An Investigation of Telkwa Coal Limited's Proposed Tenas Project Coal Mine and the Potential Financial Impacts on the Bulkley Valley and Wet'suwet'en First Nation

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I. Introduction

In 2019, Telkwa Coal Limited (TCL) announced its plans to introduce a coal mine to the Bulkley Valley in British Columbia. This project, the Tenas Project coal mine, would operate on the Wet'suwet'en First Nation land. TCL has publicly committed to working with the First Nation throughout the proposal, research, and construction phases of the mine. However, the Wet'suwet'en First Nation has expressed its hesitancy in even considering the Tenas Project, due to the potential environmental, social, political, and economic impacts.

While it is not uncommon for extractive industries to introduce projects on Indigenous land, the effects of these operations vary by region and culture. Companies often advertise plans to mitigate the worst effects of their presence, but neglect to acknowledge or remedy other effects. Wet'suwet'en leaders have communicated concern over the consequences of TCL's coal mine and hope to better understand all imminent impacts of TCL's presence on their land before moving forward.

While TCL's presence will inevitably yield economic, political, cultural, environmental, and social effects, this paper endeavors to focus on potential economic impacts in the Bulkley Valley. These consequences, both positive and negative, must be considered before the First Nation enters negotiations with TCL. We intend to address the following question: to what extent will the TCL proposed Tenas Project coal mine impact the economic development of the Wet'suwet'en First Nation and the larger Bulkley Valley region?

This paper hopes to present the Wet'suwet'en Nation with a comprehensive exploration of positive and negative economic effects of the proposed Tenas mine as well as potential solutions that the Wet'suwet'en First Nation may introduce during negotiations with TCL. To begin, this paper will introduce the community capitals framework, a method of understanding economic development in Indigenous communities. We will derive the foundation of our research from testimony, case studies, and data from similar resource extraction projects involving First Nations and consider both conventional and unconventional aspects of economic capital to determine the varied economic impacts of the Tenas Project on the Wet'suwet'en economy. As we discuss each form of economic capital, we will present the Wet'suwet'en First Nation with potential solutions.

II. Concepts and Methodology

Concepts

Economics can be understood as the complex systems of resource allocation which drive global societies. To truly understand the economic impacts that will occur as a result of TCL's presence, one must consider both the economic promises and downsides that the presence of extractive industries yield. One must also evaluate both the monetary and non-monetary capital implications of a resource extraction project, as both seriously impact the wellbeing of a society. The economic community capitals framework can yield a comprehensive understanding of these economic changes and account for monetary and non-monetary sources of capital.

Modern economists consider economic development to be "the process by which a community or nation improves its economic ability to sustain its citizens, achieve its sociocultural goals, and support its sovereignty and governing process" (Begay Jr. et al., 2007, p. 36). Thus, when considering economic development, it is important to extend our understanding of the "economy" beyond the monetary economy and consider non-monetary forms of capital that underpin economic well-being.

The community capitals framework is a more nuanced way of understanding the inherently complex nature of economic development. This framework acknowledges that economic development does not just refer to the creation of jobs or the influx and efflux of financial capital in a region. Instead, the community capitals framework understands economic development through four lenses or "capitals": financial, natural, human, and social.

The first type of capital that extractive industries highlight and address in their resource extraction projects is "financial capital." When presenting potential economic impact to Indigenous communities, extractive industries often underscore the expected revenue, jobs, and markets that they expect to create. These economic gains are described as "financial capital" and are the revenue generated by the economy as a whole as well as extractive industries (Parlee, 2015, p. 427). With the introduction of TCL, financial capital will consist of the number of jobs created by the Tenas Project mine, the payment by TCL to local experts for research and analytics, and the revenue generated by the mine over its 25-year expected lifespan (Telkwa Coal Limited, 2021). When considering the introduction of extractive industries, financial capital is often at the forefront of the conversation because these industries benefit from advertising the financial growth that will result from their presence. However, Indigenous communities rarely obtain any significant percentage of the revenue produced by financial capital.

