

From Metropolitan Centers to Resource Extraction Sites:  
Analyzing The Relationships Between Queerness, Extractive Industries, And Settler Colonialism

by

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The learning for this thesis was done in Mi'kma'ki, the ancestral and unceded territory of the Mi'kmaq,  
as well as in Sḵw̓xwú7mesh, the unceded territory of the Squamish Nation.  
I am forever grateful to be a guest in these beautiful lands.

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## DEDICATION PAGE

This work is dedicated to my chosen family, who have supported me physically, emotionally, and psychologically for years. I love you ALL so much. A big shoutout to AA, the glue of our communities; you shine a light in the darkness of the never-ending contradictions of existence amidst ongoing colonial violence and imperialism. ES, you are walking, talking evidence that a census form cannot contain expression. RV, you show me that commitment means committing to hard relationships and calling in the lateral violence that hurts us all. SR, thanks for always being willing to have hard and deeply uncomfortable conversations and for caring for those who are sick, vulnerable, and isolated. NP, for sharing your gifts and knowledge of the land. MA, JG, AW, AT, and DH for bringing life and graceful parenting to this world. EM, EM, KM, LM, RM, MA, for blessing me with the gifts of your fresh perspectives. KC for facilitating clarity and calm when my mind is bogged down in foggy darkness. NH, thank you for showing me alternative ways to emote and move through the world through connection. NF for being the best platonic life partner I could ever imagine when we were firefighting. LP for being the fiery Aries I need when I want to vent and process. TF for physical connection and empathy. VV for conversations about restructuring, reallocating, and redistributing. MK for showing kindness and compassion to all. Tap-tap for being my little shadow and soulmate.

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the connections between colonial resource extraction and queerness globally, emphasizing Canada. Motivated by my personal experiences in resource-dependent communities and male-dominated workplaces and by recent legislative changes to Impact Assessment in Canada, this work aims to address a persistent knowledge gap concerning the impacts of resource extraction on queer communities. Using mixed methods, I delved into the intricate ties between colonial histories, extraction industries, and non-normative sexualities and genders (often referred to as "queerness").

I conducted a systematic map of academic literature which found that queer and non-queer workers in resource extraction industries worldwide similarly experienced various challenges, including stigma, prejudice, and fear related to the stresses of the job and workplace culture. Community members, including queer people, living near resource extraction projects experience heightened discrimination, gender-based violence, and crime. However, the findings should be interpreted cautiously due to the scarcity of relevant articles in this review (n=8), further underscoring this knowledge gap.

Subsequently, I synthesized and critically analyzed histories of non-normative sexualities and gender non-conformity in resource extraction settings during colonial settlement in Turtle Island over the last 150 years. This work challenged prevailing notions that male-dominated extractive industries and queerness are mutually exclusive by presenting these histories through a 'zine'—a community-directed educational work. By retracing the establishment of extractive industries as instruments of settler state expansion and the strategic persecution of queer communities throughout the 1900s, I unmask the persistent systemic racism, homophobia, and transphobia that fuel contemporary anti-queer movements.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED

2SLGBTQQIA+	2-spirit, Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender/Transsexual, Queer, Questioning, Intersex, Asexual, Pansexual, and more
IA	Impact Assessment
IAA	Impact Assessment Act
IAAC	Impact Assessment Agency of Canada
GBA+	Gender-based Analysis Plus
RDP	Resource Development Projects
RE	Resource Extraction
TMW	Transient Male Workers



## STATEMENT

### CRISIS SUPPORTS

In the following chapters, I discuss the experiences of communities harmed by European colonial rule, which embedded systemic racism, homophobia, xenophobia, ableism, and misogyny into settler governance systems. These systems coerce people who exist at the intersections of various identities and cultural groups to assimilate into white, middle-class, Eurocentric cultural norms. Moreover, queer people are non-homogenous, and the generalizations I make reflect my assumptions, biases, and ignorance. Throughout, I discuss topics relating to genocide, violence, white supremacy, and anti-queerness. Please take care of yourself as you read.

Below is a list of crisis support lines. This provides a limited form of support for those who can access technology and are comfortable discussing trauma with a stranger on the phone or over text. Calling crisis centers can be challenging. If you're unsure if it could be helpful for you, it might be worth trying it out when you're not in crisis as practice for the moment(s) when you might need it most.

1. Residential School Survivor and Family Crisis Line  
Available 24/7: [1-866-925-4419](tel:1-866-925-4419)
2. Hope for Wellness Helpline  
Immediate mental health counselling & crisis intervention to Indigenous peoples in Canada  
Available 24/7: [1-855-242-3310](tel:1-855-242-3310)  
Sessions in Cree, Ojibway, Inuktitut, French, and English
3. Canadian Suicide Hotline  
Available 24/7: [1-833-456-4566](tel:1-833-456-4566)
4. LGBT Youth Line  
Confidential and non-judgmental queer peer support via phone, text, or chat. Available 4:00 pm to 9:30 pm: [1-800-268-9688](tel:1-800-268-9688) or text at [647-694-4275](tel:647-694-4275)
5. The Transgender Lifeline (available in Canada and the United States)  
A crisis line that offers transgender peer support  
Available 24/7: [1-877-330-6466](tel:1-877-330-6466)

## COMMUNITIES OF RESILIENCE

Individuals in so-called Canada with non-normative sexualities and gender identities – colloquially referred to as the two-spirit, lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, questioning, intersex, asexual, plus (2SLGBTQQA+) community or as the ‘queer’ community - experience systemic inequalities due to well-documented homophobia, transphobia, transmisogyny, cissexism, racism, the hetero-patriarchy and ongoing colonialism and white supremacy. Although engaging in discussions about these inequalities can improve our collective awareness and understanding of queer experiences, it is important to be careful not to infantilize or patronize queer communities by reductively viewing them as a group of people ‘in need’ of help.

It is true that because of stigmatization and discrimination, queer communities have historically had access to fewer resources and opportunities compared to their cisgender, heterosexual peers. However, the resourcefulness that these conditions necessitated laid the foundation for collective community building and robust mutual aid systems. While often uncredited, queer communities are and have always been engaged in shaping contemporary and historical cultures. Moreover, queer people are still capable of enacting various forms of violence and prejudice both within and outside their communities; thus, no one was above causing harm.

Furthermore, the queer community is not a monolith. Instead, queer communities are comprised of individuals with non-normative sexualities and genders – where the ‘norm’ has been defined through Western medicine and knowledge forms – who have infinite combinations of intersecting identities that span race, ethnicity, class, education, disability, religion, geography, language, and linguistic groups, literacy, and age (Boulé et al., 2020; Gill-Peterson, 2018; Henriquez & Ahmad, 2021; Kia et al., 2020; Mortimer-Sandilands & Erickson, 2010). However, even using a western concept like queer risks ostracizing diverse sexualities, genders, and cultural groups who do not conform to white, western, settler conceptions and world views. To overlook the various histories of these diverse communities erases the Indigenous cultures in Turtle Island that held important cultural roles for Two-Spirit and Indiqueer kin within their communities since time immemorial and renders invisible the historic and ongoing work of queer elders, leaders, youth, and allies who have fought for the rights that some queer people have today. There is no categorically queer experience, and understanding the nuances of these communities is essential (Boulé et al., 2020).

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This work was conducted in K'jipuktuk in Mi'kma'ki, the ancestral, contemporary, and never-ceded Mi'kmaq territories. The Peace and Friendship treaties govern these lands, and I understand the covenants by which I am bound. This work was also conducted in Skwxwú7mesh territories, the lands that raised me, a white, immigrant, transsexual settler. This thesis was funded by the Nova Scotia Graduate Scholarship and the Killam Predoctoral Master's Scholarship. Izaak Killam, after whom the latter award is named, gained his wealth in part from the pulp and paper industries in British Columbia (McDowall et al., 2023). Killam built a transnational investment empire implicated in violent Canadian imperialism in Latin America (McDowall et al., 2023; McFarlane, 1993). I do not lose sight of the irony that this project was funded by Killam, who funded colonial resource extraction in my hometown.

This work arose from the advocacy and activism of Indigenous Women, Indigenous scholars, and other academics who have highlighted the negative impacts resource extraction has had on their communities in Turtle Island. I thank the Indigenous women, Two-Spirit, and Indigi-queer peoples who have spoken out for their communities and called for the inquiry into the experiences of all peoples impacted by resource extraction. While colonialism seeks to homogenize through economic control, legal systems, and governance, I recognize the placed-based cultures, languages, governance structures, and natural laws of the Inuit, Métis, and First Nations peoples that should rightfully govern Turtle Island.

Finally, I deeply thank my co-supervisors, Dr. Alana Westwood and Dr. Silas Grant, for working with me through the challenges of addressing systemic oversights and exclusions. Thank you to Dr. Sherry Pictou, my committee member, for guiding me on this journey. Thank you to the Dalhousie librarians, my research assistants (K. Klenk & S. Mines), and my academic partners (Brianna B., SCB, H.N. Ellingwood, AF, MF, HCG, TS, LC) for their work in publishing a collective report to the [Impact Assessment Agency of Canada](#). Finally, I thank all academic partners and government employees who joined us for a two-day workshop on GBA+, intersectional impact assessment, and better proponent accountability for the impact assessment project in May 2023.

## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Positionality

I grew up on never-ceded Skwxwú7mesh Territory in the logging town of Squamish, British Columbia. My family settled in Squamish in the mid-90s and officially immigrated to Canada in the early 2000s. Raised in a culturally northern English family, I learned a ‘pull-up-your-bootstraps’ and stiff-upper-lip attitude from an early age. Culturally, this emphasized individualism and viewed failure as a sign of personal weakness and moral deficiency. Reflecting on my upbringing, I now see how my parents' belief that they achieved their successes in life solely through their hard work overlooks how their whiteness, class, education level, and ability to assimilate were instrumental in providing them the opportunity to fulfill their settler nuclear family fantasy. This attachment to white settler normativity was so strong that when I attempted to come out as a young child, I was told I did not hold the self-knowledge to know that and that having a queer child would be difficult. I hid this side of myself for another 15 years.

Colonial resource extraction has profoundly influenced my life and relations to land. In my hometown, it has left a lasting impact on the community's economic infrastructure. Historically, extensive logging and mining activities in the region caused significant environmental degradation, such as the prolonged release of toxic pollutants into Átl'ka7tsem (Howe Sound) (Sankey, 2021). After a massive remediation effort in the early 2000s (Sankey, 2021), species like herring, orcas, sea lions, and humpbacks have slowly returned. Furthermore, colonial land control practices have also defined my relations to land. As a young, able-bodied adult, I was hired as an initial attack forest firefighter for the BC provincial government. The work used colonially imposed wildfire management practices, like wildfire suppression, to strategically prevent fires in areas with high-value timber slated to earn the province large profits in future logging initiatives. Moreover, the forest firefighting culture and industry was a hypermasculine space that normalized various forms of discrimination and prejudice. This workplace culture made being a queer firefighter in a small town challenging.

These experiences sparked my interest in exploring how settler masculinities, resource extraction, male work cultures, and state-sanctioned anti-queerness interact within male-dominated work cultures.

## 1.2 Background

Despite their boom-and-bust cycles, resource extraction industries are foundational to the economic landscapes of settler states such as Canada and the United States (US) (Boag, 2003; Harris, 1993; Mortimer-Sandilands & Erickson, 2010). Both historically and presently, these industries predominantly rely on male labour from lower socio-economic, educational, and sometimes racialized backgrounds who migrate to remote extractive geographies seeking work (Boag, 2003; Farley, 2022; Goldenberg et al., 2010; Hurtado, 1999).

In Canada, environmental assessment legislation was introduced in the early 1970s to mitigate adverse environmental impacts caused by resource extraction (Gibson, 2012). This legislation established an Impact Assessment (IA) process that all proponents and governments were legally required to follow for any major infrastructure<sup>1</sup> or resource extraction<sup>2</sup> projects over a specific size and scale to be approved (Gibson, 2012). However, only narrow environmental impacts were assessed under the scope of this legislation for several decades, meaning the social impacts of resource extraction on surrounding communities went under-acknowledged (Gibson et al., 2017; Gibson, 2012).

In contemporary resource extraction projects, workers endure long, hard work days in stressful conditions far away from their friends, family, and communities (Goldenberg et al., 2010; Ruddell et al., 2017). These intense workplace environments mean workers have limited capacity to build meaningful ties to local communities and the social isolation of the work leads to workers using coping mechanisms like engaging in substance use, gambling, and sex work during days off in the rural, remote, and Indigenous communities near their resource extraction workplaces (Altamirano-Jiménez, 2021; Bhatti, 2019; Edwards, 2019; Goldenberg et al., 2010; Ruddell et al., 2017). These conditions, including the sudden population increase that results from the influx of new workers, cause stress on fragile rural healthcare systems and infrastructure and widen wage gaps between men and women (Bhatti, 2019; Edwards, 2019; Goldenberg et al., 2008). Moreover, these have been linked to negative social impacts, including heightened racial and sexual violence and harassment, sexual exploitation, and increased substance use (Amnesty International, 2016; Farrales et al., 2021; Gibson et al., 2017; Gislason &

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<sup>1</sup> Major infrastructure projects can include hydroelectric lines, highway upgrades, bridge and port expansions, and the establishment of parks and protected areas.

<sup>2</sup> Resource extraction projects can include mining sites, hydroelectric dams, oil and gas facilities, pipeline expansions, and forestry to name a few.

Andersen, 2016; Steinstra et al., 2020). Despite efforts to diversify the workforce demographics within natural resource occupations, men dominate these sectors, as shown in Table 1 (Statistics Canada, 2019).

*Table 1. Natural resources-related jobs are broken down by binary sexes (male and female) of workers in resource extraction jobs. This data was extracted and analyzed from Statistics Canada’s archived labour force characteristics by occupation, which includes data from 2014-2018 (Statistics Canada, 2019).*

Statistics Canada National Occupational Classification	Percentage of Male Workers	Percentage of Female Workers
Industrial, electrical, and construction trades	96	4
Maintenance and equipment operation trades	95	5
Trades, transport and equipment operators, and related occupations	94	6
Trades helpers, construction labourers, and related occupations	93	7
Transport and heavy equipment operation and related maintenance occupations	92	8
Supervisors and technical occupations in natural resources, agriculture, and related production	90	10
Natural and applied sciences and related occupations	77	23
Natural resources, agriculture, and related production	71	29

In 2019, in response to the advocacy and activism of Indigenous women, Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars, and water defenders, the Government of Canada updated the Impact Assessment Act (IAA) (Manning et al., 2018; Pauktuutit, 2020; Pictou, 2021; Stienstra et al., 2020). These updates reflected the calls to include assessments of the social, health, cultural, and environmental impacts of proposed major infrastructure and resource extraction projects (Government of Canada, 2019). In practice, these legislative changes now require the consideration of Indigenous rights, gender-based analysis, community knowledge, and climate change impacts (Hunsberger *et al.*, 2020; Impact Assessment Agency of Canada, 2019). Notably, this updated legislation mandates that proponents and governments use [GBA+ in impact assessments](#), which is an analytic tool used “to assess and understand how people with identities that intersect across gender, race, ethnicity, age, religion, and mental and/or physical disability may experience government policies and initiatives” (Government of

Canada, 2022). While legislative updates indicate a federal commitment to enhancing the inclusion of diverse communities within IA processes in Canada, significant implementation challenges remain.

In 2020, Stienstra *et al.* conducted a knowledge synthesis on GBA+ and intersectional IA processes by reviewing international literature. Despite the progressive IAA 2019, their findings underscore persistent gaps, both in Canada and internationally, particularly regarding the inclusion of marginalized communities in IA processes, including 2SLGBTQQIA+ peoples, youth, racialized non-Indigenous peoples, and people with disabilities (Stienstra et al., 2020). Overall, the lack of clear implementation instructions and inadequate resourcing from governments and proponents pose significant challenges to meaningfully conducting the community-based consultations needed to implement a tool like GBA+ in IA processes (Stienstra et al., 2020). Additionally, due to a history of state-led queer discrimination (Rau, 2014; Warner, 2002), there is insufficient knowledge on how to safely and effectively engage with queer populations living in rural and remote areas, Indigenous communities, and/or within resource extraction sites (Henriquez & Ahmad, 2021; Logie et al., 2018; Pauktuutit, 2020; Ruddell, 2011).

### **1.3 Objectives & Research Questions**

The primary objective of this thesis is to build a foundational understanding of the complex connections between resource extraction on individuals with non-normative sexualities and genders, also referred to as queer communities. The queer communities of interest refer to all populations that exist within the 2SLGBTQQIA+ spectrum, including individuals working on resource extraction projects and those living in nearby communities. Therefore, this thesis' central research question is: What does academic literature reveal about the relationships between resource extraction and queer communities?

The secondary objective of this thesis is to challenge academia's tendency to produce knowledge inaccessible to non-academic audiences.

### **1.4 Thesis Structure & Journey**

This thesis is organized into four chapters, each addressing the objectives and research question above.

Chapter 2 is a global systematic map of academic literature across three research databases using keywords related to resource extraction and queer identities. This map followed the Collaboration for Environmental Evidence guidelines (CEE 2018) and the ROSES reporting standards for systematic evidence syntheses (Haddaway et al., 2018). Importantly, this component of my thesis was conducted in

partnership with The Impact Assessment Agency of Canada, Natural Resources Canada, and various research partners.

Despite this systematic map's rigour and well-established methodology, the findings were limited. Across all three databases, only eight papers were identified that focused on the intersection of resource extraction and queerness, and only three of those papers described personal experiences of queer individuals in resource extraction geographies. This scarcity of publications emphasizes the existing knowledge gap and limits the applicability of this systematic map. Given the lack of academic literature on the intersecting history of resource extraction and queerness, this research pivoted to examine the parallels between the literature on resource extraction histories and literature on queer histories within the narrowed context of Canada and the US.

Thus, inspired by May Farales (Farales, 2020) Chapter 3 shifts to provide a critical narrative synthesis of the histories of resource extraction and queerness in the settler states of Canada and the US over the last 150 years. A zine format was chosen for this synthesis because it serves as an accessible and anti-oppressive medium to share this knowledge with academic and non-academic audiences alike (Bagelman & Bagelman, 2016; Piepmeier, 2008).

Through this zine, I apply queer theory and components of auto-ethnography to elucidate how notions of masculinity and heteronormativity are constructed and reinforced within resource extraction contexts, thereby shedding light on the marginalization and erasure of queer identities as well as the exploitation of all workers in extractive contexts. I also aim to set the narrative *straight* that resource-extractive geographies and hypermasculine working crews have not always been devoid of homosexuality. Instead, I argue that the persecution of homosexual relations by settler states and medical institutions, particularly against homosexual men in male-dominated workplaces, has perpetuated myths and misconceptions that male-dominated spaces are heterosexual.

Then, chapter 4 concludes by contextualizing my findings within the growing anti-queer movement in Canada and the US.



## CHAPTER 2: REVIEWING INTERSECTIONS OF GLOBAL RESOURCE EXTRACTION AND QUEER COMMUNITIES IN ACADEMIC DISCOURSE - A SYSTEMATIC MAP

### **2.1 Background: Connections between resource extraction and gender-based violence**

Contemporary resource extraction (RE) is linked to globalization systems, colonial capitalism, and ecological collapse. Current RE processes like logging, mining, petroleum extraction, and various forms of agriculture are known to exacerbate water stress, contribute to biodiversity loss, and are linked to approximately half of the world's greenhouse gas emissions (UN International Resource Panel (IRP), 2019).

RE is known to cause profound social impacts that disproportionately affect communities existing at the intersection of Indigeneity, class, race, age, disability, gender, and rurality (Altamirano-Jiménez, 2021; Kojola, 2019; Manning et al., 2018; Mek et al., 2021; Pauktuutit, 2020; Pictou, 2021; Saxinger, 2021; Stienstra et al., 2020). Globally, Indigenous communities especially face disproportionate levels of violence as a result of RE processes (Altamirano-Jiménez, 2021; Amnesty International, 2016; Bernal, 2021; Condes, 2021; Haynes, 2020; Pictou, 2021).

This violence is exacerbated by the influx of transient male workers (TMW) who move into remote or rural communities where extraction projects operate (Aldred et al., 2021; Ruddell et al., 2017). These TMWs, who may come from lower socioeconomic classes and education levels, are hired to perform dangerous jobs in stressful working conditions (Campbell, 1997; Farley, 2022; Goldenberg et al., 2010b). Depending on the type of RE, TMW may move into worker accommodations from outside the region that are commonly called “man camps” given the overrepresentation of male workers in these professions (Gibson et al., 2017; Manning et al., 2018). Importantly, TMW often lack social ties and accountability to local and regional communities (Gibson et al., 2017; Manning et al., 2018; Ruddell et al., 2017). In so-called Canada, man camps have been identified as “deeply embroiled in ongoing forms of coloniality and are intimately intertwined with gender-based violence that has long existed with theft of Indigenous lands and resources” (Morgan et al., 2021, p. 411). Overall, man camps and RE are linked worldwide (Farley, 2022; Goldenberg et al., 2010; Leonard, 2016; Mek et al., 2021; Morgan et al., 2020; Ruddell, 2011).

Across various geographies, RE is connected to various forms of gendered violence associated with masculinities embedded in extractive industries' social hierarchies (Campbell, 1997; Farley, 2022). The sudden boom of TMW at extraction sites has known impacts on rural communities, including increased

crime and stress on law enforcement, increased traffic congestion and accidents, and stress on local community social services (Ruddell et al., 2017). Moreover, they have been linked to gender-based violence resulting in amplified racial and sexual violence and harassment, increased transactional sex, sex work, and sex trafficking, higher rates of sexually transmitted infections, and increased availability and access to new substances resulting in increased substance use and abuse (Amnesty International, 2016; Condes, 2021a; Farrales et al., 2021; G. Gibson et al., 2017; Gislason & Andersen, 2016; Leonard, 2016; Mek et al., 2021; Morin, 2020; Saxinger, 2021; Zingel, 2019).

### 2.1.1 Extractivism

Extractivism, coined in Latin America, is a term used to describe large-scale, destructive, industrial resource booms, including state-led and managed resource extraction processes (Andrade, 2022; Chagnon et al., 2022; Gudynas, 2018). Chagnon et al. (2022) argue that “extractivism is based on socio-ecologically destructive processes of subjugation, depletion, and non-reciprocal relations, occurring at all levels of practice [and is] diametrically opposed to the concept and practices of sustainability (including ecological, social, and economic) if that concept is defined through criteria of stewardship, reciprocity, regeneration, and ensuring life for future generations” (p. 762). Extractivism impacts “the everyday lives of most human and other-than-humans, [...] global economic and political structures [based] on extractivism modes of accumulation, [that are operating] across increasingly diverse geographies” (Chagnon et al., 2022, p.768).

The historical roots of extractivism are linked to ideas from western European nations that viewed humans as superior to nature, that conceived land, trees, mineral resources, and human and non-human kin as ownable resources that should be used for productive means (aka., colonial capitalism) (Mortimer-Sandilands & Erickson, 2010; Sankey, 2021; Simpson, 2020). Such notions have roots in western conceptions of hetero-patriarchy, masculinity, whiteness, and individualism (Ashamole, 2019; Cram, 2023; Ferguson, 2003; Mortimer-Sandilands & Erickson, 2010). Thus, extractivism is rooted in violence to land, non-human kin, and humans that often steals from resource-rich, Indigenous lands and ‘developing’ Nations to the benefit of colonial nations and to the ongoing subordination of nations who are poor, Indigenous, ethnically, and racially marginalized, and young (Ashamole, 2019; Cram, 2023; Farley, 2022). Over the 21<sup>st</sup> century, increased rates of RE globally have led to terms like ‘global extractivism’ that describes extractivism across planetary scales, including colonially-caused climate change and freshwater depletion, to micro-scales such as pollution, toxins, and even micro-plastics that impact ecosystems and organisms (Chagnon et al., 2022; Parks, 2021).

Worldwide, Stienstra et al., 2020 identified significant research gaps existing on the impacts of RE and various marginalized communities, including Indigenous women and girls, youth, people with disabilities, and people who are 2-Spirit, lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, questioning, intersex, asexual, and more (2SLGBTQQA+) (Stienstra et al., 2020).

In this chapter, I explore relationships between gender non-conforming and/or non-heterosexual communities and resource extraction led by the research question:

What does academic literature reveal about the relationships between resource extraction and queer communities?

I used a systematic map framework (CEE 2018b) to examine the documented effects within western academic sources to look at the intersection of resource extraction and queer (a term commonly used in western academic queer studies to refer to diverse 2SLGBTQQA+ peoples) communities. Specifically, I focused on how resource extraction impacts queer folks and other marginalized people living at or near resource extraction projects.

## **2.2 Materials & Methods**

I used the Collaboration of Environmental Evidence guidelines (CEE, 2018b) and the ROSES systematic review reporting standards (Haddaway et al., 2018; Appendix 1; Figure 2).

### **2.2.1 Keyword and Search String Development**

My search aimed to gather all relevant available academic peer-reviewed studies and grey literature written in English that met my research question and eligibility criteria. Before beginning, I conducted a narrative literature review to identify critical terms and determine suitable databases for this systematic map. After exploring relevant literature, I created a list of 43 terms relating to my population of interest (queer people) and a list of 85 terms relating to my activity of interest (resource extraction) (Appendix 4). I contacted several academic partners to double-check my keyword list and ensure I was not missing any critical terms. My research assistant (KK) and I tested keywords across three databases to compare the most used terms. After keyword testing, I retained 19 queer keywords and 24 resource extraction keywords.

After creating this keyword list, I combined terms into search strings using Boolean operators. Search strings combined keywords relating to queer identities and resource extraction, and KK and I recorded specific information from each database or search engine. My initial search strings included 43 English

terms related to queer populations and resource extraction. These were refined into eight preliminary search strings tested in five databases (Appendix 5). The final search strings are represented in Table 2.

