

Mapping Danger: Canadian Resource-Based Projects Associated with Violence Against Indigenous Women

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ABSTRACT

Abstract: Natural resource-based projects represent an important sector in Canada's economy, where the energy, mining, and forestry industries accounted for 17% of Canada's gross domestic product in 2018 (Natural Resources Canada, 2019). Many projects are located on or near Indigenous lands, disproportionately impacting Indigenous peoples (Gibson et al., 2017). The negative environmental impacts of resource-based projects are well documented (Koutouki et al., 2018; Westman & Joly, 2019); however, the social consequences are often overlooked. Recently, numerous non-profit organizations have documented a connection between resource-based projects and increased numbers of violent offences against Indigenous women (Amnesty International, 2016b; Bond & Quinlan, 2018; Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada, 2021;), but few academic articles have addressed this issue. Therefore, a non-systematic scoping review was conducted on available grey literature, news articles, and academic literature to examine key concepts and themes. This review demonstrates that colonization has placed Indigenous women in Canada at higher risk of violence. The introduction of resource-based projects exacerbates this issue through three key processes: the presence of "man camps," economic changes, and changing family dynamics. In combination with an inadequate criminal justice system, the resulting violence against Indigenous women can be categorized into three overlapping groups: domestic violence, workplace violence, and sexual violence. An economic map was developed to illustrate the locations of resource-based projects associated with this issue (see Figure 1). This paper suggests potential solutions including addressing toxic workplace culture, updating policies and protocols, ensuring meaningful consultation with Indigenous peoples, and increasing government protections.

Introduction

In 2018, energy, mining, and forestry projects accounted for 17% of Canada's gross domestic product (Natural Resources Canada, 2019). These projects bring wealth to Canada and can benefit the local communities where they operate. Some benefits include training and employment opportunities (Nightingale et al., 2017), feelings of economic security (Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada, 2021),

opportunities for local contractors, and donations from resource-based companies (Shandro et al., 2014). Unfortunately, these economic benefits are often only temporary (Bond & Quinlan, 2018; Sweet, 2013), depending on the type of resource used and whether sustainability protocols are being implemented. Many Indigenous peoples (e.g., the Ojibway) believe they are responsible for ensuring the viability of their lands and resources for the

next seven generations (Clarkson et al., 1992), so these peoples would have higher expectations of sustainability than Western nations.

Due to unique circumstances, Indigenous communities—and Indigenous women in particular—are disproportionately impacted by resource-based projects (Bond & Quinlan, 2018). Ray (2018) noted that First Nations communities are eight times more likely to be on or close to an oil or natural gas pipeline compared to non-First Nations communities. Furthermore, because of climate change, northern Indigenous communities are expected to see increasing interest in explorative and extractive projects on their lands (Koutouki et al., 2018). These changes affect Indigenous people more than non-Indigenous people, as they are more reliant on the land for sustenance and the inheritance of cultural practices and knowledge.

Impact Benefit Agreements (IBAs) are often signed between First Nations and resource-based companies to outline the risks of development projects and provide opportunities for First Nations to negotiate terms and benefits (Manning et al., 2018). However, research demonstrates that companies repeatedly fail to comprehensively consult, assess, and mitigate the well-known effects of resource-based projects before their construction by ignoring IBA panel recommendations (Deonandan et al., 2016; Manning et al., 2018). This failure results in harmful effects on the environment, including the air, water, and lands where resource-based projects are developed (Koutouki et al., 2018; Westman & Joly, 2019; Willow, 2016). The most immediately concerning consequence of these projects, however, is that they often require large populations of non-local male workers who contribute to economic and social changes, including increased rates of violent offences against Indigenous women (Amnesty International, 2016b; Bond & Quinlan, 2018; KAIROS, 2014; Manning et al., 2018; Sweet, 2013). The Final Report of the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (2019) identified this issue and addressed it in five of the report's "Calls for Justice." However, little academic literature has synthesized the true complexity of this concerning issue.