The other capital that extractive industries consider relevant is "natural capital." This is the inherent value that a certain plot of land carries; it is composed of the "renewable and non-renewable resources that produce economic opportunities and benefits'" (Parlee, 2015, p. 427). Indigenous nations like the Wet'suwet'en, who reside on resource-rich land, are poor in financial capital yet rich in natural capital. When considering the arrival of extractive industries, many analysts attempt to quantify the value of the natural capital, because this allows extractive companies to negotiate contracts with Indigenous people over land. However, as seen with the construction of the ESPO pipeline in the Yakutia territory in Siberia, Indigenous groups are often undercompensated for their natural capital; it can be difficult to accurately quantify the value of land that sustains a nation's livelihood (Yakovleva, 2010). Thus, there is a disconnect between financial capital and natural capital that must be addressed if the Wet'suwet'en nation is to consider Telkwa Coal's proposal.

There is a second set of capitals that must be accounted for when considering the economic effects of extractive industries on indigenous land: human and social capital. These forms of capital are aspects of Indigenous economy that are integral to community stability and well-being, yet often go overlooked. "Human capital," which can be evaluated when analyzing changes to Indigenous populations' workforce, refers to the "contributions of individuals as well as the education, skills and knowledge acquired by individuals" which contribute to the functioning of the economy (Parlee, 2015, p. 427). In the 21st century, Indigenous economies are a mix of both wage work—often found in our modern capitalist economy—and subsistence work, typically present in traditional Indigenous subsistence economies. However, researchers have found that the introduction of extractive industries onto Indigenous land disrupts this careful balance of wage work and subsistence work. As seen with Numto Nature Park, the introduction of the Surgutneftegaz oil company replaced reindeer herding jobs with wage work, contributing to the destruction of a centuries-old subsistence economy (Tysiachniouk, 2019). The movement towards a capitalist framework can have devastating economic impacts long-term, as subsistence work is essential to the functioning of Indigenous communities. However, this capital is rarely addressed by companies when considering economic impacts of their proposed industries.

Such can be seen with the last form of capital, "social capital." Social capital consists of "features of social organization, such as networks, norms, and social trust, that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit" (Parlee, 2015, p. 432). This is the most abstract capital in an Indigenous economy; it is, essentially, the role Indigenous culture plays in keeping the local economy intact. Researchers have found that "intergenerational knowledge sharing, participation in cultural events, demonstration of traditional values"—all aspects of traditional indigenous communities—are essential to the well-being and proper functioning of Indigenous economy (Parlee, 2015, p. 432). However, extractive industries rarely, if ever, consider the impacts that their construction will have on Indigenous culture or ways of life.

While all four forms of capital are an integral part of Indigenous economy, extractive industries rarely address human and social capital. Companies such as TCL may advertise positive economic growth correlated with their presence in a region, but neglect to recognize the impact the industry will have on a transition to wage work in the community or the disruption of traditional ways of life and Indigenous culture. Thus, it is vital to recognize that these more abstract human and social types of capital are just as significant as the "traditional" financial or natural capital. Only once we understand the effect that TCL will have on all four capitals for the Wet'suwet'en nation can we determine if the existence of a coal plant will have largely positive or detrimental impacts on the economic situation. Thus, the First Nation hopes to identify potential economic issues that may arise with the Tenas Project so that they may address these concerns with Telkwa Coal before the project moves further.

Methodology

For this report, we will utilize multiple scholarly publications regarding Indigenous economics and case studies illustrating the impact of resource extraction on Indigenous communities. We will draw primarily from previous economic studies of the region conducted for the Northern Gateway Project, a pipeline proposed in 2019 that ultimately went undeveloped. Additionally, other secondary academic literature, such as "Avoiding the Resource Curse: Indigenous Communities and Canada's Oil Sands" by Brenda L. Parlee will be used to ground the aforementioned research in conceptual ideas and support these findings.

III. Conventional Capital

Financial Capital

When considering the effects that TCL will have on flows of financial capital in the Bulkley Valley, it is important to acknowledge the economic development that the Tenas Project will bring to the local economy. TCL made extensive public commitments towards development in the Bulkley Valley. The company has promised to employ 150 full-time employees during peak construction of the mine as well as 170 full-time employees during peak operations over 25 years and 355 full-time indirect jobs during peak operations. Additionally, TCL estimates that CDN$250 million will be generated in revenue for federal, provincial, and local governments to "support community services and infrastructure" (Telkwa Coal Limited, 2021).

However, TCL has been less forthcoming about potential negative financial implications associated with the presence of a mine in the Bulkley Valley. Economists who study financial capital have found two primary issues that cause stagnancy or decline of a region's economy and result from the presence of extractive industries. These issues are revenue efflux and a consistent lack of proper compensation, yet neither are mentioned nor addressed on the TCL website.