*Table 2. Final search strings used in systematic map. Keywords with an asterisk (\*) represent any character that could make up a longer version of that work (e.g., "Lesbian\*" can include lesbians, and lesbianism)*

String Number	Search String
1	(sexuality OR "two-spirit*" OR transgender* OR intersex OR "non-binary" OR lesbian* OR gay* OR bisexual OR queer OR "men who have sex with men" OR LGB*) AND ("resource extraction" OR "natural resource management" OR extractivism OR "extractive industr*" OR "environment* assessment" OR "impact assessment" OR "social impact*" OR "fossil fuel" OR hydroelectric* OR mining OR fracking OR deforestation OR "man camp" OR "industrial camp" OR "min* camp" OR "work* camp")
2	(sexuality OR "two-spirit*" OR transgender* OR intersex OR "non-binary" OR lesbian* OR gay* OR bisexual OR queer OR "men who have sex with men" OR LGB*) AND ("resource extraction" OR "natural resource management" OR extractivism OR "extractive industr*" OR "environment* assessment" OR "impact assessment" OR "social impact*") AND ("fossil fuel" OR hydroelectric* OR mining OR fracking OR deforestation OR "man camp" OR "industrial camp" OR "min* camp" OR "work* camp")
3	(sexuality OR "two-spirit*" OR transgender* OR intersex OR "non-binary" OR lesbian* OR gay* OR bisexual OR queer OR "men who have sex with men" OR LGB*) AND ("resource extraction" OR "natural resource management" OR extractivism OR "extractive industr*" OR "environment* assessment" OR "impact assessment" OR "social impact*")
4	(sexuality OR "two-spirit*" OR transgender* OR intersex OR "non-binary" OR lesbian* OR gay* OR bisexual OR queer OR "men who have sex with men" OR LGB*) AND ("fossil fuel" OR hydroelectric* OR mining OR fracking OR deforestation OR "man camp" OR "labour camp" OR "min* camp" OR "work* camp")

## 2.2.2 Test List & Database Selection

During my search string tests, I recorded the number of database results from each search string where some were too large (e.g., <1,000,000) and some were too small (e.g., <20); this helped me determine appropriate databases to conduct my systematic search in (Appendix 5). During this test, I recorded the total number of results, the number of relevant papers based on title and abstract given the population and activity of interest, and whether any test list papers were included in the first 50 and first 100 titles (Table 3). Test lists were an essential component of the systematic map process because they determine the efficacy of the test list. My test list was based on seven papers identified as relevant to my research question before conducting search string tests. Following methods from (Westwood et al., 2021), for

each preliminary search, I calculated the specificity (the percent out of 50 and 100 returned results deemed relevant to the research question) and the sensitivity (number of items from the test list returned by each search).

Table 3. The test list was created to determine the specificity and sensitivity of search strings among 5 databases.

Citation	Item Type
Farralles, M., Hoogeveen, D., & Morgan, V., & Catungal, J. P. (2021). Queering Environmental Regulation? <i>Environment and Planning E: Nature and Space</i> , 4(2), 175-190.	Peer reviewed
Hoogeveen, D., Gislason, M., Hussey, A., Western, S., & Williams, A. (2020). Gender-Based Analysis Plus: A knowledge synthesis for implementation and development of socially responsible impact assessment in Canada. Burnaby & Prince George: Simon Fraser University & University of Northern British Columbia.	Peer reviewed
Hoogeveen, D., Williams, A., Hussey, A., Western, S., & Gislason, M. K. (2020). Sex, mines, and pipelines: Examining 'Gender-based Analysis Plus' in Canadian impact assessment resource extraction policy. <i>The Extractive Industries and Society</i> . doi: <a href="https://doi.org/10.1016/j.exis.2021.100921">https://doi.org/10.1016/j.exis.2021.100921</a>	Report
Morgan, V. S., Hoogeveen, D., & de Leeuw, S. (2021). Industrial Camps in Northern British Columbia: The Politics of 'Essential' Work and the Gendered Implications of Man Camps. <i>ACME: An International Journal for Critical Geographies</i> , 409-430.	Peer reviewed
Orellana, E. R., Alva, I. E., Cárcamo, C. P., & García, P. J. (2013). Structural Factors That Increase HIV/STI Vulnerability Among Indigenous People in the Peruvian Amazon. <i>Qualitative Health Research</i> , 1240–1250. doi: <a href="https://doi.org/10.1177/1049732313502129">10.1177/1049732313502129</a>	Peer reviewed
Sauer, A., & Podhora, A. (2013). Sexual orientation and gender identity in human rights impact assessment. <i>Impact Assessment and Project Appraisal</i> , 135–145. doi: <a href="http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14615517.2013.791416">http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14615517.2013.791416</a>	Peer reviewed
Stienstra, D., Manning, S., & Levac, L. (March 31 2020). More Promise than Practice: GBA+, Intersectionality, and Impact Assessment. University of Guelph: Live Work Well Research Center. Retrieved from Retrieved from <a href="https://liveworkwell.ca/sites/default/files/pageupload">https://liveworkwell.ca/sites/default/files/pageupload</a>	Report

Initially, I identified 25 potential databases to search for studies relating to my research question (Appendix 2). I reduced this to eleven in my pre-testing based on the following criteria: character limits, not allowing full use of Boolean operators, specific databases being indexed by others, lack of subject specificity, and

lack of access via subscription. With eleven remaining, I contacted librarians at Dalhousie University and academic research partners, who helped me reduce my to Environmental Sociology (Environmental Sociology, n.d.), Scopus (Scopus, n.d.), Gender Studies Database (Gender Studies Database, n.d.), ProQuest Central (ProQuest Central., n.d.), and Taylor and Francis (Taylor & Francis, n.d.). To finalize database selection, I conducted a preliminary string testing phase to understand the specificity and sensitivity of my search string in these databases specifically (Table 2). Given the lower specificity and sensitivity in Environmental Sociology and Taylor & Francis, I removed these databases from my systematic map (Appendix 3). The three databases selected were Gender Studies Databases, ProQuest Central, and Scopus.

### 2.2.3 Item Screening & Eligibility Criteria

To conduct my systematic map, I followed the ROSES reporting guidelines framework. This included developing my search protocol and finalizing search strings, conducting a systematic search across several databases, screening studies twice through a title and abstract screen followed by a full-text screening, and then extracting data from remaining articles identified as relevant to my research question (Figure 1) (Haddaway et al., 2018).

ROSES Flow Diagram for Systematic Maps. Version 1.0

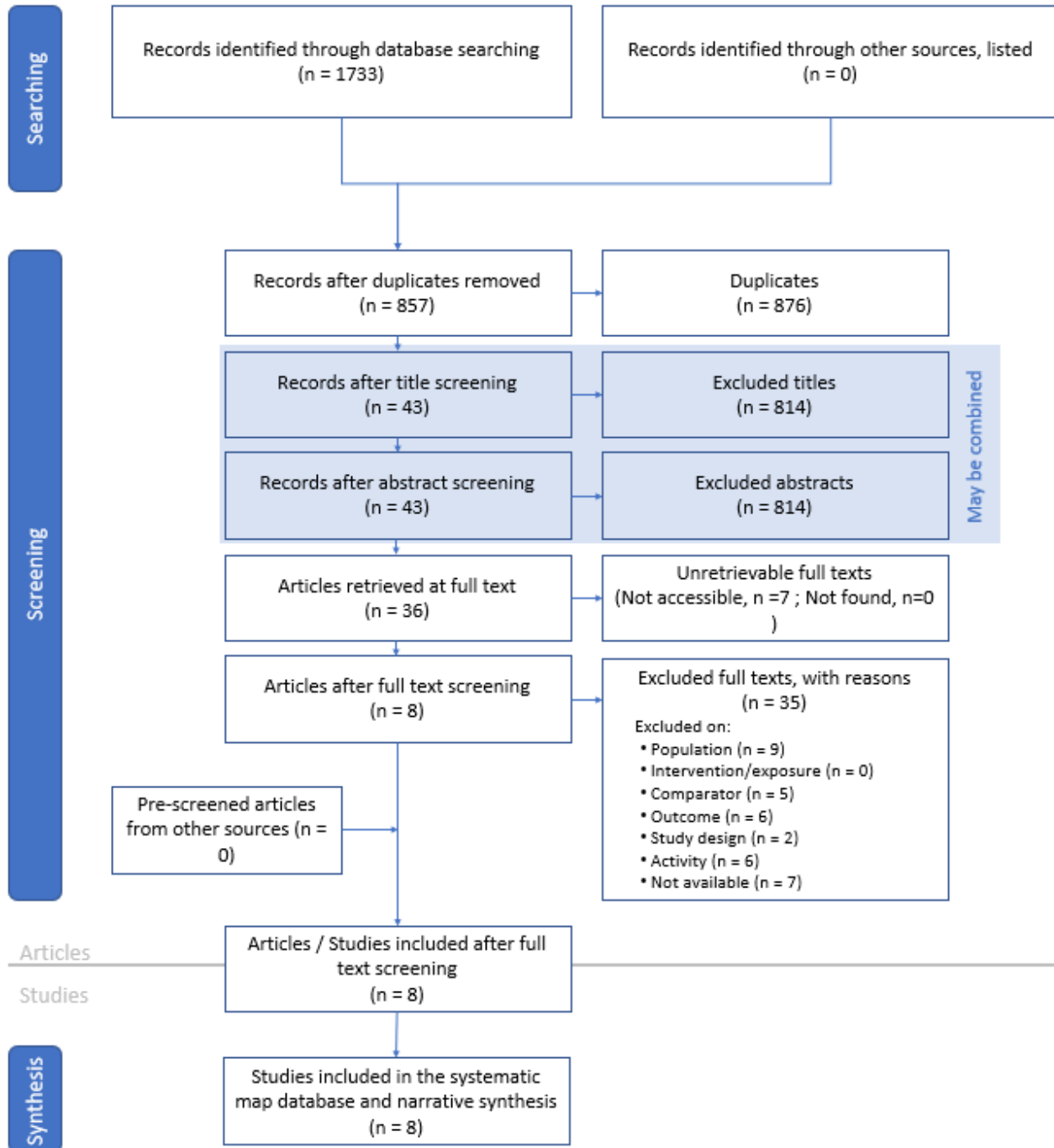


Figure 1. Flow diagram of the various stages of searching and screening items for the systematic map. This diagram follows the ROSES reporting standard (Haddaway et al., 2018).

With search strings finalized and databases selected, KK and I entered each search string into each database and began downloading papers for analysis. KK downloaded the citations from all databases into Mendeley (Mendeley Ltd., 2019) and I removed 876 duplicates. This search was conducted from August to September 2022. After removing duplicates, I uploaded the remaining 857 titles and abstracts in Covidence (Veritas Health Innovation., n.d.) and I removed 19 duplicates. From September to November 2022, KK and I screened all articles in two steps: title and abstract review and full-text screening to determine if they fit the previously established eligibility criteria (Table 4). For any articles to move beyond the title and abstract review, both KK and I had to agree that the item matched the eligibility criteria (Table 4).

*Table 4. Description of Eligibility criteria uploaded into Covidence*

Eligibility Category	Eligibility Criteria
Populations/subjects	Items will concern and be related to 2SLGBTQQA+ peoples.
Activities	Must include information related to major infrastructure or natural resource development projects or activities. This includes oil & gas, fracking, hydroelectric dams, forestry, etc., as well as processes for these projects such as natural resource development, and environmental and social impact assessments.
Comparators	Any known relationship between RDP and 2SLGBTQQA+ populations
Outcomes	The effects, impacts/outcomes, and/or the relationship between RDP and 2SLGBTQQA+ populations. This could include statistically measurable relationships (e.g., increases in STI rates, sexual violence, homophobia, improved economic opportunities, etc.) or sociocultural and/or psychological impacts (e.g., individuals staying closeted (living in stealth), fear, etc.).
Types of study design	Studies and/or reports may originate anywhere in the world and will be included if written in English.
Validity assessment	In this study, we do not intend to appraise the validity of research conducted in the items, but rather, intend to capture descriptive information.

Note: Studies were excluded from review if they did not meet all of the above eligibility criteria for each category. After completing the title and abstract screening, 43 articles remained for full-text review. I uploaded the full-text versions of each item into Covidence (Veritas Health Innovation., n.d.). However, I removed seven articles because I could not access the full-text papers (Appendix 6). The remaining 36 articles underwent a full-text review by two research assistants, KK and SM. I declared the tiebreak for articles where there was disagreement on whether an article met the eligibility criteria. In some instances, all three reviewers re-read the entire article. In an ongoing weekly meeting from November to December



2022, we would collectively decide whether the paper fit my eligibility criteria. Eight papers moved from the full-text review into the data coding and analysis phase (Figure 1).

## 2.2.4 Data Coding & Analysis

I created a 39-question data coding form in Covidence to review each corpus item. Before conducting the data coding processes, I trained both research assistants who helped with the data coding processes from December 2022 to February 2023 (Appendix 7). The data coding form was broken into four sections: bibliographic information, study purpose and scope, theoretical frameworks and research methods, and recommendations. Bibliographic information included data relating to the publication, authorship, research discipline, country of origin and interest, and funding. Study purpose and scope outlined the studies' objectives, the identity of authors, type of resource extraction activity, queer populations included in the study, location, and proximity of population to resource extraction, types of impacts, and whether impact assessment and consultation were reported. Theoretical frameworks and research methods outlined the types of theory used to frame the study and whether the latter included original qualitative research. Lastly, recommendations and significant findings related to the activity and populations of interest were included.

During data coding, KK, SM, and I reviewed each document. In an ongoing weekly meeting, we compared our data extraction results and retained the most detailed coding for final data extraction. I set a pre-established condition that if reviewers had significant differences in their data coding, an additional meeting would be held to find agreement. However, reviewer responses were similar across all papers. After data coding was complete, data was extracted into a .csv file from Covidence and exported into a Microsoft Excel file. I cleaned to remove spelling and other data entry errors.

Following other systematic map examples (e.g., Westwood et al., 2021, 2023), I implemented a framework-based synthesis (Carroll et al., 2021) to understand the populations of interest and resource extractive activity. This helped me identify common themes among the qualitative descriptive information provided across the corpus. Because I conducted a systematic map, not a systematic review, I did not assess the validity of the research conducted. Instead, I focused on describing the present knowledge gap relating to my research question.

I used quantitative (e.g., bibliometric characteristics and demographic information) and qualitative (e.g., quotes detailing experiences and findings) methods in data extraction. The qualitative methods used in this work were guided by queer and intersectional theoretical approaches that also guide my

overarching thesis (Crenshaw, 1989; Kirby et al., 2017; Žukauskas et al., 2018). Intersectional theory explains how the intersections of identity and social power relationships create dominant and subordinate power relations (Maake et al., 2021). Queer theory resists beliefs that heteronormativity and the gender binary are natural and normal and explains that diverse gender(s), sexualit(ies), and social presentations are inherently performative (Keenan & Lil Miss Hot Mess, 2020).

To draw out qualitative themes from this corpus, I used an exploratory thematic analysis approach to create inductive qualitative themes and categories that emerged from the data itself (Braun & Clarke, 2006). For each theme, each quote was coded to a location in proximity to resource extraction (e.g., at resource extraction sites, in nearby communities, at the state level, or transnationally) and impacted population (2SLGBTQQIA+ worker, worker, 2SLGBTQQIA+ person living nearby, community member living nearby) and categorized by the experiences being described. Each inductive theme was coded using Microsoft Excel. All quotes were compared after the first coding phase to explore thematic overlaps. Thematic codes were then reorganized and recategorized into broader overlapping categories. After creating broader categories, themes were synthesized again to find overlapping themes that emerged across at least two corpus items. The qualitative data was compiled to understand the relationship between resource extraction, queer people, and other marginalized populations. I then used a narrative synthesis approach to thematically organize descriptive information across the corpus to understand, visualize, and outline the relationships illuminated across my corpus.

### **2.3 Results**

All eight items in this systematic map were published between 1997 and 2021, with most (n=6) published after 2015 (Appendix 8). Of the articles, 6 were peer-reviewed academic articles, one was a master's thesis, and one was a Ph.D. thesis. Most articles came from the social sciences (n=6), with one environmental studies commentary (n=1) and one humanities thesis (n=1). Two of the articles contained overlapping content, as parts of a Maake (2019) (master's thesis) were revised and published as an included peer-reviewed paper (Maake et al., 2021). Only two authors self-identified as 2SLGBTQQIA+.

The items reported were from 22 countries, with just over half reporting having received funding to conduct the work. Articles varied between collecting primary data, using mixed methods, engaging in a commentary, and reviewing historical events. All five that included primary data used a semi-structured interview component. However, only three engaged with 2SLGBTQQIA study participants (Table 5).

Overall, several projects focused on mining specifically (n=5), one focused on energy projects such as oil and gas, mining, and forestry (n=1), and two did not focus on specific resource extraction industries.

Several articles used more than one theoretical framework in their studies. The most common theoretical frameworks used across this corpus were intersectionality (n=3), feminist theories (n=3), social identity theory (n=1), critical race theory, and queer of colour critique (n=1), and several studies did not outline or identify a specific theoretical framework in their research (n=3).

Table 5. Items retained after full-text screening

Item	Item Type	Data Type	Region	Funded	Participants
Campbell, Catherine. "Migrancy, Masculine Identities, and AIDS: The Psychosocial Context of HIV Transmission on the South African Gold Mines." <i>Social Science &amp; Medicine</i> 45, no. 2 (July 1997): 273–81. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1016/S0277-9536(96)00343-7">https://doi.org/10.1016/S0277-9536(96)00343-7</a> .	Peer reviewed	Primary	South Africa	Yes	No
Farrales, May, Dawn Hoogeveen, Vanessa Sloan Morgan, and John Paul Catungal. "Queering Environmental Regulation?" <i>Environment and Planning E: Nature and Space</i> 4, no. 2 (June 2021): 175–90. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1177/2514848619887165">https://doi.org/10.1177/2514848619887165</a> .	Peer reviewed Commentary	Commentary	Canada	No	No
Haddad, J. (2020). <i>Essays in Economic History</i> . [Doctoral dissertation, University of Ottawa]. Available from uOttawa Theses. <a href="http://hdl.handle.net/10393/41595">http://hdl.handle.net/10393/41595</a>	Doctoral Thesis	History	United States	No	No
Leeworthy, Daryl. "For Our Common Cause: Sexuality and Left Politics in South Wales, 1967–1985." <i>Contemporary British History</i> 30, no. 2 (April 2, 2016): 260–80. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1080/13619462.2015.1073591">https://doi.org/10.1080/13619462.2015.1073591</a> .	Peer reviewed	History	Wales; UK; England	No	No
Levac, Leah, Jane Stinson, Susan M. Manning, and Deborah Stienstra. "Expanding Evidence and Expertise in Impact Assessment: Informing Canadian Public Policy with the Knowledge of Invisible Communities." <i>Impact Assessment and Project Appraisal</i> 39, no. 3 (May 4, 2021): 218–28. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1080/14615517.2021.1906152">https://doi.org/10.1080/14615517.2021.1906152</a> .	Peer Reviewed	Mixed Method	Canada; Australia; Bolivia; Brazil; DRC; Ecuador; Ghana; Guatemala; Honduras; India; Mexico; Norway; Panama; Papua New Guinea; Phillipines; Peru; South Africa;	Yes	No

Item	Item Type	Data Type	Region	Funded	Participants
			Sweden: The United States of America		
Maake, Tshepo B., P. Rugunanan, and L. Smuts. "Negotiating and Managing Gay Identities in Multiple Heteronormative Spaces: The Experiences of Black Gay Mineworkers in South Africa." <i>Journal of Homosexuality</i> , December 16, 2021, 1–24. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1080/00918369.2021.2015954">https://doi.org/10.1080/00918369.2021.2015954</a> .	Peer Reviewed	Primary	South Africa	Yes	Yes
Orellana, E. Roberto, Isaac E. Alva, Cesar P. Cárcamo, and Patricia J. García. "Structural Factors That Increase HIV/STI Vulnerability Among Indigenous People in the Peruvian Amazon." <i>Qualitative Health Research</i> 23, no. 9 (September 2013): 1240–50. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1177/1049732313502129">https://doi.org/10.1177/1049732313502129</a> .	Peer Reviewed	Primary	Peruvian Amazon	Yes	Yes
Tshepo Maake. "Spaces of Discrimination and Multiple Identities: Experiences of Black Homosexual Mineworkers," 2019. <a href="https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.14517.40167">https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.14517.40167</a> .	Master's Thesis	Primary	South Africa	Yes	Yes

### 2.3.1 Proximity to Resource Extraction

Within the corpus, the majority (n=6) considered people living in, working at, and/or living in communities impacted by resource extraction. Overall, 2SLGBTQQIA+ individuals most identified were located at the resource development site (n=5) or in neighbouring towns and villages (n=5). Two papers did not specify the population's location, and one focused on excluding marginalized identities, including 2SLGBTQQIA+, from Impact Assessment processes, meaning no specific resource extraction activities were noted. The other referred to a transnational solidary movement between mine workers (not specified as 2SLGBTQQIA+ people) and 2SLGBTQQIA+ community members.

### 2.3.2 Demographics

The study populations varied, with primary research including gay men represented most, followed by lesbian women (Figure 2). Of those studied, they often specified multiple identities (n=3), specifically, black gay workers (n=1), black migrant workers (n=1), and Indigenous gay men (n=1). Outside of these three articles, the authors did not specify racial or ethnic dimensions of identity.



Figure 2. The number of primary sexual identities represented across the systematic map. Notably, several studies did not include a primary queer population of focus. This data only includes 5 of 8 paper total.

Outside of 2SLGBTQIA+ identities, other identity characteristics occurred across the eight items in this map. The racial and ethnic demographic makeup of identities across the items, both gay and straight, included Black (n=5 articles), white (n=4), British (n=1), Indigenous (n=3), Latinx (n=2), Filipinx (n=1), Chinese (n=1), mixed race (n=1), and ethno-racial minorities (n=2). Other intersections of identity included were religiosity (n=2), youth (n=2), sex workers (n=2), specifically including transsexual sex workers (n=1) and female sex workers (n=2), literacy (n=1), education level (n=1), unemployment (n=1), people who inject drugs (n=1), migrant populations (n=2), age (n=1), disability (n=1), and pregnant and nursing women (n=1). Moreover, rurality was a factor explicitly stated in several papers (n=3) and implicitly referenced across the corpus.

I reviewed the specific types of impacts described by 2SLGBTQIA+ individuals living near or working resource extraction sites and the researchers conducting the work (Figure 3). These were broken up into 9 themes, including barriers to care, barriers to queer-specific education, violence, lateral/intercommunity oppression, stigma, intersectional oppression, social exclusion, social isolation, and racism. All studies recorded impacts, with most (n=7) including and describing negative relations between resource extraction processes and 2SLGBTQIA+ people (Table 6).

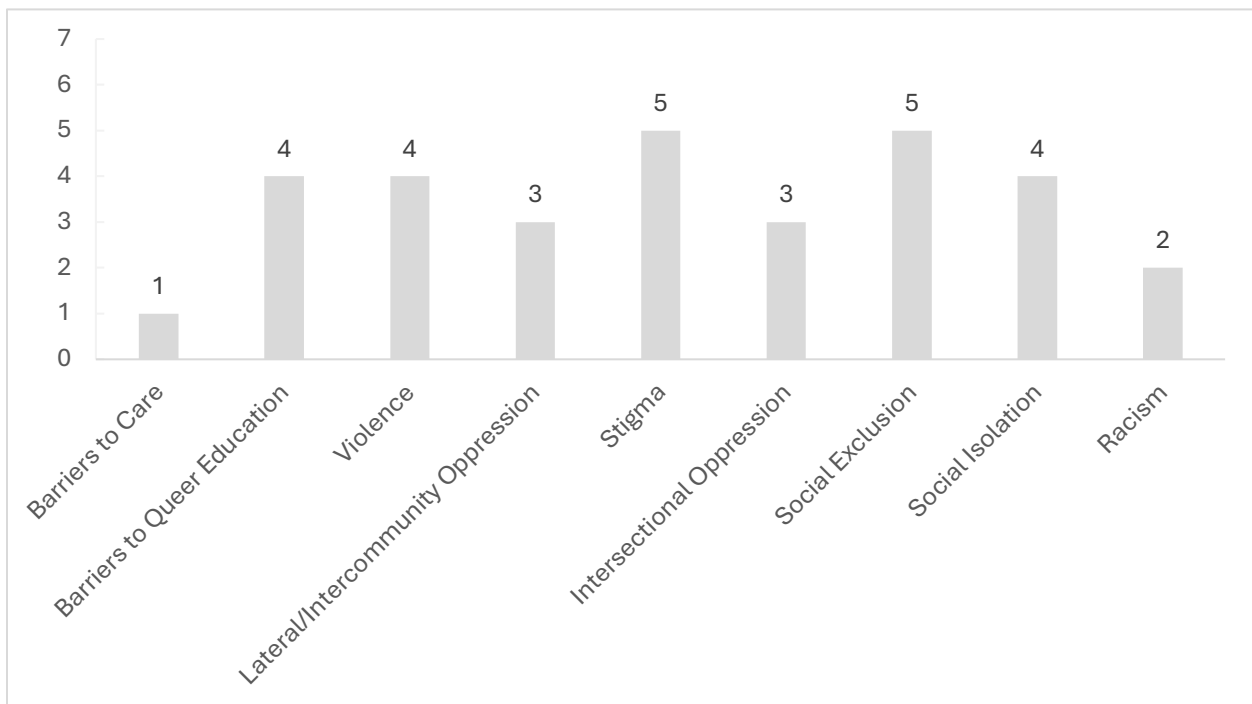


Figure 3. Negative impacts were recorded across the study corpus related to RE on 2SLGBTQIA+ communities. This data only includes 7 of 8 items.

Three studies noted positive relationships between resource extraction worker communities and 2SLGBTQQIA+ communities. This included social movements revolving around collaboration between these two populations (n=1) and the importance and benefit of coworkers showing acceptance of queer identities, which led to social tolerance/acceptance (n=2), social inclusion (n=2), access to affirming education (n=1), and improved rights and recognition (n=1).

### 2.3.3 Corpus Themes: Resource Development Projects & Nearby Communities

After comparing themes across the corpus, including various locations and marginalized communities, I conducted a narrative synthesis to examine impacts at resource development project sites and nearby communities (Figure 4). This synthesis did not separate populations based on identities but focused on significant themes across the corpus that impacted various populations. Overarching themes at resource development sites include a hypermasculine and prejudiced workplace culture that was linked to fear, social isolation, and the use of passing strategies for queer workers and linked to other forms of prejudice such as racism, sexism, and misogyny (Table 6). Importantly, social isolation was an essential factor for queer workers and non-2SLGBTQQIA+ workers; however, the types of social isolation described differed (Table 6). Additionally, stressful work at resource extraction sites was linked to forms of risk-taking behaviours and prejudice, including discrimination, risky sex, substance use, and sexual violence (Table 6).



