more visible.

I arrived in Kitimat as a university student who has lived in the Vancouver area since 2006, and who was raised in a small town in southern Ontario. Visiting and eventually moving into the community in the Fall of 2012, I was struck by how much this experience growing up in a smaller town prepared me for some of the intricate social networks that one encounters in smaller communities. Most importantly, I was reminded from my childhood that newcomers stand out in these spaces. I often felt like an outsider in Kitimat and was frequently asked who I was, where I came from, and why I was there.

Feeling like an outsider, there were moments when I felt profoundly isolated and unconnected. Sometimes I just wanted someone to talk to, and at other times, I wanted to retreat somewhere where I was not always standing out. When I felt this way, I would travel north to Terrace, the next closest community, in order to recharge. In my field book, I reflect on one such trip to Terrace, how I felt as I arrived back in Kitimat that evening and some of the complicated emotions I was feeling:

> *"Getting back to town, I felt an sense of coming home, which is odd because the precise reason why I enjoyed the Elephant's Ear Café [in Terrace] is that I liked being anonymous. Here in Kitimat, I always feel 'on', always feel like a bit of an outsider. But coming back tonight gave me an odd sense of relief and comfort." (September 19, 2012).*

Despite this need for retreat, it was clear that over time, I became more adjusted to life in the community. Finding a place to live and a comfortable retreat for writing and working contributed to this feeling of comfort and familiarity. It was late August when I initially drove to Kitimat for the Fall segment of my fieldwork, and I began by staying in the local campground. While the weather was beautiful for camping in the early weeks, as time passed, autumn rain set in. In the evenings, with many local businesses closed, the only place I could work was my tent. It wasn't until late September when I had coordinated a rental apartment that I had a more comfortable space to decompress and clear my mind.

One of the challenges that I often struggled with was a feeling that I wasn't making as much progress as I wanted. I thought often about how I was connecting with members of the community, particularly members of the Haisla Nation. With a shy personality, I struggled with making initial connections and I also wrote extensively about the way in which my relationships were evolving once these connections were made. I would call my supervisors to talk through these challenges, and would write reflections on what to do next. For example, after thinking about how few interviews I had attained, I wrote:

> *"Next steps: what do I want to do, what do I want to come home with, what do I want my relationships to feel like" (September 26, 2012)*

These sorts of notations were common in my field books, as I grappled with both the demands and requirements of research and the integral desire to be careful and thoughtful in my approach. My primary concern was always related to the quality of relationships that I was building, particularly with indigenous community members. Given, as discussed in my methods chapter, the legacy that research has had in these communities, I was constantly reflecting on what effects my role in the community might have.

Another challenge that I had in this research was my position as a young female researcher. Given the influx of temporary workers in the community, who were predominately men, I was often subject to unwanted attention and language that made me feel objectified and belittled. I would always introduce myself as a researcher, but had encounters where I felt completely reduced to one characteristic only: female. One evening, I wrote extensively about these emotions after a phone call with a friend from Vancouver:

> *"I didn't realize how overwhelmed I was until I started to cry…How do you manage unwanted attention, when in a place that's not your own? I even said [that] I was starting to wonder about what I was wearing, and [my friend] argued that…I shouldn't have to worry about that. This concern about men, about what they thought & whether or not they were really taking me seriously." (September 30, 3012).*

Among all of the politics I expected to encounter in this complicated field context, these experiences were by far the most emotionally draining. Nearing the end of my field work, I confessed to my journal:

> *"I had a hard time sleeping [last night]- not only thinking about all the work left to do- but thinking about leaving, of the bonds I'd made and the tough stories I'd heard. August seems years away, and there's been so much emotionally…that's happened since then. A lot to process- all I can think about is home, being with family." (October 18, 2012).*

Being in the field, and away from home, was extremely challenging but also incredibly rewarding. There were significant moments where I felt alone, isolated and unsure, negotiating difficult political situations and demoralizing contexts. At the same time, however, I developed wonderful relationships and was warmly welcomed into people's social circles, homes and around their dinner tables. I shared space with some profoundly strong people, I witnessed powerful testimony and I was humbled by the honesty and compassion of many. All of these experiences are part of my research story. By continuing to reflect on them in the future, I hope to contribute to an ongoing dialogue between academics and the public about the complicated role of researchers in communities.