

Pro or Con? Measuring First Nations' support or opposition to oil and gas in BC and Alberta



Canadian Energy Centre

Quantifying actual First Nations' positions on oil and gas development

Oil and natural gas are a [substantial part](#) of Canada's resource economy, especially in [Western Canada](#) where, historically, the majority of activity has occurred. This extraction is also mostly a rural activity. That reality is matched by another one: The [rural location](#) of many First Nations reserves. This geographic "match up" of rural First Nations and Canada's resource economy is not often recognized in urban Canada, where the narrative from [anti-oil and gas activists](#) and [media stories](#) on occasion portrays First Nations in British Columbia and Alberta as broadly anti-oil and gas development.

In fact, many First Nations are involved in and benefit from oil and gas development. Two prominent examples are Fort McKay in Alberta, which has a long history with the oil sands industry, and the Haisla First Nation in British Columbia, which is embarking on new liquified natural gas (LNG) partnerships.

To better understand actual levels of support or opposition to oil and gas development, this Fact Sheet assesses the First Nations in British Columbia and Alberta that are near to oil and gas development or mostly likely to be impacted by oil and gas development, and their position on the activity.

B.C. and Alberta measurements

We quantify the support or opposition to oil and gas development (extraction, pipeline development or export terminals)¹ in both provinces among First Nations using stated positions, proxy measurements, and public actions and statements of their elected officials.

- **'Yes'** indicates clear support in general for an oil or gas development or pipelines, or for a specific project.
- **'No'** indicates clear opposition in general for an oil or gas development or pipelines, or to a specific project, and absent any conflicting signals, i.e., support for some *other* project.
- **'Non-object/unclear'** indicates First Nations who in terms known in the industry either formally do not object to a project and/or have withdrawn a previous objection. This is not as strong as 'Yes' but it is also not a 'No' given some First Nations have withdrawn previous objections to a project, i.e., withdrawing opposition to the Trans Mountain pipeline.
- The **"N/A"** categorization is for First Nations who have not been formerly consulted on current oil or gas projects or who do not extract oil and gas. While some of these First Nations may offer an opinion in support of or object to specific projects, given the lack of a nearby project and/or involvement in an imminent decision relative to their First Nation, we are not assessing opinions as strong enough to offer a conclusion either way.²

In the case of N/A, we note the numbers but do not include them in the charts, given the peripheral nature of opinions on projects and pipelines that do not impact these First Nations. Expressed another way, if we were measuring support or opposition to a proposed sawmill on the shore of the Fraser River in Delta, B.C., we would not measure the support or opposition of a town council on the Prairies, given the lack of any impact by the former on the latter.

¹ This is not an exhaustive list of Indigenous groups involved in oil and gas, and oil and gas infrastructure development, and thus does not include non-status and regional/local Metis. Also, support for oil and gas projects are often conditional and can vary from project to project, depending on perceptions and realities of Crown and proponent consultation, among other factors. We do not weigh in on such discussions here as they are beyond the scope of this review.

² "Free, prior, and informed" consent is the standard under which consultation must be performed and the nations that have gone through the regulatory process have undoubtedly granted or have not granted "informed consent" given the extensive process. That is the standard of "informed" consent we can measure in this fact sheet.

British Columbia

While British Columbia is no stranger to oil and natural gas development there are few to no opportunities to produce oil and gas outside the Horn River, Cordova, and Montney regions, i.e., northern British Columbia. Thus, in our assessment of British Columbia First Nations, part of measurements included both oil pipeline and natural gas pipeline projects as a proxy for their support/objection to oil or gas more broadly.

Of note, a First Nations community with an Impact Benefit Agreement with an oil and gas developer does not necessarily mean that the entire community supports the project; however, it does show that elected leadership has undertaken a community process to understand whether the benefits generated by the project are satisfactorily substantial and that the impacts generated by the project are satisfactorily addressed and mitigated to allow the project to move forward in their territory.

