
The Role of the Canadian Settler-State in Facilitating Flows of Transnational Extractive Capital

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Abstract

What does the neoliberalization of extractive and border infrastructures by the Canadian settler-state illuminate about its relationship to transnational extractive capital? To answer this question, I first examine how neoliberalism has shaped border and extractive policies. In the second section, I look at how flows of transnational extractive capital are made flexible by Canadian settler-state policies, while simultaneously securitizing colonial borders against racialized migrants. In the third, I investigate how material and epistemological challenges to extractive infrastructures from Indigenous land defenders and racialized migrants challenge the legitimation by accumulation processes the Canadian settler-state employs. Ultimately, I argue the settler-state selectively securitizes pipeline and border infrastructures to facilitate the flow and accumulation of transnational extractive capital as a means of self-legitimation that relies on normative imaginings of a white Canadian nationhood. Furthermore, these imaginings rely on upholding certain logics of racial capitalism that construct a white Canadian nationhood, such as white supremacy, colonialism, and hetero-patriarchy.

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Introduction

The rise of global neoliberal capital has had a profound effect on the functioning of the Canadian settler-state and its economy. In particular, the Canadian settler-state has adopted neoliberal policies that facilitate flows of extractive capital between and across borders. As a result, the settler-state has also reinforced its backing of a series of pipeline projects. At the same time, the rise of global migrant movement due to environmental catastrophe, economic crises, and unstable social and political regimes has contributed to the settler-state securitizing its borders. These policies, however, have not been enacted without resistance from both Indigenous land defenders and migrant justice activists. This paper attempts to answer the question: what does the neoliberalization of both extractive and border infrastructures by the Canadian settler-state illuminate about its relationship to transnational extractive capital? I argue that the settler-state selectively securitizes pipeline and border infrastructures to facilitate the flow and accumulation of transnational extractive capital as a means of self-legitimation that relies on normative imaginings of a white Canadian nationhood. Furthermore, I argue that these imaginings rely on upholding certain logics of racial capitalism that help construct a white Canadian nationhood, such as white supremacy, colonialism, and the hetero-patriarchy.

This paper thus follows three key dynamics that are prevalent in the accumulation and flows of transnational extractive capital: domestic versus cross-border processes, commodity flexibilization versus border securitization processes, and settler-state accumulation versus legitimation processes. In the first section, I examine the ways in which neoliberalism has generally shaped Canadian settler-state border and extractive policies. In the second section, I look at how flows of transnational extractive capital are made flexible by Canadian settler-state policies, at the same time colonial borders are securitized against racialized migrants, thus creating a vulnerable labour pool. By drawing parallels between extractive and border

infrastructures and the policies that govern them, I argue that the state creates these networks not only to facilitate the flow of transnational extractive capital, but also to legitimate itself through its accumulation by securitizing extractive and border infrastructures in a way that targets Indigenous peoples and racialized migrants. I argue that these material infrastructures have an ideological component, and that the systems of white supremacy, colonialism and hetero-patriarchy that facilitate flows of transnational extractive capital also constitute the systems that reproduce the settler-state. In the third section, I look at how material and epistemological challenges to extractive infrastructures from Indigenous land defenders and racialized migrants challenge the legitimation by accumulation processes the Canadian settler-state attempts to use when facilitating flows of transnational extractive capital. Then, I briefly analyze the ways the Canadian settler-state responds to these challenges, particularly through using securitization measures to both surveil and incarcerate Indigenous land defenders and racialized migrants.

Section I: Neoliberal Securitization and Transnational Extractive Capital

The Canadian settler-state's turn to neoliberal policies is essentially a response to the increasingly globalized nature of capital and has profoundly shaped the relationship between the state and transnational extractive capital. I begin this section by outlining my use of the term 'transnational extractive capital.' I then briefly touch on the impacts the rise of global capital has had on neoliberal policies within the Canadian settler-state. Next, I turn to the effects neoliberal frameworks have had on border policies and the flow of capital across borders. I end by discussing the contradictions inherent in neoliberal infrastructures, which rely on a process of selective securitization of infrastructure policies, many of which increase the security measures against Indigenous people and racialized migrants.

