Implications of Hydroelectric Partnerships in Northern Manitoba:

Do Partnership Agreements Provide Social Licence?

By

Joseph Dipple

A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of

The University of Manitoba

In partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Native Studies

University of Manitoba

Winnipeg

Abstract:

Over the past century, Manitoba has promoted the construction of hydroelectric dams as a means of producing energy. These projects are produced on Indigenous territory and bring these communities into direct conflict with the province and Manitoba Hydro. Recently, Manitoba Hydro has promoted partnerships with affected First Nations. These partnerships provide communities the "opportunity" to purchase shares of the dams with the goal of gaining profits. Partnerships have been established for two projects as a means of suggesting social licence. Social licence is an informal licence provided by a community to show support and consent for a project in their area. A progressive definition of social licence is when communities provide "free, prior, and informed consent." Partnership agreements in northern Manitoba do not provide social licence, as the communities involvement in the project, and the means by which the partnership is established do not provide "free, prior, and informed consent."

Acknowledgements & Positionality:

In order to understand the motivation and basis of knowledge I will be using in this thesis, it is necessary that I describe who I am as an individual and who has supported me in my endeavors thus far. In order to describe who I am as a person, I am going to tell you a story about my life to this point.

First and foremost, I am a male United States-Canadian dual citizen of European descent born in Kingston, Ontario and raised in Dell Rapids, South Dakota. This personal history has greatly informed my understanding of the world and both my political and environmental beliefs. During the first seven years of my life, I lived in Kingston, Ontario with my parents and younger brother. My father received his Ph.D shortly after I was born and my mother worked at Queens University in Part-Time Studies. Together, they constantly emphasized the importance of education and constantly worked to help me with any difficulties I faced in school.

Around the time I was turning seven, my father was hired as a professor at Augustana College in Sioux Falls, South Dakota. However, as many individuals in the United States are aware, it is difficult to immigrate. Although my father, brother, and I are citizens, my mother is not. This forced my father to move to South Dakota six months prior to the rest of my family. With my mother working full-time and my father in an entirely different country, my brother and I were regularly under the care of my aunt and grandparents. This greatly influenced my life, as my grandparents and aunt were another educational opportunity for my brother and me. Together, they provided us with moral and social knowledge that helped us to become the people we are today.

Finally, after a long wait for documentation that merely required a stamp on a piece of paper, we were on our way to the United States to start a new, and very different life away from all of our extended family. As my parents can attest, we were struck by the immensity of the culture shock we felt when we finally arrived in South Dakota. We are still unsure if the shock was from moving to the United States or moving from an East coast urban area to the Midwest in a highly rural area.

This move marked a turning point in my life, though I would not realize it until I entered my undergraduate education. Living in small town South Dakota allowed me a limited amount of understanding about a range of political beliefs. I was unable to truly learn about social justice, discrimination, and many other important topics that are fundamental in our understanding of how society works. Despite being unable to learn about these topics in traditional education, I had the opportunity to learn from my parents, who have a very nuanced view of these topics, as well as from my classmates.

Many of my classmates were highly conservative by nature and in some cases, extremely racist. However, they also came from a variety of socio-economic backgrounds. My high school lacked any real form of ethnic, racial, or other forms of diversity, however we did range from a family who drove a Lamborghini and owned an ethanol plant to many kids who were on subsidized meal plans because their parents could not make enough through work to afford the normal cost of school lunches. Being the son of a professor, my family was solidly middle class. We never struggled for food, nor did we purchase brand new vehicles or change houses on a regular occasion. Growing up with friends who were in more difficult situations allowed me to understand the implications of socio-economic differences on people within a community. The

separation within our high school, as well as Dell Rapids as a whole, was quite obvious with many cliques being defined by socioeconomic status. These observations and informal education may not have been possible for me had my family not moved to Dell Rapids from Kingston.

As I advanced through high school, I was faced with a number of political and racial arguments that were very conservative and racist in nature. Being raised by progressive parents, I always learned that the racist arguments made by people I knew in school were wrong and unacceptable. However, there were other more insidious challenges I knew were present in the world but was unable to vocalize given the limitations of a small, rural school.

Upon completing high school in Dell Rapids, I moved to yet another small town to attend university. This small town was St. Peter, Minnesota and the university was Gustavus Adolphus College. Despite being in a rather small town, St. Peter consists of about 10,000 people, Gustavus has a long and vibrant history of social justice and support of diversity. My educational opportunities at Gustavus were numerous and ever growing as I began to delve into the social justice organizations on campus. Over the course of my four years at Gustavus, I was a member of nine separate organizations, and at least five of those organizations were related to diversity or social justice in some form.

One of the most influential events I had the opportunity of participating in was the Building Bridges Conference in my third year of university. Each year, the Building Bridges Conference is organized and executed by a large group of dedicated students. The conference is always related to a topic of social justice, however the topic itself changes each year based on the current social situations in the world as well as the interests of the Co-Presidents of the

conference. In my third year, the topic was titled *Unresolved Conflict: Remember Our Forgotten History* and was surrounding the topic of Indigenous-State relations, history of injustices against Indigenous peoples in the Americas, and current struggles faced by the Indigenous communities of North America. Immediately upon hearing the topic of the conference, I felt an immense urge to participate in some meaningful way. I applied for the position of Workshops Committee Co-Chair and was accepted to this position. My Co-Chair and I were given the task of contacting possible workshop speakers with the goal of establishing a total of five or six workshop sessions at the conference. Ultimately, we were able to accomplish this goal and the conference included prominent presenters like Dr. Anton Treuer, Dr. Bruce Miller, and Dr. Michael Yellow Bird, among others.

One of the most powerful aspects of the conference was the lunch. This may seem like a weird choice for an influential aspect of the conference, but I was given the opportunity to sit with Charlotte Black Elk and listen to her speak with everyone who came to discuss a multitude of topics with her. As we were getting lunch, we informed her that we had reserved a room for her so she could eat in relative silence away from the hustle and bustle of the cafeteria, which was far too small for the number of people attending the conference. Upon hearing this, she responded with "I don't like being put on the reservation," and proceeded to sit down at a table in the middle of the cafeteria to eat her lunch. Throughout the rest of the short lunch period, many people came forward to speak with her and thank her for her words during the keynote speech. Everything about this lunch period with her greatly influenced me, though I would not realize how much until the point when I decided to apply for graduate school.

As I neared the end of my time at Gustavus Adolphus College, I knew I wanted to attend graduate school. I began doing research into different departments and realized my true passion would be to do graduate school in Native Studies. After conversing with Peter Kulchyski, I decided to apply and was accepted. From that point forward, my life would forever change for the better.

I entered the University of Manitoba's Master's Program in Native Studies in September of 2013 with only the knowledge that I wanted to work on environmental issues as they related to Indigenous communities. Peter suggested I research hydroelectric development in northern Manitoba and as soon as I began to read the background literature I was astonished. As I read about the history of Manitoba Hydro and their relationships with Cree communities in northern Manitoba, I knew this was the topic I wanted to research for my degree. Throughout my first year in the program, I read all the background material I could find, with the help of Peter, and gained a strong base in the history of hydroelectric 'development' in northern Manitoba. However, the most educational experiences during this time were my interactions with Noah Massan and Ivan Moose at the Manitoba Clean Environment Commission hearings on the Keeyask Generating Station.

As I began to delve into the world of hydroelectric development in northern Manitoba, I was given the opportunity to participate in the Manitoba Clean Environment Commission hearings through the Concerned Fox Lake Grassroots Citizens. My capacity in this organization was almost strictly as a transcriber for interviews done in northern Manitoba related to the impacts Manitoba Hydro has had on individuals within the community. This work humanized much of what I had been reading, including the horrendous stories of destruction of individual's

houses, the ruination of the environment upon which many of the community members survived, and the slow elimination of community cohesion as it was felt in the past. These interviews motivated me to work towards the public understanding of the impact energy production has on communities in northern Manitoba, and the true nature of interactions between Manitoba Hydro and First Nations communities.

In addition to this insightful experience, I was also provided with the ability to speak with community members at all of the hearings, most prominently Noah Massan and Ivan Moose. Noah and Ivan have become great friends and mentors to me throughout my work, as they are constantly informing me of what is happening and how life has changed in their years in the Gillam area as members of the Fox Lake Cree Nation. Their stories have helped to guide my research, prepare me for what I would see while visiting the north, and open my eyes to their view of *Aski*, the earth upon which we all live. Without their help, I would not hold much of the knowledge I am able to share. Although this relationship started during the CEC hearings, it did not end there. Ivan and Noah provided me with a vast quantities of information while I was doing research in the north and showed me much of what they saw related to hydroelectric development, the destruction of Noah's trapline and the divide within Gillam. This friendship will continue into the future, as I continue to work on hydropower issues and they continue to hold immense knowledge of its implications.