- While fewer nations in BC (relative to Alberta) are members of the Indian Resource Council (IRC), whose mandate is “to support First Nations in their efforts to attain greater management and control of their oil and natural gas resources,” membership in this organization indicates “support” for both oil and gas development.
- Membership in the First Nations LNG Alliance indicates support for natural gas development.
- Possessing an impact benefit agreement on either the Trans Mountain Expansion Project or Coastal GasLink indicates support for either oil or gas, respectively.
- Support is indicated if the Nation was consulted on projects such as Steelhead LNG, Woodfibre LNG or Prince Rupert Gas Transmission and either signed impact benefit agreements or consented to the development of these projects in their traditional territories.
- Membership in the First Nations Major Project coalition, which has supported participation in oil and gas, amongst other large projects, would be a secondary indicator of a Nation's support to both oil and gas development.

Alberta

Alberta First Nations have a 60-plus year history of working with the oil and gas industry, with decisions made within each First Nations on a project by project basis. Alberta First Nations also have many band-owned companies that participate and provide numerous energy and energy infrastructure ancillary services. The result is that there are several Indigenous-led, private and Crown organizations that advocate and manage First Nations oil and gas resources and related business activity that we take as a strong indicator of support of oil and gas by community. Thus, our measurements for Alberta include:

- Membership in the Indian Resource Council (IRC).
- Being a stakeholder as identified by Indian Oil and Gas Canada (IOGC), which manages and regulates oil and gas resources on First Nation reserve lands. IOGC publishes quarterly the “Top 10 Oil” and “Top 10 Gas” producing First Nations in Canada. If the Nation falls on either list, then a “support” designation would result.
- Possessing a Trans Mountain Expansion Project Impact Benefit Agreement would be a strong indicator of “support” for oil projects.
- In several cases, research on specific First Nations in Alberta has resulted in “yes” or “unclear” determinations.

Results for British Columbia First Nations: Ten-to-one in favour of oil, no recorded opposition to natural gas

Oil: Of 202 B.C. First Nations, a minimum of 29 were found to favour oil and oil pipeline development with just three opposed, an almost ten-to-one ratio. Sixty-four First Nations were found to non-object or be unclear and 106 First Nations were ranked as N/A (see Figure 1).³

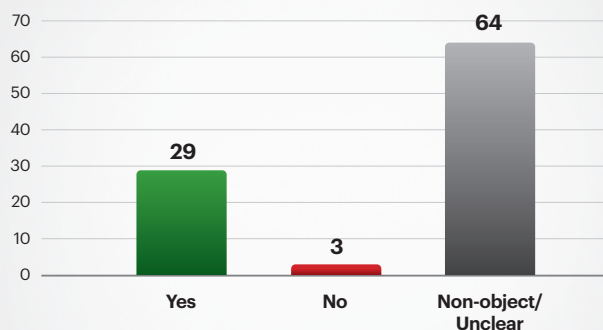
Natural gas: 40 First Nations were found to be in favour of natural gas development, with none found to be opposed, and one unclear (the Binche Whut'en is Canada's newest First Nation and does not have a clear record given the short history since its independence from Tl'azt'en Nation April 2019). One hundred and sixty-one First Nations either had no public position or were not affected by natural gas projects. (see Figure 2)

³. Of note, a majority of the approximately 100 B.C. First Nations that have been consulted on the Trans Mountain Expansion Project are categorized “non-object/unclear” as many Nations have not publicly disclosed whether or not they have an Impact Benefit Agreement and many have reserved their position on this project as confidential.

Figure 1

BC First Nations: Position on oil development*

2020



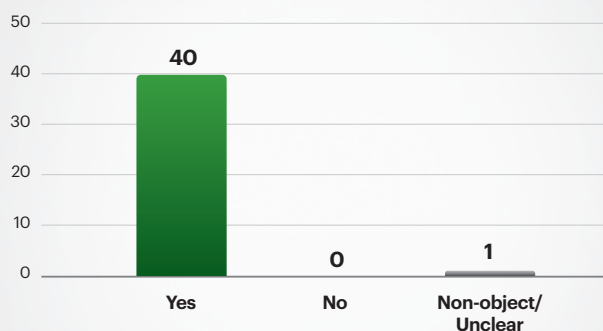
*106 First Nations were ranked as N/A.