Revenue efflux occurs when the revenue generated from an extractive industry is not reinvested in the local economy. Instead, this revenue leaves the region and disperses to other areas or among higher-level officials in the extractive industry. As a result, the local economy experiences a loss in natural resources that is not made up for by an influx in revenue; the potential revenue for the community is lost. TCL will operate in the Bulkley Valley, but much of the revenue—in the form of raw coal—will be shipped to steel mills in Asia. TCL officials have announced that they plan to reinvest CDN$250 million into the Bulkley Valley, but they have not released any concrete plans or timelines to allocate this money (Telkwa Coal Limited, 2021). Nevertheless, CDN$250 million is just a fraction of the revenue that will be generated by the coal mining process; at the current sale price of CDN$73.33 per saleable ton, projections place the Tenas Project to earn anywhere between CDN$55 million and CN$60 million in revenue each year (Telkwa Coal Limited, 2021). As a result, much of the potential financial capital that will be produced by the Tenas coal mine will be lost to the citizens in Bulkley Valley over the course of the coal mine's 25-year life span. The Wet'suwet'en community will reap almost none of the benefits.

A lack of proper compensation is another way that extractive industries cause a decline of financial capital in the local economy. The presence of extractive industries—be they coal mines or pipelines—inherently diminish the economic value and efficacy of land practices like farming, hunting, and fishing. This can lead to a substantial financial loss in both output of production and value of land.

While some industries attempt to compensate local citizens for the occupation of land, oftentimes they fail to consider the exponential loss of resources over time. Interrupted land practices compound over time, and a one-time compensation does not properly address this disruption. As a result, most extractive industries fail to compensate citizens properly. This is not a foreign concept in British Columbia; according to Ilsa Barrett's interviews with the British Columbian Tahltan community, past extractive industries only compensated families "130 dollars every three months" for the disruption of their land (Barrett, 2020, p. 56). Telkwa Coal has cited its commitment to hiring locally but has not mentioned compensation—let alone fair compensation—to those whose land practices will be disrupted by the coal mine. TCL has only committed to delivering CDN$250 million in "government tax revenues" (Telkwa Coal Limited, 2018, p. i). This failure on TCL's part to compensate the Wet'suwet'en nation fairly can lead to losses of thousands of dollars in the community during the coal mine lifespan.

When considering the implications of TCL's operations on the financial capital of the Bulkley valley economy, a few key questions emerge. First is the issue of reinvestment: into what industries will TCL reinvest the revenue from the coal mine, and will any of this reinvestment positively impact citizens on a local level through proper compensation? Secondly, what are the implications of only a mere 25-year life span of the coal mine on the longevity of the Bulkley Valley economy? If revenue is reinvested into the economy, will it be enough to sustain citizens even after operations cease in the region and the land is irrevocably impacted?

In negotiations with TCL, there are a few solutions to financial capital issues that can be proposed. These solutions all fall under the concept of benefit sharing, the idea that industries agree to a "distribution back to communities of monetary and non-monetary benefits generated by the revenue companies procure through resource extraction" (Tysiachniouk, 2019, p. 59). This can take many forms: direct payments to citizens to offset the costs of operations, the creation of needed infrastructure, and agreements to withhold a percentage of revenues to be reinvested in certain parts of the community. Regardless, there must be a conscious attempt to give back to the community for benefit sharing to work.

Natural Capital

While financial capital consists of the actual monetary revenue generated by an extractive industry, natural capital takes into account the more abstract "assets" that certain regions are naturally endowed with. Examples of these assets can include minerals, oil, arable land, and territory well suited for solar or wind power. Natural capital includes resources that carry an economic value but are not yet extracted; they simply hold the potential to yield economic value.

The Bulkley Valley is rich in resources, particularly raw coal. Resource valuations have estimated that the proposed Tenas Project mine site contains around 29.1 million tons of raw coal. TCL's proposed mine would extract almost all of this coal; with an annual extraction of 775,000-825,000 tons, an estimated 20 million tons would be processed over the lifespan of the mine. This would generate anywhere between CDN$55 million and CDN$60 million each year, and as much as CDN$1.5 billion over 25 years (Telkwa Coal Limited, 2021).