As Manitoba Hydro continued their efforts to gain formal licences for the Keeyask Generating Station, I was granted yet another opportunity to meet people steeped in the debate. Following the Clean Environment Commission hearings, Manitoba Hydro moved forward to the Public Utilities Board hearings. Before these hearing began, Peter suggested I meet with Will

Braun, an activist working for the Interchurch Council on Hydropower and Pimicikamak Okimawin. Will has helped me immensely through his support and trust. He introduced me to Robert Spence, an extremely important introduction as it provided me with a contact, and friend, in Tataskweyak Cree Nation at Split Lake, Manitoba. In addition to this introduction, Will also helped me organize a workshop at the Building Bridges Conference during my first year at the University of Manitoba, contacting Les Dysart from O-Pipon-Na-Piwin Cree Nation to speak at the conference about the implications of hydroelectric development on Southern Indian Lake. Establishing this conference helped me to learn more about the implications of hydroelectric development on South Indian Lake, a community about which I have only read. As an outcome of the trip and relationship forged between Will, Les, and myself, I may now have the opportunity to visit South Indian Lake for the purpose of doing land study that could be useful for legal or consultation purposes in the future. Now, I also have support within the community that could be helpful in establishing a relationship during my planned Ph.D research.

As I moved forward with my project during late June of 2014, I was faced with the difficulty of knowing virtually no one in any of the communities I planned to visit. However, the relationships that started, though it was in its infancy, between Robert and myself helped to introduce me to a variety of people in the Tataskweyak Cree Nation. In just four days, Robert, and his wife Melanie, helped me set up a total of eight interviews with individuals who wanted to share their stories of Manitoba Hydro's impacts on their lives. On top of the amazing interviews established through the tireless work of Robert and Melanie, Robert also gifted me a view of the land that many have never had the privilege of seeing. Together, along with Robert's son Chaiton, we spent over five hours on the waters of Split Lake, with Robert describing the land

before the flooding and showing me many of the locations to which he went as a child with his Elders. It is my hope that this knowledge and experience will stay with me for the rest of my life, as it was one of the most influential moments of my education over the entirety of my life. Without the experiences and knowledge shared by Robert, Melanie, and all the individuals to whom they introduced me, this thesis would not have been possible. However, the most important thing they gave me, and the thing I will cherish the most for my time to come, was their trust in my motivations and me.

Also, I must thank those who have supported me financially throughout this process. Without the support of the Duff Roblin Fellowship and the University of Manitoba's Graduate Enhancement of Tri-Council Stipends program, I would not have survived my first Winnipeg winter, nor would I have been able to afford attending the University of Manitoba throughout this two-year program. In addition to this funding, I am pleased to acknowledge the generous financial support of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada through the Manitoba Research Alliance grant: Partnering for Change – Community-based solutions for Aboriginal and inner-city poverty. Lastly, and most importantly, I would like to acknowledge the work of Kimberly Wilde. Without her expertise in organizing financial reports and budgets, I would never have accomplished my trips north without completely bankrupting myself. Her tireless work to help me through this process shows her dedication to both the field of Native Studies and the students in the department who are completely naïve to the processes of funding.

Finally, and most importantly, I must honour Mother Nature and *Aski*, the land. As I spent more time in northern Manitoba, I began to recognize, slowly, the web of life and the giving nature of our Mother. In many ways, I have failed my portion of the relationship between

Mother Nature and myself, however she continued to present me with gifts of knowledge and peace as I spent time on the water and in the bush. This thesis is dedicated to all those who fight on her behalf every day.

Table of Contents

Introduction

Throughout the past 100 years, Manitoba has been producing hydroelectric energy to provide electricity to the people within its borders ("History & Timeline"). Early on in the history of hydroelectric development, generating stations were rather small and built along the Winnipeg River to power industry or relatively small population centres like Brandon, Manitoba ("History & Timeline"). However, in the early 1960s, the newly formed Manitoba Hydro began to realize the potential of the Nelson River system and the possibility of hydroelectric mega-projects not only capable of powering all of Manitoba, but also providing power to export to other provinces and the United States (Kulchyski, *Aboriginal Rights* 133). These hydroelectric mega-projects would have great implications on the environment in which they would be built, and an even greater impact on the Cree Nations living along this formerly pristine river system.

Beginning in the late 1960s, Manitoba Hydro entered a period of mega-projects along the Nelson River system with little to no consultation of the Indigenous communities living in this area (McClullum & McClullum 104; Kulchyski *Aboriginal Rights* 131). As they moved forward in their production of these dams, they established a "legacy of hatred" through their multiple interactions with the First Nations affected by their projects (Kulchyski, *Aboriginal Rights* 132). "Legacy of hatred" is a phrase that describes the immense dislike and distrust held by many Indigenous communities in northern Manitoba. Throughout the history of Manitoba Hydro's interactions with First Nations communities, consultation and community consent were ignored or rejected consistently. This has made Manitoba Hydro a "dirty word" in the minds of many Indigenous community members. First, the Kelsey Generating Station was produced to power the Thompson nickel mines ("History & Timeline"). Following the completion of Kelsey,

Manitoba Hydro became interested in the prospect of constructing more dams along the Nelson River, leading to the study and construction of the Churchill River Diversion (McClullum & McClullum 103). Ultimately, the communities formed a coalition and forced Manitoba and Manitoba Hydro into the Northern Flood Agreement in the 1970s, a modern-day treaty, which they promptly purported to extinguish through the introduction of Comprehensive Implementation Agreements in the 1990s (Kulchyski, *Aboriginal Rights* 129; Kulchyski, "Step Back" 134; Orkin 124).

In recent years, Manitoba Hydro has taken a new approach to their relations with Indigenous communities in northern Manitoba. Regarding the two most recent generating stations that have received formal licenses, communities have been offered 'partnership' opportunities as a form of compensation for the immense and life changing impacts of their generating stations ("Wuskwatim Generating Station"; "Keeyask Project"). These 'partnership' agreements offer communities the 'privilege' of purchasing a share of the generating station being produced in their immediate area, with the possibility of profits according to their shares in the future, after they pay for their portion of the dam (Kulchyski, "A Step Back" 136; "Keeyask Project"). This approach has been used for both the Wuskwatim Generating Station in accordance with Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation and the Keeyask Generating Station with Fox Lake Cree Nation, Tataskweyak Cree Nation, York Factory First Nation, and War Lake First Nation (Kulchyski, "A Step Back" 136; "Keeyask Project"). These partnerships, along with the Comprehensive Implementation Agreements of the past, show Manitoba and Manitoba Hydro have taken a view of communities as impoverished workers. In order to gain the consent from

communities or compensate for losses, the corporation has taken the approach of providing financial compensation, failing to consider the cultural components of Indigenous rights.

Manitoba Hydro promotes their 'partnerships' with affected communities as a means of making the construction of generating stations a "collaborative effort" between the corporation and affected communities ("Keeyask Project"). These 'partnership' agreements are used by the Crown corporation as a means of establishing social licence, an idea prominent in mining indicating that local support from communities is necessary for natural resource extraction and use (Pike 3). In fact, Manitoba's current Premier Greg Selinger has stated that 'partnership' agreements between Manitoba Hydro and First Nations provide "phenomenal social licence" (Braun "Loses Shine"). Social licence differs from formal licence, for example environmental licences, in that it is provided by communities, not government bodies, and is based on the community's perceptions of the project and its consequences. However, the First Nations living in these affected areas are required to sacrifice much of who they are, where they live, and what they hold dear for the purpose of profits made by the sale of hydroelectric energy to the United States and other energy markets. 'Partnerships' established by Manitoba Hydro, to date, are in no way equal, as the communities suffer all the social and environmental costs of the project and are required to take immense risk through the support of multi-billion dollar projects with band money and loans from Manitoba Hydro, while Manitoba Hydro must only suffer the cost of the current generating station they are producing, a cost that can be placed on the consumers in Manitoba and all other areas to which energy is sold. As an outcome of this completely unequal relationship, the social licence provided to Manitoba Hydro through the establishment of

‘partnership’ agreements is fallacious in nature, and will continue to be false until the unequal ‘partnerships’ are rectified to compensate and support the ‘partner’ in northern Manitoba.

Manitoba's Legacy of Hydropower Production

Hydroelectric development in northern Manitoba has had a long and arduous history for First Nations people. This history has lasted over 100 years and will continue into the foreseeable future ("History & Timeline"). Throughout this history, the provincial government of Manitoba, along with the Crown corporation Manitoba Hydro, has taken a multitude of approaches to relations with First Nations. These differing approaches to relationships with affected First Nations communities have established what Peter Kulchyski has termed a "legacy of hatred" (*Aboriginal Rights* 132). Recently, Manitoba Hydro has initiated a new approach to their work with First Nations communities through what they term a 'partnership' (Kulchyski, "A Step Back" 136; "Keeyask Project"). Establishing a 'partnership' between Manitoba Hydro and affected First Nations allows the perception of social licencing from these affected First Nations. However, this social licence is fallacious in nature and its use continues to promote the distrust and hatred towards Manitoba Hydro felt by First Nations people in these communities.