Sources: Canadian Energy Regulator, British Columbia Oil and Gas Commission, Coastal Gaslink, Trans Mountain, Indian Resource Council, First Nations Major Project Coalition, First Nations LNG Alliance, Indian Oil and Gas Corporation, Individual First Nations' Community Websites, and personal correspondence.

Figure 2

BC First Nations: Position on natural gas development*

2020



*161 First Nations were ranked as N/A.

Sources: Canadian Energy Regulator, British Columbia Oil and Gas Commission, Coastal Gaslink, Trans Mountain, Indian Resource Council, First Nations Major Project Coalition, First Nations LNG Alliance, Indian Oil and Gas Corporation, Individual First Nations' Community Websites, and personal correspondence.

Results for Alberta First Nations: 46 in favour of oil and natural gas, no recorded opposition to either

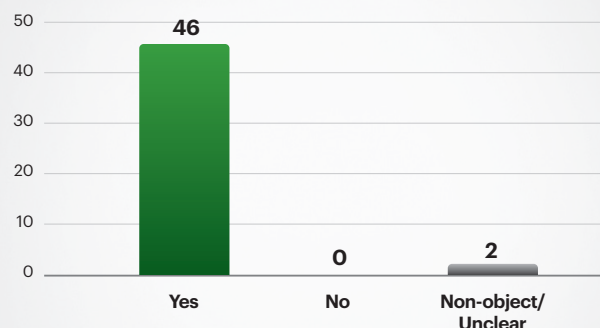
Oil: Out of 48 Alberta First Nations, 46 were found to be supportive of oil extraction and development including pipeline construction. None were opposed. Two First Nations were either unclear or information was not available or not applicable (Figure 1).

Natural gas: For natural gas development, 46 First Nations were in favour, none found to be opposed, and two First Nations either had no stated position or it was not available or unclear.

Figure 3

Alberta First Nations: Position on oil development*

2020



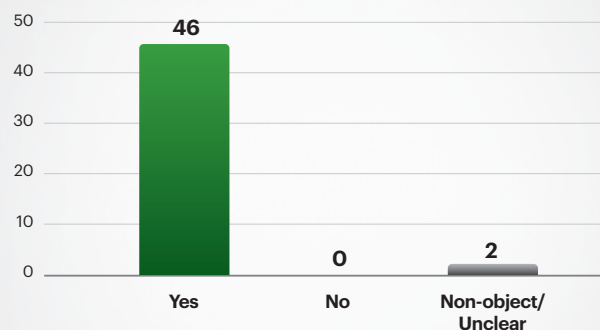
*Zero First Nations were ranked as N/A.

Sources: Canadian Energy Regulator, British Columbia Oil and Gas Commission, Coastal Gaslink, Trans Mountain, Indian Resource Council, First Nations Major Project Coalition, First Nations LNG Alliance, Indian Oil and Gas Corporation, Individual First Nations' Community Websites, and personal correspondence.

Figure 4

Alberta First Nations: Position on natural gas development*

2020



*Zero First Nations were ranked as N/A.

Sources: Canadian Energy Regulator, British Columbia Oil and Gas Commission, Coastal Gaslink, Trans Mountain, Indian Resource Council, First Nations Major Project Coalition, First Nations LNG Alliance, Indian Oil and Gas Corporation, Individual First Nations' Community Websites, and personal correspondence.

Why it matters: employment and incomes

Oil and natural gas extraction and related activities matter to First Nations in part because of employment and income opportunities, as discussed in our recent [Fact Sheet](#). According to the 2016 Census, for Indigenous Canadians, as for other Canadians, the oil and gas sector pays well. For example, the median employment incomes (full-time, full-year) for self-identified Indigenous Canadians in construction (\$49,262), pipelines (\$117,831), or oil and gas extraction (\$142,833) are all higher than the all-industry average (\$44,855).

Moreover, when compared with an all-industry employment representation average of five per cent, indigenous participation in oil and gas extraction is 8.6 per cent of the workforce (British Columbia statistics). In short, the greater the participation of First Nations in oil and gas activities the greater the employment and incomes for Indigenous British

Columbians and Albertans. This may explain why a large number of First Nations record public support for oil and natural gas activities.