Natural capital, when harnessed to benefit First Nations, can be integral to their economic development. Historically in Canada, "provincial government and industry interests have systematically disregarded or opposed efforts of First Nations…to exercise Treaty and constitutional rights" (Parlee, 2015, p. 430). Despite Wet'suwet'en insistence that the First Nation remains in control of land rights and sovereignty, as well as Canada's 1997 Supreme Court affirmation of this claim in *Delgamuukw v British Columbia*, there remain ongoing disputes over rights to land when extractive industries are involved. While *Delgamuukw* established that the government has a "duty to consult with indigenous peoples" when considering extractive projects, many extractive industries make agreements to operate on Indigenous land with provincial governments (circumventing Indigenous input in the process), operate on Indigenous land without permission, or receive permission from government-created "elected band councils" who are not recognized by First Nations as the official leaders of their government (Beaudoin and Filice, 2019; Davis, 2018). As a result, Indigenous groups are not always able to control the development of their natural resources "in ways that create or sustain their economic futures" (Parlee, 2015, p. 430). This lack of sovereignty makes it very difficult for First Nation groups to employ the resources they were endowed with in their best interest. It also makes it very difficult to act sustainably over long periods of time; land that could be harnessed for renewable energy uses are instead inhabited by extractive industries. Projects like the proposed Tenas coal mine, that have very limited life spans and are not a sustainable source of revenue, are what ultimately end up on Indigenous land. These projects simply serve to deplete the First Nations of their natural capital.

When natural capital is assessed by capitalist industries, non-renewable, extractive resources are often prioritized over the renewable resources. On Indigenous land, the presence of solar panels or windmills could be extremely fruitful for both the local community's economy and the industry that implements it. However, Western society has not pivoted to these resources, instead choosing to rely on extractive industries that will only be functional for brief periods of time. When considering the impacts that proposed projects would have on the economic development of a region, a critical question to ask is whether the project would interact with resources in a way that does not negatively impact them, or whether the project would simply extract from the land. The effects of natural capital extraction would be felt all around Bulkley Valley. Fishing, hunting, and agricultural practices would be impacted by air and water pollution, and existing industries, such as tourism, would also be affected. Thus, exploitation of natural capital in the form of coal could have a detrimental impact on other crucial forms of natural capital.

While TCL has made informal promises to consult with the Wet'suwet'en nation on the proposed Tenas coal mine, they are not required by law to do so. This makes the Wet'suwet'en community extremely vulnerable. With this in mind, it is difficult to know how to solve the issues that accompany natural capital. The ideal solution would be to practice "practical sovereignty" and allow decisions about natural capital to be made solely by the inhabitants of the land. This would give First Nations the right to decide how they wish to develop their land. According to economists studying the impacts of sovereignty on economic development, engaging in practical sovereignty results in "more efficient access and use of capital; improved probability of sustainable economic development; [and] more successful defense of sovereignty" (Dreveskracht, 2013, p. 124). While this may not be completely possible for the Tenas project to accomplish, there are still tangible steps that TCL can take to benefit the Bulkley Valley economy. TCL should be encouraged, if not required, to operate on the basis of "Free Prior Informed Consent," the idea that Indigenous groups are granted the right "to contest proposed projects on their traditional territories…and consult[ed] about a proposed project" (Yakovleva, 2010, p. 709). This returns partial autonomy to Indigenous groups. Ideally, TCL should enter into a legal agreement with the Wet'suwet'en nation and commit to returning autonomy to the First Nation, rather than simply pledging verbally to work with them.

IV. Unconventional Capital

Human Capital

Conventional capital such as financial and natural capital are not the only contributing capitals; unconventional capital, such as human and social capital, also play an integral role in First Nations' economic development. Human capital describes the skills, abilities, and education of the individuals in the community (Parlee, 2015). These include both skills "valued by the 'marketplace' (e.g., electrician/trade certificate); it also includes the knowledge and skills valuable by society but not priced in the marketplace (e.g., traditional ecological knowledge of Indigenous peoples)" (Parlee, 2015, p. 427). This form of capital is often only approached in the context of Western perceptions of resource extraction and education; however, it is important to consider Indigenous structures of human capital when assessing the full impact of a resource extraction project on Indigenous populations.

Currently, human capital within the Wet'suwet'en is on the decline. Cultural elements such as language, traditional hunting and fishing practices, and diet have all suffered due to the legacy of institutional cultural erosion (criminalization of cultural practices and residential schools) as well as climate change (drastic weather patterns, pollution, and warming waters). In an interview with Wet'suwet'en elder Charlotte Euverman, she indicates just this, recounting, "When industry comes in, they ruined a lot of our hunting areas, berry picking areas, fishing spots, the rivers where fishes come from," (interview, November 10, 2021). Charlotte's testimony illustrates the impacts of previous extractive industries that have already contaminated Wet'suwet'en land.