Initial production of hydroelectric dams began in the early 1900s with the construction of the Minnedosa generating station on the Little Saskatchewan River ("History & Timeline"). This station helped power the city of Brandon and was only in operation 8 months during the year ("History & Timeline"). During the following decades, the Winnipeg Electric Railway Company, later Winnipeg Electric Company, produced other, in contemporary terms comparatively small hydropower projects along the Winnipeg River ("History & Timeline"). Construction of these projects gave Manitoba the possibility of exporting energy to the United States, a plan that was accomplished through the work of the Manitoba Power Commission in 1936 ("History & Timeline"). Selling energy to the United States is considered to be one of the

prominent reasons for contemporary hydroelectric generating station production in Manitoba (Kulchyski, *Aboriginal Rights* 133). Projects along the Winnipeg River continued until the beginning of the 1960s ("History & Timeline"). These projects greatly affected the ability of local Indigenous communities to use the river for their own means, particularly the community of Sagkeeng First Nation, formerly Fort Alexander (Kulchyski *Aboriginal Rights*, 131). Although much of the construction along the Winnipeg River took place prior to the 1970s, Sagkeeng First Nation only received compensation from Manitoba Hydro in 1997, with the amount totalling approximately $2.5 million ("History & Timeline"). In 1961, the Kelsey Generating Station was built on the Nelson River in northern Manitoba ("Kelsey Generating Station). Kelsey was the first generating station built on the Nelson River, but it would most certainly not be the last.

Following the production of the Kelsey Generating Station, the provincial government of Manitoba combined the two provincial power corporations in 1961 and established Manitoba Hydro as it is today ("History & Timeline"). Two years after the establishment of Manitoba Hydro, surveys began to investigate the power potential of the Nelson River ("History & Timeline"). In 1965, Manitoba Hydro finished construction on the Grand Rapids Generating Station, a generating station on the Saskatchewan River between Cedar Lake and Lake Winnipeg, near the First Nations communities of Chemawawin and Grand Rapids (Waldram, *River Runs* 85).

It is important to note that the Indigenous communities in northern Manitoba are registered under Treaty 5. Initially, Treaty 5 was negotiated in 1875, with adhesions being signed in the early 1900s, in order for the government to gain land for transportation, and later

natural resources (Waldram, *River Runs* 39). Regarding the adhesions to Treaty 5, it would have been more applicable for communities to sign adhesions to Treaty 10, as it was a contemporary Treaty for the time and would have provided greater land and financial support to communities than Treaty 5 (Tough, 108). However, this was most likely the exact reason adhesions were made to Treaty 5 instead. Of particular interest for this paper is the adhesion signed in 1908 with Split Lake Cree Nation. At the time of signing, the community leader for Split Lake was handed an individual adhesion, meant for non-Status Indigenous people in the region, instead of the adhesion meant for the Split Lake Cree Nation (Tough, 110). This error seems to have never been correctly fixed, which may establish the Split Lake Resource Management Area as unceded territory.

The community of Indigenous and Métis people at Chemawawin lived in an area known as Summerberry Marsh, an area rich in waterfowl and other game capable of supporting the community (Waldram, *River Runs* 81-82). Chemawawin consisted of 548 Indigenous people and 300 Métis people, and the area upon which they lived gained reserve status in 1930 (Waldram, *River Runs* 82-83). Throughout the history of habitation at Cedar Lake, and Summerberry Marsh in particular, the community supported itself through commercial fishing and hunting as an economic base (Waldram, *River Runs* 82-85). In addition to being a productive game area, Cedar Lake was also a major provider of water transport and was a hub for the fur trade (Waldram, *River Runs* 82-85). However, the relatively blissful existence in this area would not survive the introduction of hydroelectric development.

As Manitoba Hydro progressed with the production of the Grand Rapids Generating Station, they realized the dam would raise the level of Cedar Lake by approximately 3.5 metres

(Waldram, *River Runs* 85). This amount of flooding would cause the forced relocation of the entire community at Chemawawin (Waldram, *River Runs* 85). With this realization, the government of Manitoba established a committee, which suggested that the government and Manitoba Hydro must review and consider the implications of this project upon the people of Chemawawin (Waldram, *River Runs* 85-86). In response to this suggestion, two committees were established, called the Grand Rapids Forebay Administration Committee, to study the possible human impacts of the Grand Rapids dam, one in Winnipeg and the other in The Pas (Waldram, *River Runs* 86). After the committees had been established, the Department of Indian Affairs suggested that the Native residents should be on or represented in The Pas committee, the request was denied by the government of Manitoba, citing a lack of necessity as its reasoning (Waldram, *River Runs* 86).

As it became obvious to all involved that the community would be required to relocate, the Grand Rapids Forebay Administration Committees were given new jobs related to negotiations with the community (Waldram, *River Runs* 86). These jobs included coordinating with all government agencies, negotiating with those affected by the flooding, keeping individuals informed about the project and relocation, to keep Chemawawin informed about the decisions made in Winnipeg, and finally to provide administration services for the relocation process (Waldram, *River Runs* 86). It became undeniably obvious shortly after these new mandated changes that the committee was either unable or unwilling to fulfill its duties (Waldram, *River Runs* 86).

Throughout the process of relocation, a number of difficulties arose related to the functionality of the committee. One of the most prominent difficulties was the path through

which information must travel to reach the community. As it was established, the committee would send information through either the Indian Superintendent, Community Development Officer, or a trader in the community, who would then pass it along to the band council or local flood committee, and finally would reach the people most affected by the decisions made in Winnipeg (Waldram, *River Runs* 87). This separation between the people and the decision-making bodies indicates a lack of willingness to truly negotiate the mitigation steps necessary to support the community. Along with the immense separation of power, there was also a conflict of interest for many of the committee members. Arguably the most important mandate of the committees was to support the Indigenous people through this change and advocate for their interests, however the committee members were government employees with loyalty to the government and utility, a position often directly opposed to that of those they were supposed to be representing (Waldram, *River Runs* 87).

Despite the initiation of the Grand Rapids project beginning in 1957, the community of Chemawawin was only informed of its construction in 1960 (Waldram, *River Runs* 88). Actions such as this epitomize Manitoba and Manitoba Hydro's wish to avoid all necessary consultation at this time. As the project moved forward and relocation became a guarantee, the community was only informed about three years prior to the relocation date (Waldram, *River Runs* 88). In spite of these two obvious attempts to avoid consultation, the federal government, against its legal requirement to negotiate all land surrenders with First Nations, allowed Manitoba to control the land surrender plans (Waldram, *River Runs* 89). Ultimately, the plan established that there would be a direct exchange of land destroyed for the community (Waldram, *River Runs* 89). When the negotiations were completed, the community was essentially given the choice of three

options, all of which were not good options and at last the chosen site was presented to the community during the winter, reducing the possibility of a thorough review of the land (Waldram, *River Runs* 89-93). One of the options, which was ultimately chosen by the community, was portrayed as an "Indian Utopia," with electricity and highway access (Waldram, *River Runs* 90-91). Some research done at the time of negotiations indicates that the government had already planned for the community to relocate to Easterville before the community agreed (Waldram, *River Runs* 91).

With the conclusion of planning for the relocation, negotiations had to begin, however these negotiations were obviously not meant to be in good faith. At the beginning of the process, Chemawawin organized a flood committee to negotiate on their behalf, however the government made it clear that negotiations were to be completed in a total of two meetings over a period of three months (Waldram, *River Runs* 93-94). As negotiations moved forwards, the community was not provided with legal counsel, nor were they allowed to use the community's trader as a form of counsel (Waldram, *River Runs* 94). During the negotiation process, local dislike for the committee increased (Waldram, *River Runs* 95-96). At the same time as the negative view was increasing, the U.S. Wildlife Service was hired to survey the impacts of the generating station (Waldram, *River Runs* 96-97). The results were not positive, but to protect the negotiation process in favour of the government, the committee made the documents confidential so the community could not access them (Waldram, *River Runs* 96-97). Despite the immense problems with the negotiation process, the band council agreed to the offer and signed a band resolution on 14 June 1962 (Waldram, *River Runs* 102).

Although Chemawawin signed the Letter of Intent, the community was extremely hesitant to accept the agreement (Waldram, *River Runs* 102). With only a month left until the relocation, the community sent the government a list of demands including the establishment of new reserve boundaries, land exchange completion, electricity, and houses for all families at the time of relocation (Waldram, *River Runs* 102-103). Many of these demands took years to implement or were never fulfilled (Waldram, *River Runs* 103).

Following the relocation of Chemawawin to Easterville, the government began failing at its duties to support the community as established in the agreements between the parties (Waldram, *River Runs* 103). With the support of the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, Chemawawin hired a lawyer, Harvey Pullock, to negotiate the completion of promises already established (Waldram, *River Runs* 106). Pullock filed a Statement of Claim against Manitoba, Hydro, and the Forebay Committee, but these actions failed to make it to court (Waldram, *River Runs* 107-109). However, in 1978 the claim was resurrected (Waldram, *River Runs* 109).

As Chemawawin was suffering through the lack of implementation of promises made in their agreement, the community of Grand Rapids, just down river of the Grand Rapids Generating Station, was impacted by not only a lack of consultation, but also a lack of any form of compensation or agreement (Waldram, *River Runs* 111). One outcome of this failure to consult and compensate other communities affected by the project was the formation of the Swampy Cree Tribal Council, a council consisting of communities at The Pas (Métis), Moose Lake (Métis), Grand Rapids, and Chemawawin (Waldram, *River Runs* 111). As a response to the Grand Rapids Forebay Administration Committee, the Swampy Cree Tribal Council established another flood committee representing the community, known as the Special Forebay

Committee (Waldram, *River Runs* 111). This committee was tasked with negotiating and, if necessary, taking legal action on behalf of the four communities under the Swampy Cree Tribal Council (Waldram, *River Runs* 111). In addition to the formation of this committee, the council also hired lawyer Ken Young to work on behalf of the council and committee in negotiations with Manitoba and Manitoba Hydro (Waldram, *River Runs* 112).

