

Collégial International Sainte-Anne
385-001-SA
Introduction to Political Sciences

Final Paper
Quebec & British Columbia's Reactions to COVID-19
Presented to
Professor Marcel Mitrasca
By
Vlad Nicolas

Sunday, May 2nd, 2021

Table of Contents

BRITISH COLUMBIA’S POLITICAL LANDSCAPE	3
BRITISH COLUMBIA’S POLICY ON COVID-19.....	3
THE BEGINNING OF THE SECOND WAVE AND THE LEAD-UP TO IT	3
THE PEAK.....	4
THE WINDING DOWN PHASE	5
PRAISES & CRITICS OF BRITISH COLUMBIA’S POLICY ON COVID-19.....	6
QUEBEC’S POLICY ON COVID-19.....	8
EVOLUTION OF THE SECOND WAVE	8
THE BEGINNING	8
THE PEAK.....	8
THE WINDING DOWN PHASE	9
THE MISTAKES	10
THE BRIGHT SIDE	10
COMPARISON BETWEEN BRITISH COLUMBIA & QUEBEC	11
STATISTICS & EXPLANATIONS.....	11
CLOSURE & REOPENING OF SCHOOLS	12
WHAT COULD HAVE BEEN DONE BETTER	13
REFERENCES	13

British Columbia's Political Landscape

Elections in British Columbia are held every four years, with the most recent ones having been recently held on October 24, 2020. Elections may happen early if the elected party chooses to have one sooner or if it loses the Legislative Assembly's confidence, and the political party with the most elected MLAs is invited by the Lieutenant Governor to form the government (Government of British Columbia, 2020, par. 5-6). The Legislative Assembly of British Columbia holds 87 seats, 57 of which are currently held by the New Democratic Party (NDP), 28 by the Liberal Party of British Columbia, and 2 by the Greens. John Horgan, leader of the NDP, has held the title of Premier since July 2017 in consequence of a polarizing motion of no confidence in the legislature, resulting in the defeat of the Liberals and the subsequent end of Liberal rule dating back to 2001 (McElroy, 2017, par. 34-35). As such, the NDP led a minority government holding 41 seats while signing a confidence and supply agreement with the Greens until the recent elections in 2020, when Premier John Horgan called for snap elections, leading to an overwhelming majority (McElroy, 2020a, par. 1-3). British Columbia has been slowly moving to the left in recent decades; It has gone from mostly electing conservative governments in the late 20th century to electing the NDP, a centre-left party, twice in a row, with it having a lot of political capital – a first in B.C. history (McElroy, 2020a, par. 32-35). Judging from the all the seats won by the NDP, which led to them holding roughly two thirds of all seats at the Assembly, it seemed that Horgan had gained popularity after successfully dealing with the first wave of COVID-19. The government had managed to flatten the curve and move on to its third phase of restarting its economy, while still ordering people to be cautious (CTV News, 2020, par. 1-21).

British Columbia's Policy on COVID-19

The beginning of the second wave and the lead-up to it

British Columbia had managed to deal with the first wave of COVID-19 in a somewhat effective manner. Even if the measures were somewhat reactive, the situation was comfortable enough for health officials to consider easing restrictions by the end of spring if cases kept falling. The restrictions had succeeded in keeping the healthcare system from being overwhelmed and flattening the curve (McElroy, 2020c, par. 1-3).

However, the severity of COVID-19 started slowly intensifying as soon as the end of summer. By September 4, there had been a total of 6,162 cases and 211 deaths across the province since the beginning of the pandemic (Bains, 2020, par. 2). Around this time, B.C. had the highest number of active COVID-19 cases per capita. There were 36 active cases per 100,000 people, compared to the nationwide average of 26 and to Quebec's similar rate of 35. It is apparent that the government was not taking COVID-19 seriously, as active cases were spiking for weeks on end: 880 new cases and 10 deaths in the last 7 days were reported as of September 20 (Government of Canada, 2021). Provincial health officer Dr. Bonnie Henry was also issuing irresolute restrictions, such as only enforcing minor restrictions on nightclubs and restaurants (Slepian, 2020, par. 2-4). On October 19, British Columbia had formally announced that it had entered the second wave of COVID-19. By this time, the amount new cases was growing to over 150 infections per day, and there were 11,817 total cases and 253 deaths. Nonetheless, Provincial health officer Dr. Bonnie Henry was not panicking and assured that everything was under control, "Here in B.C. we've managed to relatively control our community spread." (Ross, 2020, par. 1-15)