Wet'suwet'en traditional economics are subsistence-based and rely heavily on hunting and fishing stocks supported by local ecosystems that are now under threat by the Tenas mine. For example, "as of 1990, over 25,000 people benefited from subsistence-based fisheries, primarily salmon, in BC. Over three quarters of the total native population consumes fish" (Barrett, 2020, p. 17). This demonstrates the importance of subsistence economic structures on Wet'suwet'en wellbeing and culture. The proposed mine site currently transects a Wet'suwet'en hunting tract—an area rich in animals such as moose, elk, and caribou—and is already vulnerable due to encroachments by ranchers (C. Euverman, interview, November 10, 2021). Additionally, the proposed mining site is located within close proximity to important tributaries of the Telkwa River. Though TCL preaches that great care will be taken to prevent tailing pond seepage from entering these tributaries, the entire region is geologically unstable and prone to landslides which can pollute water and minimize fish stocks (Hagen, 2011). If this hunting tract or these tributaries were degraded for the sake of coal extraction, Wet'suwet'en culture, which is already at risk, would pay the price by further losing ties to their traditional economics and practices.

Additionally, resource extraction industries in Wet'suwet'en territory limit upward mobility and maintain systems of economic oppression. These industries claim to provide work to Wet'suwet'en and other Indigenous workers. However, often the only work available is low wage, low skill, manual labor. This environment fosters a "disincentive to higher education, training, entrepreneurship," especially in the context of traditional Wet'suwet'en economics, as it limits time and motivation to learn skills in areas such as fishing, hunting, and forestry (Parlee, 2005, p. 428). On Wet'suwet'en land, evidence of this process can be seen with the Huckleberry mine. This mine hired numerous Wet'suwet'en for low skilled jobs, but many were either laid off or quit due to poor conditions (V. Gellenbeck, interview, November 17, 2021). The mine claimed to economically benefit the area, especially the Wet'suwet'en; however, the project never yielded long-term benefits to Wet'suwet'en workers and degraded environmental conditions, limiting the continuation of Wet'suwet'en human capital in the form of traditional economics.

Project longevity is an important factor in assessing the human implications of a mining project. In Barrett's interviews, for example, she describes how other parts of British Columbia have experienced the presence of extractive industries:

The locals that were hired were given low level jobs with little chance of moving up. Jobs provided by mining companies are only temporary; the average lifespan of a mine is only 10-50 years, leaving an unemployed workforce, and an unhealthy landscape in its wake. (Barrett, 2020, p. 16)

This process would inevitably occur in the Tenas mine, as its estimated lifespan is only 25 years (Telkwa Coal Limited, 2021). This would limit the application of the skills workers would learn and leave them economically vulnerable post-closure. An example of this situation is the case of Appalachian West Virginia. When their coal industry shrunk dramatically, the coal miners of West Virginia faced massive economic hardship as their skills were rendered useless. The combination of a lack of demand in the coal industry and the increased demand in other industries resulted in population flight; the state shrunk by over one million people (Lewis, 1993). Those who remain today live in poverty, widely excluded from other economic ventures due to the limited applications of their skills. The Bulkley Valley could face a similar situation if the Tenas Project is implemented, as there are minimal other local industries which could accommodate the skills of former coal workers.

TCL has pledged to promote local job growth and include local experts in cultural and environmental wellbeing in the Tenas Project. They aspire to source most employment locally and invest in community services, social programs, and education (Telkwa Coal Limited, 2021). Despite these promises, elders have little faith that unconventional human capital considerations would actually follow through, as all mining operations through Wet'suwet'en land have only detracted from this aspect of capital (V. Gellenbeck, interview, November 17, 2021).

TCL can consider Wet'suwet'en human capital by addressing the possible impacts to traditional economic structures caused by their resource extraction. These impacts would be drastic, such as the decimation of Wet'suwet'en fishing and hunting resources. This demonstrates the need to prevent the TCL mine from opening. Resource extraction in Wet'suwet'en territory is possible, but only through sustainable economic ventures. This sustainability is simply incompatible with the proposed Tenas Project. This mining operation would replace Indigenous jobs, not just in the official job market, but also in the subsistence and cultural realm as the mine destroys natural resources. TCL cannot function in harmony with existing sources of Wet'suwet'en human capital, so its cancellation is imperative.