To address the gap, this paper examines the gravity and reach of violence against Indigenous women because of resource-based projects in Canada. After explaining the method of research, a summary of Indigenous worldviews and the impact of colonization is discussed to provide context. Next, four emerging topics are identified to explain how resource-based projects contribute to higher rates of violence: "man camps" and toxic work culture, economic changes, changing family dynamics, and the inadequacy of the Canadian criminal justice system. Violence against Indigenous women is then categorized into domestic violence, workplace violence, and sexual violence. Lastly, recommendations to address this issue are summarized. The results of this review have been used to develop an economic map which identifies fourteen resource-based projects associated with increased violence against Indigenous women across Canada. The map can be found in the Methodology and Map section below for future educators and researchers (see Figure 1).

Methodology and Map

A non-systematic scoping review was conducted using the search engines Google Scholar and the Mount Royal University database in June 2021. Search terms included "violence," "Indigenous women," "extraction," "Canada," "sex trafficking," and "resource," among others, and were informed by a brief preliminary literature review. The researcher gathered and reviewed approximately seventy relevant academic journal articles, grey literature reports from non-profit organizations, and Canadian or American news articles (e.g., from APTN, CBC, the Globe and Mail, etc.). Articles were selected based on their inclusion of subject matter relating to both resource-based projects and violence against Indigenous women in Canada. The "snowballing" method was also used to ensure that frequently cited works were reviewed. After the initial selection, the criteria for inclusion were narrowed to approximately thirty articles relating to Canadian oil and natural gas, mining, and hydroelectric-based projects. These industries were chosen because at least three or more projects within each industry (e.g., three mines)

were associated with increased violence against nearby Indigenous women. Other extractive industries (e.g., logging) were excluded from this report due to an insufficient number of sources available on their impacts. Supplementary articles were also referenced to provide greater context, relating to topics such as crime statistics, Indigenous history and worldviews, resource-based violence in the United States, human rights, environmental impacts, and international policy. Through an iterative process, articles were reviewed and notes were created, which were then coded based on general emerging themes and topics (e.g., domestic violence, man camps). The purpose of this review was to answer the following research questions:

1. How do Canadian resource-based projects impact Indigenous women?
2. How can this issue be framed using an Indigenous worldview?
3. What factors contribute to this problem?
4. What are some potential solutions to this problem?

Throughout the research, fourteen resource-based projects across Canada were identified as having been accused of or showing evidence of increasing violence against Indigenous women. To visually demonstrate the geographical distribution of these projects, an economic map was created (see Figure 1).

Using an Indigenous Framework: Indigenous Women and the Land

To understand the gravity of resource-based projects' impacts on Indigenous communities, it is vital to understand the basic values, belief systems, and perspectives of Indigenous peoples in Canada. First Nations, Inuit, and Métis communities have unique and distinct histories, languages, traditions, and origins, and cannot be approached by being generalized into an all-encompassing model of Indigenous understanding (Monchalín, 2016). However, these communities share values that may play a role in their perceptions of resource-based projects. Fundamentally, land and the cultural practices tied to land are essential to the well-being of Indigenous families and communities. The land

not only provides sustenance through food, water, and medicines, but also directly supports the mental, emotional, spiritual, and physical health of Indigenous people (Deonandan et al., 2016). Therefore, when the land is healthy, the people are healthy. Furthermore, Indigenous worldviews assert that because humans are entirely reliant on the land (Watts, 2013), it must be nurtured and protected at all costs.

In many Indigenous cultures, (e.g., Anishinaabeg and Haudenosaunee), all things in the environment, including the land, vegetation, rocks, soil, and animals, have agency and equality with humankind (Watts, 2013). However, the Western perspective contends that humans are separate—and thus superior—to the land, which justifies exploitative practices, like resource-based projects (Watts, 2013). In response, opposition to resource development is commonly led by Indigenous women (KAIROS, 2014). This is because, in many Indigenous cultures, women are given a sacred role in protecting the land (Deonandan et al., 2016; Manning et al., 2018; Ray, 2018). Furthermore, Indigenous women and children disproportionately face the repercussions of resource-based projects, and in different ways than Indigenous men (Gibson et al., 2017; Manning et al., 2018). Thus, the rejection of Indigenous perspectives by resource-based companies means that they do not recognize the widely held Indigenous belief that violence against the land is violence against women (Bond & Quinlan, 2018; Manning et al., 2018).