The peak

On November 7, new two-week lockdown measures were implemented following the record-breaking amount of daily cases, going over five hundred infections daily. The measures restricted all social gatherings, without any exceptions, in the Fraser and Vancouver areas to immediate household members only, restricted travel into and out of these areas to essential travel only, the closing of gyms in these areas, and the mandatory screening for employees at all workplaces in these areas (Coyne, 2020, par. 1-9). Eight of the ten most populous cities in British Columbia are situated in these areas. A mandatory mask mandate was put into place on November 19 (Quebec instated its mandate on July 18). This included indoor public spaces and stores. The mandates were not implemented by public health order, but rather by Public Safety Minister Mike Farnworth due to the state of emergency all the way back from March 18. The mandate was set to expire on November 23, but it was extended to December 7, when it was yet again continued, but indefinitely (Weichel, 2020a, par. 1-14). Curiously enough, Dr. Bonnie Henry had stated only three days earlier, "Ordering universal mask use in all situations creates unnecessary challenges with enforcement and stigmatization." (CTV News, 2020, par. 5) By December 7, the Pfizer vaccine was expected to arrive by next week. Dr. Bonnie Henry went on to express her hope about

the situation: “That light at the end of the tunnel is there.” Dr. Ross Brown was also appointed to oversee the vaccine operations, and he was working with the provincial health officer “to ensure B.C. has the logistics and operational support in place to deploy a COVID-19 vaccine as soon as possible.” (Weisgarber, 2020, par. 1-8) On that same day, a public health order severely limiting social interactions was extended past the holiday season until January 8, due to a surge in active cases. British Columbia saw an average of over seven hundred new cases per day over the last week, resulted to 9,380 active cases. Dr. Henry said the restrictions from December 4, requiring people to only socialize with members of their bubble and restricting inter-household socializing to maximum two people, would continue until midnight on January 8. This meant that big Christmas dinners were forbidden, as they were to be continued on the 25th (Weichel, 2020b, par. 1-9).

The winding down phase

On December 21, 1,667 confirmed cases were reported over the previous three days: 652 from Friday to Saturday, 486 from Saturday to Sunday, and 529 from Sunday to Monday. This marked a 23% decrease from the previous week – the measures had worked. Dr. Henry celebrated this little victory, but went on to acknowledge the high rate of transmission: “We are starting to see a levelling of our COVID-19 curve in B.C. and that is good news, but it is a levelling at a very high level, which means that transmission continues to happen” (Azpiri, 2020, par. 1-4). On January 7, with 6,439 active cases of COVID-19, British Columbia extended its ban on social gatherings until February 5. Dr. Henry affirmed that this was the riskiest time, as people were prone to traveling more because of the distribution of vaccines: “We cannot let our guard down as vaccine is just beginning.” Additionally, B.C. announced that two more cases of the UK variant of COVID-19 had been identified and that improvements were to be made towards its collection of data. (Migdal, 2021, par. 1-21). On February 5, that ban on social gatherings was extended indefinitely. Dr. Henry stressed the importance of putting all chances on public health’s side, “We need to protect the progress we have made. We need to use this time to buy ourselves more time.” (Judd & Zussman, 2021, par. 1-6) On March 1, health officials had predicted that every British Columbian would be able to receive a dose of the COVID-19 vaccine by the end of July, after previously stating that the least vulnerable groups would only be able to be vaccinated until at least September. In return, individuals with one vaccine dose were ordered to wait up to four months to

receive their second dose, which allowed more people to receive their first shot. At this time, there was no specific date for the administering of the second dose (Mangione, 2021, par. 1-7). On March 12, 648 new cases were announced, and there 5070 active cases in the province. Also, there were 79 new cases of variants. Around this time, British Columbia had 717 total variant cases (667 from the UK, 36 from South Africa & 14 from Brazil), of which 99 were active. A new order was also put in place, allowing gatherings for up to ten people outside only (e-KNOW, 2021, par. 1-15). On April 11, the seven-day moving average of confirmed cases grew to 1,133 cases per day (BCCDC, 2021).

Praises & Critics of British Columbia's policy on COVID-19

As British Columbia's second wave began with an election resulting in an overwhelming majority for the NDP, it meant that it no longer had to govern British Columbia with a minority of seats under the fear of instability. He was highly criticized by his opponents for calling a snap election despite promising in his confidence and supply agreement the Greens that he would not, and for making such an opportunistic gamble in the midst of growing COVID-19 cases (Shaw, 2020, par. 1-6). This inherently soured the NDP's relations with the Green Party, especially after Sonia Furestenau, leader of the Green Party, expressed her resentment on the matter by arguing that Horgan's decision was cynical and selfish. Horgan was compelled to call the snap elections after the Greens voted against bills passed by the NDP during the summer. Furestenau addressed this by retorting, "He's mistaking that, which is our job in this legislature, with obedience," and "[...] there is nothing in the [agreement] that says that we have to obey, or that we have to agree with absolutely everything that the NDP put forward." (Shaw, 2020, par. 11-14) During the first few months of COVID-19, the NDP, Liberals and Greens were all showing signs of cooperation at the Assembly, something previously unheard of (Smyth, 2020, par. 1-13). With that election, however, inter-party relations changed for the worst, but in the end, it does not matter – Horgan's opposition may be bitter, but his government now holds the large majority of the seats, which signifies less negotiating and more quick decision-making. By December 1, Horgan and his government had a high approval rating of 64%, having dropped from 69% at the end of August (Angus Reid Institute, 2020, p. 1). Astoundingly, he was tied with Legault for first place, barely inching past New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, two Maritime Provinces that successfully contained the spread of COVID-19 (Angus Reid Institute, 2020, p. 1).