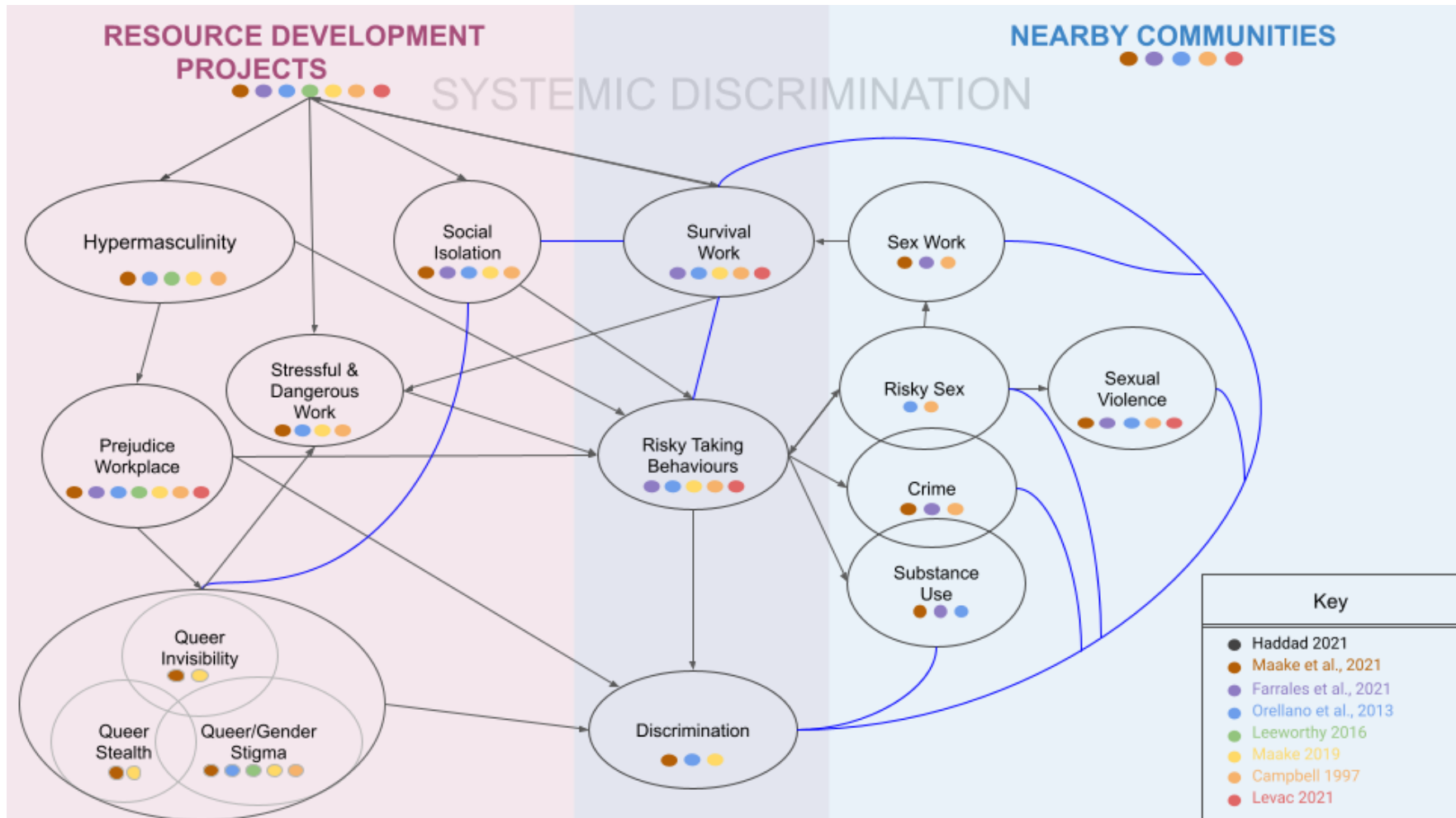


Figure 4. Interconnectedness and relationality between resource extraction projects and impacts on workers and nearby communities. This figure shows the directionality of impacts through black arrows and concepts that are relational but not inherently directional through blue lines. Within this figure, the papers within which these themes are situated are noted in the key with an associated colour.

Table 6. Qualitative themes and associated quotes related to larger overarching themes found in Figure 4.

Item	Theme	Quote	Location	Page
Maake 2019	Discrimination Harassment	“Well, there was one junior who was working in the mine, and that one is very openly gay. He was in my team, and he ended quitting his job because the HR people did not take his case very seriously.”	RDP	84
Orellana et al., 2013	Discrimination Sexual Violence Substance Use Sex Work	“Resource-extraction camps (i.e., logging and oil camps, mining) also hired gay men as their kitchen help. Similar to many mining towns, logging camps were also known for sex trading and heavy alcohol consumption. Gay-identified indigenous man who had worked in a logging camp reported that in addition to kitchen duties, they were also expected to provide sexual favors to the loggers.”	RDP	1243
Farrales et al., 2021	Discrimination Sexual Violence	“Impacts on women include higher levels of sexual assault and harassment, and family and domestic violence.”	Community	179
Farrales et al., 2021	Masculinities Social Isolation Substance Use Prejudice	“Camp culture' has been reported to exacerbate isolation, mental illness, drug and alcohol abuse, violence, misogyny, and racism among the men living there... Amidst a culture of hyper-masculinity, sexism, and apathy towards 'self-care' direct and indirect impacts shift onto women, children, and two-spirit people...”	RDP Community	179
Campbell 1997	Masculinities Risky Sex	“Linked to this masculine identity were the repertoires of insatiable sexuality, the need for multiple sexual partners and a manly desire for the pleasure of flesh-to-flesh sexual contact. [The] very sense of masculinity that assists men in their day-to-day survival also serves to heighten their exposure to the risks of HIV infection.”	RDP	278
Maake 2021	Prejudice	“They reflected that they work mostly with men, as is the nature of the mining industry, and that their heterosexual male colleagues associated being gay with femininity and viewed it as a form of weakness.”	RDP	15
Maake 2019	Prejudice	“Heterosexual men made intrusive jokes about homosexuals at work, and this was painful for the participants, as they could not object, since they are not open about their sexuality.”	RDP	83

Item	Theme	Quote	Location	Page
Maake 2021	Queer Invisibility Social Isolation	“Passing has the unintentional consequence of retaining the status quo that gay people do not exist in these South African heteronormative spaces and inhibits the disruption of heteronormative norms which entrench notions that being gay is not normal, is unnatural and un-African.”	RDP	17
Maake 2021	Queer Stealth	“Participants have found a safe haven in 'silence' as they generally try to achieve the set standards or requirements of a heterosexual masculinity, and suppress their sexual identities. They dress, talk and behave like their heterosexual male colleagues and they avoid any behaviors that might potentially expose their gay identities.”	RDP	18
Maake 2021	Queer/Gender Stigma	“While some participants could successfully 'pass' without being noticed, Philly struggled with maintaining a heterosexual male image since colleagues could gather from his 'feminine' traits and association with female friends that he could possibly be gay and used that to humiliate him. Femininity is a weakness and remains subordinated even amongst non-heterosexual masculinities.”	RDP	16
Maake 2021	Queer/Gender Stigma	“Men who are very closed-minded in their thinking would not agree to be led by a woman, and then there’s a gay man, who is associated with woman, not really seen as a man.”	RDP	15
Orellana et al., 2013	Risk Taking Behaviour Substance Use Sex Work	“Small groups of outsiders, as well as groups of indigenous men, set up floating gold-mining camps along the river. Of increased concern were the newly sprung towns along the riverbanks, where the gold nuggets were sold. These were lawless towns with rampant prostitution and heavy alcohol drinking, where gold was the main currency. One respondent explained how gold was used in sex trading: "One gram [of gold] is what the girls [Female Sex Workers] charge. That's how you pay the girls, in grams." ”	RDP Community	1245

Item	Theme	Quote	Location	Page
Maake 2019	Queer Invisibility Social Isolation	“Some coping strategies that the homosexual mineworkers used included isolating themselves from heterosexual colleagues [...] They also distanced themselves from homosexual colleagues who were visible, and they kept silent when heterosexual male colleagues spoke negatively about their homosexual colleagues. They feared that defending homosexual colleagues and speaking against negative perceptions of homosexual colleagues would draw attention to themselves.”	RDP	91
Campbell 1997	Social Isolation Risk Taking Behaviour	“This correlation between social support and risk- taking behaviour provides an interesting framework within which to consider the high levels of unsafe sexual behaviour practised amongst mine workers. [...] They spoke of anxieties that their distant rural wives or girlfriends might be unfaithful; of worries about their children growing up without a father's guidance; of their own guilt about money they might have wasted on drink and commercial sex which they should have sent to their families.”	RDP	279
Campbell 1997	Stressful & Dangerous Work	“Even more stressful than life outside of work however, was the time spent in the mines them- selves. [...] Many men said that they were expected to engage in physically taxing and dangerous work for up to eight hours with infrequent breaks, sometimes with minimal access to food or water, under conditions of tremendous heat, in air that was frequently stale and dusty, and sometimes with unpleasantly noisy machinery. [...] they reported living in daily fear of fatal, mutilating or disabling accidents. [...] Many had witnessed accidents in which friends and co-workers had either been killed or injured, or witnessed the dead or injured being brought above the ground after accidents, and the stress and distress caused by such incidents cannot be underestimated. [...] hey reported the classic symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder following the trauma: social withdrawal, problems in concentrating as well as flashbacks or nightmares in which they relived the shocking incident. Such flash- backs or nightmares sometimes troubled them for months or even years after the accident.”	RDP	277

### 2.3.5 Corpus Themes: Systemic Discrimination & Findings

Several articles made recommendations to improve systemic discrimination resulting from extractivism and colonialism. To tie these connections together, I created a web of recommendations based on the corpus findings (Figure 5). These included identifying how social and cultural change could improve resource extraction practices through increased intersectional research and paradigm shifts and emphasizing Indigenous rights and knowledge to improve industry and government accountability. Moreover, several items emphasized the need for increased funding from industry and governments to support local, community-based organizations to reduce the harms and challenges associated with resource extraction sites (Figure 5). In addition to systemic discrimination, Leeworthy 2016 identified an example of resource extraction workers and 2SLGBTQQIA+ communities working together to resist forms of government discrimination, which was linked to increased (though not total) tolerance towards 2SLGBTQQIA+ people in these extraction-based communities.

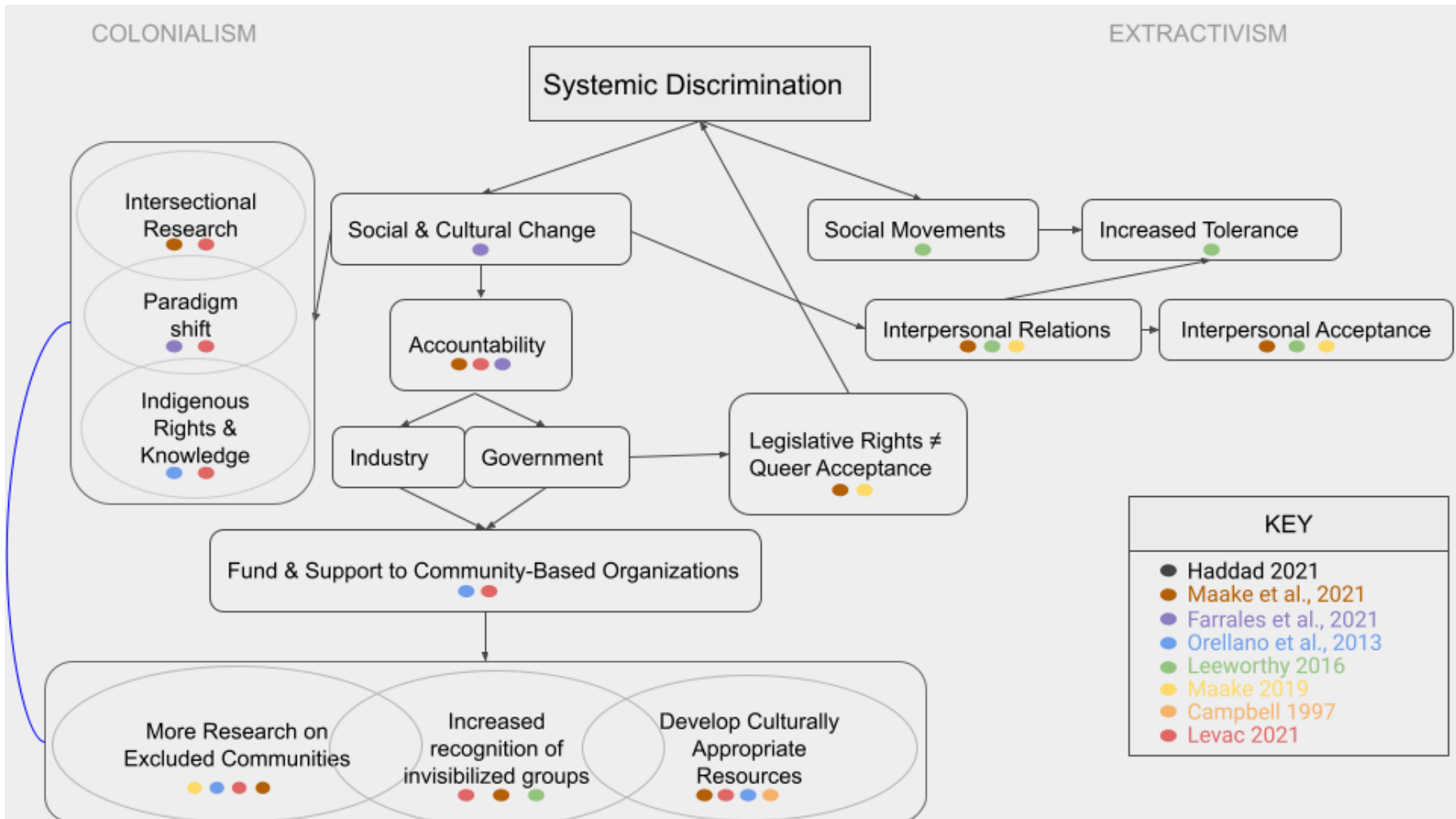


Figure 5. Identifies the interconnected recommendations between the systematic map items. Importantly, systemic discrimination was founded based on class, immigration status, gender, sexuality, indigeneity, race, and other intersecting population demographics noted in the results section. This figure shows the directionality of recommendations in black and concepts that are relational but not necessarily directionally linked in blue. Within this figure, each paper connected to a specific theme is noted in the figure key, with a colour associated with each paper in my corpus. Importantly, concepts introduced in the introduction, including colonialism and extractivism (both of which relate to contemporary systems of capitalism), underpin systemic discrimination.

## 2.4 Discussion

### 2.4.1 Corpus Themes: Masculinities, Social Isolation, Stressful Work

Hypermasculinities were a common theme in my corpus. This should be understood as a plural, evolving, diverse experience that varies based on sociocultural context, geography, and individuality (Campbell, 1997; Farrales et al., 2021; Goldenberg et al., 2008; Leeworthy, 2016; Maake et al., 2021). Homogenizing masculinities in resource extraction can be harmful because it can disregard diverse forms of oppression workers navigate, including discrimination based on their class status, education level, immigration status, race, and ethnicity. Masculinity is a central theme in historical and present-day extractivism that has relied upon male labour workers specifically to function (Campbell, 1997; Wilk, 2014). Wilks (2014, p. 67) summarizes this when discussing colonial resource extraction practices over the colonial period:

“The irony is that many of the ways that they [male workers] learned to cope with their oppressed situation became matters of great pride and were deeply embedded in their self-definition as men. Behaviour that allowed men to survive being exploited produced a model of masculinity that has proven amazingly durable and is with us in many mutated forms to this day.” (Wilk, 2014, p. 67).

Contemporary worker hypermasculinities have been linked to survival under difficult and dangerous working conditions (Leonard, 2016; Wilk, 2014). As Campbell 1997 explains in this corpus, “notions of masculinity [...] bring together concepts of bravery, fearlessness, and persistence” (p. 278), which is critical given that “[many men] reported living in daily fear of fatal, mutilating or disabling accidents” in South African mining contexts of the 1990s (p. 277). Moreover, workers from this study noted hating their jobs but feeling that “he had no choice given his lack of education, high level of unemployment and chronic poverty in his rural place of origin” (Campbell, 1997, p. 277).

While workers across various geographies are exploited in extractive industries, worker masculinities have been linked to gender-based violence. For example, worker “impacts on women include higher levels of sexual assault and harassment, and family and domestic violence...research, the media, and communities have become increasingly vocal about the epidemic of violence against Indigenous women, children, and two spirits as a result of the colonial capitalist resource sector” (Farrales et al., 2021, p.179). Thus, this systematic map underscores the importance of critically examining masculinities and worker vulnerability, like exploitation, stress, and social isolation, to understand how they perpetuate

prejudiced attitudes and enable risky behaviours associated that result in community-based harm (Campbell, 1997; Farrales et al., 2021; Goldenberg et al., 2010; Leeworthy, 2016; Levac et al., 2021a; Maake et al., 2021; Orellana et al., 2013; Ruddell, 2011).

#### 2.4.2 Corpus Themes: Queer Struggles

In this systematic map, key themes included queer workers experiences of social isolation, prejudice, and stigmatization. While social isolation was present for both heterosexual and non-heterosexual workers, Black gay mine workers in South Africa experienced unique forms of social isolation (Maake et al., 2021; Maake, 2019). Because of their sexualities, they experienced layers of social isolation, including isolation from their home communities, families, and kin, and in relationships with co-workers at resource extraction sites (Maake et al., 2021; Maake, 2019). In their lives, this meant they learned to conceal their gay identities due to pervasive homophobia; however, in their workplaces, the normalizing of heterosexist values made concealing their identities critical (Benya, 2009). Gay mine workers expressed concerns that they would lose their jobs if their workplaces knew of their sexual orientation (Maake, 2019). As a result, they frequently isolated themselves from other workers (Maake, 2019) and would “dress, talk, and behave like heterosexual male colleagues and they avoid any behaviours that might potentially expose their gay identities” (Maake et al., 2021, p. 18). This was necessary due to the overt homophobia they saw at their workplaces; “[other workers] do not have nice things to say about homosexual man, or homosexuality in general. They condemn it, and they use the bible for that” (Tshepo Maake, 2019, p. 83). However, homophobic stigma was not solely associated with heterosexual male workers; workers also experienced homophobia from heterosexual female colleagues who would “speak about how they would not want to have homosexual children, and what they would do to convert their children if they were homosexual” (Maake, 2019, p. 86).

The fear of homophobia in resource extraction settings has been echoed in other regions. For example, in Northern Chile, “the few openly gay men I spoke with [...] suggested they would not feel comfortable working at the mine because they feared homophobic displays of discrimination” (Haynes, 2020, p. 84). Straight men also confirmed this in Northern Chile by noting that overt ostracism against gay men in their workplaces caused them to quit (Haynes, 2020). This is echoed in our corpus when a Black gay mine worker witnessed an openly gay colleague quit their job due to discrimination from other workers and the company:



“Well, there was one junior who was working in the mine, and that one is very openly gay. He was in my team, and he ended quitting his job because the HR people did not take his case very seriously, because whatever happens underground (the guys were touching him inappropriately, do anything inappropriately), and try to record what was happening, and went for disciplinary hearing. They said they could not use the evidence against those guys, because it was not done with their consent (they were not aware that they were being recorded). And the guy ended up leaving, and nothing was done.” (Maake 2019, p. 84)

Across my corpus, homophobic prejudice often involved verbal harassment and homophobic sentiments. However, there were also instances of violent discrimination, as described by Orellano et al. (2013):

“Resource-extraction camps (i.e., logging and oil camps, mining) also hired gay men as their kitchen help. Like many mining towns, logging camps were also known for sex trading and heavy alcohol consumption. A gay-identified indigenous man who had worked in a logging camp reported that in addition to kitchen duties, they were also expected to provide sexual favors to the loggers. If they resisted, the participant said, they were forced to have sex anyway: ‘There are times when they force us to do it, but that is something nobody ever talks about anywhere.’” (p. 1243).

Here, discrimination moves towards physical violence, whereby gay male workers were expected to provide sex, consensually or not (Orellana et al., 2013). This theme of masculinities, gender-based violence, and sexual entitlement also appeared in Campbell 1997, which “linked to masculine identity were the repertoires of insatiable sexuality, the need for multiple sex partners and a manly desire for pleasure of flesh-to-flesh contact” (p. 278). Thus, because of pervasive homophobia, being perceived as straight and masculine was an essential strategy for gay workers, though not always possible (Maake, 2019).

For example, one informant stated that he “struggled with maintaining a heterosexual male image since colleagues could gather from his ‘feminine’ traits [...] that he could possibly be gay and [they] used that to humiliate him” (Maake et al., 2021, p. 16). The ability to conform to masculine and heteronormative standards was noted elsewhere where “only those (gay and lesbian people) who are ‘flamboyant’ or draw attention to their non-normative sexual preferences are open to discrimination” (Haynes, 2020, p. 77). In the South African mining context, the corpus tied this to the perception that femineity was considered culturally subordinate and less worthy of respect, re-enforcing heteronormative masculinities

in mining workplaces (Haynes, 2020; Maake et al., 2021). Maake et al., 2021, had one informant explain that “a lot of people don’t want to be led by a gay person, especially men because they are patriarchs. Men who are very close-minded in their thinking will not agree to be led by a woman [either]” (p. 15). Therefore, the corpus found that the ability of gay mine workers to pass as masculine and heterosexual was essential for avoiding overt discrimination and sexism at their worksites (Maake et al., 2021).

Overall, gay mine workers identified the need to hide their identity and seek social isolation for coworkers to avoid stigma, resulting in queer invisibilization in this resource extraction context. This relates closely to my research question because “passing has the unintentional consequence of retaining the status quo that gay people do not exist in these South African heteronormative spaces and inhibits the disruption of heteronormative norms which entrench notions that being gay is not normal, unnatural and un-African” (Maake et al., 2021, p. 17). This issue of queer invisibility may extend to hypermasculine resource-impacted geographies where anti-queer sentiments are already embedded in the broader cultural fabric, which is often a result of European colonialism (Busby, 2020; Haynes, 2020; Levac et al., 2021b; Maake, 2021). For example, homosexual mine marriages were common in South African mining communities until the 1970s (Campbell, 1997). However, due to homosexual violence that rose during the apartheid regime, these practices fell out of favour (Serrano-Amaya, 2018). Thus, the theme across this corpus that found gay workers may hide their queer identities might help illuminate why gaps in understanding the relationship between queerness and resource extraction remain, though such findings should be considered within the larger socio-cultural context of unique cultural and geographic places and times (Haynes, 2020; Levac et al., 2021a; Maake, 2021; Stienstra et al., 2020).

#### 2.4.3 Corpus Themes: Risk-Taking Behaviour, Discrimination, Survival & Sex Work

Heterosexuality and masculinities were linked throughout my corpus to sexuality, both in terms of attraction and level of sexuality. Campbell, 1997 outlined how this could blur sexuality, where the need for sex could “lead a man to consider homosexual relationships which he would not have considered in other circumstances” (p. 278). In certain instances, the perceived masculine imperative for sexual contact noted an “insatiable sexuality, the need for multiple sexual partners and a manly desire for pleasure of flesh-to-flesh contact” (Campbell, 1997, p. 278). Within my systematic map, Campbell 1997 linked this need to hazardous working conditions and social isolation, which had downstream impacts in nearby communities. Themes of risk-taking behaviours associated with workers included risky sex (often meaning unprotected) (Campbell, 1997; Goldenberg et al., 2008; Orellana et al., 2013), sexual violence and engaging in sex work (Orellana et al., 2013), substance use and abuse (Campbell, 1997; Goldenberg

et al., 2010; Orellana et al., 2013), and increased local crime (Campbell, 1997; Goldenberg et al., 2008; Goldenberg et al., 2008; Mek et al., 2021; Orellana et al., 2013; Pini et al., 2013; Ruddell, 2011; Ruddell et al., 2017). In the South African mining context, workers explained that the risks they felt from engaging in unprotected sex were incomparable to the risks of death and injury they faced when mining (Campbell, 1997). Ultimately, across my corpus, risk-taking behaviours were linked to intersecting forms of community-based discrimination and adverse social and health outcomes (Campbell, 1997; Farrales et al., 2021; Maake, 2021; Orellana et al., 2013). Orellana et al., 2013 explain “complex interactions of structural factors such as poverty, migration, and environments of risk where commercial sex, heavy alcohol consumption, and risk-taking are commonplace” near resource extraction projects (p. 1247).

These impacts often had gender-based, age-based, and racial and ethnic implications. In particular, Farrales et al., 2021 describe “impacts on women include higher levels of sexual assault and harassment, and family and domestic violence [in particular] violence against Indigenous women, children, and Two-Spirit as a result of the colonial capitalist resource sector” (P. 179, <https://www.secwepemculecw.org/nomans-camps>). Similarly, gender norms in the Peruvian Amazon found men usually made decisions about condom use, meaning women rarely had the power to enact HIV prevention methods (Bant & Girard, 2008; Orellana et al., 2013). In terms of age, in the Peruvian Amazon, one item “reported that Indigenous teenage boys would trade sex for money or food” (Orellano et al., 2013, p. 1245). Orellana, 2013 further described that the “direct and ever-increasing contact between Indigenous people and outsiders in the Peruvian Amazon, as a result of resource-extraction and in- and out-migration [...] presents a complex risk environment that might fuel the spread of HIV/STIs in this impoverished region” (p. 1247). Thus, while risk-taking behaviour was connected to stressful and dangerous work conditions and social isolation in several items across the corpus, these effects bled into the local community, causing various social and health challenges in local areas (Altamirano-Jiménez, 2021; Campbell, 1997; Farrales et al., 2021; Goldenberg et al., 2010; Levac et al., 2021a; Orellana et al., 2013).

#### 2.4.4 Corpus Findings & Recommendations

Across my corpus, several articles emphasized recommendations for alleviating negative impacts associated with resource extraction (Farrales et al., 2021; Levac et al., 2021; Maake et al., 2021; Orellana et al., 2013; Maake, 2019). Multiple authors argued that a paradigm shift away from extractivism, euro-colonialism, and heteropatriarchal values is needed (Farrales et al., 2021; Levac et al., 2021a; Maake et al., 2021; Orellana et al., 2013). They noted that these shifts must include redistribution efforts to transfer wealth from governments and corporations directly into communities and grassroots

organizations in regions impacted by resource extraction (Farrales et al., 2021; Levac et al., 2021a). Furthermore, two items advocated for recognizing Indigenous rights, knowledge, and laws in a way that transcends paternalistic views of Indigenous communities as mere stakeholders, instead emphasizing their rights (Levac et al., 2021a; Orellana et al., 2013). Moreover, various items called for more research on communities consistently excluded from decision-making around resource extraction (Leeworthy, 2016; Levac et al., 2021; Maake et al., 2021; Orellana et al., 2013; Maake, 2019). Finally, several authors underscored the need to provide culturally appropriate resources that take into account the diverse geographies, socio-cultural contexts, and land formations affected by resource extraction projects (Campbell, 1997; Levac et al., 2021a; Maake et al., 2021, p. 202; Orellana et al., 2013).