The term ‘transnational extractive capital’ invokes here a series of connections between extractive capital and the settler-Canadian economy, and the recent series of neoliberal policies that have been enacted to facilitate capital flows across and within colonial borders. While this paper is primarily concerned with the flow and accumulation of transnational extractive capital as it relates to pipeline infrastructure, such commodity flows are by no means limited to petroleum products. Indeed, I often reference transnational trade policies and infrastructural changes that facilitate flows of other types of extractive capital and commodities, in addition to petroleum products. The material nature of extracting bitumen and petroleum products is distinguishable as a type of commodity capital, rather than a type of money or investment capital. These policies are often enabled using the same ideological structures (such as white supremacy, settler-colonialism, and the hetero-patriarchy) that are used to build and secure pipeline and border infrastructures. Additionally, most transnational extractive capital is secured and regulated under the same governmental initiatives, such as the Canadian Infrastructure Bank (CIB) and the same security apparatuses, like the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP).^{120 121} The facilitation of transnational extractive capital through both pipeline and border infrastructure, in addition to the role border securitization against racialized migrants plays into facilitating these flows, will be expanded on in the following section.

While the effects of neoliberalism can be empirically defined by its key characteristics, such as its tendency to privatize and deregulate state policy, it can also be conceptualized as advancing an

¹²⁰ Winona LaDuke and Deborah Cowen, "Beyond Wiindigo Infrastructure," *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 119, no. 2 (2020).

¹²¹ Deborah Cowen, "A Geography of Logistics: Market Authority and the Security of Supply Chains," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 100, no. 3 (2010).

ideology that promotes extractivism and capitalist accumulation. Scholars such as Rossiter and Wood look at neoliberalism's "other-than-economic-restructuring-aspects," and its effects on the actions of state and non-state actors.¹²² Here, Rossiter and Wood point to the various ways neoliberalism expresses itself, including but not limited to "the production of a discourse of national economic power and its corresponding 'good citizen'; the opening of public resources to private development; efforts to reduce the regulatory oversight of the state; and the reconfiguration of property rights."¹²³ Such a definition of neoliberalism, while broad, encompasses both the ideological and material practices that have shifted government and industry policy in recent years, which often valorize processes of extractivism and market dominance. Equally important are the ways in which neoliberal imaginings of the 'good citizen' are used by the Canadian settler-state to legitimate securitization against 'bad citizens': ones that pose a threat to these processes of extraction.¹²⁴ These logics play an important role in shaping the processes the settler-state uses to facilitate the flow of transnational extractive capital over and within colonial borders.

The transnational nature of extractive capital flows means that settler-state neoliberal logics have been implemented at its borders. Border infrastructure is no longer confined to spaces along the margins of colonial territories: instead, they have expanded to

¹²² David Rossiter and Patricia Burke Wood, "Neoliberalism as Shape-Shifter: The Case of Aboriginal Title and the Northern Gateway Pipeline," *Society & Natural Resources* 29, no. 8 (2016): 900.

¹²³ David Rossiter and Patricia Wood, 904.

¹²⁴ Andrew Crosby and Jeffery Monaghan, *Policing Indigenous Movements: Dissent and the Security State* (Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing, 2018).

incorporate a network of systems that act to protect transnational commodity flows. In *The Deadly Life of Logistics: Mapping Violence in Global Trade*, Deborah Cowen uses the Customs-Trade Partnership Against Terrorism (C-TPAT) to exemplify state extension of borders past their traditional placement at the edges of colonial territories. Under this program, preferred companies can enter into agreement with the Canadian settler-state to secure their supply chains back to the “origins of the cargo,” thus skipping long wait-times and regulatory processes at the border.¹²⁵ In this case, the settler-state is directly participating in helping to shape policy that securitizes capitalist logistics at the same time it aims to facilitate its movement over its borders. Cowen also argues that because both corporations and the settler-state play a role in securing supply chains, they are participating in a broader neoliberal shift towards private/public partnerships.¹²⁶ These changes in policy have also led to the increased flexibility and mobility of borders or border-like operations, which are set up to maximize and catalyze flows of transnational capital. By enacting policies that decrease state oversight of extractive capital and commodities, the settler-state plays a key role in facilitating transnational extractive capital exchange processes.