The takeaway

The available data compiled shows that support for oil and natural gas extraction and development in British Columbia and Alberta is supported by the vast majority of First Nations that have a publicly available position: 29 of 32 in the case of First Nations in B.C. for oil and 40 of 40 in the case of natural gas; 46 of 46 in the case of First Nations in Alberta for oil and 46 of 46 publicly available positions in the case of natural gas. Very few First Nations oppose resource development on principle, reflecting the importance of these industries as a source of local job opportunities and incomes in remote areas.

Appendix A

British Columbia First Nations and positions on oil and gas development

First Nations	Oil				Gas			
	Position				Position			
	Yes*	No**	Non-object/ unclear ***	N/A****	Yes*	No**	Non-object/ unclear ***	N/A
?Akisq'nuk First Nation			UC					N/A
?Aq'am, St. Mary's Indian Band			UC					N/A
?Esdilagh First Nation				N/A				N/A
Adams Lake First Nation			UC					N/A
Ahousaht First Nation				N/A				N/A
Aitchelitz First Nation			UC					N/A
Alexis Creek Indian Band				N/A				N/A
Alkali Indian Band (Esk'etemo)				N/A				N/A
Ashcroft Band	YES							N/A
Blueberry River First Nation				N/A	YES			
Binche Whut'en				N/A			UC	
Bonaparte Indian Band			UC					N/A
Boothroyd First Nations			UC					N/A
Boston Bar			UC					N/A
Bridge River (Xwisten)				N/A				N/A
Canim Lake (Tsq'escen') Band	YES							N/A
Cayoose Creek				N/A				N/A
Chawathil Natio			UC					N/A
Cheam First Nation	YES							N/A
Cheslatta Carrier Nation				N/A	YES			
Coldwater Indian Band		NO						N/A
Cook's Ferry Indian Band			UC					N/A

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Appendix A Continued

British Columbia First Nations and positions on oil and gas development

First Nations	Yes*	No**	Non-object/ unclear ***	N/A****	Yes*	No**	Non-object/ unclear ***	N/A
Cowichan Tribes			UC					N/A
Da'naxda'xw First Nation				N/A				N/A
Daylu Dene Council				N/A				N/A
Dease River First Nation				N/A				N/A
Dene Tsaa Tse K'Nai First Nation (Prophet River FN)				N/A				N/A
Dititaht First Nation	YES							N/A
Doig River First Nation				N/A	YES			
Dzawada'enuxw First Nation				N/A				N/A
Ehatteshaht First Nation				N/A				N/A
Esquimalt First Nation	YES							N/A
Fort Nelson First Nation				N/A	YES			
Gilaxt'aamix Villiage Government				N/A	YES			
Gingolx Village Government				N/A	YES			
Gitanmaax Band				N/A	YES			
Gitanyow				N/A	YES			
Gitga'at Nation				N/A	YES			
Gitsegukla				N/A	YES			
Gitwangak Indian Band				N/A	YES			
Gitxalla				N/A	YES			
Glen Vowell				N/A	YES			
Gwa'sala-Nakwaxda'xw				N/A				N/A
Gwawaenuk Tribe				N/A				N/A
Hagwilget Village				N/A				N/A
Haisla Nation				N/A	YES			
Halalt First Nation	YES							N/A
Halfway River First Nation				N/A	YES			
Heiltsuk FN				N/A				N/A
Hesquiaht First Nation				N/A				N/A
High Bar First Nation			UC					N/A
Homalco				N/A				N/A
Hupacasath First Nation				N/A				N/A
Huu-ay-aht First Nation			UC		YES			
Hwlitsum First Nation	YES							N/A
Iskut First Nation				N/A				N/A
K'ómoks First Nation				N/A				N/A
Ka:'yu:'k't'h'/Che:k:tes7et'h' First Nations				N/A				N/A
Kanaka Bar Indian Band			UC					N/A
Katzie First Nation			UC					N/A
Kispiox First Nation				N/A				N/A
Kitasoo Xai'xais Nation				N/A				N/A
Kitselas First Nation				N/A	YES			
Kitsumkalum First Nation				N/A	YES			
Klahoose First Nation				N/A				N/A
Kluskus First Nation				N/A				N/A