#### 2.4.5 Limitations

This study has significant limitations due to its small size, restriction to the English language, and the broad geographic contexts it covers. Firstly, attempting to explore queer experiences across diverse global regions, especially from a western queer academic perspective, carries inherent risks and biases. My biases influence the thematic analysis conducted because of my white settler, western-centric upbringing. Secondly, the diversity of data types, ranging from primary sources to political commentary and history papers, made comparison challenges. Items with interview components provided richer data relevant to the research question. Thus, they were more prominent throughout my discussion (Maake 2019 & 2021; Orellano et al., 2013; Campbell, 1997). Additionally, two articles were written by the same author and used the same key informant interviews, reflecting similar findings (Maake 2019 & 2021). Finally, because of the limited size of this map and its minimal inclusion of diverse queer people, making claims about the relationship between resource extraction and gender non-conforming and sexually diverse populations is not possible. More primary research is needed to address this gap.

#### 2.4.6 Conclusion

In addressing my overarching research question – “What does academic literature reveal about the relationships between resource extraction and queer communities?” – my findings reveal a notable gap within English-speaking, western academic databases. This underscores an ongoing knowledge gap in studies exploring the social impacts of resource extraction on diverse queer communities. Moreover, while a systematic map can provide practical findings for empirical questions, the broad, intersectional, and under-researched nature of my research area has constrained its applicability to understanding my research question comprehensively.

## CHAPTER 3: DEVIANT OTHERS – A CRITICAL NARRATIVE SYNTHESIS ZINE

### **3.1 Zine Introduction**

The following chapter provides a critical narrative synthesis of the histories of resource extraction and queerness in the settler states of Canada and the US during the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. While diving deeper into the settler colonial relations inherent in resource extraction, this chapter reviews the prevalence of homosexual behaviour in homosocial geographies, the evolution of anti-queer logics by settler states and power structures, and the use of heteronormativity as a tool for colonial economic expansion and control over the last 150 years (Aldred et al., 2021; Condes, 2021; Morgan et al., 2021; Morgan, 2020).

Breaking away from a traditional academic thesis format, I present this synthesis as a zine. A zine is a self-published booklet with “a long history as tools of activism in social movements” (Baker & Cantillon, 2022, p.539). Functionally, zines refuse elitist formalities and operate as part of a gift economy outside of economies of scarcity and hierarchy (Bagelman & Bagelman, 2016; Piepmeier, 2008) This is why this accessible and anti-oppressive zine format is excellent for sharing this synthesis with academic and non-academic audiences.

### **3.2 Deviant Others: The Interwoven Histories of Resource Extraction, Worker Exploitation, and Villainized Homosexualities (pg. 35-54)**

## Please Take Care as You Read!

This zine discusses ongoing violence against peoples and cultures historically labeled 'deviant' in turtle island. Below is a list of resources that may be useful before, during, or after reading this zine. These may support those with access to technology and are comfortable reaching out to anonymous people or groups for support.

Calling crisis centres is a muscle we can practice using! If you're unsure if it could be helpful for you, try calling when you are not in crisis to practice for the moment(s) you might need it.

### Residential School Survivor and Family Crisis Line ([link](#))

- 1-866-925-4419 [Available 24/7]

### Canada Crisis Line ([link](#))

- Call or text: 988 [Available 24/7]

### Indigenous Peoples Chat Line ([link](#))

- Youth in Distress: TEXT wellness to 686868
- Adults in Distress: TEXT wellness to 741741
- Frontline Workers: 741741
- Supporting Other(s) in distress: 1-866-585-0445

### LGBT Youth Line ([link](#))

- Call 1-800-268-9688 or text at 647-694-4275 [Available 4:00 pm - 9:30 pm]

### The Transgender Lifeline ([link](#))

- 1-877-330-6466 [Available 24/7]

If you are excited to read this zine but are worried about the content go check out the table of contents on page 3 this might help you pick and choose what sections you could avoid. Another option is reading and sharing this with a loved one!

If discussing racist histories, resource extraction, and anti-queerness is not your jam cause you live it every day, and somehow this zine has landed in your hands, feel free to re-gift and pass them along to someone who you think could benefit or would be interested.

*These resources  
are available all  
across Canada!*



# DEVIANT OTHERS

The interwoven histories of resource extraction, worker exploitation and villainized homosexualities



### Content Warning:

The following zine discusses genocide, racism, anti-queer violence, and violence at the hands of settler states and medical institutions.

*← Check out these resources*

## There Ain't No Queers Out Here!

It was the summer of [redacted]. I was 22 years old and in my third season working as a forest firefighter in Klunaxa and Sinixt territories.

Between 14-day shifts, I was lucky to get a few days off to hang with friends in town and sneak around kissing the girl I'd been crushing on all summer. Sneaking was key since only my roommate (and bestie that I worked with in firefighting) knew I was queer. And, there were already rumours popping up amongst crews nearby that we were secretly lesbians. My short buzz cut probably didn't help, but I knew that queerness and fire, at least at that time, in that place, were a mismatched pair.

In late July, my crew got called to the largest forest fire in the province. The [redacted] fire, which started on [redacted], grew over 1,000 km<sup>2</sup> fire in central BC and caused several evacuation orders and alerts. This was the biggest I'd ever seen.

It was one of those fires where water and heavy machinery did nothing. Instead, it was a fight-fire-with-fire game. We'd walk drip torches full of mixed diesel and gasoline through the forest late into the night while the temperatures were cool and the wind was gentle. We were pre-burning as much as possible because the fire was expected to arrive in the coming days. It was intense and exciting.

Each day, we woke up, ate a camp breakfast, and then the head fire boss briefed us on the action plan for that day.

"We'll have the 073 + 041 crews go hit this south westerly flank over here and try and put this f\*ggot out. Then we'll get the 041 + 021 crews to prep a water source here to black lining this area right next to the skeg and f\*\*\*brush. The 052 crew will fuel up, to prepare for a burn off later..."

What I remember from these briefings over the years was the way that slurs rolled so easily off the tongue—just a normal part of the wildfire vernacular.

After one particularly colourful display of slurs on the [redacted] fire, I have no idea what came over me, but I built up the gall and asked the fire boss...

"Hey, you used words like f\*ggot, \*\*\*\*\*, and gay during our briefing today. I'm just wondering why?"

"Oh f\*\*\*, well it doesn't matter out here. There's no f\*ggots in fire."

...Little did he know, he was speaking with exactly that. A f\*ggot in fire.

I don't remember how I felt back then, but I've always wondered: How did we get here? How did we get to a place "where f\*ggots (allegedly) don't exist"? Where they are invisible. Where do these ideas come from?

I didn't know it at the time, but these curiosities would lead me to quit firefighting and embrace my transsexuality. And it helped determine my future research ponderings in ivory tower institutions trying to find the connection between queerness and hypermasculine workplaces that have an implicit and sometimes explicit belief that these spaces are devoid of homosexuality and queerness.



That's me

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This me :)

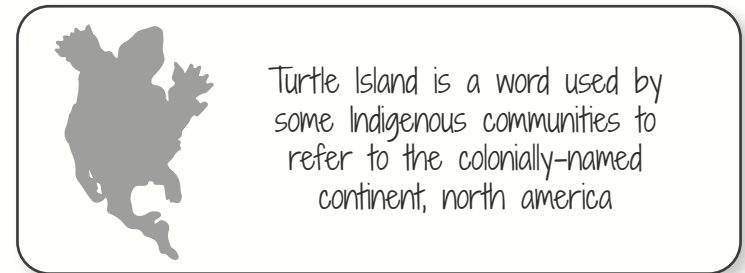


Let's get into it!

## Queerness, Rurality & Resource Extraction

Two years ago, my supervisor, Alana Westwood, posted a master's project on connections between queerness and resource extraction. I was instantly curious. Shortly after I started, many people were baffled by the fact that I was looking at how queerness and resource extraction are related. FAQs included: Why even look at queerness and RE? What could those two things possibly have in common?

Throughout this zine, I hope to share how resource extraction and queerness are much more connected than one might think in settler states in turtle island. Growing up as a queer kid in a resource-based town and having worked in a male-dominated profession, I know that queer people exist in resource extraction geographies. However, the intentional invisibilization of queer histories and queer cultures in settler states makes these connections blurry. I also hid for a long time throughout my childhood and during my firefighting career. It is easy to say something does not exist when you don't see or experience it. It wasn't until I went to university that I was exposed to queer people and queer culture that I started to explore these sides of myself, which is a huge privilege. I realized that I was not the only queer kid from my hometown and not the only queer kid who grew up in a small town and resource-impacted community (though my hometown ain't so small now). I know this because many of these folks are now my chosen family, friends, and communities.

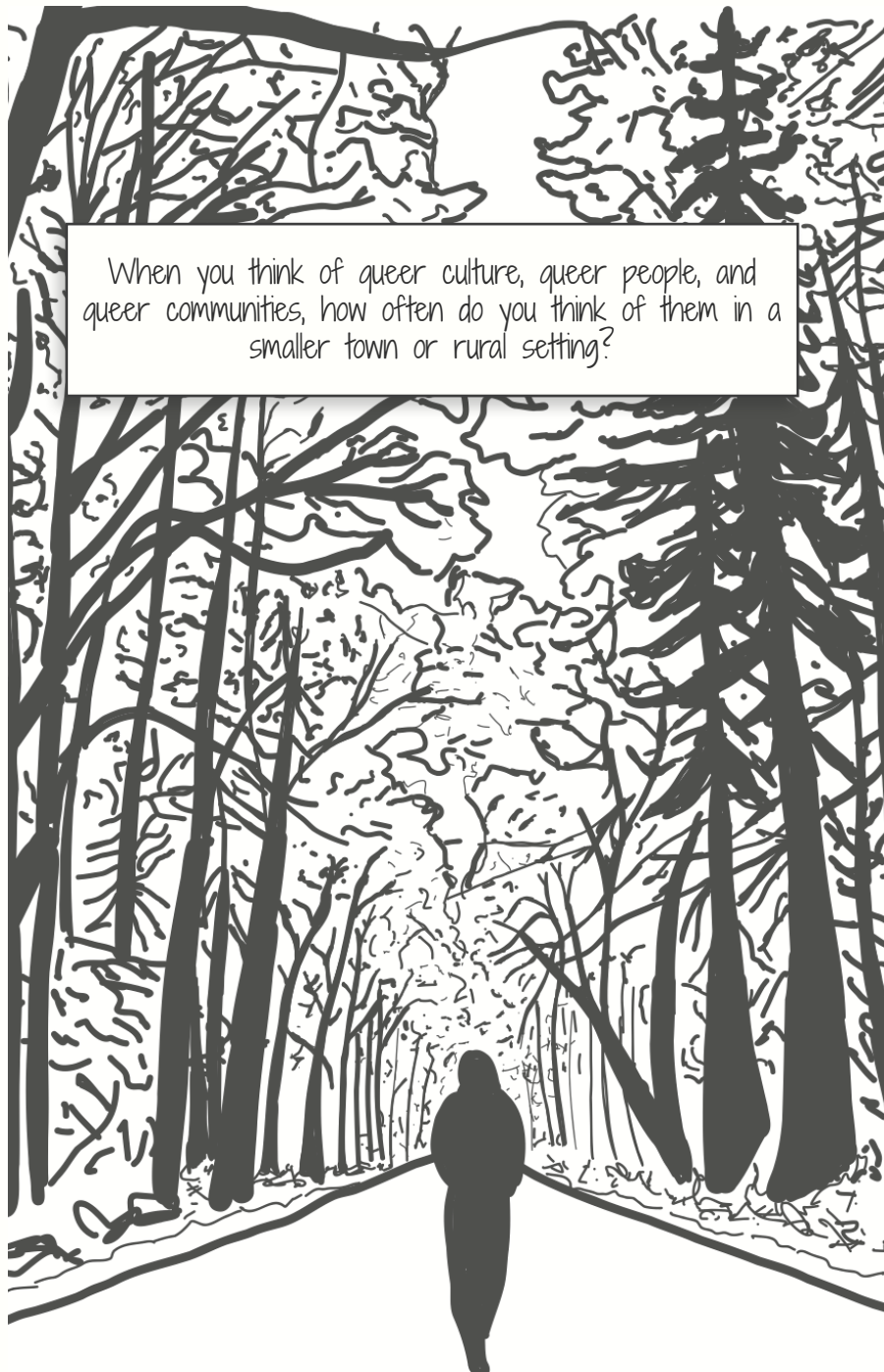


But why look at the connection between resource extraction and queerness? Funding. This research became pertinent to the Canadian government when they revised the Impact Assessment Act in 2019, which governs resource extraction in Canada. This update followed years of advocacy and activism by Indigenous women, scholars, and land defenders who highlighted the harmful links between colonial resource extraction, gender-based violence, and the strain on local rural and Indigenous communities associated with extractive industries in Canada (1–7). Before these updates, the federal government overlooked the social impacts of resource extraction on various communities, including racialized communities, disabled folks, youth and elderly folks, and 2SLGBTQIA+<sup>1</sup> people (8). Since these communities had been excluded from these processes, little was known about the impacts of resource extraction on these communities. And that's where I come in.

I received funding to look at the experiences of 2SLGBTQIA+ (queer) folks at or near resource extraction sites. Still, I found limited academic literature on the topic, which reflected the already known knowledge gap I was trying to address. Luckily, I was nudged by a wise trans scholar to delve into the shady colonial origins of resource extraction and its ties to the construction of race, sex, sexuality, and gender in settler states like Canada and the United States (US). This work helped me understand why stereotypes like there are “no f\*ggots in fire” or “there are no queers out here (rurally)” exist

<sup>1</sup> 2S: Two Spirit; L: Lesbian; G: Gay; B: Bisexual; T: Transgender/gender diverse; Q: Queer; Q: Questioning; I: Intersex; A: Asexual; + and so many more are various identities that folks in diverse queer communities or sexually and gender diverse communities use. Others include men who have sex with men, pansexual, etc. Throughout this zine I use the word queer to reference individuals within these identity categories, which is imperfect and inherently colonial. These communities are diverse and have unique needs and lived experiences.





When you think of queer culture, queer people, and queer communities, how often do you think of them in a smaller town or rural setting?

## Metronormativity vs. Rural Queerness

Metronormativity is the assumption that queerness is an urban phenomenon, which is maintained in queer media, activism, pop culture, and research (9-11). When funding cycles come around, rural places are considered a 'lost cause' because they are typically (not always) more conservative and have negative perceptions of queers (9,12-15). There is also a belief that too few queer people live rurally for queer-specific resources to matter in rural communities (9,10,12). This creates a vicious cycle where money and resources go to progressive, often white, urban queer organizations (9-11). At the same time, the most politically vulnerable, grassroots, racialized queer and trans and rural queer initiatives survive on volunteer support with few resources (9,16).

### Challenges of Metronormativity

Metronormativity bolsters the idea that rural/small-town queer folks have to 'escape' their hometowns to live authentic queer lives (which is true for some!), AND it reinforces the tale that cities are queer safe havens (not true for all). Unfortunately, metronormativity ignores queer people living rurally and erases folks who can't leave their communities due to their age, finances, or due to ties to land and kin (9,11). Moving to the city is risky, especially for those from precarious social or financial backgrounds! Small town queers face major challenges when moving to cities, including a high cost of living and housing insecurity, challenges finding work and building community (9). Rural queers risk falling between the cracks; a jarring example is queer youth, who make up 40% of under-housed youth in Canada (17-19). The urban queer utopia story also hides the ways racism and transphobia exist in some urban queer communities (9,20,21).

### Impacts of Metronormativity

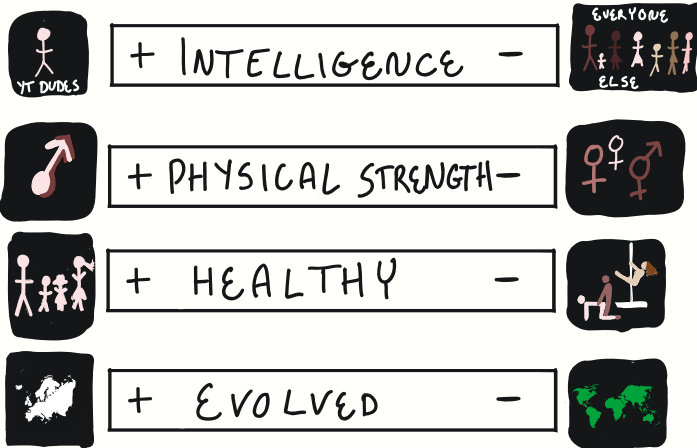
Overall, rural and small towns have worse health and social outcomes compared to urban queers. The problem lies in this pressure to conform, to be straight adjacent or be rejected, and a lack of queer-specific social and health supports (10,12,15,22,23). The tight-knit fabrics of small towns make queer folks vulnerable to rejection, not just from kin, but from other social supports (e.g., friends, teachers, nurses, doctors, counselors) whom they have personal relationships with outside of professional ones and who provide them healthcare or other social support, and might 'out' them to others if their queerness is discovered (24,25). Small communities face challenges due to limited resources and vast geographic spreads, resulting in a shortage of queer-inclusive and intersectional community spaces, sexual healthcare products, educational materials, and competent social support and healthcare workers (10,21-23). Rural queers survive by hiding their queer identities (using stealth) from many people in their lives, including their families, co-workers, healthcare workers, and social workers (10,22,25). Because they live secret lives, they are also more likely to be secretive with sexual partners and take sexual risks, which puts queer youth especially at risk (22,25).

# The Creation of Race, Sex & Sexuality Hierarchies

The connection between homosexuality and urbanisation is longstanding and first arose in the late 1800s and early 1900s in settler states like Canada and the US. At this time, the life sciences and medicine were growing and trying to define the natural world. The life sciences, specifically, started to try and define things like race, sex, & sexuality (26-28).

## Biological Determinism

Originating in the life sciences, biological determinism established human hierarchies of 'healthy' VS 'deviant/unhealthy' humans and distinctions between 'advanced' VS 'less advanced' knowledge forms and societies (26,27,29,30). This created knowledge hierarchies of race, sex, and heterosexuality that placed straight white men and their western knowledge forms at the top (27,31). Biological determinism concepts from the 1800s founded fields like medicine and were used to inform settler state systems of law, governance, economics, and ideas of 'nationhood' and 'national security' (32). This helped settler states determine and define who was considered a 'full citizen', who could 'own' [stolen] property [land], who could make money, who could vote, and who was protected versus punished under the law (29,31,33).



And, while theories of biological determinism have been debunked (e.g., race is not a useful biological variable (34) & males are not inherently smarter than females), the legacies of these theories continue to shape our world through practices, including medical and institutional racism, sexism, anti-queerness, and ableism.

## Healthy vs. Unhealthy Sexualities

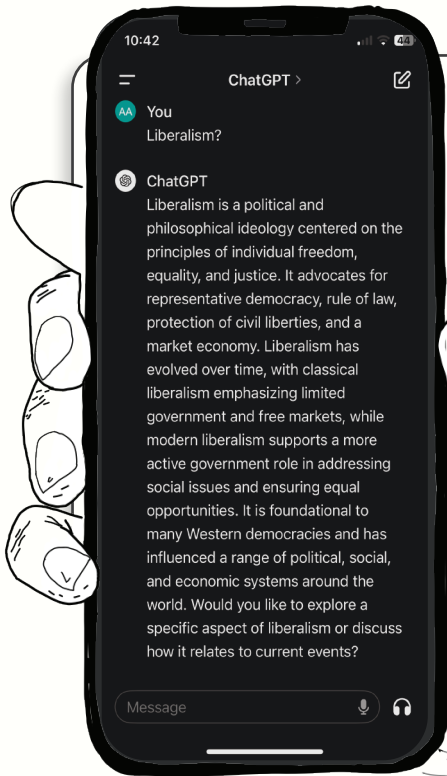
In this vein, white heterosexuality that made babies (aka, white reproductivities) symbolised ecological health. In contrast, racialized sexualities and non-reproductive sexualities (prostitution, homosexuality, and even masturbation) symbolised moral and ecological decline (27,29,35).

By the 1900s, doctors and scientists viewed homosexuality as a rising, emergent, creeping illness they attributed to the "environmental conditions of large urban centres" (29). This started a century of violence and social shaming of intersex, gender non-conforming, and homosexual communities who were 'labeled' as moral deviants by psychiatrists and doctors and subsequently attacked and surveilled by settler states (26,29,36,37,37). More on that later...



## A Growing Deviant Threat (Urbanization)

By the late 1800s, white male elites experienced heightened social anxiety amid rapid social changes associated with industrialization, urbanisation, diverse immigration, cultural mixing, and increasing calls that challenged and questioned the power and dominance of white men in newly emerging liberal settler democracies (29).



### Liberal Settler Democracies: A Short Introduction

The words "liberal" and "liberalism" get thrown around liberally, but knowing about them and understanding their roots is pretty important!

During the 1800s in turtle island, liberalism rose more quickly in newly forming settler democracies than in western europe (38). While liberalism's

founding principles aimed to create a more fair and just society, violence, racism, genocide, gender apartheid, and resource extraction were integral parts of early liberal conceptions. These were justified as necessary to achieve moral and societal progress (38).

Specifically, liberalism contained specific ideas about life, land, and productivity. For example, liberalism viewed Indigenous lands as private, ownable, and valuable

based on the \$\$ they could make (39). These ideas founded the resource extraction practices, like forestry, fishing, mining, and agriculture, that occurred throughout the 1700s, 1800s, & 1900s in turtle island.

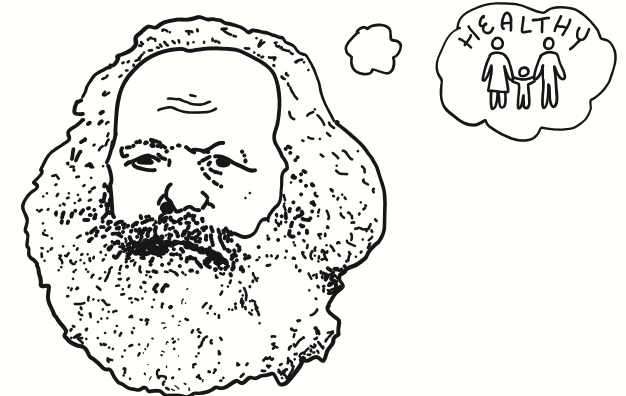
These practices were short-sighted, unsustainable, and exhausted life and land without consideration of future generations, Indigenous peoples and their knowledge systems, and non-human kin (33,40,41).

### Morality & Liberalism: Peas in a Pod

In response to this growing threat, white men and their middle-class families were at the top of the hierarchy of healthy human form. And the middle-class family structure came to be the anchor against rising moral corruption (urbanisation, racialisation, homosexuality, etc.) (27).

White heterosexuality became the emblem of the natural order, and anything that deviated from it was considered morally indecent and, therefore, valid targets of policing (27,29,42). This natural order' meant that racialized people and their family structures, as well as working-class folks who deviated from these white middle-class norms, were morally indecent and, therefore, rightfully targeted through policing and violence (27,29,42).

Even radical thinkers like Karl Marx (1818-1883), considered by some as the father of communism, bought into these moral liberal ideas and worldviews. He saw heterosexuality as the emblem of order, nature, and universality, making that which deviated from it a sign of disorder (27).

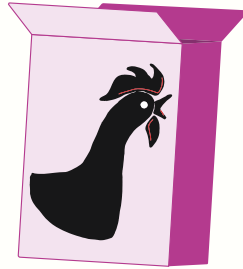




scouts guy



elk killing conservationist



kkkorn flakes man

## Whitewashing the West

### Places of Health & Vitality

By the late 1800s, white dudes BE STRESSING! Their power was being questioned, and some infamous white dudes like Theodore Roosevelt (elk killing conservationist and former US president with a 'cowboy' persona!), Baden Powell (scouts guy, the leader of the scouts movement to get little white boys into nature... and eventually little white girls too!), and John Harvey Kellogg (kkkorn flakes man who wanted to combat urbanization through racial eugenics and segregation.)

They and many others jumped on this fear of urban deviance bandwagon by romanticising western turtle island (here I am referring to western lands that fall within the colonial settler states of Canada and the US) as places where rugged white men could 'tame' the wild (29,33,35,40,43). KKKorn flakes man was really into this idea, declaring the west as a land of **moral opportunity** against the **toxic urban vices of femininity, immigrants, and homoeroticism** (29,33,35). He was part of a growing call encouraging white settlers to 'move' west and have babies following resource extraction and new infrastructures (e.g., railroads) (35).

*In my white, hetero, immigrant, middle-class settler upbringing, this narrative of the wild west was rampant in my family and through the media we watched, like Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid. In my settler education, ideas of European 'discovery', 'invention', and 'bravery' were normalised. I legitimately learnt about history through a lens that claimed colonial violence and industrialization made the world a 'better' place, which is f\*\*\*ed as colonialism created climate change, imperialism, and genocides are devastating communities as we speak.*

*So, let's f\*\*\* up this tall tale, shall we?*

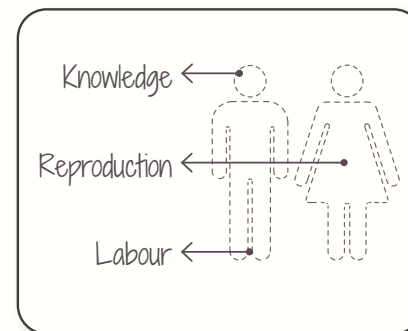
## Settler States, Genocide & Liberal Land Claims

Wait. How did liberal settler states even have land to sell when Indigenous people already lived in turtle island (because the land wasn't wild; it had been managed for millennia) (39,44)?