Here, a key contradiction has emerged within the rise of the neoliberal paradigm: the simultaneously increased and decreased role of the state. As demonstrated above, the Canadian settler-state has adopted neoliberal logics that expand border control and securitization processes past the traditional border while also deregulating extractive capital flows across colonial boundaries. This

¹²⁵ Deborah Cowen, *The Deadly Life of Logistics: Mapping the Violence of Global Trade* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014), 86.

¹²⁶ Cowen, 86.

contradiction is a direct result of a neoliberal settler-state logic *that is primarily concerned with facilitating the flow and accumulation of transnational extractive capital*. Notably, within the Canadian settler-state context, this accumulation of extractive capital also functions to dispossess Indigenous peoples of their lands and resources. This logic is made even more explicit when considering the active role state apparatuses, such as the RCMP, play in securitizing infrastructures and policies that support this flow of extractive capital. Nowhere is this contradiction more evident than in the proliferation of transnational pipeline infrastructures at the same time border infrastructures are securitized against migrant bodies, which I turn to now.

Section II: Pipelines and Border Infrastructures

The rise in neoliberal ideology within the Canadian state has supported a series of infrastructure development projects that are meant to facilitate the flow and accumulation of transnational extractive capital. I begin by looking at the ways in which pipeline infrastructure is used as both a material and ideological settler-state strategy to increase the flow of transnational extractive capital, reinforcing broader philosophies of extractivism and neoliberal policy within the settler-state. I then discuss border infrastructures, examining the contradictions that exist between the increased flexibilization of transnational extractive capital and the increased securitization of colonial borders against racialized migrants. By drawing parallels between extractive and border infrastructures, I argue that the state not only creates these networks to facilitate the flow of transnational extractive capital, but to legitimate its existence. It is worth noting that here I mean ‘legitimation’ in the normative sense: relating to a pattern of state behaviour that seeks to affirm crown claims to sovereignty and to continue the marginalization of Indigenous and racialized bodies upon which the process of extractivism relies. In the case of settler states, this occurs by dispossessing Indigenous peoples of their lands and by securing

its borders against racialized migrants. Similarly, I invoke the term ‘securitization’ to describe the selective porosity of the border, the simultaneous securitization of pipeline and border infrastructures to both facilitate transnational extractive capital flows and to protect the normative white Canadian settler-state against the “threat” of the racialized migrant. I end by examining the ways in which the securitization of pipeline and border infrastructures are connected.

Interestingly, Cowen uses the metaphor of a pipeline to illustrate how borders have been “reshaped [and] molded to fit transnational networks of circulation.”¹²⁷ Indeed, pipeline infrastructures provide an excellent example of a transnational extractive commodity as they often transverse borders and exist in complicated transnational networks that constantly move petroleum products between and within borders. This form of moving transnational extractive capital is particularly important because once a pipeline is built, it has the ability to constantly and freely move commodity capital across colonial borders. Mazer et al. focus on the cross-border nature of the DAPL and its “transnational networks of infrastructure, commodity flows, and finance.”¹²⁸ The ownership of the DAPL, for example, includes a plethora of international extractivist corporations from both sides of the colonial US-Canadian border, including Dakota Access, LLC, the Energy Transfer Crude Oil Company, and Enbridge Energy Partners.¹²⁹ The

¹²⁷ Cowen, 90.

¹²⁸ Katie Mazer, Martin Danyluk, Elise Hunchuck, and Deborah Cowen, “Mapping a Many-Headed Hydra: Transnational Infrastructures of Extraction and Resistance,” In *Standing with Standing Rock: Voices from the #NoDAPL Movement*, edited by Nick Estes and Jaskiran Dhillon (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2019), 355.