Some of the first steps taken by Ken Young were to request negotiations be reopened and, when that began to fail and the opportunity neared its end, file claims against Manitoba, Manitoba Hydro, and the federal government on behalf of Moose Lake, The Pas, and Grand Rapids (Waldram, *River Runs* 112). As a result of this action, Manitoba and the federal government were forced to negotiate with the council regarding the project; the most important issue on the table for the communities was the loss of hunting abilities (Waldram, *River Runs* 112-113). As an outcome of these meetings, the communities requested funding for research into the implications of the generating station, which was promptly denied by the provincial government (Waldram, *River Runs* 113). However, the federal government took this opportunity to provide the communities with $581,000 for the research they requested (Waldram, *River Runs* 113).

Following these meeting, the Chiefs in Easterville (formerly Chemawawin), Grand Rapids, and The Pas were not re-elected (Waldram, *River Runs* 113). The new Chiefs decided to take a different approach from their predecessors and released Ken Young from his retainer as representative for their communities (Waldram, *River Runs* 113). In 1981, Chemawawin's reserve increased in size by 1,000 acres, making the reserve a total of 1,655 acres of the promised over 12,000 acres of reserve land (Waldram, *River Runs* 114). Finally, in 1985 after

over 20 years since the signing of the Letter of Intent, the community received their remaining 11,000 acres of reserve land (Waldram, *River Runs* 114).

Throughout this saga, it is apparent that the provincial government of Manitoba and Manitoba Hydro were in no way attempting to support the communities or gain community approval for the project that would greatly affect their lives. The communities were greatly affected by the damage done to their land and compensation took many years, in the case of reserve land over 20 years, and was not of equal quality to the livelihood they lost. In the case of Grand Rapids, compensation was not awarded until 1991, a measly $5.5 million (Kulchyski & Neckoway 25). Despite the extremely negative implications of the generating station of local First Nation, Grand Rapids would not be the last hydroelectric project built in northern Manitoba. Production of the Grand Rapids Generating Station is considered to be the final project Manitoba Hydro undertook before entering a new stage of development, mega projects along the Nelson River (Kulchyski & Neckoway 24).

Surveys initiated by Manitoba Hydro in 1963 found that the Nelson River had great potential for the production of hydroelectric power, however the Churchill River would be capable of producing far less energy (Waldram, *River Runs* 118-119). Following the production of the Grand Rapids Generating Station, in 1966 Manitoba Hydro began a major project, with the support of the provincial and federal governments, to 'develop' the "hydroelectric potential of the Nelson River" ("History & Timeline"). Ultimately, this project consisted of constructing a regulatory dam at Missi Falls on the northern end of Southern Indian Lake (Waldram, *River Runs* 119). The production of this regulatory dam would reduce the flow of water out of Southern Indian Lake through the Churchill River and would divert that water through diversion

into the Rat River, Burntwood River, and ultimately the Nelson River (Waldram, *River Runs* 119). However, the Indigenous community of South Indian Lake First Nation, now O-Pipon-Na-Piwin, was never consulted about this project, as they were perceived as being "anachronisms in the present age of technology" (Waldram, *River Runs* 121). At this point in time, the community of South Indian Lake had the second largest and most productive Grade A whitefish fishery in all of North America (Ducharme). Initial plans for the project would result in approximately 10 metres of flooding of Southern Indian Lake (Waldram, *River Runs* 119). Flooding Southern Indian Lake by 10 metres would have detrimental effects on the environment, the productivity of the whitefish fishery, and would require the forced relocation of the entire community of South Indian Lake (McClullum & McClullum 106). This project would have devastating impacts on the community as it was originally planned.

Upon learning of the proposed project, a group of concerned professors at the University of Manitoba wrote an open letter to the Hon. Harry Enns, Minister of Mines and Resources, regarding the issue (McClullum & McClullum 106). This letter brought the entire issue to the public of Manitoba as well as the Cree and Métis community of South Indian Lake (McClullum & McClullum 106). At this point in time, the Conservative party was in power in Manitoba with Duff Roblin as premier (McClullum & McClullum 106). Publicity surrounding the proposed project produced major backlash against the Conservative government and, along with the proposal of Bill 15 which would circumvent any attempts at injunction, ultimately led to its downfall at the hands of the New Democratic Party led by Ed Schreyer in 1969 (McClullum & McClullum 106-107). Upon being elected as premier, Ed Shreyer immediately promised an end to the high level diversion that loomed over the people of South Indian Lake (McClullum &

McClullum 107-108). However, this would not spell the end of the possibility of destruction and travesty at Southern Indian Lake.

Following the promise to end the high level diversion proposed by the Conservative government, the NDP hired new consultants to review the plans (McClullum & McClullum 107-108). Upon completion of this study, the NDP decided to take a new approach to the diversion, as opposed to completely ending the project overall. This new project would be a lower level diversion, raising the level of Southern Indian Lake by approximately 3 metres and only requiring the relocation of part of the community (Waldram, *River Runs* 119). This decision prompted the phrase, "We won't flood you a lot; we'll just flood you a little" (McClullum & McClullum 107-108). Not surprisingly, the destruction caused by this project would not be solely felt by those living near Southern Indian Lake, but also by many Indigenous communities living all along the Nelson River (Waldram, *River Runs* 147).

Realization of the implications of these projects by communities along the Nelson River prompted the formation of the Northern Flood Committee, hereafter NFC, in 1974 (Waldram, *River Runs* 147). This committee consisted of representation from a total of five First Nations communities along the Nelson River including Split Lake Cree Nation, Cross Lake Cree Nation, York Landing First Nation, Nelson House Cree Nation, and Norway House Cree Nation (Waldram, *River Runs* 147). However, South Indian Lake was not a member of the Northern Flood Committee, as they were considered members of Nelson House Cree Nation (Waldram *River Runs,* 117). Together, these communities started a long and arduous battle against Manitoba Hydro and the provincial government of Manitoba. During this time period, the ground-breaking Calder court case was concluding, with the outcome establishing that

Indigenous title to land existed at the time of the Royal Proclamation of 1763 ("Calder Case"). Prior to this decision, Indigenous title was widely ignored, however with the Supreme Court of Canada reaffirming Indigenous title, relationships with Indigenous communities would need to be changed. Upon formation, the committee attended a meeting with the three opposing 'partners,' however following this meeting hostilities arose between the government entities and the committee surrounding the acquisition of documentation related to projects (Waldram, *River Runs* 148-149). Communities under the NFC refused to meet with Manitoba Hydro until the documents requested were shared and time was granted for the communities to read and understand the documentation (Waldram, *River Runs* 148-149). Animosity between the parties grew to the point that, upon request to survey an area near the Nelson House community, a resolution was passed barring any Manitoba Hydro employees from stepping foot on Indigenous lands (Waldram, *River Runs* 149). At this point, it became obvious negotiations would not be possible without the intervention of a third party.

Throughout the duration of these events, Jean Chrétien, head of the Department of Indian Affairs under the federal government of Prime Minister Trudeau, involved himself and his department in negotiations with the NFC (Waldram, *River Runs* 149). During the battles between the community of South Indian Lake and the provincial government of Manitoba, the federal government remained astonishingly quiet. However, as the NFC began its battle against the provincial government and energy corporation, the Department of Indian Affairs and federal government supported the communities and established that it was upset with the lack of information being provided the First Nations (Waldram, *River Runs* 149-150). Shortly after the NDP of Manitoba were informed of the federal government's position, Premier Ed Schreyer sent

a letter to Prime Minister Trudeau threatening the federal government in relation to its position in the construction of the projects (Waldram, *River Runs* 152-153). In an unsurprising turn of events, shortly after this letter was received by the Prime Minister, the Department of Indian Affairs required that the NFC begin the negotiations process with Manitoba Hydro and the Manitoba government (Waldram, *River Runs* 153).

Despite the benefit gained by the Manitoba government in the NFC being forced to negotiate, they continued to attempt to undermine the committee. Manitoba Hydro went to the individual communities of the NFC and attempted to convince them to leave the NFC, with the ultimate goal of completely destroying the committee (Waldram, *River Runs* 154). At the same time that Manitoba Hydro was attempting to destroy the NFC, Premier Schreyer was arguing that the individual members of NFC communities had the right to negotiate directly with the government and Manitoba Hydro, and therefore the government did not have to negotiate with the NFC (Waldram, *River Runs* 155). In response to this, the NFC refused to meet with the government and Manitoba Hydro until they were recognized as the sole negotiators on behalf of the five communities (Waldram, *River Runs* 155). Premier Schreyer continued his campaign against the Northern Flood Committee through sending flyers to individual residents in the communities represented by the NFC (Waldram, *River Run* 155-156). However, Premier Schreyer failed to realize that the community members had already decided upon a representative for their interests, and that was the NFC (Waldram, *River Runs* 155-156). Of course, the actions taken by the government had an extremely negative impact on the negotiations that were already on thin ice, and the letter sent to individual residents ultimately brought these negotiations to a halt (Waldram, *River Runs* 158). In an attempt to return to the

process of negotiating an agreement, the federal government promoted a mediation process between the parties, an idea to which all sides agreed (Waldram, *River Runs* 158-160). As negotiations were restored, the NFC composed a first draft of an agreement (Waldram, *River Runs* 158-160). Ultimately, all parties would ratify this draft agreement in 1977 under the title of the Northern Flood Agreement (Waldram, *River Runs* 160).