Five days before the relatively late mandatory mask mandate of November 19, Provincial Health Officer Dr. Bonnie Henry had stated that a mandatory mask mandate was not being considered (McElroy, 2020b, par. 3-4). There was a strong opposition urging for one to be established, with Scott Lear, health sciences professor at Simon Fraser University, stating that it is a “no-brainer”, and many private businesses forcing people to wear masks (McElroy, 2020b, par. 9-11). Presumably, Henry’s reasoning stems from a fear of being perceived as too imposing by the general public and wanting to maintain approval (McElroy, 2020b, par. 1).

Dr. Bonnie Henry did receive some criticism for some incidents. On March 1, Health officials’ plan to delay the second dose of COVID-19 vaccine to four months was criticized by Canada’s chief science adviser because of the lack of data behind it. Chief science adviser Mona Nemer argued that B.C.’s plan amounts to a “population-level experiment” and that the data provided so far by Moderna and Pfizer-BioNTech was based on an interval of three to four weeks between doses, not three to four months (Zimonjic & Kapelos, 2021, par. 4). Dr. Bonnie Henry responded by assuring that the vaccines in British Columbia are safe and that everything was under control (Zimonjic & Kapelos, 2021, par. 11-13). However, the National Advisory Committee on Immunization stated on its website that “the interval for Pfizer should be three weeks, Moderna should be four weeks and Oxford-AstraZeneca should be 12 weeks” (Zimonjic & Kapelos, 2021, par. 16). Earlier in December when the first vaccines had arrived, Dr. Bonnie Henry received criticism over social media from a doctor after she received one of the first COVID-19 vaccines. This was due to British Columbia saying that the first vaccines would go to front-line health-care workers (Mangione, 2020, par. 1-2). This was somewhat controversial, as some argued that her decision may encourage others to take the vaccine, and Dr. James Heilman argued that it was unfair for the health-care workers who are at higher risk of being infected with COVID-19 (Mangione, 2020, par. 3-6). He made a point to provincial officials “not to let those with political connections get advantages,” condemning favouritism (Mangione, 2020, par. 7).

Quebec's Policy on COVID-19

Evolution of the second wave

The beginning

Quebec was arguably the worst Canadian province to deal with COVID-19 during the first wave. The government's measures were extremely reactive, and it was already too late when Premier Legault officially declared a public health emergency on March 14: there were already 17 cases in Quebec (Lapierre, 2020, par. 1-3). The state of emergency's constant extensions mixed with the mixed messages from the government and unpreparedness resulted in Quebec poorly managing its first wave (Flanagan, 2020, par. 1-7). On September 8, Quebec announced a colour-coded regional alert system following the rising amount of new cases and in preparation for a second wave, with the intention of showing people the risk level of the situation (MacFarlane & Shingler, 2020, par. 1-3). By this time, the daily average of cases had risen up to 196, compared to the 120 daily cases from the previous week (INSPQ, 2020). On the 27th, less than three weeks later, Montreal, Quebec City and their surrounding regions fell under the "red" alert, signifying the highest level of risk. Consequently, private gatherings were banned and public gatherings were heavily restricted in the hope of stopping the second wave in a period of four weeks (Luft & Rowe, 2020, par. 1-5). By this point, the seven-day moving average had gone up to 875 cases daily (INSPQ, 2020). One week later, the situation was not improving: as of October 5, over one thousand new cases had been reported in a single day (Luft, 2020, par. 1).

The peak

Nonetheless, Premier Legault announced on November 19 that he would still allow family gatherings during the holiday season excluding New Year's Eve, and he even humorously mentioned watching the inaugural *Bye Bye* with family while health minister Dubé added, "Let's forget about 2020." (Labbé, 2020, par. 1-4) Basically, Legault enabled the spread of COVID-19 even if he had expressed his worries: "There are too many cases and there is once again too much pressure on the health system." (Labbé, 2020, par. 5) Two weeks later, Legault backtracked on that decision by ultimately forbidding gatherings from December 24 to December 27 (Prévost, 2020, par. 1-2). By December 3, the day of this backtracking, 1,544 daily cases was the seven-day

moving average, 762 hospitalizations were in effect and 39 deaths had taken place (INSPQ, 2020). On December 29, the first case of the UK variant was detected (Laframboise, 2020, par. 1-3) and health minister Christian Dubé demanded for stricter airport measures from the federal government following the large amount of people going on vacation outside of Canada (Laframboise, 2020, par. 9-15). January 13 saw the highest number of hospitalizations in the entirety of the second wave, with 1,525. This was the highest since mid-May, during the first wave (INSPQ, 2021). Because of the aggravating situation, the government was left with no choice but to establish a curfew in order to control the spread of COVID-19; it had been set to in effect from January 9 until February 8, from 8 p.m. to 5 a.m., with exceptions for workers (Olivier, 2021, par. 1-5).