The Impact of Colonization

Indigenous communities live with inequalities as a direct result of the historical and contemporary colonization of Canada. It is beyond the scope of this paper to outline how Indigenous people—and Indigenous women specifically—are denied their inherent rights, but it is important to at least acknowledge this truth. Colonization has removed Indigenous agency and self-governance (Bond & Quinlan, 2018), disrupting the sophisticated ways in which Indigenous people have lived for thousands of years before European contact (Ray, 2018). Through the loss of land and important cultural practices,

such as land-based sustenance, many Indigenous peoples have also been forced to become dependent upon Western institutions that continuously fail them (Willow, 2016).

Simultaneously, numerous acts of assimilation have been and are still being committed against Indigenous peoples. Some examples of this include forced displacement, the Indian Act, the Indian Residential School System, the Sixties Scoop, the Child Welfare System, and the ongoing crisis of the Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (MMIWG+) which this report seeks to address (Monchalín, 2016; National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, 2019; Taggart, 2015; The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015). More recently, the discovery of mass unmarked graves in Indian Residential Schools across Canada has demonstrated the continuation of harm caused by colonization (Eneas, 2021; Honderich, 2021).

Resource-Based Changes Contributing to Violence

“Man Camps” and Toxic Work Culture

The scale of many resource-based projects requires companies to hire many labourers, often more than are available in nearby municipalities (Edwards, 2019). As a result, a significant number of workers are hired from non-local cities or towns. Incoming workers are housed in large industrial camps, which are built by resource-based companies or set up by local investors hoping to profit from the incoming population (National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, 2019). These so-called “man camps” have developed a highly negative reputation (Gibson et al., 2017). It is important to note that the intention of this discussion is not to paint all resource-based workers in a bad light, but rather to explore the ways in which the resource-based environment creates a toxic system. Most resource-based workers tend to be young, heterosexual, cisgender men (Amnesty International, 2016a; National Inquiry into Missing

and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, 2019). The demographics in this industry help explain the increased crime rates in resource-based communities, given that young males are statistically most likely to perpetrate violent crimes compared to other groups when controlling for all other demographic factors (Amnesty International, 2016a; Tosh & Gislason, 2016). In addition, individuals with criminal records tend to gravitate towards these positions (Ruddell, 2011), and research has identified a high concentration of sex offenders in natural resource industries (Tosh & Gislason, 2016). Taggart (2015) suggests this trend could be explained by resource-based companies’ tendency to offer high salaries and their failure to ensure rigorous background checks.

The culture in man camps is described as sexist, disconnected, homophobic, and conducive to levels of hypermasculinity similar to military organizations (Taggart, 2015; Tosh & Gislason, 2016; Gibson et al., 2017). This “rigger culture,” as some have called it (Bond & Quinlan, 2018), is the culmination of multiple factors within the camps that encourage unhealthy traits and behaviours in the workers. The resource-based industry stigmatizes the pursuit of mental and physical healthcare, creating a toxic environment where men are required to appear tough and independent (Gibson et al., 2017). Workers are provided with very few opportunities for healthy habits and activities (Ruddell, 2011), which may encourage deviant behaviour.

As man camps are geographically isolated, workers may not have access to their families or other social support networks (Gibson et al., 2017). The typical fly-in-fly-out work schedule found in the camps includes weeks of long and exhausting workdays, followed by periods of time off in which the workers have little structure in their lives and high disposable income (Gibson et al., 2017; Ruddell, 2011). Consequently, substance abuse and gambling are common practices among workers (Amnesty International, 2016b; Gibson et al., 2017). This issue is further exacerbated when companies attempt to implement zero-tolerance drug policies, forcing workers to hide their substance use from employers (Manning et al., 2018).