¹²⁹ Mazer et al., 358.

oil itself exists as part of the Williston Basin, which crosses the borders between North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba.¹³⁰ Here, the transnational nature of both extractive capital and the financial interests of extractivist corporations is clearly seen. Pipeline infrastructures not only help industry move extractive capital across borders, therefore, but also are implicated in larger transnational networks that help move capital flows over colonial borders.

Not only are pipeline infrastructures integral to facilitating the accumulation and flow of transnational extractive capital, they also play a key role in legitimizing the Canadian settler-state. They do this specifically by dispossessing Indigenous peoples of their lands and resources. Winona LaDuke and Deborah Cowen argue that extractive infrastructure has acted as the “how” of settler-colonialism, a process that relies on the settler-state accumulating Indigenous lands and resources in order to claim sovereignty.¹³¹ Extractive projects, tellingly, are often portrayed as “nation-building projects,” going back to the inception of the Canadian settler-state and the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR).¹³² Since then, the Canadian state has continuously committed itself to expanding extractive infrastructure, despite resistance from Indigenous land defenders and their settler allies. For example, after it seemed that Indigenous-led resistance to the Trans Mountain Pipeline would halt the project indefinitely, the Justin Trudeau government nationalized the project, using \$4.5 billion dollars in public funds to buy and complete the project.¹³³ A similar

¹³⁰ Mazer et al., 358.

¹³¹ LaDuke and Cowen, "Beyond Wiindigo Infrastructure."

¹³² LaDuke and Cowen, 249.

¹³³ LaDuke and Cowen, 249.

commitment to the project of reinforcing extractive infrastructure can be found in the BC New Democratic Party (NDP) government sanctioning the deployment of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police in order to protect the building of the Coastal GasLink (CGL) Pipeline through Wet'suwet'en territory, despite not receiving consent from the territory's five hereditary chiefs.¹³⁴ In particular, the case of the CGL Pipeline reveals the ways in which the creation of extractive infrastructures is almost always racialized, as Indigenous communities and their practices are threatened by projects that facilitate the accumulation and flow of transnational extractive capital. To reiterate, these projects have been backed by the state, which has used its political and economic capital to dispossess Indigenous peoples forcibly of their land and resources. Especially in the case of these remote areas, where settler-state apparatuses are few and far between, the imposition of pipeline infrastructures allows the state to claim settler legitimacy and sovereignty on Indigenous lands by asserting a material, pro-accumulation presence.

Interestingly, these infrastructures that facilitate the movement of transnational extractive capital are enacted at exactly the same time as border security is reinforced against migrants. In *Undoing Border Imperialism*, Harsha Walia argues that the border “delineates and reproduces territorial, political, economic, cultural and social control.”¹³⁵ Border imperialism is defined as “entrenchment and re-entrenchment of controls against migrants who are displaced as result of the violence of capitalism and empire, subsequently forced into precarious labour as a result of state

¹³⁴ LaDuke and Cowen, 249.

¹³⁵ Harsha Walia, *Undoing Border Imperialism* (Washington: AK Press, 2013), 38.

illegalization and systemic social hierarchies.”¹³⁶ Here, Walia is focusing on the interactions between the effects of neoliberal capitalist globalization and its parallel securitization of borders. Walia uses the former NAFTA agreement to exemplify this process, where policies that facilitate commodity trade over borders have led to increasingly poor living and working conditions for many Mexicans who attempt to migrate to the United States.¹³⁷ Here, border policies are explicitly prioritizing flows of transnational extractive capital at the expense of the livelihood of workers, especially in the Global South.

While notably different in its governing policies and number of border crossings by racialized migrants, similar ideological processes are at work between and within the Canadian/United States border. Harsha Walia looks at two Canadian settler-state programs: the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program (SAWP) and the Live-in Caregiver Program (LCP). Ultimately, Walia argues that these programs exploit the vulnerability of racialized, gendered, or otherwise marginalized migrants who are trying to gain admittance into the Canadian settler-state.¹³⁸ Both the SAWP and the LCP create precarious labour conditions with criminally low wages, long workdays, and unsafe jobsite activities without the proper equipment or training.¹³⁹ Within these programs, workers must continuously work or risk deportation, no matter how long they have been in the country.¹⁴⁰ Here, the Canadian settler-state is not only tightly

¹³⁶ Walia, 38.