Social Capital

Social capital is defined as "the level of trust, civil commitment, and capacity for cooperation of a community or group" and the "features of social organization, such as networks, norms and social trust, that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit" (Parlee, 2015, p. 427). These networks and systems of communication are essential to building other sources of capital and maintaining long-term economic growth and sustainability, as they facilitate trade and build mutual respect.

Currently, Wet'suwet'en traditional social capital is maintained through feasts known as *balhats* between and within different clans. These clans communicate with other people as well through these feasts, and they participate in more Western forms of communication such as hearings, testimonies, town halls, and meetings when necessary. The Wet'suwet'en have limited positive social capital regarding resource development; as such, developments rarely positively contribute to their community.

Social capital is significant, especially as a source of preserving the human capital of traditional economics, practices, and storytelling, and as a way of ensuring community stability and cohesion. Within Wet'suwet'en culture, for example, a way that social capital is maintained between the young and old is through group fishing. The elderly teach the young how to fish and process the catch; through this process, they pass on stories and techniques pertaining to their cultural practices and traditional economics. Among the Wet'suwet'en and other Indigenous groups of Northern British Columbia, this is an essential form of "renewing kinship" both among individual community members and their environment (Gergan & McCreary, 2021, p. 5).

Unfortunately, practices such as this are on decline already due to the institutional cultural erosion of the Wet'suwet'en and the current decimation of their fishing stocks caused by present resource extraction efforts. Without traditional methods of conveying social capital, Wet'suwet'en culture faces decimation through ignorance and disjunction, as different age groups and geographically isolated communities struggle to communicate with each other.

Within the Wet'suwet'en, a major source of tension which erodes internal social capital is the competition between the hereditary chiefs and government-supported band councils over authority regarding resource extraction. When the TransCanada Coastal Gaslink project was proposed to Wet'suwet'en, TransCanada and the Canadian government offered the band council monetary incentives if the project was approved and guaranteed their support (McCreary & Turner, 2018). With the support of the band council (whose autonomy is established under the Indian Act), the project has moved forward, despite the protests of the hereditary chiefs and much of the Wet'suwet'en community. This situation has created massive rifts among the Wet'suwet'en; members have sided with hereditary chiefs, and many band councils are not speaking to each other (V. Gellenbeck, interview, November 17, 2021). Any other resource extraction efforts which could pose risks to traditional economics, such as the Tenas Project, would surely spur more conflict among these competing sources of authority, which would only further damage the social integrity of the Wet'suwet'en.

The Tenas Project can specifically impact social capital by disrupting traditional economics such as fishing or hunting. These practices are essential not only for community morale and cohesion but also for promoting environments which foster continued social capital among Wet'suwet'en. TCL has not released any analysis regarding their possible impacts on this type of capital, demonstrating their lack of consideration for non-traditional sources of social capital and Wet'suwet'en cultural longevity.

TCL can address Wet'suwet'en social capital by prioritizing internal understanding of Wet'suwet'en traditional knowledge and social structures. This should include funding for education regarding Wet'suwet'en language and land management. Also, Wet'suwet'en social capital can be addressed by

Canadian governmental entities. This can be carried out through the recognition of Wet'suwet'en forms of government, further protection of Wet'suwet'en culture, and more solid land recognition and respect agreements. These strategies could work, as they would strengthen Wet'suwet'en autonomy, providing them more outlets for internal social capital strengthening. Also, no step should be taken without proper consultation from Wet'suwet'en community members and their input on how social capital should be approached.

Conclusion

Overall, through an analysis of the community capitals framework in relation to the Wet'suwet'en First Nation and the TCL Tenas Project, we conclude that the Tenas Project will have a negative impact on the economic development and sustainability of the Wet'suwet'en. Conventionally, their natural capital will face damage through pollution and habitat destruction, and their financial capital will be drained through revenue efflux. Unconventionally, their human capital will be minimalized through further erosion of traditional economics and practices, and their social capital faces depletion through loss of knowledge and polarization. By reducing these forms of capital, the TCL Tenas Project will hinder the Wet'suwet'en capacity to develop their economy, and continue the settler colonist legacy of external resource extraction efforts plundering the natural wealth of the Wet'suwet'en homeland. Because of its possible reduction of these four dimensions of Wet'suwet'en capital and damage to Wet'suwet'en economics, it is imperative that this resource extraction effort does not proceed.

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