Changing Family Dynamics

Indigenous culture is built upon close family units (Nightingale, et al., 2017), which are disrupted when resource-based employment is introduced. This was determined in a survey of Inuit women who had first-hand experiences working in the mines of their northern communities. Most survey respondents believed that these mines had created strong division in the community, because some community members supported the mine and others opposed it (Nightingale, et al., 2017). When family members work in the resource-based industry, the routines and functioning of the family unit also have the potential to be drastically altered.

Long shifts and time spent away from their home communities mean that Indigenous workers may be too exhausted to contribute to chores, spend time with their children, practice cultural activities, or concentrate on their relationships (Gibson et al., 2017). Familial tensions can also stem from partner jealousy, increased household responsibilities, increased or new substance abuse, and decreased family prioritization (Deonandan et al., 2016; Nightingale, et al., 2017). These factors reduce the strength of Indigenous families, even resulting in the separation of partners in some cases (Deonandan et al., 2016). At their worst, these conflicts have the potential to develop into domestic violence, which will be discussed in further sections of this paper.

Economic Changes

Municipalities that are primarily reliant on resource development profits have been called “boomtowns,” as they experience boom and bust cycles alongside fluctuating resource prices (Ruddell & Ray, 2018). Ruddell and Ray’s research has confirmed that increases in both summary and indictable offences can be expected in boomtowns based on these predictable cycles. Communities may vary in the extent to which they are impacted by economic changes. However, Sweet (2013) found that equity-deserving populations are at greater risk. As demonstrated by the impacts of colonization, Indigenous communities fit into this higher-risk group and are thus more likely to be impacted by economic change.

To begin with, government services located in First Nations communities in Canada are provided with fewer financial resources than non-Indigenous towns or cities (Bond & Quinlan, 2018). When resource-based projects begin to unfold, wages of incoming workers rapidly increase, creating inflation in the surrounding communities (Sweet, 2013). Combined with population growth, this inflation increases real estate and rental prices, making housing unaffordable and difficult to secure (Amnesty International, 2016b). Women with lower socioeconomic statuses may even become homeless because of rising housing costs (Manning et al., 2018).

As mentioned, resource-based projects can increase employment opportunities for Indigenous communities. However, these high-paying jobs are more likely to be given to men than women (Gibson et al., 2017), as demonstrated in Peace River, B.C. (Amnesty International, 2016b). This issue must be addressed by resource-based companies, especially considering that Indigenous women are more highly educated than Indigenous men (Bond & Quinlan, 2018). In Canada, Indigenous women already face a significant wage gap, earning 57% lower wages than non-Indigenous men, on average (Bond & Quinlan, 2018). Yet instead of hiring educated Indigenous women, resource-based projects have been found to exacerbate this wage gap, placing these women in financially vulnerable positions (KAİROS, 2014; Tosh & Gislason, 2016).

An Inadequate Criminal Justice System

A final factor that places Indigenous women at risk is the inadequacy of the Canadian criminal justice system. Crime statistics have demonstrated the impact of resource-based projects in boomtowns. For instance, a study by Shandro et al. (2014) used baseline data to examine crime rates in the municipality of St. James, B.C. This region saw a 38% higher rate of sexual assault, a 37% increase in missing person cases, and a nearly 50% increase in both aggravated assaults and assaults with a weapon from 2010 to 2011, during which time the Mount Milligan Mine was introduced (Shandro et al., 2014). And yet, the police strength

near resource-based projects generally lags behind the needs of these jurisdictions (Ruddell, 2011).

Connie Greyeyes, an activist from Fort St. John, notes that the RCMP in some areas may act apathetically towards gender-based crimes, even in high-stakes missing person cases (Smith, 2016). For instance, the body of Pamela Napoleon from Blueberry First Nation was only found after advocacy, organized searches, and other efforts from local band members, who felt that the RCMP were not prioritizing her case (Smith, 2016). Unfortunately, cases like Ms. Napoleon's are not uncommon, and families have repeatedly reported inadequate treatment by police in cases of MMIWG+ (National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, 2019). The burden of investigating crime should not be placed on the family and friends of at-risk populations, and yet the apathy that police have demonstrated towards the well-being of Indigenous peoples, including women, is well documented (Ray, 2018).