The winding down phase

The curfew had worked. Following the weeks after the implementation of the curfew, the seven-day moving average of cases dropped from 2,358 daily cases on January 9 to 1,007 daily cases on February 8 (INSPQ, 2021). On February 2, Premier Legault announced the easing of restrictions, with non-essential businesses being allowed to open, six regions going back to the “orange” risk level with their curfews being pushed to 9:30 p.m., and CEGEPs and universities being allowed to organize in-person classes once again (Labbé, 2021, par. 1-4). The government had decided on the careful and gradual easing of measures in order to assure a safe reopening of the province (Labbé, 2021, par. 5-6). On February 23, vaccinations for the next highest priority group, being people over 85 for all of Quebec and people over 80 for Montreal, were announced and were scheduled to begin on March 1 (Laframboise, 2021b, par. 1-2), while Legault urged citizens to avoid gatherings (Laframboise, 2021b, par. 14). Persons aged 70 followed suit soon after, with the minimum age for vaccinations being lowered to 70 on March 1 (CTV News, 2021, par. 1-2). Around this time, confirmed cases had fallen to 724 cases daily from a seven-day moving average and over 460,000 vaccines had been administered (INSPQ, 2021). On March 17, feeling confident about its management of COVID-19, the government eased restrictions by pushing back the curfew in red zones to 9:30 p.m. while affirming that things needed to be done carefully under the threat of variants and an incoming third wave (Olson, 2021, par. 1-4). Legault added that cases spiked after March break, but that it was nothing to be worried about (Olson, 2021, par. 9) and he stated that any Quebecer who wanted the vaccine could get it by June 24 (Olson, 2021, par. 13).

By March 28, confirmed daily cases had grown to 1,021, daily deaths fell to 6, and there were 477 hospitalizations (INSPQ, 2021).

The mistakes

Quebec's high amount of infections and deaths are attributable to the government making too many unclear and ambiguous announcements. First of all, the announcement of the second wave itself was unclear, and it was apparent that authorities were not firm on what decision to make. Dr. Arruda had formally announced the beginning of the second wave on September 21, four days after assuming that it was far away and that restricting measures would be like "killing a fly with a canon." Legault made the matter worse by doubling down, "Our specialists tell us: we are not in the second wave" at the National Assembly. (Porter & Sioui, 2020, par. 6-9). This demonstrates Quebec's unpreparedness in face of the virus. Quebec had to resort to a curfew to curve the skyrocketing number of daily cases (Labbé, 2020, par. 1). Had the government not lost so much of the public's trust due to its uncertainty, it would not have needed to escalate to such a decision. By allowing gatherings during the holiday season at first and then backtracking on that decision two weeks later, it creates a feeling of hope (Prévost, 2020, par. 1). Consequently, creating a sentiment of hope and then canceling it on multiple occasions frustrates the public and makes them want to rebel. In November and December, Quebec had failed to establish order, and it resulted in a peak of daily cases on January 6, with 2,543 cases in one single day (INSPQ, 2021). Legault and his government made large mistakes during their management of the second wave. If Quebec had been prepared to deal with the spread of COVID-19 by prevention instead of reaction, it would have faced much less criticism.

The bright side

Despite its worrying amount of infections and deaths and its questionable decisions, Quebec's government did occasionally make good decisions. Following a large amount of deaths in long-term care and housing centres back in the first wave, Legault announced a program aiming to train and hire 10,000 new workers to nursing homes (Boshra, 2020, par. 1-3). It was the right decision to assure that the mistake from the first wave would not happen again in the second wave. This turned out to be very effective, especially with the help of vaccines and the curfew. As soon

as vaccinations for older age groups were allowed, the seven-day moving average of daily deaths fell from 55 deaths on January 21 to only 6 daily deaths two months later, on March 21 (INSPQ, 2021). It is also worth noting that the avoidable but necessary curfew was highly effective in greatly reducing daily non-essential travel. On February 8, the proposed end of the curfew, Quebec's daily case rate of 1,007 infections was less than half of the 2,358 infections from January 9 (INSPQ, 2021). Additionally, post-secondary students were granted a much-needed return to in-person classes, even if it was not much (Caruso-Moro, 2021, par. 1-3). During the time that it lasted, it was beneficial to the mental health of students, since it helped ease suffering for many students who felt socially isolated (Caruso-Moro, 2021, par. 17).