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British Columbia First Nations and positions on oil and gas development

First Nations	Yes*	No**	Non-object/ unclear ***	N/A****	Yes*	No**	Non-object/ unclear ***	N/A
Kwadacha First Nation				N/A				N/A
Kwakiutl First Nation				N/A				N/A
Kwantlen First Nation			UC					N/A
Kwaw-kwaw-a-plit First Nation			UC					N/A
Kwiahah First Nation				N/A				N/A
Kwicksutaineuk-ah-kwaw-ah-mish				N/A				N/A
Kwikwetlem First Nation	YES							N/A
Lake Babine Nation				N/A	YES			
Lake Cowichan First Nation	YES							N/A
Lax-Kw'alaams First Nation				N/A	YES			
Laxgalt'sap Village Government				N/A	YES			
Leq'a: mel First Nation			UC					N/A
Lhatko Dene Nation			UC					N/A
Lheidli T'enneh First Nation			UC		YES			
Lil'wat Nation				N/A				N/A
Little Shuswap Lake Indian Band			UC					N/A
Lower Kootenay (Yaqan'nukiyi) Indian Band			UC					N/A
Lower Nicola Indian Band	YES							N/A
Lower Simikameen Indian Band			UC					N/A
Lyackson First Nation			UC					N/A
Lytton First Nation			UC					N/A
Malahat First Nation	YES							N/A
Mamalilikulla=Qwe'Qwa'Sot'Em Band				N/A				N/A
Matsqui	YES							N/A
Mcleod Lake Indian Band				N/A	YES			
Metlakatla First Nation				N/A	YES			
Morisetown Band (Witset First Nation)				N/A	YES			
Mowachaht/Muchalaht				N/A				N/A
Musqueam Nation			UC					N/A
N'Quatqua First Nation				N/A				N/A
Nadleh Whut'en First Nation				N/A	YES			
Nakazdli Band				N/A	YES			
Namgis First Nation				N/A				N/A
Nanoose First Nation				N/A				N/A
Nazko First Nation				N/A				N/A
Nee Tahi Buhn First Nation				N/A	YES			
Neskonlith Indian Band			UC					N/A
Nicomen First Nation	YES							N/A
Nisga'a Nation Village of Gitwinksihlkw				N/A	YES			
Nooaitch First Nation			UC					N/A
Nuchatlaht First Nation				N/A				N/A
Nuxalk Nation								N/A
Okanagan Indian Band			UC					N/A
Old Masset Village Council				N/A				N/A

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Appendix A Continued

British Columbia First Nations and positions on oil and gas development

First Nations	Yes*	No**	Non-object/ unclear ***	N/A****	Yes*	No**	Non-object/ unclear ***	N/A
Oregon Jack Creek Band			UC					N/A
Osoyoos Band				N/A				N/A
Pacheedaht First Nation	YES							N/A
Pauquachin First Nation	YES							N/A
Penelakut Tribe	YES							N/A
Penticton Indian Band			UC					N/A
Peters Band	YES							N/A
Popkum First Nation	YES							N/A
Qayqayt First Nation (New Westminster)			UC					N/A
Qualicum First Nation				N/A				N/A
Quatsino First Nation				N/A				N/A
Saik'uz First Nation				N/A	YES			
Samahquam First Nation				N/A				N/A
Saulteau First Nations				N/A	YES			
Scia'new First Nation	YES							N/A
Seabird Island First Nation	YES							N/A
Semiahmoo First Nation	YES							N/A
Seton Lake (Tsalalh) First Nation				N/A				N/A
Shackan Indian Band			UC					N/A
shishalh (sechelt First Nation)			UC					N/A
Shuswap Band			UC					N/A
Shxw'ow'hamel First Nation	YES							N/A
Shxwahá:y Village			UC	N/A				N/A
Simpcw First Nation	YES							N/A
Siska Indian Band			UC					N/A
Skatin Nations (Skookumchuck)				N/A				N/A
Skawahlook First Nation			UC					N/A
Skeetchestn Indian Band			UC					N/A
Skidegate Band Council				N/A				N/A
Skin Tyee Band				N/A	YES			
Skowkale First Nation			UC					N/A
Skuppah Indian Band			UC					N/A
Skwah First Nation			UC					N/A
Snuneymuxw First Nation			UC					N/A
Songhees			UC					N/A
Soowahile First Nation			UC					N/A
Spallumcheen (Splatnin) Band			UC					N/A
Spuzzum irst Nation			UC					N/A
Sq'ewlets			UC					N/A
Squamish Nation		No			YES			
Squiala First Nation			UC					N/A
Stellat'en First Nation				N/A	YES			
Sts'ailes First Nation			UC					N/A
Stswecem'c Xgat'tm First Nation			UC					N/A