As stated by Hon. Eric Robinson, the Manitoba Minister of Aboriginal and Northern Affairs, the Northern Flood Agreement is a modern-day treaty (Kulchyski, "A Step Back" 134). This modern-day treaty established multiple promising agreements that would support affected First Nations in their process of adapting to the immense and widespread changes that were happening to their homeland. Of these promises, four are of great importance. First, the Northern Flood Agreement established that the NFC would be consulted about any future hydroelectric projects (Waldram, *River Runs* 160). In the case of the Churchill River Diversion, the communities were not warned about the project prior to the commencement of studies into its effectiveness (McClullum & McClullum 104). With the establishment of a promise to consult the NFC prior to future hydroelectric 'development,' communities would be guaranteed to be kept up to date on all plans made by Manitoba Hydro related to their area.

A second promise established in the Northern Flood Agreement addressed the issue of flooding of reserve land. This provision established a guarantee of replacement of each acre flooded by hydroelectric development with four acres of Crown land (Waldram, *River Runs* 161). Establishment of this provision would provide communities with more land for hunting and trapping in place of the land destroyed by Manitoba Hydro's dams. However, the promise of four acres for every acre flooded indicates a common and accepted perception that the land

gained would be less productive than that flooded. Also, the land used as compensation for flooded land must be unused public land that would not be needed for public use in the future (Waldram, *River Runs* 161). Although the promise of compensation for land at such a high proportion seems like a major victory for affected communities, the quality of land offered by the Northern Flood Agreement could be questioned, as it was unused land with no potential for public need.

Third, the Northern Flood Agreement produced a development corporation with the purpose of managing compensation royalties created by hydropower production in the area (Waldram, *River Runs* 159-160). Along with this promise, the NFA also clarified that the Northern Flood Committee would be completely reimbursed for any costs accrued during the process leading up to the ratification of the NFA (Waldram, *River Runs* 160).

Finally, and possibly most importantly, the NFA solidified the rights of Indigenous people under the NFC to hunt and fish in specified off-reserve areas (Waldram, *River Runs* 159-160). Along with the promise of off-reserve hunting rights, the NFA established community priority to wildlife resources in trapline zones, rivers, and lakes (Waldram, *River Runs* 161). In association with Indigenous priority to resources within these areas, the Agreement also prohibited hunting, fishing, and trapping in resource areas by non-residents of the communities (Waldram, *River Runs* 161). These rights are especially important, as they allow for the possibility of a continuation of certain aspects of the community culture that may have disappeared without this possibility. However, the necessity of leaving reserve areas to participate in this important cultural and physical activity by nature makes it far more difficult

for community members to continue this lifestyle as it was lived prior to the introduction of hydroelectric generating stations.

Along with the promises established within the Northern Flood Agreement, certain statements were made that guaranteed prosperity for communities protected under the NFA. In particular, and one of the most often cited statements made in the Northern Flood Agreements, is the promise of "eradication of mass poverty and mass unemployment" in NFC communities (Suchan 39). Statements such as this promote the idea that the government will take over the role of providing for communities, as the land and water did prior to the introduction of hydroelectric dams. The Agreement goes on to require that local residents be trained, and employed, in hydropower production positions, especially related to construction (Waldram, *River Runs* 161).

In addition to the promise of an end to poverty and unemployment, the Northern Flood Agreement also established an approach to compensation for damages caused by flooding (Waldram, *River Runs* 160). In the case of inability to agree on compensation for damages, an independent arbitration process was created to assist the negotiation process (Waldram, *River Runs* 160).

Despite the immense promises made in the Northern Flood Agreement and the possibility of a relatively strong future for Indigenous communities in northern Manitoba, the people most affected by hydroelectric development would never see their rights truly implemented. Almost immediately following the signing of the NFA, disagreements began (Waldram, *River Runs* 161). Many ministers within the provincial governments, especially the Minister of Mines and Resources, saw the arbitration process set out by the NFA to be a way of shipping the

government “down the river” (Waldram, *River Runs* 161). Along with the perception of the NFA going against the favour of the government, there were also five major areas of disagreement within Schedule E, which addressed community development (Suchan 38).

First, there was a perception within the government and Manitoba Hydro that the Agreement should have included eight parties instead of four, allowing the five First Nations to be involved in the process separately rather than as one cohesive unit (Suchan 38). The government and Manitoba Hydro argued that the five communities should be separate as a result of their different needs and the diverse range of impacts by hydroelectric ‘development’ (Suchan 38). In opposition to this view, it can be argued that the breaking down of the Northern Flood Committee into its component parts would drastically reduce the ability of the communities to negotiate with Manitoba Hydro and the government, as the governmental entities would be able to divide and conquer each community.

Next, Schedule E was described as a development project that would be continuous in the communities, however it never described how the promises would be implemented (Suchan 38-39). The Northern Flood Agreement does stipulate that inabilities to agree would be negotiated through an arbitration process, however this would be difficult due to the extensive time necessary to undergo the arbitration process, seriously hindering the abilities of communities to support themselves in the interim (Waldram, *River Runs* 160-161).

Disagreements surrounding Schedule E continued with the promises related to resource allocations. This section of the Northern Flood Agreement lacked a concrete description of the process of resource allocation (Suchan 39). Again, this disagreement could be addressed through

the arbitration process, but this process could take a large amount of time that would leave the First Nations communities in a state of limbo throughout the arbitration process.

Yet another disagreement surrounded the needs of communities. Some have questioned whether the communities' opinions and needs were accurately considered, or if those needs put forward were merely those of expert consultants (Suchan 40). It would seem that understanding the community needs would not be terribly difficult, especially if the governmental entities and the NFC were in contact with each other. However, if the needs and opinions were merely those perceived by consultants, a nuanced understanding of the actual needs and opinions would be missing and the communities would not gain the support necessary for them to flourish and prosper.

Lastly, the NFC and governmental entities disagreed on the very important issue of the nature of the Northern Flood Agreement (Suchan 40). Although the government has accepted that the Northern Flood Agreement is a treaty now, this was not the case in the late 1970s (Kulchyski, "A Step Back" 134; Suchan 40). At this point in history, the Indigenous communities under the NFA perceived the Agreement as a treaty that was legally binding and could not be easily bought out (Suchan 40). If the NFA were to be considered merely a contract between the parties, that would allow an easier process to remove the obligations established within the document, making destruction of the document far easier if Manitoba Hydro and the provincial government wished to remove themselves from their promises (Suchan 40). As of late, this argument has changed somewhat on the side of the provincial government. As stated before, the Hon. Eric Robinson of the NDP has stated that the Northern Flood Agreement is a modern day treaty (Kulchyski, "A Step Back" 134). However, the argument continues as

Robinson included in his statement that the Comprehensive Implementation Agreements, which will be described shortly, are one means of implementing the treaty (Dobrovolny 180). Pimicikamak Cree Nation has continued its struggle for full implementation of the Northern Flood Agreement without the use of Comprehensive Implementation Agreements (Kulchyski, *Aboriginal Rights* 134).

One product of these disagreements was a near non-existent implementation of promises made in the Northern Flood Agreement. As time passed, and implementation of the NFA continued to fail, the communities began to suffer greatly from the destruction of their land and the lack of compensation to support them during this time of change. Non-implementation of the Northern Flood Agreement lasted approximately 10 years, with the communities suffering all the while, until Manitoba proposed an option of implementing compensation for the communities (Newman 48-49). At this point in time, the Canadian Constitution Act had been passed, with Section 35 establishing the rights of Indigenous people in Canada ("Constitution Act"). Consideration of Indigenous rights is a major contributor to Manitoba and Manitoba Hydro's attempts to address the rights outlined in the Northern Flood Agreement, as these rights would need to be confronted prior to any future construction of hydroelectric generating stations. This proposed approach to implementation was called the Proposed Basis for Settlement, which some government officials argue would have begun negotiations had it been accepted (Newman 49). However, the Northern Flood Committee was not in agreement with the Proposed Basis of Settlement and it was rejected by the chiefs of the five communities in favour of a return to implementation of the NFA, through arbitration if necessary (Newman 49). Shortly after the Proposed Basis of Settlement was rejected, Split Lake Cree Nation entered into negotiations with

Manitoba, Manitoba Hydro, and the federal government (Newman 49). In 1992, the four parties entered into an agreement called a Comprehensive Implementation Agreement (Newman 49). A short time later, York Factory First Nation, Nelson House Cree Nation, and Norway House Cree Nation all signed Comprehensive Implementation Agreements with Manitoba, Manitoba Hydro, and the federal government of Canada (Newman 49). Despite the difficulties facing the communities and the continued destruction of the land, Cross Lake Cree Nation, now Pimicikamak Okimawin, is the only community of the original NFC communities to never sign a Comprehensive Implementation Agreement (Kulchyski, *Aboriginal Rights* 134).