Gibson et al. (2017) asserted that this lack of care could be the result of inadequate training. For instance, one report found that Fort St. John had a high concentration of new police recruits, which could contribute to sub-par investigations (Smith, 2016). The location of police organizations also dictates the level of resources available. In remote regions where police detachments are far away from First Nations reserves, Indigenous women and families facing violence must cope with dangerously long police dispatch times (Gibson et al., 2017). In rare cases, police have even been reported as the perpetrators of violent offences against Indigenous women (Monchalin, 2016). These accounts suggest a systemic issue within the criminal justice system, where inadequate resources, lack of care, and discrimination by police forces contribute to the cycle of violence faced by Indigenous women.

Violence Against Indigenous Women

Domestic Violence

As demonstrated, multiple compounding factors increase the risk of violence against Indigenous women near resource-based projects. This violence

can be categorized into three main types: domestic violence, workplace violence, and sexual violence. Domestic violence occurs in partnerships where one person harms or threatens to harm another (or their children), and can be sexual, physical, emotional, or financial (Royal Canadian Mounted Police, n.d.). This abuse not only places the survivors at risk of harm and psychological trauma, but the surrounding family and community as well. Domestic violence against Indigenous women and children is seen to increase in regions in close proximity to resource-based projects (Gibson et al., 2017), likely for reasons related to the stress and strains that resource-based workers experience. Key informants from one study even expressed concern that children were at a higher risk of sexual assault as a consequence of mines near their communities (Nightingale et al., 2017). Unfortunately, isolated towns where Indigenous communities live may receive inadequate levels of attention, so there is little data available to expose this serious issue. Of the data available, however, one city in Alberta provides a stark example. Following an economic boom and subsequent downturn in 2009, Fort McMurray had the highest rate of domestic violence in all of Canada, at one point displaying a 1200% increase in reported cases (Taggart, 2015). As outlined previously, resource development creates wage gaps and increases the cost of living (Sweet, 2013). Thus, many Indigenous women may become financially dependent on their high-income partners (Amnesty International, 2016b), which puts them at risk of financial abuse (Bond & Quinlan, 2018). Unfortunately, the low capacity of social supports like shelters in some regions (Manning et al., 2018) can encourage domestic violence survivors to stay with their partners, despite their continued abuse (Wilcox et al., 2016). Although resource-based towns often face increasing demands for infrastructure and social services, there is little political effort to increase funding in these areas (Ruddell, 2011). These challenges, which most heavily impact Indigenous women, exacerbate the severity and frequency of domestic violence, as survivors who decide to seek help do not have the level of support they deserve.

At its worst, this refusal of care can become deadly. The case of Lynn Gauthier can serve as an example of this deadly effect. Gauthier's spouse travelled to northern B.C. to work in construction, and after many years of abusing her, he murdered her in 2000 (Amnesty International, 2016b).

Workplace Violence

Another recurring issue relevant to this review is that of sexual harassment and violence against Indigenous women who work in the resource-based industry (Bond & Quinlan, 2018; Manning et al., 2018). For instance, Nightingale et al. (2017) found that 50% of Inuit women in their study admitted sexual assault was a concern in the mines where they were employed. A recent study of Inuit women with previous or current experience in the resource-extraction industry corroborated this finding. Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada's (2021) survey found that while most respondents felt safe at work, over 50% had experienced some form of sexual violence or harassment while working in the industry. Some examples of these experiences included unwanted sexual touching, luring, voyeurism, and stalking, to name a few. The disparity between these women's level of concern for their safety and the reality of the incidents reveals that sexual harassment and violence are grossly normalized within the resource-based industry.