Racist liberal white men (the pawns of settler state governance) justified the ongoing land theft, murder, removal, and displacement of Indigenous people across turtle island by deeming their relations to land as 'unproductive' or 'unprofitable' (30,44-46). In western turtle island, in the mid-1800s, settler states 'claimed' ownership over these lands, calling them their 'crownlands' under the guise that lands were being mismanaged as per a liberal worldview (39,44,47). To assert control, settler states implemented laws, acts, and policies, such as Canada's Indian Act, to restrict, control, and criminalise Indigenous peoples' ability to access land, food, water, and cultural practices (39,45,46,48,49). These measures included prohibiting Indigenous peoples from practicing traditional land management practices, taking Indigenous children from their communities, and forcing them into violent and deadly day and residential school systems (39,45,46,48,49).

As settler states 'claimed' lands in western turtle island, they began selling them to white men and corporations (29,39). This was due to prevailing laws where only white men were recognized as full citizens eligible for land ownership and able to establish and operate corporations involved in land theft and resource extraction (31,44,50). Interestingly, white men could sweeten the deal in some places, such as Oregon, and get extra land (like 160 acres extra) if they were married (29). This sparked a trend in the late 1800s of transporting white women and 'girls' west for **marriage** (29,33).

By the end of the 1800s, both the Canadian and US settler states relied on:



- **Indigenous Knowledge:** was crucial for settler state expansion, which would have stalled without Indigenous leadership, management practices, and knowledge systems like trade and navigation routes that ensured the survival of new settlers and facilitated the expansion of resource-extraction economies (30, 44, 45).
- **Labour:** Settler states needed a significant workforce to extract resources from stolen Indigenous lands and enhance profits within their empires (33,40,43).

## Workin' the Wild West

Settler states needed bodies, so they exploited a racially diverse workforce made up of native men, black american men, white immigrant men, latin american men, pacific islander men, asian american men, and men from all over africa, asia, and europe (27,33,43). But, with all these different folks, how did liberal settler states still encourage white settlement?

1. **Racist & Sexist Immigration Laws:** favoured male immigration from all over the world but prevented female immigration from many racialized countries (27,33).
2. **Racist Miscegenation Laws:** prevented interracial marriages to ensure that white folks would reproduce with white folks and ensure that white men's land would remain in the hands of white families (27,31,33,39).
3. **Racist Land Laws:** prevented racialized men from owning land and restricted them from settling in some western geographies, thrusting them into cycles of exploitation, living as transient workers and bachelors in western turtle island (29,33,39,44).
4. **Sexist Land Laws:** prevented women from owning land, meaning that to settle in western turtle island, white women had to marry white men (33).

## Male Labour = Extractable Resource!

In western turtle island settler states used **genocide** and **racist/sexist laws** to build a workforce of racially and ethnically diverse men and boys that they could exploit and profit from (33,43). These folks worked in crews with little contact with women (33,43). Resource discoveries in "remote" areas, such as the gold rush in the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in (30) and copper mining/logging in Skwxwú7mesh territories (39,44), and so many more spurred population booms of diverse young male workers in remote geographies (33,43).

From 1880-1930, the population in western turtle island grew tenfold; in 1890, there was a 15.5:1 male-to-female ratio, which was 14.1:1 by 1910 (33). Since these men and boys working in crews spent many of their lives together, they built unique cultures, including complex gendered and sexual hierarchies (33,40,43). Their work's dangerous and remote nature fostered enduring rugged masculine identities, which remain evident in contemporary male-dominated communities, including sports, extractive industries, military, and forest fire fighting (33,40).

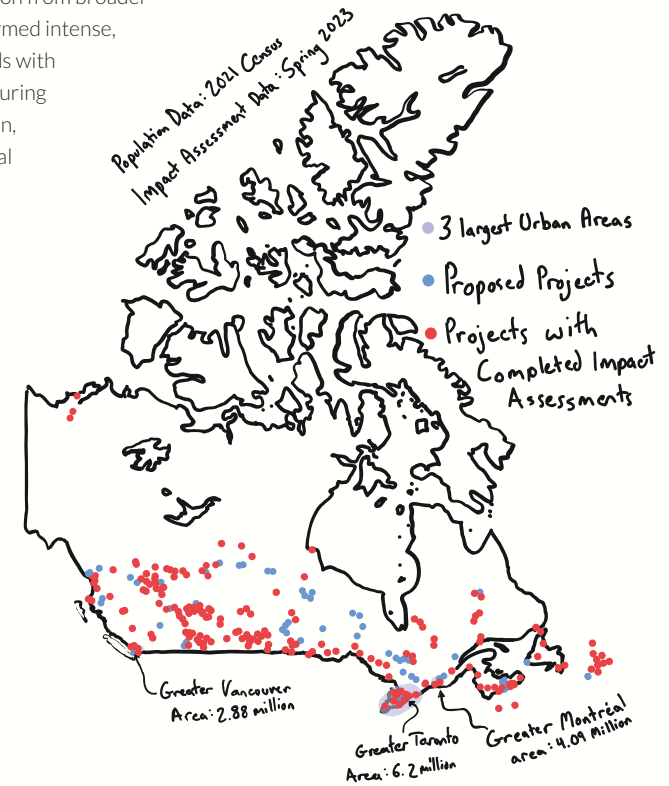


## Male Work Crews

During the late 1800s in western turtle island, many men in work crews were trapped in cycles of extractive labour (33,40). These crews were poorly and irregularly paid at the end of a job (40). Workers were at the mercy of extractive practices that prioritised profit and resource annihilation over life (33,43). Many workers struggled to survive within the liberal economic systems imposed by settler states, and those who resisted or attempted to live outside of them were violently suppressed, killed, or forced into work (39).

Importantly, this meant that those most financially and politically vulnerable were drawn to extractive industries, which often separated them from their communities for long periods of time or life (33,40,43). Ironically, the rugged worker masculinities idolised by figures like the elk conservation killer, kkkorn flakes man, and scouts movement man were condemned as 'immoral' due to workers spending money on prostitution, gambling, drugs, and getting in tiffs with local law enforcement (40).

Due to their intense, isolating work and their social stigmatisation from broader society, crews often formed intense, non-transactional bonds with each other while harbouring distrust towards women, governments, and global economies (40).



## Contemporary Resource Extraction

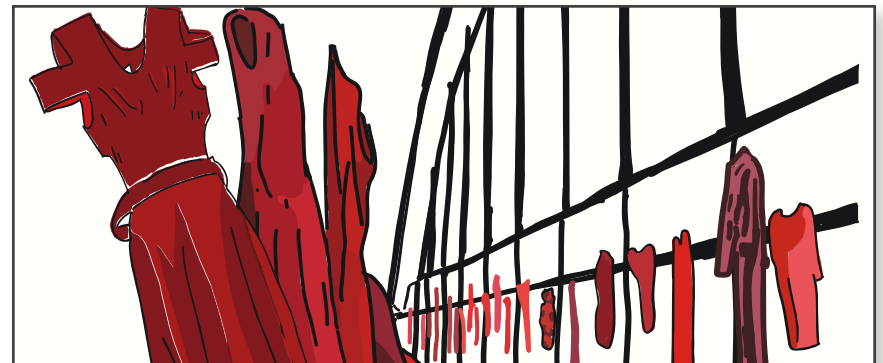
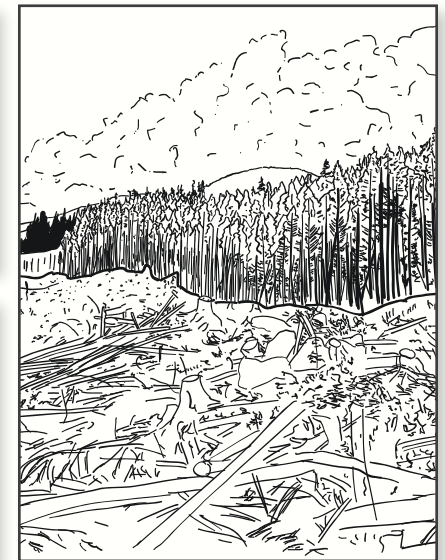
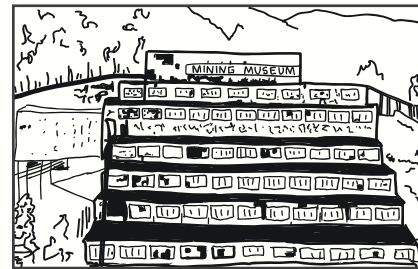
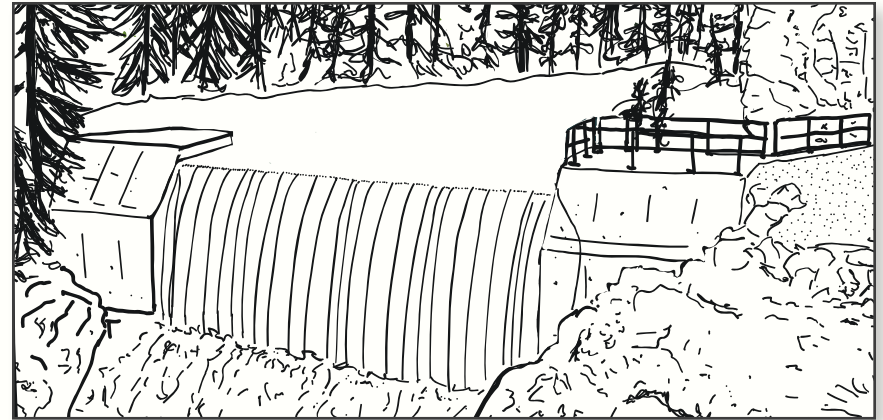
The pattern of a transient male-dominated workforce is present in contemporary resource extraction, especially in rural, remote, and Indigenous communities in Canada (33,43,51,52). Most people in Canada aren't aware of this since 75% of them live in urban areas (53). Because resource extraction tends to happen in more remote geographies, the impacts of resource extraction happen away from the eyes and ears of most.

But what are the trends? Well, transient workers are commonly associated with 'man camps,' which are temporary accommodations that house workers hired from outside small communities or rural regions (54–56). In contemporary extractive industries, men and adolescents remain separated from their families and communities during work shifts and often lack social ties to nearby communities (54, 56, 57).

### Negative Social Impacts

While extractive industries have diversified their workforce to include women (and probably non-binary/transgender people), men still make up ~77-95% of the workforce (58). Sadly, adverse social effects of resource extraction are often linked back to the population jumps associated with man camps, which strain local healthcare systems and community-based infrastructure and are linked to increased crime rates, new illegal substances, elevated STI rates among youth, and exacerbated wage disparities between genders (56–63). Man camps are also connected to heightened gender-based violence, which disproportionately affects Indigenous women and girls who experience increased racial and sexual violence, harassment, and exploitation (1,4,54,61). Women employed at camps also experience sexism, racism, harassment, and sexual misconduct (5,6).

Like previous generations of transient male workers, some employed in extractive industries have limited job prospects and may face social and political vulnerability. However, not all workers fall into this category, given these industries are now financially lucrative (57). However, like historic workers, present-day workers are often solely blamed for the negative social impacts of resource extraction, deflecting accountability away from governments and corporations (1,3,64). Additionally, like their predecessors, workers today often experience social isolation from their families and home communities and the stigma associated with resource extraction work; consequently, they often form close social networks amongst themselves and become embedded within cycles of crew culture (40,57,59).



All of these images are from where I grew up

# Crew Culture & Colonial Cycles of Exploitation

## Ration:

Crews were supplied with staple foods, stimulants (e.g., caffeine), tobacco and some medicines in order to be self-sufficient due to the remote, dangerous nature of their work.

## Condition:

Crew hierarchies existed, where rookies had to learn new skill sets to prove reliability; the dangerous work meant that crews developed close, often non-transactional bonds with each other that could last years.

**Culture:** Rookies were hazed by humiliation, jokes, and physical trials. Hazing toughened them up and proved their trustworthiness. Showing physical toughness and hiding emotions and fear was highly regarded. Crews were competitive and rivalry between and amongst crews was common. Men risked their lives for each other forming intimate bonds and sharing disdain towards money, women, and men who lived outside of crew culture.

## Binge:

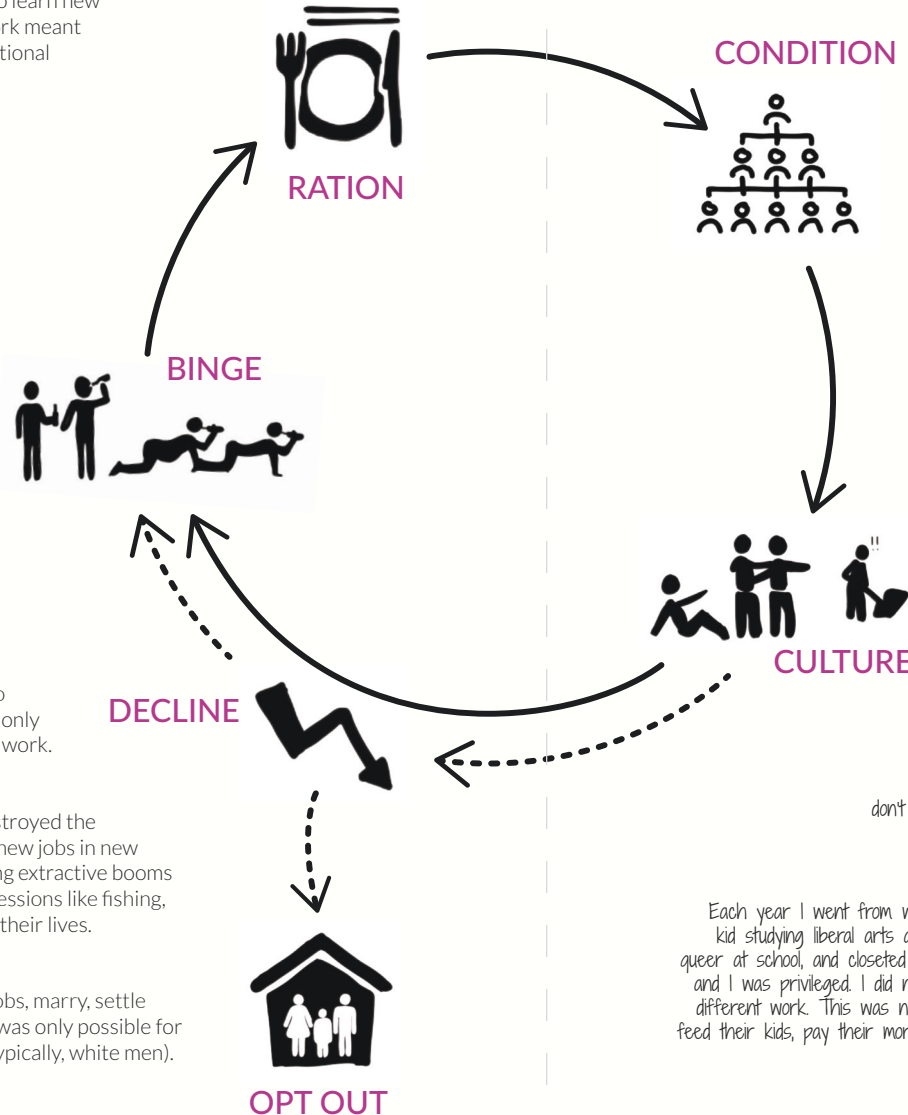
At the end of a job, men were often paid in lump sums. In this time men moved to larger communities and suddenly were rich; they cleaned up, bought clothes, and ate lavish meals. Then, they went to bars, salons, rum shops; places to find women, drink, and gamble. Binges sometimes resulted in crews clashing with local authorities and communities. Employers relied on the binge and financial inexperience of men in crews who frequently lost all their money during the time only to come back in near poverty looking for more work.

## Decline:

Industrialization and resource annihilation destroyed the livelihood of some crews, forcing them to find new jobs in new places. Many men lived transient lives, following extractive booms and busts and switching between various professions like fishing, logging, milling, and mining many times during their lives.

## Opt Out:

For some it was possible to find 'respectable' jobs, marry, settle down, and learn 'normal' gender roles. BUT, it was only possible for those who could legally own land and marry (typically, white men).



# My Experience with Crew Culture

## Ration + Conditions:

Wildfire crew life was intimate. We spent almost every waking moment together, relying on each other for safety, and other forms of care including cooking meals, setting up camps, and making sure people had enough coffee to work all day. We'd bounce from fire to fire, with a quick refuel and restock in between. We had to be self-sufficient because we worked remote, with dangerous equipment and in quickly changing conditions. We trusted each other with our lives because sh\*t got real, fast. The organisational structure was militant and patriarchal, with a worker hierarchy and chain of command. There was a strong culture of doing what you are told and proving your worth, especially if you were female. The work ranged from waiting on standby to a fire bust, where we worked 12-16 hour days for weeks, flying to fires with one crew member left to drive up the nearest logging road to set up a staging site. We worked camped most nights dirty and tired next to our pumps in beautiful places.

## Culture:

The culture of wildfire crews celebrated strength, rugged masculinity, and divisiveness. Pride was attached to crew, base, and regional identities. Each base had unique rookie hazing rituals where rookies would get loose with the rest of the crew. These often involved excessive drinking, lighting sh\*t on fire, and doing sketchy physical challenges. Similar to the crew culture described historically, these rituals were designed for bonding, and were supposed to be kept secret. The divisiveness came from sh\*t talking other crews. This usually revolved around making comments about other crews being less experienced, lazy, or less physically fit. Crew, base, and even regional pride normalised an expanding and contracting us VS them dynamic. This added regional hierarchies in an hierarchical organisation, which encouraged people to make fun of anything subordinate or deviant (e.g., femme, queer, racialized) which I think helped normalise a prejudiced workplace vernacular.

## Binge:

I never fit in that well, but I did get to know my crews and their families. They showed me their homes, gardens, and the parts of their lives they were proudly cultivating. This wholesome vibe was contrasted during deployments when we'd leave town to go work at a fire camp for a few weeks. This is where the binge crept in. At the end of a deployment, crews would get psyched on going to the strippers and getting messy/rowdy in a random rural town. Men who were so protective of the women in their lives, flipped a misogynistic switch towards strangers and sex workers. For me, the binge led to clashes between me and my crews since deployments had a strong 'don't ask, don't tell' vibe. When I'd decline joining, I'd be blamed for ruining a fun time, or be told 'ok, but please, don't tell my wife about this.'

## Decline + Opt Out:

Each year I went from working fires, which helped me pay for school, to being a middle-class white kid studying liberal arts and sciences at Quest University Canada. It was like whiplash, I'd be out and queer at school, and closeted and secretive at work. Before going into my 5th season, I quit. I was tired, and I was privileged. I did not have to go back, because I had the class privilege and education to find different work. This was not an option for a lot of the people I worked with. They needed the job to feed their kids, pay their mortgages, and transition out of other extractive labour jobs like working in the oil patch, as tree planters, or loggers.

## A Surprising Space for Homosexual Behaviour

While the wild west relied on exploitative labour practices involving diverse working-class males, white upper-classmen romanticised their masculinities. At the same time, these upperclassmen, along with physicians, psychologists, and doctors, were asserting that toxic cities and intercultural mixing caused homosexuality (because, once again, it all goes back to racism).

Here's the T...

In his monumental 1948 survey of sexual behaviour in the human male, Alfred Kinsey reported the HIGHEST frequency of homosexual activity in the US occurred in more remote locations, such as Logging, Mining, and Ranching communities" (33).

### WAIT... WHAT!?!?

Yes, you read that right! At the turn of the 1900s, homosexuality was normal in resource extractive geographies among male work crews (33). The constant movement of men and boys to and from work sites meant working men and boys didn't have to travel from place to place for sex; they could just have sex at work camps, in hobo-jungles (the places where they would camp outside communities between work contracts), and on board transportation (trains and ships) to and from jobs (33). What was WILD and unique was that in remote geographies, men and boys didn't even need to hide their homosexual relationships (33).

The fact that this is not common knowledge really makes me mad! How does it make you feel?

## F\*\*\* Brush: Gender & Sexual Hierarchies in Work Crews

So, in the expanding west, male working crews formed intimate bonds with each other in remote places (away from settler state institutions)... But what did this look like?

Well, age was an important factor in same-sex crew pecking orders, where men and adolescent boys often formed sexual couples; historically, some men were called 'jockers' or 'wolves', and younger men/adolescents were 'punks' and 'lambs' (33). While punk described any young male at the turn of the century, it changed over time to describe an adolescent boy who played the receptive role in sex (33).

Thus, sexual hierarchies, sometimes called 'jocker-punk' relations, formed when adolescent boys left broken homes or poverty in search of work, support, and advice on how to survive growing colonial economies (33). Jockers would take punks under their wing, sharing knowledge and helping them navigate transient working life (33). In return, punks filled critical social roles like keeping fires alive, doing laundry, sewing, and running various errands (33). Like all relationships, some were reciprocal, protective, and emotionally fulfilling relations, and others were coercive, violent, and exploitative (33).

Often, couplings were short-lived, ending when punks could navigate working life solo (33). Once independent, punks often became jockers, even at early ages, helping other youths navigate camp life (33).

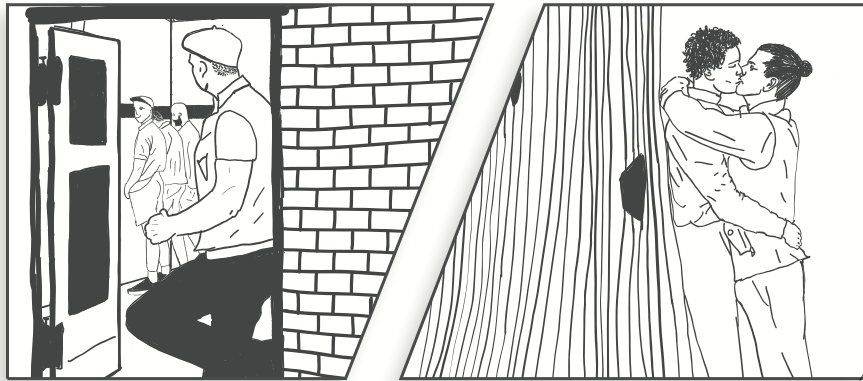




## Diverging Homo Cultures

### Urban *(aka Oral Only)*

Interestingly, the sexual and cultural practices of remote working crews and urban homosexuals differed! Throughout the 1800s, colonial anti-buggery (anal sex & bestiality [sex with an animal]) laws were policed in cities and towns with law enforcement (65). This meant that having anal sex in cities was risky AF (33,65,66). So, white, middle-class, and other urban homosexuals were vulnerable to state targeting (33), AND their sexual practices reflected this... For example, in cities, oral sex was much more common than anal sex between adult men (33). Also, because there was more surveillance and police, urban homosexual men were much more discreet than remote male working crews when engaging in same-sex activities because of their proximity to state institutions; thus, they'd have oral sex in public places or secret establishments (33).



### Rural *(aka the Middle of Butt\*\*\* Nowhere)*

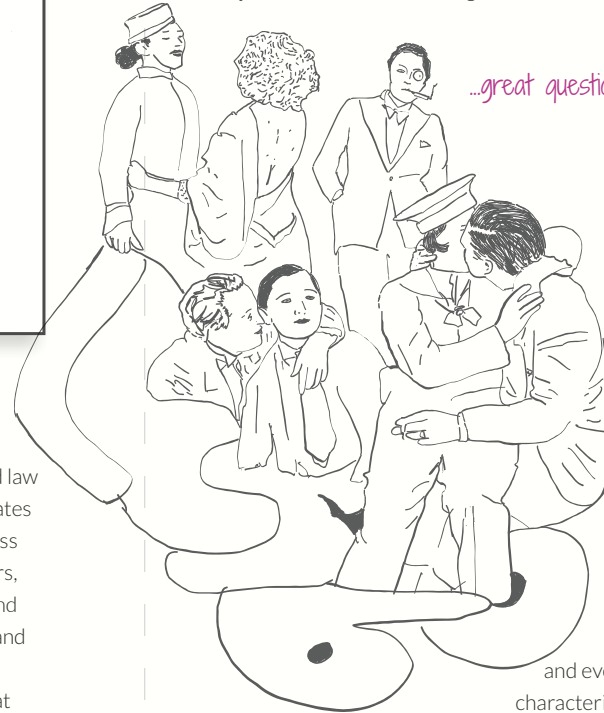
In contrast, male work crews worked and lived far from the eyes of settler governments and law enforcement (33,67). Crews often engaged in activities that were criminalised by settler states without the threat of persecution (67), which may account for why homosexual working-class norms occurred in so many industries, including ranchers and cowboys, farmers, prospectors, miners, loggers, and fishermen communities (33). Since there were no police around, anal and interfemoral (penis penetration between the upper thighs) were common among workers, and oral sex was relatively uncommon (33). Furthermore, the tight-knit fabric of crews and the stressful nature of the work encouraged them to establish close emotional relationships that often went beyond sex and included romantic connections among some couples (33). Since there was no policing, the remoteness of their lives and work made it so they did not have to act with discretion or anonymity, which is a major contrast to the urban homosexual communities during this time (33).

"Migrating men and youths constructed an elaborate same-sex culture that was anything but anonymous and furtive. They also applied a variety of identities among them who participated in it. Indeed, their community provided for and reinforced same-sex sexual activities. Thus openness, acceptance, and common practice rather than obscurity, disdain, and infrequency were responsible for same-sex sexuality" (33, p.38).

### Complicated Metronormativity & Rural Queer Invisibility

Learning this blew me away. This is so different from present-day realities of rural and remote queers being especially closeted and discrete, where urban queers and urban queer spaces are more flamboyant and open. I also like to think about how these histories showcase the complex ways that sexuality and gender are socially constructed... When in a social and cultural context where certain forms of sexual relationships are not frowned upon or viewed as deviant, they can just exist... So, what changed??

*...great question! This timeline should help explain*



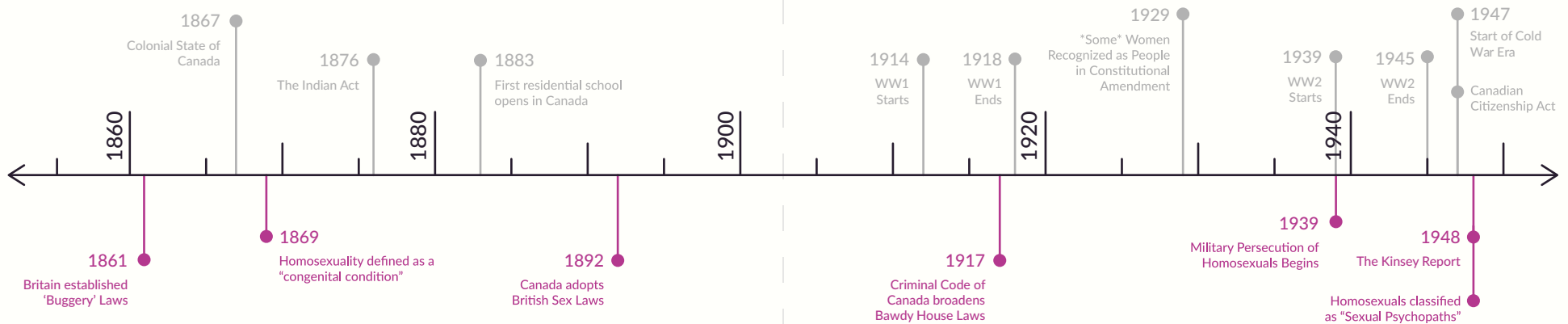
### Wait a second... what about the lesbians?