¹³⁷ Walia, 43.

¹³⁸ Harsha Walia, "Transient Servitude: Migrant Labour in Canada and the Apartheid of Citizenship," *Race & Class* 52, no. 1 (2010): 71-84.

¹³⁹ Walia, 72.

¹⁴⁰ Walia, 77.

controlling the flow of migrant labour through its borders, but is using the labour of gendered and racialized migrants without affording them citizenship rights. Walia argues that this policing of citizenship rights, which work alongside these racialized and gendered frameworks, is “part of the way in which the state determines and regulates who is part of the national community.”¹⁴¹ Processes of white supremacy, colonialism, and patriarchy, which are the very same processes that racialize Indigenous land defenders, are being used to police who is granted the right to be part of the “Canadian identity” from beyond its borders. At the very same time, state and industry actors commodify their exclusion to create a pool of vulnerable and cheap labour, perfect for using in an increasingly flexibilized transnational, neoliberal labour market that requires freeing financial capital to make extraction possible. It is also important to note the processes of racialization and border securitization that must take place to support the creation of this vulnerable labour market.

The expansion of extractive infrastructures and border infrastructures are inextricably linked. For example, within the New Building Canada Plan, a sub-initiative entitled the Canada Infrastructure Bank (CIB) is concerned with (among other things) reforming border policies to “enhance the transnational circulation of commodities.”¹⁴² CIB also includes an initiative to bridge the “infrastructure gap” that exists within the “‘massive northern territory’ heavily dependent on trade in energy and natural resources.”¹⁴³ Such policies represent a continued physical and

¹⁴¹ Walia, 80.

¹⁴² LaDuke and Cowen, "Beyond Wiindigo Infrastructure," 250.

¹⁴³ LaDuke and Cowen, 250.

ideological encroachment of the settler-state onto Indigenous lands, through the physical presence of extractive infrastructure along with a neoliberal logic that reinforces processes of accumulation by dispossession. In addition, activist-scholars such as Winona LaDuke argue that the expansion of border securitization and privatization away from traditional borders also extends the high-level securitization practices found at the border deeper into Indigenous territories.¹⁴⁴ Here, the connections between pipeline and border infrastructures are further revealed, as the Canadian settler-state enacts policies with the help of private actors that both facilitate and securitize flows of transnational extractive capital across and between colonial borders. Not only do these policies facilitate the material flow of transnational extractive capital across borders, but also aid in progressing neoliberal and extractivist logics onto remote ‘frontiers’ of the territories in which the Canadian settler-state claims sovereignty.

Not only are pipeline and border infrastructures connected by their impetus to facilitate the flows of transnational extractive capital, but the coercive forces that the settler-state uses to protect them are the same. Canada’s Marine Transport Security Clearance program (MRSCP), for example, creates “secure areas” around ports and limits access to such areas.¹⁴⁵ Clearance and background checks of employees happen in cooperation with the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) and the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS).¹⁴⁶ These are the same organizations that enact

¹⁴⁴ LaDuke and Cowen, 250.

¹⁴⁵ Deborah Cowen, "A Geography of Logistics: Market Authority and the Security of Supply Chains," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 100, no. 3 (2010): 609.

¹⁴⁶ Cowen, 609.

violence against Indigenous land defenders who oppose the construction of extractive infrastructure. These organizations are also part of the Canadian-US Smart Border Declaration Program, which includes an “adoption of coordinated border surveillance technologies; increas[ed] arming of border guards; implement[ing] biometric programmes; and increased tracking of foreign nationals.”¹⁴⁷ Tellingly, these forces are also connected in their disproportionate use of violence against Indigenous land defenders and migrants of colour. The securitization of these infrastructures once again demonstrates the extent to which the settler-state is willing to protect flows of transnational extractive capital, particularly in relation to the disproportionate use of state-sanctioned violence against racialized groups.¹⁴⁸ Further connections between state force and the surveillance and criminalization of Indigenous land defenders and racialized immigrants are in the following section.