At the Endako industrial camp located near Lake Babine Nation, a study by Gibson et al. (2017) found there were at least six known instances of rape, none of which were formally reported to the police. Even when workers do not directly experience violence, they are likely to witness it, as one Indigenous worker revealed. During an interview, she recounted that while driving her male coworkers, she heard them openly bragging about having gang-raped a young Indigenous woman (Gibson et al., 2017). These crimes not only directly impact victims, but also create a sense of fear and insecurity for those who hear these stories, creating tertiary victims.

Forced Prostitution and Human Trafficking

Another category of violence to recognize is forced prostitution and human trafficking, which are associated with resource-based projects (Bond & Quinlan, 2018; Wilcox et al., 2016). Some Indigenous communities in Canada have poverty levels equivalent to levels in developing countries (Taggart, 2015), making individuals in these communities more vulnerable to trafficking and sexual violence (Bond & Quinlan, 2018). When man camps are introduced, these risk levels increase further due to factors previously discussed (Manning et al., 2018).

Additionally, Indigenous women and girls in the sex trade become particularly vulnerable to trafficking, especially if they live below the poverty line, are homeless, are disabled, or live in northern communities (Gibson et al., 2017; Wilcox et al., 2016). Participants from Gibson et al. (2017) study noted that without affordable transportation, some individuals may resort to hitchhiking to their work or community service buildings. As a result, Indigenous women are at a higher risk of being lured into vehicles for prostitution, either consensually or by force. Likewise, in regions with growing poverty and instability, women are more vulnerable to becoming engaged in "survival sex" (Tosh & Gislason, 2016), as occurs when resource-based projects create inflation and wage gaps.

While men move from across Canada to work in resource-based industries, Indigenous women in the sex trade are also being moved to the same locations, following the demand for these services from resource-industry workers (Taggart, 2015). For instance, Grande Prairie and Fort McMurray saw a rapid increase in sex trafficking surrounding nearby resource-based work camps in the late 2000s (Gibson et al., 2017). An Indigenous woman described her experience working in the sex trade in northern Alberta: "I think the guys are maybe lonely ... they're away from home, they have a lot of money—disposable income if you will" (Morin, 2020, para. 37). It is logistically challenging to quantify the scope of sexual violence such as sex trafficking across Canada. However, Taggart's (2015) research, among other studies (Manning et al., 2018; Gibson et al., 2017), makes it

clear that sexual violence is linked to the resource-based industry and requires urgent attention. Indeed, Adamson (2017) stated that “Sexual violence and sex crimes are the dirty little secrets of the global oil, gas and mineral booms” (p. 25).

Developing Solutions to Resource-Based Violence

Reframing the Workplace

Western ideology helps to facilitate violence through the normalization of patriarchy, colonization, and racism (Taggart, 2015). However, changing the narrative that surrounds the resource-based industry can mitigate this harm. Therefore, it is imperative that resource-based companies intentionally make their workplaces more positive and supportive (Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada, 2021). This change includes providing on-site mental health workers, healthy relationship training (Deonandan et al., 2016), and recreational opportunities such as access to gyms (Gibson et al., 2017). Financial courses are also important, as Sweet (2013) found that the low financial literacy of resource-based workers can contribute to alcohol and drug abuse and the demand for prostitution.

Safety Policies & Protocols

When resource-based companies do not have culturally safe and trauma-informed reporting procedures, Indigenous workers may be uncomfortable seeking justice against perpetrators, leaving crimes unanswered for. For instance, Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada (2021) heard evidence of a female Indigenous resource-extraction worker being dismissed after reporting an incident of sexual violence. Resource-based companies must develop and strengthen workplace violence policies to ensure all complaints are thoroughly investigated without harmful repercussions.