LOL. For women who have sex with women, sexism prevails! Academics, psychologists, and 'emerging experts' held sexist male views in medicine and sciences that perceived women as "unsexual"; it was thought "inconceivable that a woman could sexually arouse another woman" (41, p.22).

But, one interesting thing was how the category of inverts described people who transgressed some sort of gendered norm (masc women, femme men) (33). 'Male' inverts were often infantilized and thought to be perverted, sexually immature, and even viewed as 'freaks of nature' because of their feminine characteristics (37). Female inverts were seen as a threat to white feminine women, especially in all women's spaces, where they could not be protected because these white women may be tempted by a masculine invert's sexual advances (29).

*I mean, this stuff writes itself!*

## Canadian Queer History: 1860s - 1950s



### Settler States Target Homosexuality

In 1892, Canada adopted British Victoria sex laws into the criminal code (65,66). These updates included any same-sex behaviour between men, including touching, kissing, or dancing, which allowed police to persecute homosexuality with little evidence (65,66,68,69).

Section 179 was also updated, which censored and prohibited the sale of books or media considered morally corrupt (70). This allowed the government to persecute immoral materials that deviated from white, heterosexual norms (70).

### Homosexuality Defined by Science & Medicine

In the early 1900s, homosexuals in urban places were at risk of being persecuted for their 'faulty biology' (29,37,68). Psychiatry, in particular, took up the fight against

homosexuality to define it (41). But what makes a homo a homo? Understandings of queerness, homosexuality, transness, etc., vary across different cultures and times.

At the turn of the century, homosexuals were classified into three categories:

1. **Transients:** men who had sex with men because there were no women around (33)
2. **Inverts/fairies:** homosexual men who were feminine or had female characteristics and were often submissive in sexual encounters (26,37) OR homosexual women who were masculine or had masculine characteristics (71).
3. **Congenital:** homosexual men, who were often manly men, who preferred sex with other men or sexual inverts but were not inverts themselves (33)

### More persecution: No Homos in Male Spaces!

In 1917, the Canadian criminal code was updated again. This further clamped down on homosexual activity in public spaces, like bathhouses, bawdy houses, and bars (72). This was amplified in the second world war (WW2) when the military tried to stop homosexuality within its ranks by claiming that communities of real men did not include homosexuals (36).

In 1939, the Canadian military started to persecute perceived homosexuals. By 1942, the Royal Canadian Army Medical Corps started

to identify homosexuals as psychopaths, criminals, and military risks (36). They developed criteria to identify homosexuals in military ranks, but the criteria were incoherent, meaning few individuals were ever formally charged (36).

However, these ideas spread, and the belief that homosexuals were mentally ill psychopaths who posed a threat to men's spaces marked the rising persecution of homosexuality in all men's spaces (37). Societally, this also signified a change where

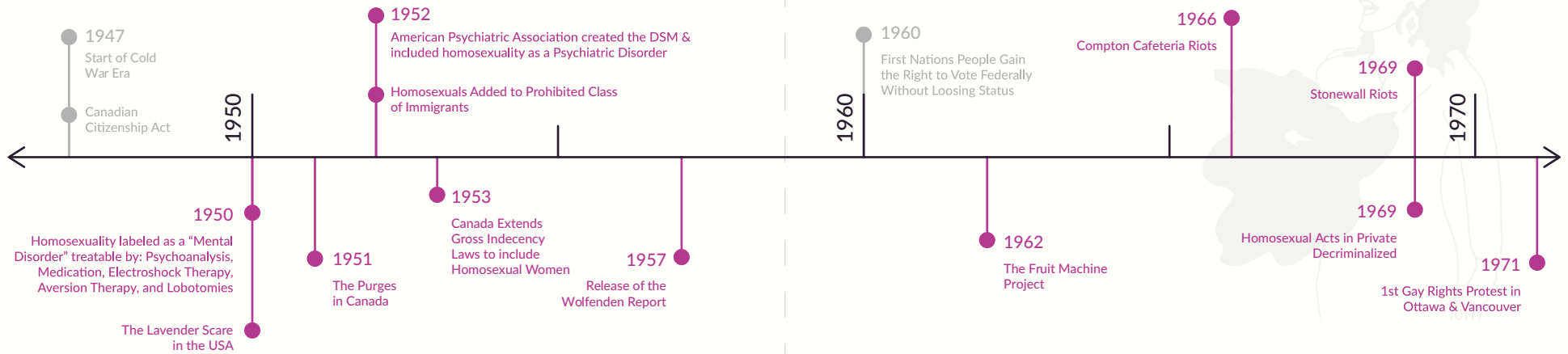
the public held increasingly harsh perspectives of homosexuals in both Canada and the US (37). The timing of targeting homosexuality in all men's spaces is interesting, given the Kinsey report, which cited the highest rates of homosexual activity occurring in turtle island was in remote extraction geographies, came out in 1948.

IMHO, this is pretty f\*\*\*ed up.

The military made it scary and emasculating to be homosexual by saying that homos threaten the military and all men's spaces and that homos aren't 'real' men. If ya make it scary to be a f\*ggot, will they all disappear?

Perhaps we can start to understand why there is an underlying belief that there are no f\*ggots in fire.

## Canadian Queer History: 1950s - 1970s



### Psychiatric Definition of Homosexuality

In 1950, US psychiatry defined homosexuality as "a mental disorder caused by environmental and psychological conditions, [and] characterised it as a deviation from the heterosexual norm" (41, p.24). Homosexuals were increasingly depicted as dangerous, especially to children and families, a notion embraced and perpetuated by mass media (32). These medical categories of homosexuality sparked debates regarding the criminalisation of homosexuality (37).

### State Secrets & Targets: The Gay Purges

From the mid 50-60s, governments conducted an organised attack on homosexuals. This period was known as the purges (Canada) or lavender scare (US) (32,37,72). These attacks, stemming from cold war anxieties regarding national security and state control, targeted homosexuality, particularly in gender-segregated institutions (33,37).

Since homosexuals were deemed dangerous sexual offenders with flawed moral characters, they were viewed as susceptible to soviet blackmail and, therefore, a threat to national security (32,37,72). In these years, thousands of homosexual federal employees were fired, demoted, or forced into secrecy (32,37). By the early 1960s, persecution made homosexuality risky, even for the white, middle-class federal workers, elevating the policing of homosexuality more broadly and bolstering anti-queer public opinion (32,66).

*In response, doctors and psychiatrists tried to find a cure for homosexuality. Cures included psychiatric incarceration, psychoanalysis, drug treatments, electroshock therapy, aversion therapy, and even lobotomies (37).*

*For homosexual women, some were sterilised to prevent homosexuality in future generations or forced into estrogen hormone replacement therapies (37).*

### The Fruit Machine Project

However, identifying homosexuals through RCMP field operations was expensive (32). In response, the Canadian government funded a psychologist F. R. Wake to build the 'Fruit Machine' (1960-1964) intended to ID homos (32). The project failed because no test could determine someone's sexual orientation (32).

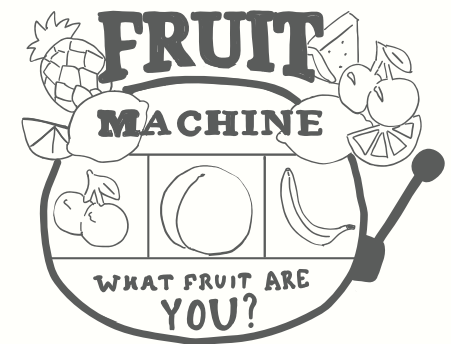
However, Wake decided homosexuals were likely not psychopaths, though there was certainly something wrong with them that needed to be controlled, noting a 'cure' was unlikely (32). His perspective might have been influenced by the Wolfenden report (UK) published in

1957, which discovered that homosexuality was not a disease as was believed in scientific circles at the turn of the century (37,73).

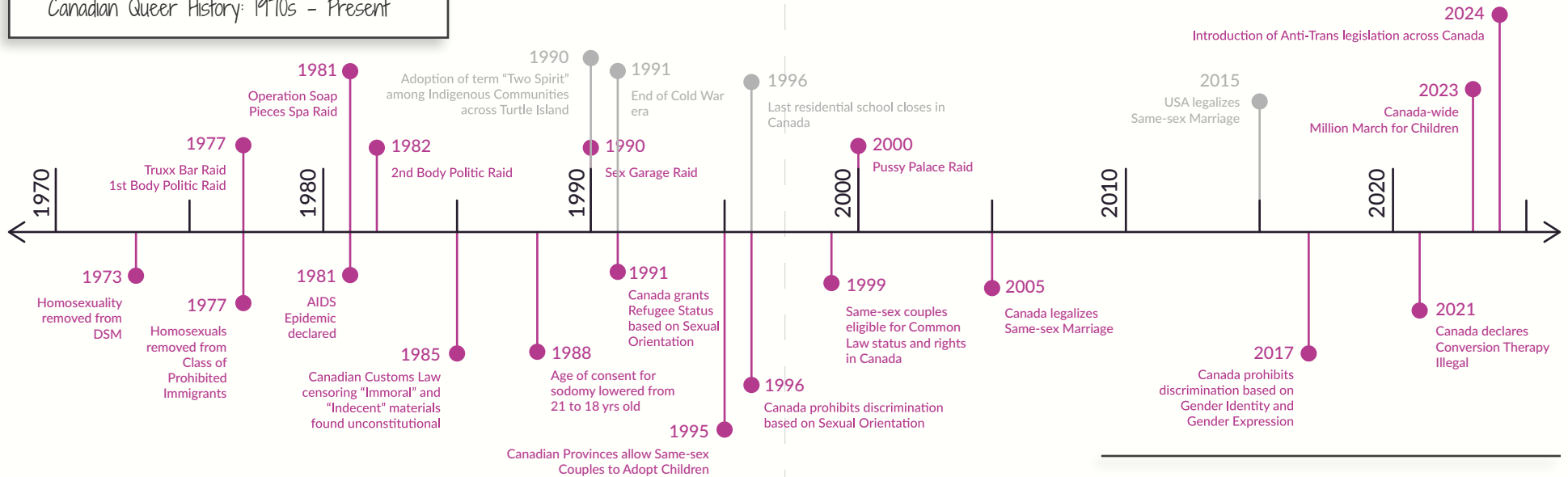
The Wolfenden report was one of the first western

reports to recommend that homosexuality be decriminalised (37,73)!

By the mid-60s, conversion therapy became a more popular 'treatment' for homosexuality (73).



## Canadian Queer History: 1970s - Present



### Decriminalisation but Increased Policing

In 1969, Canada decriminalised homosexual acts in private after pressure from the budding gay rights movement (74,75). However, decriminalisation led to increased state policing and surveillance of homosexuals (70,72,74,76). Homosexual activity in public spaces like parks, parking lots, and queer establishments were increasingly targeted by police attacks (72,74).

From 1969-2004, over 38 police raids charged 1300 men who have sex with men (74). The 70-80s also marked the 'heyday' of queer censorship (70). For example, the body politic, Canada's first gay media outlet, was raided by police for distributing obscene materials twice, though they were acquitted both times (70). Similarly, in the mid-80s, Canadian customs seized ~500 books from the little sister's bookstore for depicting immorality, which were never returned (70,77).

### Shifting Rights

Queer rights in Canada shifted from the 70-aughts. In the late 70's, homosexuals were no longer excluded from immigration to Canada (78). By 1985, homosexual rights were debated in the updates to the charter of rights & freedoms.

However, when section 15 was updated to stop discrimination based on race, ethnicity, disability, nationality, sex, religion, and skin colour, homosexuality was not included (65). This meant that many people continued to be fired from their jobs, evicted from their homes, and be denied public services during this time (79,80).

Finally, in the 1990s, activists' calls were heard and queer communities began receiving legislative rights.

### Diverging Gay Rights Movements

#### The AIDS Crisis

The 80s aids crisis did not help public perceptions of queer folks (76,81). Socially, queer people were targeted and villainized by socially and morally conservative groups and politicians (81).

By 1991, ~3000 Canadians had died from AIDS, many of whom faced inhuman treatment and medical violence during their painful deaths (66,81).

In the growing gay rights movement of the late 60s-70s, many queer folks rejected conversion therapies, recognizing that it did not stop discrimination (72). In the US, racialized queer/gender non-conforming communities were more focused on daily survival, struggling with housing, employment discrimination, and violent societal stigma than gay marriage (27,75). Groups like the Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries (STAR), started by Sylvia Rivera and Marsha P. Johnson, emerged to combat violence, police brutality, and high incarceration rates of black and racialized queer people (27,75).

This contrasted the white, middle-class gay liberation movement, which distanced itself from street queens, striving for assimilation into the mainstream, 'productive' society through having 'respectable' jobs (i.e., not sex work), homeownership, and partner rights (26, 75). Associating with poor and racialized queers threatened the movement's ability to gain rights through alignments with white, liberal, middle-class norms (71, 74, 75).

*Delayed by a few decades, by the '80s, Canada's queer movement mirrored this trend, where some queer rights organisers aligned with liberal, heteronormative ideals while others challenged societal norms, resisted ongoing harassment, and prioritised visibility (37).*

*Divisions in queer rights movements are ongoing and shaped by western liberalism and settler colonialism; tensions around gender, racism, sexism, and misogyny cause fractures where some advocate for assimilatory rights at the expense of the survival of others (74,75).*

## Queers Have Rights, So Whats The Problem?

It's true, queer folks have rights. But, socially, it's a mixed bag! Yes, queer communities have more representation and visibility than I could have imagined in the 90s, and more young adults and youth are coming out as queer than ever before (86,87). And the Canadian government specifically is quick to highlight their progressive queer rights while failing to contextualise the colonial histories of queer human rights violations over the past century. You shouldn't have to do a Master's thesis to learn this stuff!

By hiding these histories, we see prime ministers march at pride events, projecting a fictional queer utopia that queerness in Canada is rainbows and unicorns. This is weird because queer people in Canada continue to face systemic inequality, housing insecurity, workplace discrimination, barriers to health care and social services, and higher rates of discrimination across their lives (10,24,83,88).

By conveniently forgetting the violent historical context, the Canadian government fails to understand how:

- Some queer legislative updates aren't that useful for many queer folks because they emphasise rights that try to integrate diverse queer people to fit white, liberal, heterosexual, settler norms that disproportionately benefit respectable middle-class queer people and do little to uplift queer folks living in poverty (9,75,89).
- So many people in the country continue to hold negative perceptions and attitudes towards queer folks in Canada (76,90-92).

By over-emphasising things like Pride and queer liberal legislative rights, settler states are failing to consider how historic queer persecution has created an ecosystem where queer legislative progress has outpaced widespread social acceptance, allowing anti-queer attitudes to remain in many communities and making queer people vulnerable political targets (9,83,91,92).

*This is especially impactful in rural places, with more isolated queer communities that have fewer queer-specific resources, and for folks who are least able to conform to liberal settler state values (9,10,12,14,22,24,25).*

## Vulnerable Political Targets Amid a Rising Anti-Queer Movement

So, what's the problem? Well, as a transsexual person, I am more visible than ever. People are starting to know what transsexual looks like...

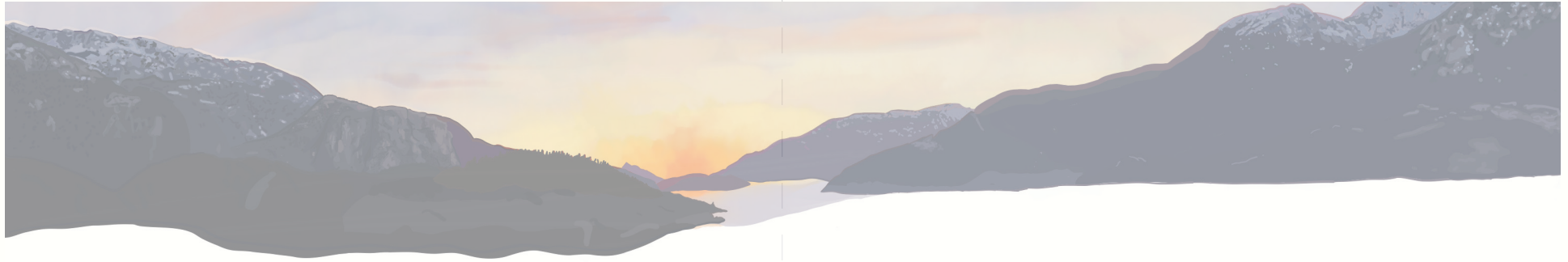
And this issue of legislative 'progress' outpacing social acceptance is coming to a head right now during a growing anti-queer movement across turtle island!

*I feel the worry that someone might call the cops on me when spending time with my nephews and nieces in public. I've become a walking litmus test, especially in small towns, cause I dress like a f\*ggot and look like a twink.*



*These are signs that I saw while counter-protesting the Million March for Children on Sept 20th, 2023 in Vancouver, BC*





## The Struggle with Inclusion

Am I the drama? No. I know I'm not, especially given the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS) recently published a warning citing an expected rise in extreme violence against queer communities in the coming years (95). These attacks are not just political smear campaigns from socially conservative groups (which is also happening where queers are being accused of being pedophiles, groomers, and violent sexual perverts - sound familiar?) (96).

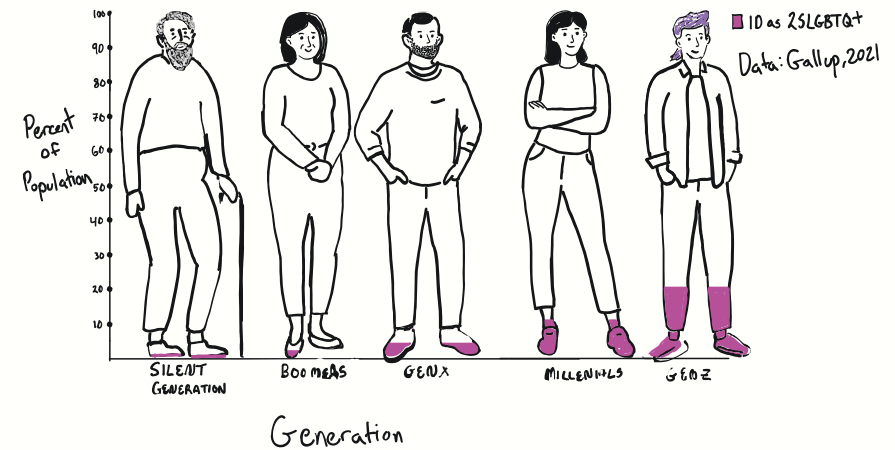
In Canada, a significant part of the current anti-queer movement is political and parental opposition to the SOGI curriculum, which ignited nationwide protests last fall. SOGI, short for Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity 123/Comprehensive Sexuality Education, aims to foster safe and inclusive schools in Canada (97). This response stemmed from research that found queer students in public schools felt less safe and faced more violence, harassment, and discrimination compared to their peers (92,98,99). The study also revealed geographical disparities, with queer youth in small towns and rural communities feeling less safe than those in urban areas (92). In response, governments like BC began implementing the SOGI curriculum to address anti-queerness in schools.

However, organisations like the Million March 4 Children, Action 4 Canada, and other parental rights groups see these curriculum changes as a form of government overreach and a threat to parental rights. For example, The Million March for Children's group stated they are "advocating for Canadian children's rights against unnecessary gender ideologies" (100). Similarly, Action 4 Canada claims that the SOGI curriculum aims to "indoctrinate children into unhealthy sexual behaviour and confuse them through lies and misinformation [and these programs are part of an] LGBTQ sex activist's agenda to sexualize and groom children via the education system" (96).

## Political Flipturns: Queer Scapegoats

In this context, it's not surprising that flip turns - government actions in changing policies aimed at reversing discriminatory practices - are often at odds with public perception and prevailing liberal, heterosexual, and family norms. The move by the government to respond to queer discrimination by changing education curricula directly contrasts their historical anti-queer policing, violence, and surveillance enacted well into the early 2000s (91,92,97,101).

I feel for families. Governments flipped a switch. After a century of colonial violence that portrayed queer people as psychotic, perverted, and national security threats, it's no wonder that societal fear persists. Yet, the issue remains: queer folks are unfairly scapegoated/stigmatised as a moral threat to families and liberal settler society unless they can convincingly conform to liberal values. This scapegoating remains a potent political strategy, deflecting attention away from critical issues like ecological collapse and Indigenous sovereignty. Despite its political ramifications, it's vital to acknowledge that queer communities, particularly those who are poor or isolated and lack social support, will bear the brunt of increasing violence.

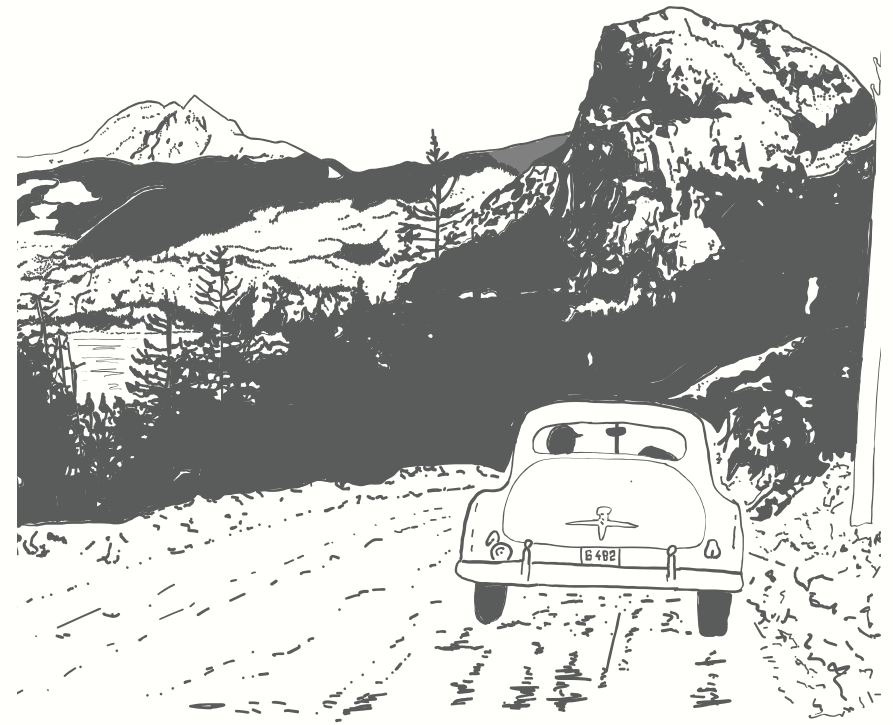


## We're Here & We're Queer!

So, where does this leave us? First of all, I hope that this zine has helped others see that homosexualities and resource extraction in settler states are NOT mutually exclusive and never were. By illuminating the history of homosexual persecution through the 1900s, particularly in all men's spaces, I hope we can understand why ideas like there are no f\*ggots in fire or that queers don't work in extractive geographies have become ingrained. Lastly, I hope these histories help others contextualise the rising moral panic around queerness that is swiftly moving across settler states in turtle island...

To leave you with a quick summary, here are some takeaways:

- 1. Resource extraction & non-normative sexualities are not mutually exclusive**
  - While the extractive industries in western Turtle Island utilised racist immigration, settlement, and marriage laws to exploit workers, they also created prime conditions for complex male-dominated homosexual cultures to flourish.
- 2. Homosexualities were forcibly cleansed from all men's spaces through the 1900s**
  - Because homosexuality in male spaces (e.g., the military ) was policed and persecuted over the 1900s, it is no wonder that homophobia and anti-queer attitudes remain in many men's spaces and professions, and it is no surprise that many believe homosexualities do not occur in these spaces.
  - This erasure presently reflects a straight washing of colonial histories where homosexual male workforces have been omitted.
- 3. Rural queer people exist, but you might not know them cause it might not be safe!**
  - Perceiving rural geographies as a lost cause for resources is a problem for all rural people, especially queer people who have and always will exist in rural geographies. The persecution of queers over the 20th century has resulted in rural queer people having to hide their identities more and, in some cases, leave their rural communities in search of acceptance.
- 4. Male workers continue to be scapegoated by industry and government**
  - Workers should take responsibility for the harm caused by their individual actions. However, they should not be blamed for all social ills that result from resource extraction. Instead, respective corporations, industries, and governments ought to be held accountable for the role they play and have played historically in creating working cultures of exploitation, social isolation, and violence.
- 5. Queer Communities are once again being used as political scapegoats**
  - Despite the legislative gains for queer folks in the past 2 decades, the previous century of medical and legislative persecution as well as the construction of homosexual and gender deviance as being a pathological risk to the white nuclear family (and therefore society) has created a culture that has allowed for residual anti-queerness to remain that keeps queer folks an easy scapegoat during times of political division and tension... AKA, like right now.



## Thank You for Reading!

I hope you've enjoyed or connected with some parts of this zine. It has been a huge privilege to have the time, funding, support, and love from my chosen family, supervisors, and committee to look at hidden sexual and gender non-conforming histories in turtle island.

So, to that old fireboss. I say:

- There are f\*ggots in fire!
- There are transsexuals in the trades!
- There are aces in academia!
- There are homos in hockey!
- There are gays in natural gas!
- There are lesbians in labour!

We're here, there, and everywhere, whether you expect it or not. We're exploited and productive workers like all workers under capitalism.

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### **3.3 Synthesis Limitations**

There are several limitations to this critical narrative synthesis. First, except for Peter Boag's book, the genealogies of queer pathology outlined in this zine focused on urban geographies. This reflects how embedded metronormativity is in academia and illuminates patterns of the under-researching and under-resourcing of rural queer communities (Duckett, 2021).

Second, there are many queer histories and genealogies that this synthesis does not include. For example, due to space and word limits, I could not include detailed colonial histories of the construction of sex and gender, which continue to impact queer, gender-diverse, intersex, cisgender, and heterosexual communities to this day. These histories are critical to understanding the nuances of the intersections between queer experiences and resource extraction.