In essence, the Comprehensive Implementation Agreements are "cash buyouts" of the rights the NFC communities obtained under the Northern Flood Agreement (Kulchyski *Aboriginal Rights*, 141). It seems as though these agreements were established in response to the national recognition of Aboriginal right in 1982 (Kulchyski, *Aboriginal Rights* 132). Each community was paid in excess of $45 million for the complete and unchanging removal of their rights under the Northern Flood Agreement (Waldram, "Falling Through the Cracks" 71). With that in consideration, the communities may have been able to force Manitoba and Manitoba Hydro into more compensation if the NFC were capable of retaining the power it obtained while negotiating the Northern Flood Agreement. During a conference on the issue of hydroelectric development in northern Manitoba in 1999, a member of the provincial government, David Newman, outlined what he described as the eight main provisions of the Comprehensive Implementation Agreements (49). These provisions included:

> "(1) financial compensation for outstanding claims; (2) the creation of trusts, owned by the individual First Nations, to manage the implementation funds received from Canada,

> Manitoba and Hydro; (3) provision for trust funds to be sent on community development projects or initiatives; (4) resource co-management boards, which will advise on use and allocation of natural resources; (5) establishment of resource management areas near the reserves of each First Nation; (6) trapping and fishing programs; (7) lands to be added to the First Nations' reserves, and additional permit or fee-simple lands; and (8) environmental monitoring programs concerning the resource-management areas." (Newman 49-50)

However, Comprehensive Implementation Agreements included multiple provisions of great import that are not described by Newman. In particular, the agreements directly affected many of the treaty rights established in the Northern Flood Agreement (Orkin 121-124). One provision of great importance to the freedom of communities and community members in northern Manitoba affects their ability to take legal action against Manitoba and Manitoba Hydro for destruction caused by hydroelectric development (Orkin 122). This provision states that if a band member were to sue the government or Manitoba Hydro under the NFA, that individual's band must pay the legal expenses of the Crown's defense (Orkin 122 & 124). Realistically, this human right should not be removable by any governmental body, provincial or federal.

Rights removal by the Comprehensive Implementation Agreements did not end with the rights of the communities to sue under the Northern Flood Agreement. These agreements also release the three non-Indigenous parties from many of the promises stated in the agreement. In particular, the agreements release each party from the "application of the ancient law of equity, specifically included in the Preamble to the NFA as a guiding principle of interpretation of the meaning of the Agreement" (Orkin 122). A second prominent release within the Comprehensive

Implementation Agreements is the release of Canada from any of its fiduciary duties over the past twenty years in relation to the actions taken by community's "NFA relationship with the Crown" (Orkin 122).

Despite the lack of implementation of the Northern Flood Agreement as it was original signed, the Implementation Agreements are meant to signify the full implementation of past, present, and future claims related to the Northern Flood Agreement (Orkin 122). These agreements were 'implemented' through a one-time payment of millions of dollars, in some instances as a per capita payment to individuals upon "their approval at ratification votes of the Implementation Agreements" (Orkin 124). In one instance at Norway House Cree Nation, the ratification vote was characterized as "bribery" or "vote-buying" under the supervision of the federal government (Orkin 124).

As Northern Flood Committee communities were losing their rights established under the Northern Flood Agreements, other communities affected by hydroelectric development were receiving even more inferior compensation agreements from Manitoba Hydro and the provincial government. One of the most prominent cases of destruction without meaningful compensation as a product of underrepresentation in the Northern Flood Committee is case of South Indian Lake, now O-Pipon-Na-Piwin Cree Nation. At the time of negotiations for the Northern Flood Agreement, the community at South Indian Lake was considered a subgroup of Nelson House Cree Nation (Waldram, *River Runs* 117). However, the community at South Indian Lake had attempted to establish an organization 4 years prior to the formation of the Northern Flood Committee, but failed as a product of governmental financial threats against other communities if they joined (Waldram, *River Runs* 148). With the community of South Indian Lake considered

part of Nelson House Cree Nation, and having individuals within the community who were not status Indigenous, the community was in a far weaker negotiating position and would not gain many of the benefits allotted communities under the NFA directly (Waldram, *River Runs* 150). Given this weak negotiating position, Manitoba Hydro's introduction of Comprehensive Implementation Agreements was an extremely negative change for South Indian Lake. Ultimately, negotiations ended with South Indian Lake reaching an agreement with Manitoba Hydro for a miniscule $18 million (Waldram, "Falling Through the Cracks" 71). After this agreement had been reached, Waldram and another independent consultant reviewed the impacts of the Churchill River Diversion on the community and reached the conclusion that South Indian Lake should have received approximately $75 million in compensation (Waldram, "Falling Through the Cracks" 74). Other communities in this area and along the Nelson River who were not part of the Northern Flood Agreement also received small compensation packages from Manitoba Hydro in relation to the destruction of their river ("History & Timeline").

Since the completion of the Churchill River Diversion, Lake Winnipeg Regulation Project, and Northern Flood Agreement, Manitoba Hydro has produced a total of three generating stations along the Nelson River system (Waldram, *River Runs* 119). In order of age, the Nelson River is affected by the Kettle Generating Station, Long Spruce Generating Station, and Limestone Generating Station ("Generating Stations"). In addition to the projects along the Nelson River, Manitoba Hydro has also constructed the Jenpeg Generating Station near the junction of Lake Winnipeg and the Nelson River produced to regulate the water flow from Lake Winnipeg ("Jenpeg Generating Station"). Jenpeg is one aspect of the Lake Winnipeg Regulation project, which also included other environmental impacts as it required the cutting of forest and

land to 'construct' more channels from Lake Winnipeg to the Nelson River ("Lake Winnipeg Regulation"). Manitoba Hydro completed the Jenpeg project in 1979 and is Manitoba Hydro's smallest generating station in northern Manitoba ("Jenpeg Generating Station").

In order to gain a more nuanced view of these generating stations, it is necessary to understand the scale of each project based on its financial cost and energy production capabilities. Having been constructed in the 1960, the Kelsey Generating Station is the oldest along the Nelson River ("Generating Stations"). At the time of its construction, Kelsey cost Manitoba Hydro approximately $50 million dollars ("Kelsey Generating Station"). With inflation considered, this project would cost approximately $396.5 million dollars today ("Inflation Calculator"). This project produces approximately 250 MW of energy, but has the possibility of producing 464 MW ("Kelsey Generating Station"). In total, the dam and dykes of the Kelsey Generating Station can hold a volume of 130,408 m^3 ("Kelsey Generating Station").

In 1974, Manitoba Hydro completed construction on the Kettle Generating Station ("Kettle Generating Station"). This project cost Manitoba Hydro a total of $240 million and consists of twelve generating turbines ("Kettle Generating Station"). Considering inflation, the Kettle Generating Station would cost approximately $1.1 billion today ("Inflation Calculator"). Combined, these generating turbines allow Kettle to produced a total of approximately 1,220 MW, making Kettle Manitoba Hydro's second largest generating station, capable of producing more energy than Kelsey, Jenpeg, and Grand Rapids combined ("Generating Stations").

Manitoba Hydro's third generating station on the Nelson River, by age, is the Long Spruce Generating Station ("Generating Stations"). Long Spruce was completed a mere 5 years after Kettle at a cost of $508 million ("Long Spruce Generating Station"). Considering the near

double cost of construction for the Long Spruce project, the cost to complete this generating station today would be an astonishing $1.5 billion ("Inflation Calculator"). In third for most power production, Long Spruce produces a total of 1,010 MW of energy through the use of its ten generating turbines ("Long Spruce Generating Station").

Finally, in 1990, Manitoba Hydro finished construction on its largest and most expensive generating station to date, the Limestone Generating Station ("Limestone Generating Station"). At the time of its construction, Limestone cost Manitoba Hydro $1.43 billion to build ("Limestone Generating Station"). In contemporary terms, the Limestone Generating Station would come with a price tag of $2.2 billion ("Inflation Calculator"). Total energy production for the Limestone Generating Station's ten generating turbines is 1,340 MW ("Limestone Generating Station"). As the largest generating station in Manitoba Hydro's arsenal, it is no surprise that the volume of the dam and dykes for Limestone total an astonishing 2,900,000 m^3, dwarfing Kelsey's 130,408 m^3 ("Limestone Generating Station").

Despite the immense impact hydroelectric development has had on Indigenous communities in northern Manitoba, Manitoba Hydro is continuing the process of building more dams and exporting more energy to the United States. However, the destruction of communities in northern Manitoba without some form of social agreement being established between the attackers and defenders of the land would not be possible with the contemporary use of social media and the relatively recent social movements against environmental degradation for the purpose of industrial and natural resource 'development.' In response to this ever mounting pressure to gain social licence to operate in Indigenous territory, Manitoba Hydro has established a 'new approach' to their relations with affected communities. This approach is 'partnerships'

with communities, but is this a new approach or the same tactics used in past interactions with sovereign First Nations?

The 'New' Approach: Progress or the Same Old Thing?

In the natural resource industry, particularly mining, a change has occurred somewhat recently emphasizing the importance of what is termed 'social licence to operate.' According to the World Bank, social licence to operate is "free, prior and informed consent of the local communities and stakeholders" (Pike 2). Going further, social licence to operate should be established and maintained throughout the duration of project, as the criteria established to guarantee consent might change as the project progresses towards completion (Pike 2). Although social licence to operate is often addressed in relation to the mining industry, it is directly related to hydroelectric 'development' in Manitoba.