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Appendix A Continued

British Columbia First Nations and positions on oil and gas development

First Nations	Yes*	No**	Non-object/ unclear ***	N/A****	Yes*	No**	Non-object/ unclear ***	N/A
Stz'uminus First Nation			UC					N/A
Sumas First Nation			UC					N/A
T'it'q'et First Nation				N/A				N/A
T'sou-ke First Nation	YES							N/A
Tahltan Band Council				N/A				N/A
Takla Lake First Nation				N/A	YES			
Taku River Tlingit First Nation				N/A				N/A
Tk'emlups te Secwepemc	YES							N/A
Tl'azt'en Nation				N/A	YES			
Tl'esqox (Toosey) First Nation			UC					N/A
Tl'etinqox-t'in Government (Anaham Indian Band)				N/A				N/A
Tla-o-qui-aht First Nations				N/A				N/A
Tla'amin First Nation				N/A				N/A
Tlatlaskiwala Nation				N/A				N/A
Tlowitsis Nation				N/A				N/A
Tobacco Plains Indian Band			UC					N/A
Toquaht Nation				N/A				N/A
Ts'il Kaz Koh Indian Band (Burns Lake)				N/A	YES			
Ts'kw'aylaxw First Nation			UC					N/A
Tsartlip First Nation			UC					N/A
Tsawout First Nation			UC					N/A
Tsawwassen First Nation			UC					N/A
Tsay Keh Dene First Nation				N/A				N/A
Tseshah First Nation				N/A				N/A
Tseycum First Nation			UC					N/A
Tsleil Waututh Nation		No						N/A
Tzeachten First Nation			UC					N/A
Uchucklesaht First Nation				N/A				N/A
Ucluelet First Nation (Yuu_u_i_at)				N/A				N/A
Ulkatcho First Nation				N/A				N/A
Union Bar First Nation	YES							N/A
Upper Nicola Band	YES							N/A
Upper Simikameen Indian Band			UC					N/A
We Wai Kai Nation (Cape Mudge)				N/A				N/A
West Moberly First Nations				N/A	YES			
Westbank First Nation				N/A				N/A
Wet'suwet'en First Nation				N/A	YES			
Whispering Pines/Clinton Indian Band	YES							N/A
Williams Lake (T'exelc) Band			UC					N/A
Wuikinuxv FN				N/A				N/A
Xa'Xtsa (Douglas) First Nations				N/A				N/A
Xat'sull (Soda Creek) Indian Band			UC					N/A
Xaxli'p First Nation				N/A				N/A
Xeni Gweti First Nation				N/A				N/A

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Appendix A Continued

British Columbia First Nations and positions on oil and gas development

First Nations	Yes*	No**	Non-object/ unclear ***	N/A****	Yes*	No**	Non-object/ unclear ***	N/A
Yakwekwioose First Nation			UC					N/A
Yale First Nation	YES							N/A
Yekooche First Nation				N/A	YES			
Yunesit'in Government				N/A				N/A
Totals	29	3	64	106	40	0	1	161

Sources: Canadian Energy Regulator, British Columbia Oil and Gas Commission, Coastal Gaslink, Trans Mountain, Indian Resource Council, First Nations Major Project Coalition, First Nations LNG Alliance, Indian Oil and Gas Commission, Individual First Nations' Community Websites, and personal correspondence.