Comparison between British Columbia & Quebec

Statistics & explanations

	British Columbia	Quebec	Proportion
Estimated population (Q1, 2021)	5,153,039 inhabitants (Statistics Canada, 2021)	8,575,944 inhabitants (Statistics Canada, 2021)	1.66
Population density (inhabitants per km ²)	5.56 inhabitants per km ²	6.28 inhabitants per km ²	1.13
Total confirmed cases (second wave, beginning to end)	97,853 cases (Government of Canada, 2021)	246,461 cases (INSPQ, 2021)	2.52
Active cases (second wave, end)	9,709 cases (Government of Canada, 2021)	12,602 cases (Government of Canada, 2021)	1.30
Total deaths (second wave, beginning to end)	1,242 deaths (Government of Canada, 2021)	4,788 deaths (INSPQ, 2021)	3.86
Total confirmed cases (second wave, beginning to end, per million inhabitants)	18,989.4 cases	28,738.6 cases	1.51
Active cases (second wave, end, per million inhabitants)	1,884.1 cases	1,469.5 cases	0.78
Total deaths (second wave, beginning to end, per million inhabitants)	241.0 deaths per million inhabitants	558.3 deaths per million inhabitants	2.32
Total number of tests (second wave, beginning to end)	1,730,678 tests performed (Government of Canada, 2021)	5,913,749 tests performed (Government of Canada, 2021)	3.42
Proportion of positive tests (second wave, beginning to end)	5.7%	4.2%	0.74
Vaccine doses administered (Total)	1,025,019 doses (COVID-19 Tracker Canada, 2021)	1,267,370 doses (INSPQ, 2021)	1.24
Vaccinated population (≥ 1 dose)	19.9%	14.8%	0.74

Both provinces' second waves occurred at different times – they began and ended weeks apart from each other. Quebec's second wave was stated to start as early as September 2 (Porter & Sioui, 2020, par. 3), whereas British Columbia's second wave was announced on October 19 (Ross, 2020, par. 1). Quebec's second wave concluded on March 28 because of the announcement of the third wave on the following day (Radio-Canada, 2021a, par. 1), and British Columbia's second wave ended around April 11, also before the announcement of the third wave (Azpiri, 2021, par. 1). As such, the collected data for each province pertains to the respective province's own second wave. Quebec hit a higher spike in its second wave (End of December, Source), but it managed to lower its number of cases by the end: Quebec had 78% of the cases that British Columbia had, per capita. It is also worth taking into account that Quebec's population density is 13% higher than British Columbia's. As such, more cases would be recorded on average because of the larger amount of people in the same area size. Thus, both provinces must be evaluated under the condition of having equal populations and population densities. Quebec performed a lot more tests than British Columbia, but the proportion of positive tests seems to be quite similar. Both provinces also seem to show similar rates of vaccinations.

Closure & reopening of schools

In September, both provinces had the intention of keeping schools open. Legault said that it was a necessity to keep schools open (Olson, Shingler & Mignacca, 2020, par. 9), and Dr. Bonnie Henry shared that sentiment while stating that schools did not pose a threat to public safety (Ghoussoub, 2020, par. 32). Faced with a rising number of hospitalizations and daily cases, Quebec announced a series of measures it hoped would slow the virus's spread over the holiday period, including closing schools from the 17th until January 11 (CBC, 2020, par. 1). Elementary schools were originally planned to reopen on January 4, and the reopening of elementary and high schools were delayed to January 11, with schools supplying homework and distance learning (CBC, 2020, par. 15). Legault admitted that reopening elementary schools and high schools was a risk, but he was willing to take that risk (Laframboise, 2021a, par. 6-7). Students in British Columbia were slated to return to school on January 4, with high demand for the winter break to be extended due to the fear of the new variants (Little & McArthur, 2021, par. 1-5), but to no avail (Little & McArthur, 2021, par. 7-8).

What could have been done better

Premier Horgan and Dr. Henry should not have taken such a reactive approach in the midst of the second wave. For example, Dr. Bonnie Henry stated that she saw no point in tightening restrictions due to no results (Little & McArthur, 2021, par. 8). This is very dangerous, as the mentality consists of only acting when it is too late. They should also have been more firm with their decisions by enforcing , as they went on to have more cases of COVID-19 per capita than Quebec at the end of their second wave (Government of Canada, 2021). British Columbia should definitely have established a mandatory mask mandate earlier than on November 19 – it is common sense to instate measures meant to prevent the spread of COVID-19 (Weichel, 2020a, par. 1). What lacks common sense is backtracking on one’s statements and doing the opposite of what you previously said, because it was the wrong thing to have said. This shows that you are uninformed, and when you are the top doctor of a province, that is not good for your reputation. An example of this is when Dr. Henry said that “ordering universal mask use in all situations creates unnecessary challenges with enforcement and stigmatization.” (CTV News, 2020, par. 5) She was clearly wrong, and ended up looking uninformed. The government should have taken the situation more seriously since their indecisive restrictions resulted in a metaphorical snowball rolling down a hill. An example of this is closing nightclubs and banquet halls, but only imposing a 10 p.m. limit on liquor service at restaurants and bars – instead of forbidding gatherings completely, they still let the spread of COVID-19 happen (Slepian, 2020, par. 4).