Overall, the concept of "social licence to operate" is somewhat problematic. In general, the term is defined by industry and is based in a managerial and business oriented worldview (Parsons & Moffat, 347-348; Owen & Kemp 31-32). Business and managerial worldviews are generally risk-oriented, as they seek to maximize profits. Although there are a multitude of problems with this term, social licence can be framed in such a way as to support and provide power to communities. First and foremost, the definition of social licence must empower the community and require corporations to interact honestly with communities. "Free, prior, and informed consent" as a definition for social licence provides these opportunities, and is rejected by many in the natural resource extraction and exploitation industries (Parsons & Moffat, 345). However, if this definition is going to be used, there must be a thorough review of each of the three forms of consent required for social licence to be provided.

Each aspect of social licence's definition can have a multitude of definitions. For the purpose of this document, I will give a definition for each of the three aspects, as I perceive

them, in order to provide the most community-oriented form of social licence. Free consent is consent provided by a community with the knowledge both that they will be able to prevent a project if they reject it while at the same time knowing there will be no negative implications for them if they should choose this option. Prior consent requires that the community not only be included in the planning process from the inception of the project, but also have access to all reports and knowledge held by the corporation prior to making a decision. Finally, informed consent is directly related to prior consent, as it requires an ongoing and regular update of all information about the project. As stated earlier, social licence to operate must be a consistent and ongoing process and both free and informed consent must be consistently provided as a project is constructed and operated.

As Manitoba Hydro moved into their 'new era,' they began to establish 'partnership' agreements with communities they perceived as being directly affected by generating stations constructed in northern Manitoba. Beginning in the early 1990s, Manitoba Hydro has established two generating stations using this approach, which provides the perception of social licence to operate from affected First Nations ("Wuskwatim Generating Station"; "Keeyask Project"). At this point in time, one of the aforementioned projects has been completed and is in operation and the other generating station has just completed the formal licensing process and is entering the construction stage. Manitoba Hydro promotes these 'partnership' agreements in a way that provides the perception of social licence to operate being granted by 'partner' communities. However, based on the definition provided above, does Manitoba Hydro's 'partnership' agreement approach meet the requirement of persistent social licence or merely initial social licence at the time of agreement?

After completion of many of the Comprehensive Implementation Agreements, Manitoba Hydro initiated their 'new era' of hydropower with the proposal of the Wuskwatim and Keeyask Generating Stations. In 2003, Manitoba Hydro and Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation, formerly Nelson House Cree Nation and hereafter NCN, began consideration of a 'partnership' agreement for the construction and operation of the Wuskwatim Generating Station, with the support of the federal government behind Manitoba Hydro (Kuchyski, "A Step Back" 135). Many prominent statements are made throughout the Statement of Understanding established by Manitoba Hydro and NCN; most prominently a clause that states this 'partnership' agreements does not "alter Aboriginal or Treaty rights" (Kulchyski, "A Step Back" 136). In essence, this clause clarifies the relationship being set forth by the agreement as merely a business agreement and nothing more (Kulchyski, "A Step Back" 136). Another prominent statement made in this document is the 'possibility' of NCN becoming a minority 'partner' in the Wuskwatim project, at the cost of payment for one third of the project's costs (Kulchyski, "A Step Back" 136). The Statement of Understanding allowed NCN the possibility of making profits from the hydroelectric generating station being constructed in their area with two major requirements, a willingness to take financial risk by backing the construction of the generating station and a contribution of social licence and political support to Manitoba Hydro and the project as a whole (Kulchyski, "A Step Back" 136).

Despite the aforementioned negative aspects of the 'partnership' agreement between Manitoba Hydro and Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation, there are those who see a positive future outcome for the community. 'Partnerships' undertaken by Manitoba Hydro are considered by some to be a vast departure from the previous, highly negative approaches taken by the

corporation and argue that this new approach is dedicated to working with Indigenous communities (Loxley 145). This 'new' approach allows for community partners to make an impact on environmental planning for projects (Loxley 145). Additionally, when discussing the community implications of the construction of the Wuskwatim Generating Station, proponents of the project state that, of the 1,000 individuals hired at peak employment, 44% of employees were Indigenous (Loxley 145). Related to this employment increase in the community, Manitoba Hydro, along with the provincial and federal governments, established a $60 million program called the Hydro Northern Training Initiative to train community members for skilled labour positions that would be transferable to non-Hydro projects (Loxley 145).

Statements such as those listed paint a very beautiful picture of the impacts Manitoba Hydro is now having on communities with their 'new' approach to resource exploitation in the north. However, there are some prominent problems with these statements, as they fail to directly address the situation on the ground in these communities. Training programs such as the Hydro Northern Training Initiative can provide useful training, however the promise of transferable skills is far less impressive when considering the other job prospects in these regions. Given that hydropower production is one of the few formal industries in the region, transferable skills can then be considered skills community members can use after they move away from their community. However, many community members do not wish to leave their homeland, families, and friends for the prospect of work, effectively making this training highly useless. Additionally, many jobs provided during peak employment are short lived, as they are related to construction or catering for the construction camp.

In many ways, this 'new era' initiated by Manitoba Hydro is different yet strikingly similar to the approaches taken in the past. Although Manitoba Hydro is no longer purchasing the rights given to affected First Nations communities, they are continuing to subvert these rights through business agreements and limited direct compensation through the establishment of high-risk 'partnerships.' Included in the costs of 'partnership' with Manitoba Hydro, is the required support for current and future hydroelectric projects as well as energy export deal with other Canadian provinces and states in the United States. As community compensation for destruction caused by hydroelectric development is increasingly tied to the profits gained through energy sales, communities will be required to provide social licence for generating stations despite the immense negative impacts these projects may, and almost certainly will, have on the communities.

Upon completion of the agreement, Manitoba Hydro began construction of the dam in 2006 ("Wuskwatim Generating Station"). Construction for the project took a total of six years, with Wuskwatim entering partial operation in 2012 and full operation in 2013 ("Wuskwatim and NCN"). In 2011, a band councilor for Nisichawayasihk boasted that Wuskwatim would provide an estimated $40 million per year, with one third of that amount going directly to the community (Braun, "Loses Shine"). However, as the project has moved forward, the community is faced with a different reality than was originally promised. For the fiscal year of 2013, Wuskwatim was losing money, and by association so was Nisichawayasihk (Braun, "Loses Shine"). Not only was Nisichawayasihk in a position where they were losing money, but also their share of the losses on Wuskwatim was estimated to be approximately $24 million in 2013 and an estimated $134 million over the first decade of Wuskwatim's operation (Braun, "Loses Shine").

Of course, Manitoba Hydro would not stand for their 'new era' to start off on such a bad foot, so they attempted yet another new approach (Braun, "Loses Shine"). Manitoba Hydro has changed the requirements of the original agreement, which would have forced Nisichawayasihk to pay their portion of the loses, and has instead decided to cover the losses of the community for now, essentially borrowing from future profits to pay the community at this point in time and spread the losses farther into the future (Braun, "Loses Shine").

In addition to the 'partnership' with Nisichawayasihk, Manitoba Hydro has also entered into 'partnerships' with four other First Nations regarding the construction of the Keeyask Generating Station on the Nelson River ("Keeyask Project"). This 'partnership' includes the communities of Tataskweyak Cree Nation, Fox Lake Cree Nation, York Factory First Nation, and War Lake First Nation ("Keeyask Project"). With this 'partnership' established, the communities together have the possibility of purchasing a 25% share in the Keeyask Generating Station, a project estimated to cost approximately $6.5 billion ("Keeyask & TCN"). These communities are all in close proximity to the Keeyask Generating Station ("Keeyask Project"). Although these communities will all be affected by the production of Keeyask, certain communities have larger populations and will be more directly affected by the production of the generating station, in particular Tataskweyak Cree Nation ("Keeyask & TCN"). As an outcome of these factors, Tataskweyak Cree Nation has the 'opportunity' to purchase up to 13.9% of the project while Fox Lake Cree Nation and York Factory First Nation can purchase 5% of the project each and War Lake First Nations is able to purchase 1.1% ("Keeyask & TCN").

If the communities are unable to afford the 25% share option, Manitoba Hydro has introduced a second option. If the Keeyask Cree Nations, a term used for the communities in

'partnership' with Hydro and a term rejected by Fox Lake Cree Nation, are unable to purchase the 25% shares that they have the 'opportunity' of purchasing, they are able to purchase a smaller amount at the total of 2% or 2.5% of shares ("Keeyask & TCN"). Based on numbers provided by Manitoba Hydro, the Interchurch Council on Hydropower has established that the KCN communities would make a total of approximately five million dollars per year for the first six years, with six million dollars being made for the following four years if they purchase the "preferred" 2% share option ("Keeyask & TCN"). Of this money, TCN would make a mere $2.8 million for the first six years and $3.3 million for the following four years ("Keeyask & TCN"). In addition to this, Hydro predicts that TCN would gain an average of approximately $5.6 million over the fifteen years from 2040-2054 ("Keeyask & TCN"). However, predictions are by nature uncertain, and with this in mind Hydro has established both best and worst case predictions for TCN's possible gains from Keeyask. According to Manitoba Hydro, the best case scenario for TCN would be $9.9 million in profits per year from 2040-2054, and the worst case scenario would be $2.2 million per year during that same time period ("Keeyask & TCN"). It is important to note at this point in time that the Wuskwatim project cost Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation a total of $108 million for their 33% share in Wuskwatim, a project that is significantly smaller than Keeyask ("Keeyask & TCN"). After the completion of the Wuskwatim Generating Station, it appears the communities shares will turn into a total of $134 million in debt over the first ten years of the dam ("Keeyask & TCN"). Could this be the outcome of Keeyask for the affiliated Cree Nations?