Section III: Resistance and Criminalization

Because both borders and extractive infrastructure work to legitimize the settler-state project, they also become key sites of resistance for many Indigenous land defenders, migrant activists, and their allies. I begin this section by examining the ways in which Indigenous land defenders lead resistance to extractive infrastructure, disrupting the flows of transnational extractive capital. Next, I briefly analyze the ways the Canadian settler-state responds to these challenges, particularly through surveilling, criminalizing, and incarcerating both Indigenous land defenders and racialized migrants. I end with a discussion on the emergence of solidarity between the two groups.

¹⁴⁷ Walia, "Transient Servitude," 78.

¹⁴⁸ Andrew Crosby and Jeffery Monaghan, *Policing Indigenous Movements: Dissent and the Security State* (Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing, 2018).

Indigenous land defenders have long been at the forefront of disrupting flows of transnational extractive capital. The leadership of the Sioux Nation in opposing the Dakota Access Pipeline (DAPL), for example, was integral to the large amounts of media attention and mass-scale mobilization that accompanied the project's announcement. Frontline resistance to the DAPL was held extensively by water protectors from the Sioux Nation, despite brutalization from state-backed army forces, who sprayed the peaceful defenders with rubber bullets and tear gas.¹⁴⁹ Although the pipeline was ultimately built, Indigenous-led resistance continued to bring issues of environmental racism and Indigenous sovereignty claims to the forefront of mainstream environmental movements. Today, members of the Wet'suwet'en nation continue to block the construction of the Coastal GasLink (CGL) Pipeline, mobilizing allies and accomplices throughout Turtle Island and beyond.¹⁵⁰ Through refusing to leave their territories, Wet'suwet'en members have drawn attention to the ways settler-state infrastructures contribute to land dispossession and destruction, often displacing Indigenous communities in the process. Such examples demonstrate how settler-state policies that facilitate dispossession and advance extractivist and colonial logics are not merely imposed upon these

¹⁴⁹ Chiara Sottile, "Police Fire Rubber Bullets as Pipeline Protesters Try to Protect Sacred Site," NBC News, NBCUniversal News Group, November 4, 2016, <https://www.nbcnews.com/storyline/dakota-pipeline-protests/police-fire-rubber-bullets-pipeline-protesters-seek-protect-burial-site-n677051>.

¹⁵⁰ Dhillon and Will Parrish, "Exclusive: Canada Police Prepared to Shoot Indigenous Activists, Documents Show," The Guardian, Guardian News and Media, December 20, 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/dec/20/canada-indigenous-land-defenders-police-documents>.

communities without struggle: Both the Dakota Access Pipeline and the CGL Pipeline exemplify the ways in which Indigenous land defenders lead the struggle against the injustices that often accompany flows of transnational extractive capital.

As a result of the real threat these material and ideological challenges pose to the Canadian settler-state's claims to sovereignty and to flows of transnational extractive capital, the Canadian settler-state has increased surveillance and policing practices that criminalize both Indigenous land defenders and racialized migrants. Field evidence from Unist'ot'en Camp, for example, points to the collusion between infrastructure building and increased state surveillance and securitization of Indigenous land defenders.¹⁵¹ In Canada, ideas of critical infrastructure relate closely to ideas of "national security" and "economic well-being."¹⁵² Importantly, the settler-state now styles threats to these critical infrastructure projects as a type of domestic terrorism,¹⁵³ and Indigenous land defenders are thus codified as 'national threats.' This allows the security apparatus of the settler-state to criminalize them disproportionately and harshly. Such rhetoric is eerily similar to the ways in which racialized migrants are codified as threats to the prosperity of the normative white Canadian settler, which reinforces policies that cheapen and make vulnerable their labour.¹⁵⁴ Through the concept of 'critical infrastructures,' securitization at the border can thus be extended and connected to increased securitization of extractive

¹⁵¹ Anne Spice, "Fighting Invasive Infrastructures: Indigenous Relations Against Pipelines," *Environment and Society* 9, no. 1 (2018): 43.