References

- Azpiri, J. (2020, December 21). *B.C. reports 1,667 new COVID-19 cases over three days, 41 deaths*. Global News. Retrieved from <https://globalnews.ca/news/7535890/bc-coronavirus-december-21/>.
- Azpiri, J. (2021, April 12). *B.C. ’s top doctor urges people to stay close to home amid COVID-19 ’third wave’*. Global News. Retrieved from <https://globalnews.ca/news/7754208/bc-covid-19-stay-in-neighbourhood-bonnie-henry/>.
- Bains, M. (2020, September 4). *Officials ask for caution over long weekend as B.C. confirms 121 new cases of COVID-19, 1 new death*. CBC. Retrieved from <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/officials-ask-for-caution-over-long-weekend-as-b-c-confirms-121-new-cases-of-covid-19-1-new-death-1.5713302>.

- B.C.'s COVID-19 updates for March 12. (2021, March 12). *e-KNOW*. Retrieved from <https://www.e-know.ca/regions/east-kootenay/b-c-s-covid-19-updates-for-march-12/>.
- B.C. launches Phase 3 of COVID-19 restart plan.* (2020, June 24). CTV News Vancouver Island. Retrieved from <https://vancouverisland.ctvnews.ca/b-c-launches-phase-3-of-covid-19-restart-plan-1.4997959>.
- BCCDC. (2021). *British Columbia COVID-19 Dashboard*. BC Centre for Disease Control. <https://experience.arcgis.com/experience/a6f23959a8b14bfa989e3cda29297ded>.
- Boshra, B. (2020, June 2). *'We need you': Quebec launches ambitious plan to hire 10,000 orderlies for embattled seniors' residences*. CTV News Montreal. Retrieved from <https://montreal.ctvnews.ca/we-need-you-quebec-launches-ambitious-plan-to-hire-10-000-orderlies-for-embattled-seniors-residences-1.4965339>.
- Caruso-Moro, L. (2021, February 4). *Quebec university, CEGEP students to return to campus 'at least once per week' as pandemic measures ease*. CTV News Montreal. Retrieved from <https://montreal.ctvnews.ca/quebec-university-cegep-students-to-return-to-campus-at-least-once-per-week-as-pandemic-measures-ease-1.5296003>.
- COVID-19 : « On est dans une 3e vague » au Québec, selon le ministre Dubé.* (2021a, March 29). Radio-Canada. Retrieved from <https://ici.radio-canada.ca/nouvelle/1780800/covid-19-3e-vague-quebec-dube>.
- COVID-19 Tracker Canada. (2021). *British Columbia Vaccination Data*. Retrieved April 28, 2021, from <https://covid19tracker.ca/provincevac.html?p=BC>.
- Coyne, T. (2020, November 6). *B.C. announces new regional restrictions as COVID-19 cases surge*. CTV News. Retrieved from <https://vancouverisland.ctvnews.ca/b-c-announces-new-regional-restrictions-as-covid-19-cases-surge-1.5178751>.
- Dr. Bonnie Henry op-ed: Why B.C. doesn't have a universal mask mandate.* (2020, November 16). CTV News. Retrieved from <https://bc.ctvnews.ca/mobile/dr-bonnie-henry-op-ed-why-b-c-doesn-t-have-a-universal-mask-mandate-1.5191721>.
- Flanagan, R. (2020, May 7). *Quebec leads Canada in coronavirus deaths, so why is it starting to reopen?* CTV News. Retrieved May 2, 2021, from <https://www.ctvnews.ca/health/coronavirus/quebec-leads-canada-in-coronavirus-deaths-so-why-is-it-starting-to-reopen-1.4928940>.
- Gordon, S. (2021, February 24). *Elderly Quebecers keen to take their turn in COVID-19 vaccination queue but push for more details on process*. CBC. Retrieved from <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/vaccination-quebec-85-and-older-1.5925084>.
- Ghoussoub, M. (2020, November 8). *Who can I socialize with, and where? Your questions about B.C.'s latest COVID-19 restrictions answered Social Sharing*. CBC. Retrieved from

<https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/what-you-need-to-know-bc-restrictions-covid-1.5794538>.

Government of British Columbia. (2020, August 17). *Government 101: How Government Works*. Retrieved from <https://www2.gov.bc.ca/gov/content/careers-myhr/about-the-bc-public-service/how-government-works>.

Government of Canada. (2021). *COVID-19 Daily Epidemiology Update*. Retrieved March 28, 2021, from <https://health-infobase.canada.ca/covid-19/epidemiological-summary-covid-19-cases.html>.