*Yes: Actively involved/seeking involvement in | **No: Opposed | ***Non-object/unclear: Dropped Lawsuit/position confidential/no public position | ****N/A: Not involved in consultation on a major project

Appendix B

Alberta First Nations and positions on oil and gas development

First Nations	Oil			Gas		
	Position			Position		
	Yes*	No**	Non-object/ unclear ***	Yes*	No**	Non-object/ unclear ***
Alexander First Nation	YES			YES		
Alexis Nakota Sioux Nation	YES			YES		
Athabasca Chipewyan First Nation	YES			YES		
Beaver First Nation	YES			YES		
Beaver Lake Cree Nation	YES			YES		
Bigstone Cree Nation	YES			YES		
Blood Tribe	YES			YES		
Chipewyan Prairie First Nation	YES			YES		
Cold Lake First Nations	YES			YES		
Dene Tha' First Nation	YES			YES		
Driftpile First Nation	YES			YES		
Duncan's First Nation	YES			YES		
Enoch Cree Nation	YES			YES		
Ermineskin Cree Nation	YES			YES		
Fort McKay First Nation	YES			YES		
Fort McMurray First Nation	YES			YES		
Frog Lake First Nation	YES			YES		
Heart Lake First Nation	YES			YES		
Horse Lake First Nation	YES			YES		
Kapawe'no First Nation	YES			YES		
Kehewin Cree Nation	YES			YES		
Little Red River Cree Nation	YES			YES		
Loon River First Nation	YES			YES		
Louis Bull Tribe	YES			YES		
Lubicon Lake Band			UC			UC
Mikisew Cree First Nation ^a	YES			YES		
Montana First Nation	YES			YES		
O'Chiese First Nation	YES			YES		

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Appendix B Continued

Alberta First Nations and positions on oil and gas development

First Nations	Yes*	No**	Non-object/ unclear ***	Yes*	No**	Non-object/ unclear ***
Paul First Nation	YES			YES		
Peerless Trout First Nation ^b	YES			YES		
Piikani Nation	YES			YES		
Saddle Lake Cree Nation	YES			YES		
Samson Cree Nation	YES			YES		
Sawridge Band	YES			YES		
Siksika Nation	YES			YES		
Smith's Landing First Nation			UC			UC
Stoney First Nations ^c						
Bearspaw First Nation	YES			YES		
Chiniki First Nation	YES			YES		
Wesley First Nation	YES			YES		
Sturgeon Lake Cree Nation	YES			YES		
Sucker Creek First Nation	YES			YES		
Sunchild First Nation	YES			YES		
Swan River First Nation	YES			YES		
Tallcree First Nation	YES			YES		
Tsuu T'ina Nation	YES			YES		
Whitefish Lake First Nation (Atikameg) ^d	YES			YES		
Whitefish Lake First Nation (Goodfish)	YES			YES		
Woodland Cree First Nation	YES			YES		
Totals	46	0	2	46	0	2

* Mikisew First Nation is an active participant in oilsands development, ^b Peerless Trout First Nation has a 100% band owned oilfield services company – Peerless Trout Enterprises Inc., ^c Stoney First Nations is the collective name for Bearspaw, Chiniki, and Wesley First Nations, ^d Whitefish Lake (Atikameg) First Nation has a 100% band owned oilfield services company – Atikameg Construction and Oilfield Maintenance.

Sources: Canadian Energy Regulator, British Columbia Oil and Gas Commission, Coastal Gaslink, Trans Mountain, Indian Resource Council, First Nations Major Project Coalition, First Nations LNG Alliance, Indian Oil and Gas Commission, Individual First Nations' Community Websites, and personal correspondence.

*Yes: Actively involved/seeking involvement in | **No: Opposed | ***Non-object/unclear: no strong indication or public position

Notes: This CEC Fact Sheet was compiled by Gregory John and Mark Milke at the Canadian Energy Centre: www.canadianenergycentre.ca. The authors and the Canadian Energy Centre would like to thank and acknowledge the assistance of Philip Cross in reviewing the data and research for this Fact Sheet. Image credit: StockstudioX

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