¹⁵² Spice, 43.

¹⁵³ Spice, 43.

¹⁵⁴ Walia, *Undoing Border Imperialism*, 54.

infrastructure projects. This increased securitization runs contrary to the policies which help catalyze flows of transnational capital through the very same infrastructural networks. Importantly, such a contradiction exists insofar as racialized migrants and Indigenous land defenders are seen as threats to settler-state 'nation-building,' and, by extension, settler-nationhood.

The disproportionate criminalization and incarceration of migrants and Indigenous peoples relies on the same processes of racialization that help facilitate flows of transnational extractive capital. The increased incarceration of POC migrants and Indigenous peoples is usually justified by the state alleging some kind of criminal or illegal act.¹⁵⁵ In reality, the criminalization of both groups serves a political purpose rather than the purpose of terrorist prevention, where tightened immigration and security measures "ensure collective social discipline...by arbitrating who legitimately constitutes the nation."¹⁵⁶ As long as whiteness is connotated with the "Canadian identity", racialized migrants will be deemed undesirable and illegal within the settler-state's colonial borders. These logics that criminalize racialized migrants are a part of a larger carceral network, including both provincial and federal prisons on multiple security levels. This network also targets Indigenous land defenders and their domestic "terrorist" activities. As Crosby and Monaghan note in their book "Policing Indigenous Movements," the increased policing and subsequent incarceration of Indigenous peoples acts not only to remove Indigenous peoples from their lands but to "construe Indigenous movements as irrational,

¹⁵⁵ Walia, 54.

¹⁵⁶ Walia, "Transient Servitude," 79.

violent, and extremist threats.”¹⁵⁷ For both migrants of colour and Indigenous land defenders, processes of racialization aid the settler-state in justifying securitization measures, at the same time they remain a profitable endeavour for facilitating flows of transnational extractive capital.

Conclusion

Ultimately, the contradictions found in the policies that govern the Canadian settler-state’s extractive and border infrastructures can be understood in terms of its desire to legitimate itself through facilitating the flow and profitability of transnational extractive capital. I began by connecting neoliberal state policies to the facilitation of transnational extractive capital, pointing to the contradictions within state policies that both engage and disengage in facilitating these flows. In the second section, I linked pipeline infrastructures with border infrastructures, demonstrating how the settler-state uses the two together to facilitate flows of transnational extractive capital. Policies that govern these infrastructures are often one in the same, often backed by identical state security apparatuses that in turn securitize and criminalized Indigenous and racialized migrant movement. I then argue that this contradiction can be traced back to the interest the state has in legitimating itself, particularly through continuing to dispossess Indigenous peoples of their land and by protecting the concept of a white Canadian nationhood. These processes legitimize the state because, like facilitating the accumulation and profitability of transnational extractive capital, the settler-state’s legitimacy rests on infrastructures of oppression such as white supremacy, colonialism, and the hetero-patriarchy.

¹⁵⁷ Andrew Crosby and Jeffery Monaghan, *Policing Indigenous Movements: Dissent and the Security State* (Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing, 2018), 16.

In the final section, I outlined the ways in which the state's facilitation of transnational extractive capital has been met by both material and ideological resistance from Indigenous land defenders, migrant justice activists, and accomplices. In response to these challenges, the Canadian settler-state has drawn upon similar securitization and criminalization networks to police and incarcerate Indigenous land defenders and racialized migrants. Often, the disproportionate incarceration of these groups is directly related to the challenges they pose to flows of transnational extractive capital and to settler-Canadian nationhood, whether they be material or ideological. Interestingly, the interconnected nature of these oppressions as they relate to both extractive and border infrastructures means that solidarity between Indigenous land defenders and racialized migrants are likely a key way the flows of transnational extractive capital will be contested in the future.

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