INSPQ. (2020-2021). *Données COVID-19 au Québec*. Institut national de santé publique du Québec. <https://www.inspq.qc.ca/covid-19/donnees>.

Judd, A., & Zussman, R. (2021, February 5). *Coronavirus: B.C.'s ban on social gatherings and events extended until further notice*. Global News. Retrieved from <https://globalnews.ca/news/7622800/bc-ban-social-gathering-events-extended-indefinitely/>.

Kate, L. D. (2021, March 2). *B.C. defends plan to delay second dose as Ontario, Alberta consider following suit*. CTV News. Retrieved from <https://bc.ctvnews.ca/b-c-defends-plan-to-delay-second-dose-as-ontario-alberta-consider-following-suit-1.5331272>.

Labbé, J. (2020, November 19). *Les Québécois se verront à Noël, mais pas au jour de l'An*. Radio-Canada. Retrieved from <https://ici.radio-canada.ca/nouvelle/1750926/covid19-plan-legault-fetes-noel-retour-ecoles>.

Labbé, J. (2021, February 2). *Québec assouplit certaines règles sanitaires et renoue avec le code de couleurs*. Radio-Canada. Retrieved from <https://ici.radio-canada.ca/nouvelle/1767686/deconfinement-assouplissement-mesures-legault-pandemie-covid-19>.

Laframboise, K. (2020, December 29). *Quebec reports first case of new COVID-19 variant as officials demand tighter rules for travellers*. Global News. Retrieved from <https://globalnews.ca/news/7545504/quebec-new-uk-coronavirus-variant-covid-19/>.

Laframboise, K. (2021a, January 11). *As Quebec kids head back to school, Legault calls reopening 'a calculated risk'*. Global News. Retrieved from <https://globalnews.ca/news/7567883/quebec-elementary-schools-reopen-january-11-2021/>.

Laframboise, K. (2021b, February 23). *Quebec to roll out mass COVID-19 vaccinations next week, starting with seniors aged 85 and older*. Global News. Retrieved from <https://globalnews.ca/news/7657539/quebec-coronavirus-covid-19-mass-vaccination-seniors-rollout/>.

- Lapierre, M. (2020, March 12). *COVID-19: Quebec now has 17 confirmed cases*. CTV News Montreal. Retrieved from <https://montreal.ctvnews.ca/covid-19-quebec-now-has-17-confirmed-cases-1.4851342>.
- Little, S., & McArthur, A. (2021, January 1). *No plans to delay B.C. students' return to class, despite new COVID-19 variant*. Global News. Retrieved from <https://globalnews.ca/news/7550277/bc-back-to-school-uk-covid-variant/>.
- Luft, A., & Rowe, D. J. (2020, September 27). *Red alert: Private gatherings banned as bars, eat-in dining close in three Quebec regions*. CTV News Montreal. Retrieved from <https://montreal.ctvnews.ca/red-alert-private-gatherings-banned-as-bars-eat-in-dining-close-in-three-quebec-regions-1.5122144>.
- Luft, A. (2020, October 5). *Quebec announces record high of 1,191 new COVID-19 cases as 27 more people hospitalized*. CTV News Montreal. Retrieved from <https://montreal.ctvnews.ca/quebec-announces-record-high-of-1-191-new-covid-19-cases-as-27-more-people-hospitalized-1.5133107>.
- MacFarlane, J., & Shingler, B. (2020, September 8). *Quebec unveils colour-coded regional alert system as cases climb*. CBC. Retrieved from <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/quebec-covid-alert-system-1.5715490>.
- Mangione, K. (2021, March 1). *Everyone in B.C. will be able to get a 1st dose of coronavirus vaccine by end of July: Health officials*. CTV News. Retrieved from <https://bc.ctvnews.ca/everyone-in-b-c-will-be-able-to-get-a-1st-dose-of-coronavirus-vaccine-by-end-of-july-health-officials-1.5328950>.
- Mangione, K. (2020, December 23). *Should B.C.'s top doctor have received the COVID-19 vaccine? Some critical of Bonnie Henry being among the first*. CTV News. Retrieved from <https://bc.ctvnews.ca/should-b-c-s-top-doctor-have-received-the-covid-19-vaccine-some-critical-of-bonnie-henry-being-among-the-first-1.5243220>.
- McElroy, J. (2020a, October 25). *10 reasons why the B.C. NDP had its most successful election ever*. CBC. Retrieved from <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/ndp-wins-bc-2020-analysis-horgan-1.5776167>.
- McElroy, J. (2020b, November 14). *As COVID-19 case numbers soar in B.C., so does the push for a mask mandate*. CBC. Retrieved from <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/covid-19-november-bc-rise-second-wave-masks-1.5802177>.
- McElroy, J. (2020c, April 17). *B.C. preparing to ease some COVID-19 restrictions in May*. CBC. Retrieved from <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/covid-19-bc-modelling-data-1.5535716>.