Meaningful Consultation

Although there are differences between typical Western and Indigenous perspectives, consultations

provide an opportunity for mutual collaboration. By developing trusting and equal relationships with Indigenous communities, the resource-based industry must work towards reconciliation through meaningful consultation processes. This means honouring Indigenous knowledge and spiritually significant lands (Manning et al., 2018), and abiding with relevant laws, treaties, and obligations such as the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) (Koutouki et al., 2018). When conducting IBAs, resource-based companies should use gender-based analysis plus, a research method that can assess how projects might impact individuals differently based on their sex, gender, race, ethnicity, religion, age, and mental or physical disability (Government of Canada, n.d.; Manning et al., 2018). Consultations must involve all relevant rights-holders, including Indigenous women, men, youths, Elders, and nearby urban Indigenous populations (Tosh & Gislason, 2016). Using a distinctions-based approach by separately consulting with First Nations, Inuit, and Métis communities is also necessary, as Métis communities are often excluded from these processes (Manning et al., 2018).

Government Protections

Lastly, all levels of government must take action to prevent violence caused by resource-based projects. This process begins by implementing the Calls to Action of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and the Calls for Justice of the Final Report of the National Inquiry into MMIWG. Regions near resource-based projects must be provided increased funding for social services before, during, and after the projects' operation, particularly for police, public transportation, and affordable housing (Gibson et al., 2017). The federal government must use a rights-based approach to honour Indigenous communities' sovereignty over their lands (Koutouki et al., 2018). This means honouring the Indigenous right to free, prior, and informed consent as outlined in UNDRIP (Koutouki et al., 2018). Lastly, governments must fund primary research on this issue on a federal, provincial, territorial, and municipal level, including research on 2SLGBTQQA+ people (Bond & Quinlan, 2018).

Limitations and Future Research

This review has several limitations. First, the literature search was limited to the databases available to the researcher at the time of review. Similarly, the sources chosen were restricted to the mining, oil and natural gas, and hydroelectric sectors, thereby excluding other sectors that are equally relevant (e.g., forestry). Next, the review does not address the experiences of 2SLGTBQQIA+ people living near resource-based projects due to the scarcity of data available. Thus, researchers would benefit from gathering primary data on this population. Lastly, the contributing factors outlined in this study are non-exhaustive, and many other factors, such as inaccurate media representation, should be further explored. It is recommended that future researchers conduct quantitative analysis and compare data to baseline crime statistics to determine a firmer correlation between resource-based projects and violence against Indigenous women.

Conclusion

The lands that Indigenous communities reside on are integral to their culture, spirituality, and well-being. However, the introduction of resource-based projects on or near their lands poses a threat to their ways of life, including the safety of Indigenous women. The traumas generated by colonization put Indigenous women at higher risk of violence than the general population (Gibson et al., 2017). When resource-based projects are introduced, the development of man camps cultivates a toxic workplace environment, normalizing unhealthy behaviours.

Additionally, resource-based projects change the dynamics of local families, economies, and law enforcement agencies. When these factors intersect, the communities surrounding these projects experience strain and growing crime rates. Particularly, resource-based projects increase the risk of violent offences against Indigenous women, including domestic violence, workplace violence, and sexual violence. This issue has been “out of sight, out of mind” for far too long and requires immediate action (Amnesty International, 2016a, p.1). Thus,