Third, as a white genderqueer person, my positionality shapes this study. While my lived experience allows me to provide insights into queer experiences, it constrains my analysis of queer experiences that I have not lived. I hope my reflexivity and autoethnography throughout this thesis process make my biases apparent and allow for transparency between me and my readers.

### **3.4 Recommendations for Future Research**

Moving forward, more directed research and resources are needed to understand and positively impact rural queer individuals both generally and in resource extraction geographies. Moreover, more research is needed on the experiences of diverse queer folks, such as asexual, intersex, class-oppressed, and racialized queer people, using methodologies that ensure the immediate and long-term safety of those involved in such research and which use practices that resource these communities (Abelson, 2016; Aldred et al., 2021; Duckett, 2021; Logie et al., 2018).

Furthermore, I believe that more research is needed on the broader implications of the allosexual-asexual spectrum, i.e., those who experience a high degree of sexual attraction to others vs those who experience little to no sexual attraction. In other words, how sexual someone is regardless of their sexual orientation (Edge & Vonk, 2024)<sup>3</sup>. It would be interesting to analyze sexualities and resource extraction in a way that moves beyond the homosexual-bisexual-heterosexual spectrum towards one that emphasizes the interplay between patriarchy, heteronormativity, gender, and allosexuality. By shifting inquiry

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<sup>3</sup> Asexual describes the other end of this spectrum where someone experiences a lack of or limited sexual attraction to others, but this does not necessarily relate to romantic attraction, nor does someone identifying on the asexual spectrum mean they never experience sexual attraction (Edge & Vonk, 2024).

towards a lens of allosexuality, we may better understand the contexts in which sexual desire, the need for sex, and forms of social stigma intersect to supersede sexual orientation.

For example, using an allosexual lens in future research could complicate our understanding of homosocial crew culture and the ways that homosexuality and homoromanticism were policed, censored, pathologized, and stigmatized over the 20th century (Jackson, 2010). This complication may illuminate various ways that communities of men who have sex with men have been incentivized to hide their homosexual relations in selective contexts. It may also be effective in challenging our understanding of the perceived hypersexual heterosexuality in male-dominated crew cultures and its role in the resulting gender-based violence within communities.

By adding a layered analysis of allosexuality in future research, we may better understand the extent of liberal settler state scapegoating of queer communities and exploited workers, especially those simultaneously relied on for ongoing empire expansion. Perhaps, this perspective could be used to hypothesize ways that queer and non-queer communities can better hold settler state governments accountable for the hypocritical ways in which they are complicit in perpetuating the stigmatization of marginalized populations and non-normative sexualities.

## CHAPTER 4: CONCLUSION

### 4.1 Final Thoughts & Considerations

Following the 2019 updates to the Canadian IAA legislation, GBA+ has been used as the primary analytical tool for proponents and governments to assess the prospective social impacts of proposed resource extraction projects on marginalized communities (Manning et al., 2018; Pauktuutit, 2020; Pictou, 2021; Stienstra et al., 2020). Yet, in practice, GBA+ falls short in its assessments due to its inconsistent implementation and proponents' poor understanding of the experiences of the marginalized individuals that GBA+ is meant to consider (Stienstra et al., 2020).

My systematic map turned to academic literature to discern what is known of the relationships between queer communities and resource extraction. While the limited findings from the systematic map align with broader research on gender-based violence, and resource extraction, the scarcity of research on the specific impacts of resource extraction on queer communities remains. Undoubtedly, the history of state-sanctioned queer discrimination examined in the critical narrative synthesis has played a role in perpetuating this knowledge gap (Rau, 2014; Warner, 2002). Moreover, as heteronormativity and heteronormative assimilation continue to provide economic, political, and social benefits (Duckett, 2021; Sabsay, 2012; Smith, 2020), it is no wonder folks with queer identities, particularly those who are unpalatable to white, heterosexual, liberal norms, continue to experience violent marginalization and oppression (Barrow, 2018; Burrow et al., 2018; Henriquez & Ahmad, 2021; Kia et al., 2020; Kinitz et al., 2022; Logie et al., 2018; Peter et al., 2021).

This is why it is important to contextualize these findings in this moment of escalating anti-queer sentiment in Canada and the US (Mason & Hamilton, 2024; Stechyson, 2023; Trans Legislation Tracker, 2024; Yousif, 2023). During the last two years, while I have been pursuing my Master's degree, there has been a sharp rise in anti-queer and especially anti-trans rhetoric in public discourse (Action 4 Canada, 2023; Mason & Hamilton, 2024; Stechyson, 2023; Tunney, 2024; Yousif, 2023). Notably, transgender communities are being used as political scapegoats, blamed for morally corrupting youth, undermining parental rights, and threatening traditional nuclear family structures (Action 4 Canada, 2023). This is serving as a divisive platform point in municipal, provincial, and federal politics in Canada to distract from other, arguably more pressing, political issues like the housing crisis, the rising cost of living, increasing impacts from climate change, the opioid crisis, rising global imperialism, ongoing colonialism, and so many other issues.

The shifting public perception of queerness in Canada has significantly influenced my life and this thesis. Approximately one year ago, an academic studying transnational alt-right movements warned me about the risks associated with my research and these fields of study. They expressed that this work might attract political scrutiny and potentially prompt targeted attacks (Marwick et al., 2016). Although I felt relatively comfortable assuming these risks, shielded by being white, middle-class, and publicly queer and transsexual, I also felt responsible for ensuring the safety of all who collaborated on these projects, especially the young research assistants just starting their careers. As a result, we took precautions like anonymizing identifiable details, upgrading cyber security, and omitting overly contentious content.

The Impact Assessment Agency of Canada partly funded this research to emphasize its commitment to improving equity in IA processes. However, this agency remains one of many branches of a colonial government that historically embedded anti-queer sentiments and queer-exclusionary laws into Canadian settler society (Busby, 2020; Rau, 2014; Warner, 2002). Without acknowledging these violent histories, I question whether processes like GBA+ in IA, with limited implementation guidance, can move beyond virtue signalling and ameliorate the ongoing struggles faced by diverse queer communities. However, if IAAC is committed to this process, there are opportunities for IA processes to move beyond a one-size-fits-all approach and instead towards an agile framework that can be adapted to the context of each prospective project and each unique community they are associated with.

These opportunities were outlined during a workshop hosted by the Westwood Lab in collaboration with Natural Resources Canada, the Impact Assessment Agency, and various academics and researchers in May 2023. Their recommendations, summarized in a report (MacKellar et al., 2023), are aimed at updating IA processes and practices and include:

1. **(Re)building Relationships.** This step requires a commitment to de-centring western, heteronormative worldviews as well as an acknowledgement of the Canadian government's historical and ongoing violence towards queer people
2. **Practicing Meaningful and Accessible Community Consultations.** There needs to be a commitment to providing funding support, resourcing, and reducing other logistical barriers to all community members during these consultation phases with minimal bureaucratic strings attached. To ensure the safety of queer and other marginalized community members, there should also be formal avenues for individuals to provide their feedback anonymously.
3. **Supporting Community-Driven Research.** Specifically, this means providing funding and resources for communities to conduct and lead research initiatives in resource-impacted

communities rather than have these processes led by proponents or government organizations who come from away.

4. **Ensuring Proponent and Government Accountability.** Finally, it is critical to have community-based monitoring programs that begin at project inception, continue throughout the project's lifespan, and include follow-ups once the project is completed. These programs should consider the cumulative social impacts of historic, ongoing, and prospective projects.

In conclusion, as queer communities face increasing villainization, we must heed the calls of fellow academics to combat the pervasive mischaracterizations that stem from violent colonial histories of queer pathology and persecution (Dayal, 2023; Gill-Peterson, 2018; Gill-Peterson & Denvir, 2023; Trans Legislation Tracker, 2024; Tunney, 2024). This is why expanding research communication to include more diverse mediums, such as zines, can improve the dissemination of research findings. By empowering more people and perspectives to engage in critical discourse, particularly regarding obscured histories of marginalized communities, we can hopefully build momentum to address the systemic inequalities (e.g., housing insecurity, financial insecurity, workplace discrimination, poor social and health outcomes) that many queer people faced today (Henriquez & Ahmad, 2021; Kia et al., 2020; Kinitz et al., 2022; Lee & Kanji, 2017; Logie et al., 2019; Waite et al., 2020).

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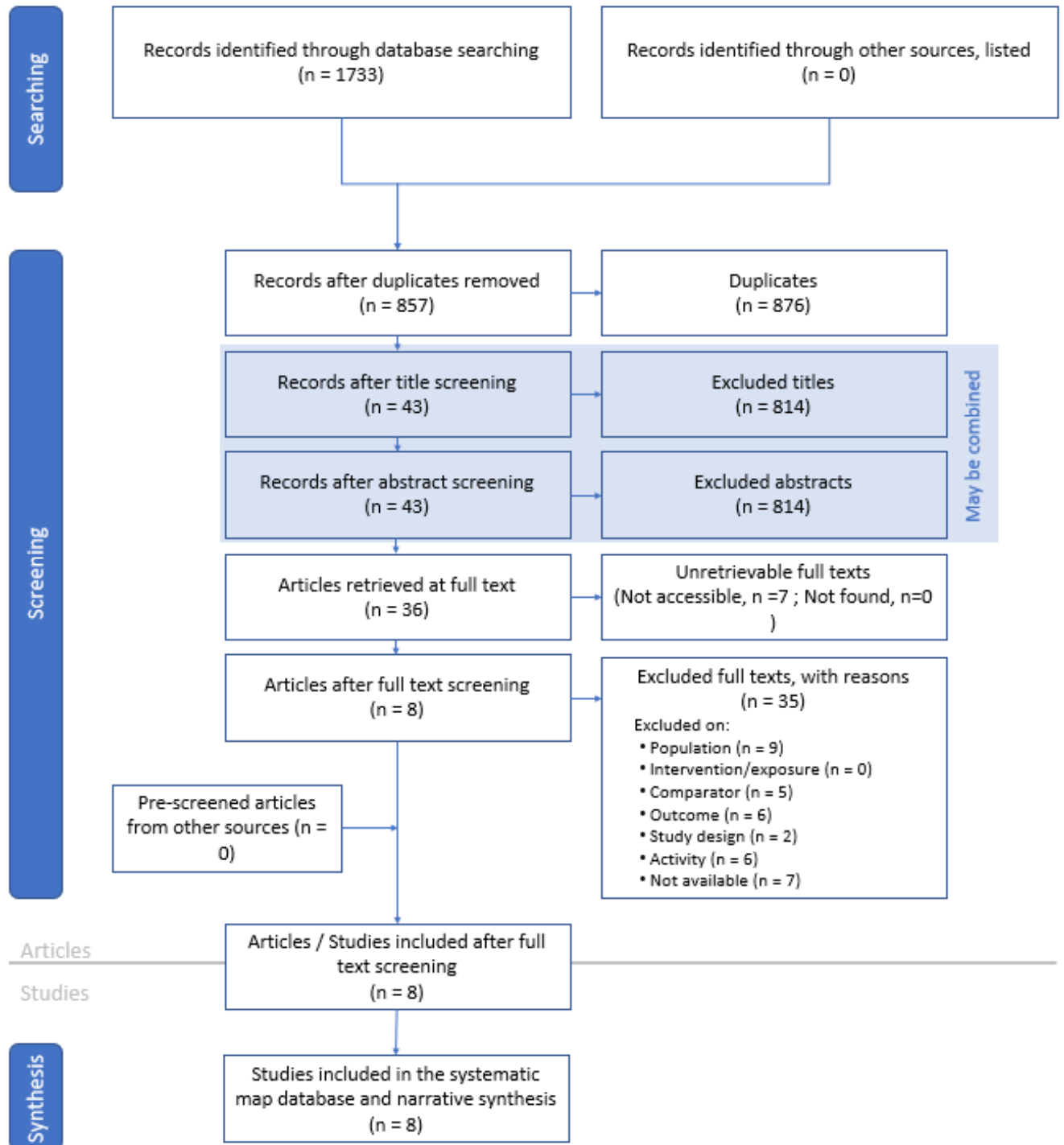
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## APPENDIX 1: ROSES REPORTING STANDARDS

ROSES Flow Diagram for Systematic Maps. Version 1.0



## APPENDIX 2: DATABASES REVIEWED

Database name	Key	Reviewer	Status	Notes
<a href="#">Academic Search Premier</a>	ACP	2	Rejected	Indexed by EBSCO, not subject-specific
<a href="#">EIS, digest of environmental impact statements</a>	ESI	2	Rejected	Too USA policy centered, not enough focus on population of interest
Environment Complete	EC	2	Rejected	Indexed by EBSCO, not subject-specific
<a href="#">Environmental Sociology</a>	ES	1	Rejected	Indexed & more subject-specific than T&F. Will be used for preliminary search string test. After testing deemed to be redundant
<a href="#">Review-Journal</a>	EIA	1	Rejected	Indexed by SD which is indexed by Scop.
<a href="#">ERIC (Educational Resources Information Center) - Free Version</a>	ERIC/F	2	Rejected	Irrelevant to subject area.
<a href="#">ERIC (Educational Resources Information Center) - ProQuest</a>	ERIC/P	2	Rejected	Irrelevant to subject area.
<a href="#">Google</a>	G	2	Rejected	Character limit to Boolean operators. Too broad of subject areas.
<a href="#">Google Scholar</a>	GS	1 & 2	Rejected	Charact limits to Boolean operators. Too general
<a href="#">ScienceDirect</a>	SD	2	Rejected	Is indexed by Scop. Less interdisciplinary than Scop
<a href="#">Scopus</a>	Scop	2	Retained	Recommended by partner. Will be used for preliminary search string test
SAGE Journals	SG	2	Rejected	Recommended by partner. Indexed by Scop therefore redundant.
SAGE Open		2	Rejected	Recommended by partner. Indexed by Scop therefore redundant.
Research Gate	RG	2	Rejected	Recommended by Partner. Not a database
Archives of Sexuality and Gender (Gale)	GALE	2	Rejected	Too subject specific. Not enough focus on resource extraction.
Gender Studies Database (EBSCO)	GSD	1 & 2	Retained	Captures Grey Literature. Indexed by EBSCOhost but more specific. Will use in preliminary search string test
ProQuest Central	PQ	2	Retained	Good coverage. Will use in preliminary search string test
JSTOR	JSTOR		Rejected	Exceeds 200 Character limit.
Academic Search Complete (EBSCO)	ASC	2	Rejected	Indexed by EBSCO. Less specific than GSD.
Medline (OVID and PubMed)	ML	2	Rejected	Not subject specific enough
Web of Science;	WS	2	Rejected	Do not have access.
Women's Studies International	WSI	2	Rejected	Too subject specific. Not enough focus on resource extraction.
ISI Web of Knowledge	ISWK	2	Rejected	Do not have access.
EBSCOhost databases	EBSCO	2	Rejected	Choose GSD which EBSCO indexes.
Taylor and Francis	T&F	2	Rejected	Indexes ES, Interdisciplinary. Will use for preliminary search string test. Rejected because too many irrelevant articles during preliminary search test.

### APPENDIX 3: DATABASE SELECTION

Database	Average Specificity		Average Sensitivity	
	% per 50 hits	% per 100 hits	% per 50 hits	% per 100 hits
<i>Search Strings [1-8]</i>				
Environmental Sociology	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Gender Studies Database	2.6%	2.9%	0.0%	0.0%
ProQuest Central	8.3%	7.8%	0.0%	0.0%
Scopus	6.4%	6.4%	3.5%	7.1%
Taylor & Francis	1.5%	1.4%	3.5%	7.0%
<i>Search String [1-4]</i>				
Environmental Sociology	3.0%	2.8%	0.0%	0.0%
Gender Studies Database	64.0%	58.8%	0.0%	0.0%
ProQuest Central	28.0%	23.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Scopus	12.0%	13.0%	3.5%	7.1%
Taylor & Francis	3.5%	3.3%	3.5%	7.0%

## APPENDIX 4: KEYWORD SELECTION

Candidate Keywords	Type	Retained	Rationale for Keeping or Removing
"Two-Spirit**"	PI	Yes	The quotations make it specific enough to retain two-spirit identity
"Indigen**"	PI	Yes - explore	Found often in pre-testing stage, more often than "two-spirit" (even though not same meaning)
Lesbian*	PI	Yes	Adequate without quotations because it is only one word
Gay*	PI	Yes	Adequate without quotations because it is only one word
Bisexual*	PI	Yes	Adequate without quotations because it is only one word
Queer*	PI	Yes	Adequate without quotations because it is only one word
Effeminate*	PI	Yes	Surprisingly a lot of papers came up related to the gender identity of gay men (seemingly). Seems relevant
men who have sex with men*	PI	No	No - captured by "MSM"; Yes - MSM not specific enough.
MSM*	PI	Yes	Yes - captures men who have sex with men who may not identify as gay or bisexual
Gender	PI	Yes	A broader category that might get more hits. We will probably have to filter for studies that only look at women but that is good.
Transgend*	PI	Yes	Yes - captures the demographic
"Gender non conform**"	PI	Yes	May capture something different than trans*
LGB*	PI	Yes	keep to capture identities that may be excluded
Intersex	PI	Yes	keep to capture identities that may be excluded
Non-binary	PI	Additional	recommended by SG
Transexual	PI	Additional	recommended by SG
"homosex**"	PI	Additional	recommended by HCG
"Two Spirit**"	PI	No	No - never returned in pre-testing, replaced by "two-spirit" which is more used in addition to "indig*" which was returned often.
"Asexual identit**"	PI	No	keep to capture identities that may be excluded; No - no returns
"Resource Extraction"	AI	Yes	a lot of papers but an important search for getting resource extraction projects
"Resource Development Project"	AI	Yes	Specific enough to the field
"Natural Resource Project"	AI	Yes - explore	explore - not a ton on this one.
"Natural Resource Management"	AI	Yes - explore	although general it might link to things that weren't linked to by other word combos
"fossil fuel extraction"	AI	Yes	hopefully get anything we need about fossil fuels
"Natural gas development"	AI	Yes - explore	includes natural gas
"Mining"	AI	Yes	Came up more in pre-testing than "Mineral extraction" and "Mineral exploration"
"Pipeline construction"	AI	Yes	
"Deforestation"	AI	Yes - explore	explore not sure if it'll be relevant vs queer terms
Extractivism	AI	Yes - explore	a lot used in extractivism...
fracking	AI	Yes	

Candidate Keywords	Type	Retained	Rationale for Keeping or Removing
clear-cutting	AI	Yes	
hydroelectric*	AI	Yes	
extractive industr*	AI	Yes	
"man camp"	AI	Yes	very specific but all sources are related
"min* camp"	AI	Additional	recommended by AW
"Work* camp"	AI	Additional	recommended by AW
"Company housing"	AI	Additional	Recommended by AW
"Labor camp"	AI	Yes - explore	Found many times in pre-testing (more than "man camp")
"Industrial camp"	AI	Yes - explore	Found many times in pre-testing (more than "man camp")
"Environment* Impact*"	AI	Yes - explore	Initially didn't include - many papers with queer are included.
"Impact Assessment"	AI	Yes - explore	Same as above
"Environment* Regulat*"	AI	Yes - explore	Same as above
"gender based analysis"	AI	Yes	
GBA+	AI	Yes	
intersectional*	AI	Yes	
"social impact*"	AI	Yes	
"Industrial Resource Extraction"	AI	No	Redundant with above
"Natural Resource Development"	AI	No	remove -- keep the resource development project below
"Natur* Resource Extract*"	AI	No	Redundant with "Resource extraction"
"Natural Resource Extraction"	AI	No	Redundant with "Resource extraction"
"Mineral extraction"	AI	No	Too few returns, replaced by "mining"
"Mineral exploration"	AI	No	No returns, replaced by "mining"
"Infrastructure"	AI	No	Recommended by SG - not specific enough
"Forestry Camp"	AI	No	Recommended by AW - no relevant returns

## APPENDIX 5: SEARCH STRING TESTING

String	Status	Notes
1 (gender OR sexuality OR "two-spirit*" OR transgender* OR intersex OR "non-binary" OR lesbian* OR gay* OR bisexual OR queer OR "men who have sex with men" OR LGB* OR (LGB* and indigen*)) AND ("resource extraction" OR "natural resource management" OR extractivism OR "extractive industr*" OR "environment* assessment" OR "impact assessment" OR "social impact*" OR "fossil fuel" OR hydroelectric* OR mining OR fracking OR deforestation OR "man camp" OR "industrial camp" OR "min* camp" OR "work* camp")	Rejected	
2 (gender OR sexuality OR "two-spirit*" OR transgender* OR intersex OR "non-binary" OR lesbian* OR gay* OR bisexual OR queer OR "men who have sex with men" OR LGB* OR (LGB* and indigen*)) AND ("resource extraction" OR "natural resource management" OR extractivism OR "extractive industr*" OR "environment* assessment" OR "impact assessment" OR "social impact*") AND ("fossil fuel" OR hydroelectric* OR mining OR fracking OR deforestation OR "man camp" OR "industrial camp" OR "min* camp" OR "work* camp")	Rejected	
3 (gender OR sexuality OR "two-spirit*" OR transgender* OR intersex OR "non-binary" OR lesbian* OR gay* OR bisexual OR queer OR "men who have sex with men" OR LGB* OR (LGB* and indigen*)) AND ("resource extraction" OR "natural resource management" OR extractivism OR "extractive industr*" OR "environment* assessment" OR "impact assessment" OR "social impact*")	Rejected	
4 (gender OR sexuality OR "two-spirit*" OR transgender* OR intersex OR "non-binary" OR lesbian* OR gay* OR bisexual OR queer OR "men who have sex with men" OR LGB* OR (LGB* and indigen*)) AND ("fossil fuel" OR hydroelectric* OR mining OR fracking OR deforestation OR "man camp" OR "labour camp" OR "min* camp" OR "work* camp")	Rejected	
5 (sexuality OR "two-spirit*" OR transgender* OR intersex OR "non-binary" OR lesbian* OR gay* OR bisexual OR queer OR "men who have sex with men" OR LGB*) AND ("resource extraction" OR "natural resource management" OR extractivism OR "extractive industr*" OR "environment* assessment" OR "impact assessment" OR "social impact*" OR "fossil fuel" OR hydroelectric* OR mining OR fracking OR deforestation OR "man camp" OR "industrial camp" OR "min* camp" OR "work* camp")	Retained	Modified for specificity: omits 'gender' and 'indigen*' keywords.
6 (sexuality OR "two-spirit*" OR transgender* OR intersex OR "non-binary" OR lesbian* OR gay* OR bisexual OR queer OR "men who have sex with men" OR LGB*) AND ("resource extraction" OR "natural resource management" OR extractivism OR "extractive industr*" OR "environment* assessment" OR "impact assessment" OR "social impact*") AND ("fossil fuel" OR hydroelectric* OR mining OR fracking OR deforestation OR "man camp" OR "industrial camp" OR "min* camp" OR "work* camp")	Retained	Modified for specificity: omits 'gender' and 'indigen*' keywords.
7 (sexuality OR "two-spirit*" OR transgender* OR intersex OR "non-binary" OR lesbian* OR gay* OR bisexual OR queer OR "men who have sex with men" OR LGB*) AND ("resource extraction" OR "natural resource management" OR extractivism OR "extractive industr*" OR "environment* assessment" OR "impact assessment" OR "social impact*")	Retained	Modified for specificity: omits 'gender' and 'indigen*' keywords.
8 (sexuality OR "two-spirit*" OR transgender* OR intersex OR "non-binary" OR lesbian* OR gay* OR bisexual OR queer OR "men who have sex with men" OR LGB*) AND ("fossil fuel" OR hydroelectric* OR mining OR fracking OR deforestation OR "man camp" OR "labour camp" OR "min* camp" OR "work* camp")	Retained	Modified for specificity: omits 'gender' and 'indigen*' keywords.

## APPENDIX 6: FULL-TEXT REVIEW UNAVAILABLE ARTICLES

### Articles we could not find for full-text review

1. Blake, D.R., Martinez, R.T., & Unruh, S. (1998). *Taking care of our own*. International Conference AIDS 1998. 12(33350):661-661.
2. Chrystal, L. (1998). "Leesburg Lesbian Land Feud." *Gazette*, 11(1):21-21.
3. Couch, M. (1998). "Masculinity Below the Surface: Pornography and Suppression in Images of Broken Hill Miners." *Artlink*, 18(3):50-51. <https://www.artlink.com.au/articles/194/masculinity-below-the-surface-pornography-and-supp/>
4. Falquet, J. (2019). Violence against women and (de-)colonization of the "body-territory". In I. Cîrstocea, D. Lacombe, & E. Marteu (Eds.), *The Globalization of Gender: Knowledge, Mobilizations, Frameworks of Action* (1<sup>st</sup> ed., pp.). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429200045>
5. Kelliher, D. (2021). *Making Cultures of Solidarity: London and the 1984–5 Miners' Strike* (1st ed.). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429340758>
6. Sibara, J. A. S. (2012). *Dangerous climate: Race, gender, and state violence in post-carbon fiction* (Order No. 3542477). [Doctoral dissertation, University of Southern California]. Available from ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global. (1152180557).
7. Stabinsky, D. (2018). Climate justice and human rights. In S. Duyck, S. Jodoin, & A. Johl (Eds.), *Routledge Handbook of Human Rights and Climate Governance* (1<sup>st</sup> ed., pp.). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315312576>

## APPENDIX 7: DATA CODING FORM

This form is used to extract relevant metadata from the final set of retained items included in “What is known about how resource extraction impacts 2SLGBTQIA+ persons, worldwide?”

The following categories of variables will be extracted from the articles in addition to the bibliographic information (which is captured in another file): (1) information about the Major Infrastructure and **Natural Resource Extraction Projects** or resource extraction activity, (2) information about which 2SLGBTQIA+ populations are impacted, (3) the identifiable relationship between resource extraction 2SLGBTQIA+ populations, and (4) evidence of whether 2SLGBTQIA+ populations were considered in the process.

You have received training prior to engaging in data extraction/coding which will be provided.

To confirm you have read these instructions and completed the training, type ‘I confirm’.

---

### **Bibliographic information**

#### **Short citation**

Please write the short citation for this item (e.g., Sauer et al. 2013).

#### **Full citation**

Please write the full citation of this item in APA format.