- McElroy, J. (2017, June 29). *Timeline: The B.C. Election that took 52 days*. CBC. Retrieved from <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/timeline-the-b-c-election-that-took-52-days-1.4184196>.
- Migdal, A. (2021, January 7). *B.C. extends ban on social gatherings until Feb. 5, announces 761 new COVID-19 cases*. CBC. Retrieved from <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/covid-19-update-jan-7-1.5841124>.
- Olivier, A. (2021, January 6). *Quebec imposes curfew, tightens lockdown restrictions as coronavirus health crisis deepens*. Global News. Retrieved from <https://globalnews.ca/news/7558944/quebec-curfew-coronavirus-lockdown-measures/>.
- Olson, I. (2021, March 16). *Quebec pushes back curfew in red zones, promises all adults a vaccine by June 24*. CBC. Retrieved from <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/quebec-curfew-red-zone-1.5952318>.
- Olson, I., Shingler, B., & Mignacca, F. G. (2020, September 28). *Quebec tightening COVID-19 restrictions as three regions put on red alert Social Sharing*. CBC. Retrieved from <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/covid-19-montreal-quebec-city-highest-alert-level-1.5741399>.
- People in Montreal age 70 and over can now make appointments for COVID-19 vaccines*. (2021, February 28). CTV News. Retrieved from <https://montreal.ctvnews.ca/people-in-montreal-age-70-and-over-can-now-make-appointments-for-covid-19-vaccines-1.5328082>.
- Porter, I., & Sioui, M. (2020, October 23). *Le Dr Arruda a confondu le début de la deuxième vague avec des vaguelettes. Le Devoir*. Retrieved from <https://www.ledevoir.com/societe/sante/588311/dube-change-la-date-du-debut-de-la-deuxieme-vague>.
- Premiers' Performance: The year of COVID-19 draws to a close with most, but not all holding majority approval. (2020). *Angus Reid Institute*, 1-3. Retrieved from https://angusreid.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/2020.12.01_PremiersDecember.pdf.
- Prévost, H. (2020, December 3). *Québec retire la permission de tenir deux rassemblements en zone rouge à Noël*. Radio-Canada. Retrieved from <https://ici.radio-canada.ca/nouvelle/1754239/coronavirus-bilan-quebec-3-decembre-rassemblements-noel>.
- Quebec schools, offices, non-essential businesses to close until Jan. 11 to help curb spread of 2nd wave*. (2020, December 15). CBC. Retrieved from <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/quebec-covid-19-businesses-shutdown-christmas-1.5841720>.
- Ross, A. (2020, October 19). *B.C. announces 2nd wave of COVID-19, as it confirms 499 new cases and 2 more deaths over the weekend*. CBC. Retrieved from <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/covid-19-update-bc-oct-19-1.5768415>.

- Shaw, R. (2020, September 22). B.C. Election 2020: Horgan faces attacks after calling election for Oct. 24. *Vancouver Sun*. Retrieved from <https://vancouversun.com/news/politics/bc-election/b-c-election-premier-horgan-to-call-snap-election-today-voting-date-set-for-oct-24>.
- Slepian, K. (2020, September 21). B.C. has highest number of active COVID-19 cases per capita, federal data shows. *Vancouver Island Free Daily*. Retrieved from <https://www.vancouverislandfreedaily.com/news/b-c-has-highest-number-of-active-covid-19-cases-per-capita-federal-data-shows/>.
- Smyth, M. (2020, September 29). *Dumb or brilliant? John Horgan takes a big gamble with B.C. election call*. Global News. Retrieved from <https://globalnews.ca/news/7365128/bc-election-call-john-horgan/>.
- Statistics Canada. (2021, March 18). Population estimates, quarterly. Retrieved April 28, 2021, from <https://doi.org/10.25318/1710000901-eng>.
- Weichel, A. (2020a, November 19). *B.C. announces mask mandate, temporary social lockdown for entire province*. CTV News. Retrieved from <https://bc.ctvnews.ca/b-c-announces-mask-mandate-temporary-social-lockdown-for-entire-province-1.5196004>.
- Weichel, A. (2020b, December 7). *B.C. extends health order limiting social interactions past Christmas, New Year's Eve*. CTV News. Retrieved from <https://bc.ctvnews.ca/b-c-extends-health-order-limiting-social-interactions-past-christmas-new-year-s-eve-1.5220218>.
- Weisgarber, M. (2020, December 7). *B.C. preparing for first COVID-19 vaccines to arrive next week*. CTV News. Retrieved from <https://bc.ctvnews.ca/b-c-preparing-for-first-covid-19-vaccines-to-arrive-next-week-1.5221138>.
- Zimonjic, P., & Kapelos, V. (2021, March 1). *Canada's chief science adviser issues warning about B.C.'s 'experiment' with vaccine timing*. CBC. Retrieved from <https://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/nemer-henry-vaccine-interval-experiment-1.5932714>.