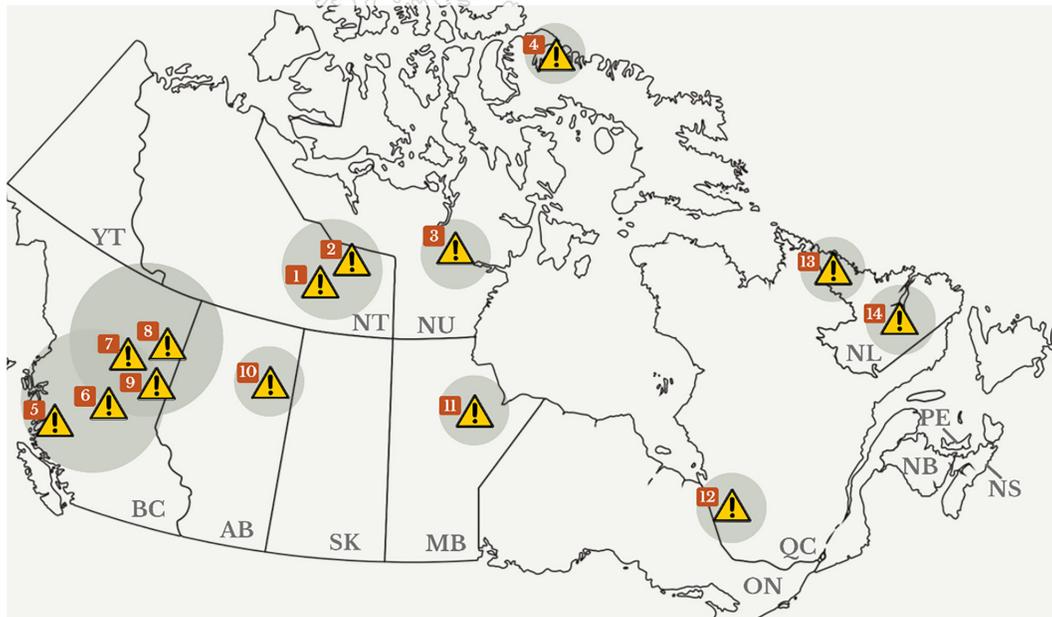
this paper summarizes the available literature to identify key factors contributing to this violence, as well as potential solutions. Industry and various levels of government must be held accountable for the disproportionately violent impacts that resource-based projects have on Indigenous women, and this starts with acknowledgement.

Figures

MAPPING DANGER

Canadian Resource-Based Projects Associated with Violence Against Indigenous Women

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|--|--|
| 1 TUNDRA GOLD MINE*—MacKay Lake, Northwest Territories (Sponagle, 2018) | 8 SITE C DAM—Fort St. John, B.C. (Amnesty International, 2016a/2016b; Blaze Baum, 2016) |
| 2 EKATI DIAMOND MINE—Lac de Gras, Northwest Territories (Hall, 2017; Sponagle, 2018) | 9 COASTAL GASLINK PIPELINE—Dawson Creek to Kitimat, B.C. (Leonard, 2021; Rigden, 2020) |
| 3 MEADOWBANK GOLD MINE—Qamani'tuaq (Baker Lake), Nunavut (Manning et al., 2018; Nightingale et al., 2017) | 10 ATHABASCA TAR SANDS—Fort McMurray, Alberta (Morin, 2020; Sweet, 2013) |
| 4 MARY RIVER MINE—Pond Inlet, Nunavut (Omik, 2018) | 11 MANITOBA HYDRO DEVELOPMENTS—Fox Lake Cree Nation, Manitoba (Grabish, 2018; Kavanagh, 2019) |
| 5 KITIMAT LIQUIFIED NATURAL GAS PROJECT—Kitimat, British Columbia (Ghoussoub, 2020) | 12 RAGLAN NICKEL MINE—Rivière-Kokoak, Quebec (Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada, 2021; Rodon et al., 2014) |
| 6 MOUNT MILLIGAN MINE—Nak'al Bun/Stuart Lake/Fort St. James, B.C. (Morin, 2017; Shandro et al., 2014) | 13 VOISEY'S BAY NICKEL MINE—Tasiujatsoak/Kapukuanipant-kauashat, Labrador (Manning et al., 2018) |
| 7 PRINCE RUPERT GAS TRANSMISSION—Hudson's Hope to Port Edward, B.C. (Gibson et al., 2017) | 14 MUSKRAT FALLS DAM—Happy Valley Goose Bay, Labrador (Manning et al., 2018) |

*The Tundra Gold Mine has been accused of increasing violence against women through the #metoomining movement, but sources do not provide details of the ethnicities of the women. However, given the location of the mine, it is highly likely that Indigenous women are impacted by it.

Figure 1: Mapping Danger

Note. This map was developed to illustrate the locations of fourteen Canadian resource extraction projects (oil and natural gas, mines, or hydroelectric-related) accused of increasing the risk of violence against Indigenous women.

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