Example: Sauer, A. T., & Podhora, A. (2013). Sexual orientation and gender identity in human rights impact assessment. *Impact Assessment and Project Appraisal*, 31(2), 135–145.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/14615517.2013.791416>

#### **Name of Journal or Publication Source**

(short answer)

#### **Type of publication**

- Peer-reviewed article
- Report (e.g. Indigenous organization or government, NGO, settler government, consultant)
- PhD thesis
- Master’s thesis
- Undergraduate thesis
- Conference proceedings or workshop summary
- Presentation
- Book Section or Chapter
- Other...



**Discipline(s) of the publication**

List the discipline(s) of the publication as registered in the journal. Separate each using a semicolon.

**Item keywords**

Separate each using a semicolon. If no keywords are available, write 'N/A'.

**Country of origin**

List the country(ies) of origin of this publication. Separate each by a semicolon. If no specific country is indicated, write 'N/A'.

**Country of interest**

List the country(ies) the publication focuses on. Separate each by a semicolon. If no specific country is indicated, write 'N/A'.

**Funders**

List all funders of this work. Separate each using a semicolon. If no funders are indicated, write 'N/A'.

**Study purpose and scope****What is the main objective of the study or document?**

Where possible, copy and paste original text from the article but ensure it is surrounded by quotation marks (""). Separate each objective using a semicolon.

(Short answer)

**Do any of the named authors identify in the text of the article as 2SLGBTQQIA+?**

- Yes
- No

**If the authors are institutions, are any of these institutions 2SLGBTQQIA+-led?**

- Yes
- No
- Not applicable

**What category of [RDP](#) are mentioned in this study?**

Select all that apply. Separate additional answers using semicolons.

- Energy projects (e.g., oil and gas extraction, drilling, pipeline construction)
- Mining projects (e.g., metal and mineral extraction)
- Forest projects (e.g., lumber, pulp and paper, biofuel production)
- Clean technology projects (e.g., hydroelectric, wind, solar, biomass, geothermal, nuclear, biofuels)
- No specific industry mentioned
- Other

**List the specific type of RDP mentioned in this study.**

Separate each using a semicolon. Example: oil and gas extraction; metal and mineral extraction; wind or solar farm; etc.

**What primary queer population(s) or identity(ies) does this study consider/include? Select all that apply.**

- Two-Spirit
- Lesbian
- Gay
- Bisexual
- Transgender
- Non-binary
- Queer
- Questioning
- Bisexual
- Intersex
- Asexual
- Transmen
- Transwomen
- Men
- Women
- Children/youth
- Other (specify):

**What secondary population(s) or identity(ies) does this study consider/include, if any?**

Select all that apply. If there is no secondary population/identity, select 'Not applicable'.

- Two-Spirit
- Lesbian
- Gay
- Bisexual
- Transgender
- Non-binary
- Queer
- Questioning
- Bisexual
- Intersex

- Asexual
- Transmen
- Transwomen
- Men
- Women
- Children/youth
- Not applicable
- Other (specify):

**What intersecting identity(ies) does this study consider/include, if any?**

Select all that apply. If there is no intersecting identity, select 'Not applicable'.

- Black
- African American
- South West Asia and North Africa (SWANA)
- Arabic
- Indigenous
- Metis
- Inuit
- First Nation
- Asian
- South Asian
- East Asian
- South East Asian
- Pacific Islander
- Latin American
- People of Colour
- Ethno-racial minorities
- White
- Religiosity
- Disability
- Age
- Class
- Not applicable
- Other

**Does this study consider people living in and working at man camps, industrial camps, labour camps, or mining camps?**

Select 'No' if not specified.

- Yes
- No

**Where is the population of interest located?**

Select all that apply.

- At the project site/in industrial camps

- In neighbouring towns/villages
- Upstream/downstream communities
- In the city
- Not specified
- Other

**What is the relation of the population of interest to the RDP?**

Select all that apply.

- Project worker
- Local community (member(s))
- Upstream/downstream community (member(s))
- Not specified
- Other

**What type of impacts (positive or negative) from RDP on 2SLGBTQQIA+ persons are mentioned in the study?** Select all that apply.

- Social impacts (including inclusion, exclusion, stigma)
- Health impacts (including mental and physical health, barriers to healthcare)
- Economic impacts (including limited access to jobs, loss of work)
- Environmental impacts (including lack of access to medicine and/or ceremonial plants)
- Spiritual/religious impacts (including lack of access to medicine and/or ceremonial plants, changes to a spiritually significant place)
- Other

**Does the study outline impacts (positive or negative) of RDP on other marginalized communities, individuals, or populations?**

If yes, specify the marginalized community/individual/population.

If impacts on other populations are not mentioned, write 'N/A'.

**Which of the following negative impacts from RDP on 2SLGBTQQIA+ persons are mentioned in the study, if any?** Select all that apply. If negative impacts on 2SLGBTQQIA+ persons are not outlined, select

'Not applicable'.

- Barriers to healthcare
- Barriers to queer specific education
- Barriers to queer community spaces
- Anxiety
- Depression
- Non-suicidal Self Harm (NSSH)
- Suicide Attempts
- Suicide
- Violence (sexual, physical, psychological, or verbal)
- Lateral or intercommunity oppression
- Stigma

- Discrimination
- Intersectional Oppressions
- Social Exclusion
- Social Isolation
- Racism
- Not applicable

**Which of the following positive impacts from RDP on 2SLGBTQQIA+ persons are mentioned in the study, if any?** Select all that apply. If positive impacts on 2SLGBTQQIA+ persons are not outlined, select 'Not applicable'.

- Social Inclusion
- Social Acceptance
- Access to affirming healthcare spaces and/or professionals
- Access to queer community spaces
- Access to affirming education
- Improved 2SLGBTQQIA+ rights and recognition
- Not applicable

**What specific impacts (positive or negative) of RDP on 2SLGBTQQIA+ persons are mentioned in this study?** Where possible, copy and paste original text from the document (use quotation marks). Separate each entry using a semicolon.

(Long answer)

**Does this study mention the impact assessment process of the RDP of interest?**

(Yes or no) If yes, specify:

(Short answer)

**If this study considered a RDP project in Canada that was authorized by an impact assessment, does the study mention whether 2SLGBTQQIA+ persons were consulted or included in the impact assessment process?**

- Yes
- No

**If yes, how were 2SLGBTQQIA+ persons consulted or included in the impact assessment process?**

Examples of public involvement and communication methods: public meetings and/or informal meetings, workshops or focus groups, press releases inviting comments, social media, etc.

(Short answer)

**Theoretical frameworks and Research methods**

**Does this study mention the Gender-based analysis plus (GBA+) framework and/or another named framework?**

- Yes
- No

**Does this study use any of the following theoretical frameworks?** Select all that apply.

- Queer theory
- Intersectional theory
- Feminist theor(ies)
- Healthcare frameworks
- Anti-oppressive theory
- Other

**Does this study include interviews of 2SLGBTQQIA+ persons?**

- Yes
- No

**Is this original research or is it another kind of paper (e.g., framework, perspective, etc.)**

- Original research
- Other

**If original research, what research methods were used to identify, collect, or include 2SLGBTQQIA+ knowledge?(check all that apply)**

- Interviews
- Focus groups / talking circles
- Visual methods (e.g., PhotoVoice; arts-based methods)
- Surveys
- Text/data mining
- Systematic Literature Review
- Policy Analysis
- Other

### **Recommendations**

**Does this document make concrete recommendations?**

- Yes
- No

**If yes, what were the main findings or recommendations of the study or document?**

Where possible, copy and paste original text from the document (use quotation marks). Separate main findings using a semicolon. (Long answer)

## APPENDIX 8: RAW DATA

Covidence #	Study ID	Title	Name of journal or publication source	Type of publication	Discipline(s) of the publication	Item keywords	Country of origin	Country of interest	Funders	What is the main objective of the study?
784	Haddad 2021	Essays in Economic History	Department of Economics, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ottawa	PhD thesis	Philosophy; Social Sciences; Economics	N/A	Canada	United States	N/A	"[Relate] the size of the present-day LGBT population to the discovery of gold during the nineteenth century gold rushes"; "Empirically document the origins of the spatial distribution of the LGBT population in the United States"; "Provide suggestive evidence on historical determinants of divergence in current attitudes regarding homosexuality"; "Document that the initial institutional environment plays an important role in shaping social norms and attitudes in the short- and long-run."
450	Maake 2021	Negotiating and Managing Gay Identities in Multiple Heteronormative Spaces: The Experiences of Black Gay Mineworkers in South Africa	Journal of Homosexuality	Peer-reviewed article	Sociology	Gay identity; heteronormativity; social space; masculinities; mineworkers; passing; identity construction; South Africa	South Africa	South Africa	National Research Foundation (NRF), South Africa	"[Contribute] to the body of knowledge about discrimination against black gay male workers in heteronormative spaces."
426	Farrales 2021	Queering environmental regulation?	Environment and Planning E: Nature and Space	Peer-reviewed article	Commentary; Environmental Studies	Environmental assessment; gender; race; queer; sexuality	Canada	Canada	N/A	"Given the linear and bounded logics of environmental regulation, our collective commentary endeavours to "queer" the logics of environmental regulation and questions of the environment and nature more broadly. Our intent is to capture emerging discussions on "queering environmental regulations"
286	Orellana et al., 2013	Structural factors that increase HIV/STI vulnerability among indigenous people in the Peruvian Amazon	Qualitative Health Research	Peer-reviewed article	Qualitative Health Research; Cross-cultural Health; Family Medicine; Health Psychology; Health Social Work; Medical Anthropology; Medical Sociology; Nursing; Pediatric Health; Physical Education; Public Health; Rehabilitation	America, South; HIV/AIDS; marginalized populations; risk; behaviors; sexuality / sexual health	USA	Peruvian Amazon	United States Agency for International Development (USAID); Wellcome Trust and Burroughs Wellcome Fund; the Comprehensive International Program of Research on AIDS; the Global Health Framework	"To extend the research on structural factors that increase HIV risks among vulnerable populations, and to help inform contextually appropriate prevention programs, we describe in this article how sociocultural practices interact with structural forces [i.e., lack of HIV information/knowledge, lack of health services, population mobility and mixing, and river transportation systems] to increase the risk for HIV/STI acquisition among indigenous people in the Peruvian Amazon"
263	Leeworthy 2016	For our common cause: Sexuality and left politics in South Wales, 1967-1985	Contemporary British History	Peer-reviewed article	History	Homosexuality; LGSM; Miners' Strike; South Wales; 1980s	Wales; United Kingdom	Wales; United Kingdom; England	N/A	"The purpose of this article is to map the contours of this coming together and in doing so to shed further light on the more recent Welsh past as well as adding to the our understanding of non-metropolitan gay experience in the twentieth century."
204	Maake 2019	Spaces of Discrimination and Multiple Identities : Experiences of Black Homosexual Mineworkers	Masters of arts in Industrial Sociology, University of Johannesburg	Master's thesis	Humanities; Sociology; Industrial Sociology	N/A	South Africa	South Africa	National Research Foundation (NRF), South Africa	"How do black homosexual male mineworkers construct and manage their (homo)sexual identities in different spaces of discrimination?"; "This study attempts to answer the research question by developing an understanding of the experiences of sexual identity construction in spaces of discrimination, the difficulties associated with identifying as homosexual in these spaces, the strategies employed by black homosexual male mineworkers to manoeuvre their way around the discrimination, and the factors that inform their experiences."
87	Campbell 1997	Migrancy, masculine identities and AIDS: The psychosocial context of HIV transmission on the South African gold mines	Social Science & Medicine	Peer-reviewed article	Social Psychology	HIV transmission; masculinity; social identity theory; migrancy; sexuality; South Africa	United Kingdom	South Africa	South African Epidemiology Research Unit's (ERU) Perceptions of Health	"This paper examines the social identities of a sample of underground workers on a gold mine in the Johannesburg area, drawing on detailed interviews with 42 workers"; "Illustrates the way in which this group of miners' identities are shaped and constrained by their living and working conditions"; "Identifies some of the key interpretative repertoires used by informants in providing an account of their experiences of health, ill-health, HIV and sexuality."
25	Levac 2021	Expanding evidence and expertise in impact assessment: informing Canadian public policy with the knowledges of invisible communities	Impact Assessment and Project Appraisal	Peer-reviewed article	Political Science	Intersectionality; gender-based analysis plus (GBA+); impact assessment; natural resource extraction; Canada; invisible community members	Canada	Canada; Australia; Bolivia; Brazil; Colombia; the Democratic Republic of the Congo; Ecuador; Ghana; Guatemala; Honduras; India; Mexico; Norway; Panama; Papua New Guinea; Philippines; Peru; South Africa; Sweden; the United States of America	Impact Assessment Agency of Canada; Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada	"[Explore] how to actualise gender-based analysis plus (GBA+) in Canadian impact assessment (IA) legislation using evidence and expertise about understanding, monitoring, and mitigating the unevenly distributed benefits and burdens of natural resource extraction and development projects."; "[Ask] what are promising practices in impact assessments that are attentive to the expertise of, and impacts on, often-invisible people?"; "Identify tools and frameworks that can facilitate these promising practices, and argue for their inclusion in Canadian impact assessment regulations."

Covidence #	Do any of the named authors identify in the text of the article as 2SLGBTQIA+?	What category of Resource Development Project (RDP) is mentioned in the study?	List the specific type of RDP mentioned in the study.	What primary queer population(s) or identities does this study consider/include?	What secondary population(s) or identity(ies) does this study consider/include?	What intersecting identity(ies) does this study consider/include?	Does this study consider people living in and working at man camps, industrial camps, labour camps, or mining camps?	Where is the population of interest located?	What is the relation of the population of interest to the RDP?	What type of impacts (positive or negative) from RDP on 2SLGBTQIA+ persons are mentioned in the study?	Does the study outline impacts (positive or negative) from RDP on other marginalized communities, individuals, or populations?	Which of the following negative impacts from RDP on 2SLGBTQIA+ persons are mentioned in the study, if any?
784	No	Mining projects (e.g., metal and mineral extraction)	gold mining; mineral mining	Lesbian; Gay; Bisexual; Other: LGBT Same sex Homosexual Homosexuality	Other: Transgenderers	Black; Latin American; White; Religiosity; Class; Other: Literacy; Hispanic; Black; Education level; Unemployment	Yes	At the project site; In industrial camps; In neighbouring towns; Villages; Up/downstream communities; Other: Historical & Contemporary Gold Rush Towns	Project worker(s); Local community (member(s)); Other	Social impacts (including inclusion, exclusion, stigma); Economic impacts (including limited access to jobs, loss of work); Spiritual/religious impacts (including lack of access to medicine and/or ceremonial plants, changes to a spiritually significant place)	Yes, specifically LGBT people	Not applicable
450	No	Mining projects (e.g., metal and mineral extraction)	metal and mineral extraction	Gay; Men	Lesbian; Gay; Bisexual; Transgender; Queer; Intersex; Other: LGBTQ+ people	Black; Religiosity	Yes	At the project site: In industrial camps; In neighbouring towns; Villages	Project worker(s)	Social impacts (including inclusion, exclusion, stigma); Health impacts (including mental and physical health, barriers to healthcare); Economic impacts (including limited access to jobs, loss of work)	N/A	Barriers to self-care; Barriers to queer specific education; Violence (sexual, physical, psychological, verbal); Lateral or intercommunity oppression; Stigma; Intersectional oppressions; Social exclusion; Social isolation
426	Yes	No specific industry mentioned	N/A	Other: Queerness not as a specific population or identity	Two-Spirit; Gay; Women; Children / youth	Black; Indigenous; Ethno-racial minorities; Class; Other: Filipinx; Racism; Colonialism; Imperialism; Chinese; Mixed race	Yes	In neighbouring towns; Villages; Up/downstream communities	Local community (member(s)); Upstream / downstream community (member(s))	Social impacts (including inclusion, exclusion, stigma)	Parks & White Supremacy; Racism; Mancamps & ongoing settler colonial violence; Extractive violence to women & children; Continued settler colonial violence	Violence (sexual, physical, psychological, verbal); Social exclusion
286	No	Energy projects (e.g., oil and gas extraction, drilling, pipeline construction); Mining projects (e.g., metal and mineral extraction); Forest projects (e.g., lumber, pulp and paper, biofuel production); Other: "Population mobility and mining also occurs in settings like the river docks, mining sites, and other resource extraction camps"	large-scale timber extraction; artisanal gold mining industry; oil camps	Gay; Men who have sex with men (MSM); Women; Other: Indigenous	Other: female sex workers transsexual sex workers	Indigenous; Latin American; Other: People who inject drugs Migrant populations	Yes	At the project site ; In industrial camps; In neighbouring towns; Villages; In the nearest city; Up/downstream communities	Project worker(s); Local community (member(s)); Up/downstream community (member(s))	Social impacts (including inclusion, exclusion, stigma); Health impacts (including mental and physical health, barriers to healthcare); Economic impacts (including limited access to jobs, loss of work); Spiritual/religious impacts (including lack of access to medicine and/or ceremonial plants, changes to a spiritually significant place)	Yes, marginalization of Indigenous Women, female sex workers, Indigenous communities, and Indigenous gay men. Some impacts in the region are associated with increased access from outsider due to resource extraction	Barriers to queer community spaces; Violence (sexual, physical, psychological, verbal); Lateral or intercommunity oppression; Stigma; Intersectional oppressions; Social exclusion; Social isolation; Racism
263	No	Mining projects (e.g., metal and mineral extraction)	metal and mineral extraction - coalfields	Lesbian; Gay; Men; Women	Women	Black; Age; Class; Other: Women	Yes	Other: broad area	Other	Social impacts (including inclusion, exclusion, stigma)	Sexism and racism; Commradery	Barriers to queer community spaces; Stigma; Intersectional oppressions; Social exclusion; Social isolation; Racism
204	Yes	Mining projects (e.g., metal and mineral extraction)	Platinum mine; Coal mine; Open-cast coal mine	Gay; Men; Other: Black Gay Mine Workers	Lesbian; Women; Referenced: LGBTQ+; "homosexual men" ; "Transsexuals"	Black; Other: Mine Workers; Rurality	Yes	At the project site ; In industrial camps; In neighbouring towns; Villages; Other	Project worker(s); Other: International Project Workers	Social impacts (including inclusion, exclusion, stigma); Health impacts (including mental and physical health, barriers to healthcare); Economic impacts (including limited access to jobs, loss of work); Spiritual/religious impacts (including lack of access to medicine and/or ceremonial plants, changes to a spiritually significant place)	Black foreign Migrant Workers; History of racism & apartheid	Barriers to queer community spaces; Violence (sexual, physical, psychological, verbal); Lateral or intercommunity oppression; Stigma; Social exclusion; Social isolation
87	No	Mining projects (e.g., metal and mineral extraction)	Underground Gold Mine	Men; Other: Primary identities considered NOT queer; Migrant Workers from rural areas of South Africa, Lesotho, Botswana & Mozambique	Men who have sex with men (MSM); Other: Same sex mining 'marriages' Sex workers	Black; Ethno-racial minorities	Yes	At the project site; in industrial camps	Project worker(s)	Social impacts (including inclusion, exclusion, stigma); Health impacts (including mental and physical health, barriers to healthcare); Spiritual/religious impacts (including lack of access to medicine and/or ceremonial plants, changes to a spiritually significant place)	Spread of disease; Dangerous Living and Working Conditions; Disempowerment; Workers not using STI Prevention; Migrant Workers More vulnerable; Masculinity & Sexuality/celibacy; Worker; Isolation/Loneliness/lacking support systems	Stigma
25	No	No specific industry mentioned	mining; offshore gas developments	Other: Not applicable really. All populations referenced to, but none were primary.	Two-Spirit; Lesbian; Gay; Bisexual; Transgender; Queer; Non-binary; Women; Children / youth; Other: Pregnant & Nursing women in the DRC	Indigenous; Disability	No	Not specified	Local community (member(s)); Not specified	Social impacts (including inclusion, exclusion, stigma); Health impacts (including mental and physical health, barriers to healthcare); Economic impacts (including limited access to jobs, loss of work); Other: Community services and infrastructure impacts	[Positive] Changes towards more inclusive consultation [Negative] Socio-economic, health, and cultural impacts of natural resource extraction and development on northern and Indigenous women; increased crime; invisibility	Violence (sexual, physical, psychological, verbal)



Covidence #	Negative impacts from RDP on 2SLGBTQIA+ persons	Positive impacts from RDP on 2SLGBTQIA+ persons	Positive impacts from RDP on 2SLGBTQIA+ persons	Mention of the IA process of the RDP of interest?	2SLGBTQIA+ persons consulted or included in the IA process	If yes, how were 2SLGBTQIA+ persons consulted or included in the IA process?	Mention of the GBA+ framework and/or a similar framework?	Theoretical framework(s)	Includes interviews of 2SLGBTQIA+ persons?	Is this original research or is it another kind of paper?	Methodology for original research	Does this study make concrete recommendations?	What are the main findings or recommendations of the study or document?
784	N/A	Social acceptance	Social Tolerance	N/A	No	N/A	No	N/A	No	Other	N/A	No	Compared to non-Gold Rush countries, Gold Rush Countries: "have 15 percent more same sex couples"; " have more same-sex couples who are married."; "I" are more likely to report that homosexuality is not wrong"; " remained less religious and more tolerant toward the LGBT population up to nowadays."; " This result suggests that pro-LGBT attitudes have persisted in gold rush countries."
450	Passing/Code Switching; Bullying, Discrimination; Religious stigma; Lateral violence; Barriers to queer education; Gender Policing	Social inclusion	Acceptance among families and friends; Some social inclusion	N/A	No	N/A	No	Feminist theory; Intersectional theory	Yes	Original research	Interviews; Semi-structured interviews	Yes	"This study reveals that heteronormativity is not only prevalent in work-places, but originates and is located within their communities and families. Throughout their lives, they had to devise strategies that would help them cope in heteronormative spaces. They hide their stigmatized gay identities and, in some spaces, adopt false heterosexual identities to counter the negative consequences that come with identifying as gay. Heteronormative views in these three spaces and the fear of discrimination, hindered the participants from fully expressing their sexual identities."
426	Morality raids; Isolation, mental illness, drug and alcohol abuse, violence, misogyny, and racism; Sexual assault and harassment, and family and domestic violence; White supremacy	N/A	N/A	N/A	No	N/A	Yes	Queer of colour critique; Other: Indigenous and Two-Spirit Theory; Critical Race Theory Anti-colonial Theory	No	Other: Commentary	N/A	No	(Catungal) "A focus on sexual politics is a crucial component of regulations of nature and the natural must, by necessity, also attend to its entanglement with racial and colonial politics and processes."; (Hoogeveen) ". Section 22 opens the door for an analysis of queerness, race and culture, gender, sexuality and other identity factors, but it is begging for tools and processes that will allow for robust implementation, with the caveat of a general recognition of the limitations of the heteronormative state."
286	Sexual abuse/rape; HIV/STI transmission; Sex work/Solicitation	N/A	N/A	N/A	No	N/A	No	Other: participatory research	Yes	Original research	Interviews; Semi-structured interviews; Focus groups / talking circles; Other: Participatory Research	Yes	Findings: "In some communities same-sex behaviors were accepted, especially as a form of sexual debut for boys"; "Reports from MSM that the rejection from their communities led them to migrate to the port cities, where they faced stigma and discrimination for being gay and indigenous"; "Norms related to masculinity encourage men to leave their villages in search of upward social opportunities"; "Most indigenous villages were located in isolated rural areas, lacked appropriate social and health services, including health promotion activities"; Recommendation: "Prevention strategies that deliver HIV-related information through mass communication campaigns [...] as well as educational programs at the individual, group, and community levels"
263	Moral shaming	Access to affirming education; Improved rights and recognition; Social inclusion; Social acceptance	Allship; Collective Social Movements	N/A	No	N/A	No	N/A	No	Other: history paper	N/A	No	"Despite evident prejudices towards gay men throughout the period, these did not always yield to negative behaviour and ostracism. Gay men could and did find acceptance in mining communities, both in everyday contexts along work-based lines of solidarity and in moments of crisis when external pressures encouraged broader forms of community"; "Had masculinity operated solely along lines of homosociability and homophobia it is unlikely that the alliance would have been as successful as it was. And yet, being able to set aside prejudices, being open to new ideas and attitudes of regard, the miners realised that liberation was not „Àttheir cause,Àò but, in fact, our common cause."
204	Lateral violence & Stigma; Subordination; Social Isolation/Exclusion; Forced Anonymity & potential for discrimination; Discriminatory hiring practices	N/A	Intergenerational mine marriages	N/A	No	N/A	Yes	Feminist theory; Intersectional theory; Other: Masculinities	Yes	Original research	Interviews; Semi-structured interviews	Yes	Findings: "Masculine workplace, the South African mining industry can be considered an unsafe working environment for homosexual men."; "While sexual minorities experience discrimination in similar ways, they have different social statuses, which distinguish them from each other and inform the lifestyle decisions that they make in their different contexts." Recommendations: "[Broaden] focus to include other sexual minorities in other masculine workplaces"; "From this, practical interventions can be developed, and recommendations can be made on how to make not just the mining industry, but most South African masculine workplaces, friendly and accommodating for homosexual men."
87	Stigma; Involuntary celibacy & male sexual desire	N/A	N/A	N/A	No	N/A	No	Other: Social Identity Theory/ Self-Categorisation Theory (SIT-SCT)	No	Original research	Semi-structured interviews	Yes	Finding: "The most important aspect of slowing down the spread of STDs and HIV infection would be to alter the broader social and material conditions which encourage high-risk sexual practices"; "High-risk sexual behaviours (such as unprotected sex with multiple partners) are too complex to be changed by simply providing people with health-related information, as traditional health education programmes have sought to do." Recommendation: "In mining camps, implement peer education programmes [to] provide members of HIV-vulnerable groups [space] to refashion social/sexual identities in a collective way."
25	Social Exclusion/Invisibility	N/A	N/A	Yes	No	In Sweden: "This CBIA process used workshops, meetings, participatory mapping and interviews to establish a community baseline and identify potential impacts."	Yes	Intersectional theory; Other: - Indigenous feminism	No	Original research	Semi-structured interviews; Policy analysis; Other: scoping reviews	Yes	"The best way to actualise GBA+ in IAs is through properly resourced and meaningful community-led engagement. As such, innovative processes like the community-based IAs and community-led consultations we present, intentionally informed by GBA+, should be required by the regulations that guide IAs. Further, IA regulations should insist on appropriate ongoing monitoring by the Impact Assessment Agency of Canada (IAAC) to ensure community-identified requirements are maintained."