It is interesting to note that 80% of the energy 'produced' by Manitoba Hydro is from the Nelson River in the Split Lake Resource Management Area ("Building Keeyask Together").

With this in consideration, the idea that the communities, especially Tataskweyak Cree Nation (formerly Split Lake Cree Nation), are only 'allowed' to benefit from at most 25% of one project's profits through purchasing shares is astonishing. As projects move forward in the Split Lake Resource Management Area, more energy will be produced in this area while the communities continue to only gain financial support through taking the risk of investing in large mega projects.

At this point in time, Keeyask has received the formal licensing necessary from the provincial government ("Keeyask Project"). In July of 2014, construction on the Keeyask Generating Station began in the Split Lake Resource Management Area ("Keeyask Project"). As of July, 2014, all signs indicated that the Keeyask Cree Nations would be taking the 2% "preferred" share option on the Keeyask Generating Station ("Keeyask & TCN"). According to a bulletin released in June 2014, the Cree Nation Partners (Tataskweyak Cree Nation and War Lake First Nation) had paid $15 million towards the Keeyask Project, far less than the $234 million that would have been required for the 25% share approach ("Keeyask & TCN"). In order for the entire Keeyask Cree Nation to purchase the 25% share originally proposed, the communities would have been forced to pay approximately $380 million towards the Keeyask Generating Station ("Keeyask & TCN").

Although Keeyask is nowhere near complete, Manitoba Hydro has already indicated there is the possibility of another new project called the Conawapa Generating Station, farther downstream than any other generating station on the Nelson River system, near the town of Gillam, Manitoba. Initially, Manitoba Hydro had planned an in-service date for the Conawapa Generating Station of 2025, however following the Needs For and Alternatives To hearing of the

Public Utilities Board of Manitoba, the project was postponed for an indeterminate amount of time ("Conawapa Generating Station"). If Manitoba Hydro's recent actions are any indication, it seems quite possible that they will attempt yet another 'partnership' agreement with affected communities in order to provide the perception of social licence for the production of yet another dam in First Nations' territory. This project would be the largest generating station in Manitoba Hydro's arsenal and would produce an expected 1,485 megawatts of energy ("Conawapa Generating Station"). Although the project has been postponed, it is possible for Manitoba Hydro to gain formal licensing in the future if a case can be made for the large financial investment of this project ("Conawapa Generating Station").

Manitoba Hydro's new approach to relationships with affected First Nations is only one available and tested option. As Manitoba Hydro was beginning hydroelectric 'development' in northern Manitoba, Québec was taking similar step in the north of their province (Wera & Martin 58-64). In many ways, the approaches taken by the two provinces were very similar, and the outcomes differed only in very limited ways at first. After court battles and negotiations, both provinces and corporations signed modern-day treaties in the Northern Flood Agreement and the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement (Wera & Martin 65-69). However, after many years of little to no implementation of the promises made in the two provinces, Manitoba took the approach of Comprehensive Implementation Agreements in the hopes of extinguishing treaty rights while Québec took steps to establish a true nation-to-nation agreement known as *La Paix des Braves,* or The Peace of the Braves (Wera & Martin 69-70).

In many respects, The Peace of the Braves is far superior to the Comprehensive Implementation Agreements established by Manitoba Hydro and the province of Manitoba.

Arguably one of the most prominent features of this agreement is the establishment of guaranteed funds for the affected communities. Québec promises, in The Peace of the Braves, to provide the Grand Council of the Crees with $3.5 billion over the course of 50 years (Martin 32). On the surface, this agreement seems to be very similar to the Comprehensive Implementation Agreements as they provide communities a large sum of money to deal with the social and environmental issues they face from the introduction of hydropower production in their areas. However, the differences are very prominent when taking into consideration that the guaranteed funding required no risk on the side of the communities (Kulchyski, "A Step Back" 137). As it is established in The Peace of the Braves, the communities are guaranteed the lump sum of finances no matter the outcome of energy production or sales (Wera & Martin, 71).

In addition to the promised funding requiring no risk on the part of the communities, The Peace of the Braves also does not extinguish the rights laid out under the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement of the 1970s (Dupuis 222). After The Peace of the Braves has expired, the communities have the right to renegotiate their position in relation to the province and corporation (Wera & Martin 70). Where the Comprehensive Implementation Agreements extinguish rights set out in the Northern Flood Agreement, in many ways The Peace of the Braves actually promotes and upholds Aboriginal and Treaty rights, establishing it as a far superior agreement in nearly every respect.

More recently, a similar agreement has been signed regarding the Muskrat Falls Generating Station and the Gull Island Generating Station in Newfoundland and Labrador ("Innu of Labrador"). This agreement provides the 2,800 person Innu community $5 million per year for process costs before and during construction, $400 million in construction contracts for the

generating stations, and 5% of the project proceeds, all at the financial cost of nothing to the community ("Innu of Labrador"). In addition to compensation and project proceeds, the community is also set to receive $2 million per year as compensation for the damages brought about by the Upper Churchill Falls dam built in the 1960s ("Innu of Labrador"). Overall, there are still problems with agreements such as this, the community becomes nearly completely dependent on the proceeds from the generating station and their way of life and cultural activities are greatly inhibited by these projects, however this agreement is similar, if not better than, the Peace of the Braves. The contemporary nature of this agreement begs the question, why do Manitoba and Manitoba Hydro take such archaic approaches to agreements with affected Indigenous communities?

Methodology

In order to understand the implications of hydroelectric 'development,' one cannot solely look at numbers and charts. Although these methods of evaluating the impacts of resource 'development' can be useful and do have their place in the larger discussion of the influence of industry on local communities, it must be balanced with the narratives of those community members who have been most greatly affected by the 'development.' This view is the motivating force behind the approaches taken to accomplish this research project. However, as the project moved forward, it became apparent that it was not just the narrative of the affected community members that must be considered, but also the narrative of the land, both through stories shared by Elders and land users, but also through direct interactions with the lake, shores, and bush that has been forever changed by flooding and erosion.

An attempt was made, throughout this project, to capture and promote the narratives of those community members who have been affected by Manitoba Hydro's approaches to 'development' in the north. Tataskweyak Cree Nation, as in most impacted communities, is very divided on the implications of hydropower production on the community between those who support and negotiate the agreements and those who opposed either the agreements or the 'development' itself. In general, this project worked with those opposed to the agreements and 'development,' as those who support it are promoted by Manitoba Hydro and have the opportunity to voice their opinion to the province with Manitoba Hydro's support, a privilege not held by those who oppose generating stations. As an outcome of this method, there is a possibility the narratives presented here are not fully representative of the feelings throughout the community. Some individuals interviewed requested anonymity for fear of repercussions against

their families or themselves, however many more requested attribution for any quotations used from their interviews. In a spirit of support for the community members and their knowledge, this project will use as many quotations as possible to actively and effectively show the knowledge held by community members about the implications of hydroelectric projects in their area. Additionally, this project was completed over the course of approximately 10 days. This short time frame again provides for the possibility of a lack of information, however it has been clarified in a follow-up conversation held with community members during the revision period of this work.

As an outsider to the community, it would have been extremely difficult for me to establish a relationship with multiple people in the short amount of time I had to accomplish my fieldwork during my Master's program. For this reason, I decided to take the approach of snowball sampling with the help of Robert and Melanie Spence, as they had an understanding of who would be willing to speak with me. In addition to initiating contact with many of the people who would be interviewed by me, they also provided me with an unspoken sense of support that eased many people into the idea of speaking with me.

In many instances, people asked me if I worked for Manitoba Hydro, and upon my assurance that I had no affiliation with the Crown corporation, they stated that their answers would have been different had I worked for them as a precaution to allow for the possibility of employment in the future. In other cases, Robert would attempt to joke with me by yelling to people in the community that I was the son of Scott Thompson, the President of Manitoba Hydro. This would become a running joke between Robert and myself, however he would always relay to the person outside of the joke that I was not, in fact, Scott Thompson's son.

When each individual was introduced to me, I presented them with a gift of tobacco and tea, as well as an honorarium for their time. After giving these gifts, I would ask the individual if they were willing to be interviewed about the influence Manitoba Hydro, hydroelectric 'development,' and the 'partnership' agreement have, or will have, on themselves and the community. Upon agreeing to being interviewed, I would ask if the community member would be willing to have my record the interview so I would be able to use exact quotations. Multiple people requested to not be recorded, however again the majority of people were happy to be recorded to allow me the possibility of using direct quotes in the future. If the person was not comfortable with being recorded, I took notes as they spoke. Throughout the interview process, each person was asked a predefined set of questions to gauge their perception of the effects of hydroelectric 'development' in their area. However, as the interview progressed, each individual was allowed to describe what they thought was most important, as these people have a far more nuanced understanding of the implications of this form of 'development' than I could ever hope to have. As the interviews evolved, I gained a greater appreciation for the influence this form of development has had on the community as a whole as well as the individuals who are most impacted. Each interview allowed for more questions and a deeper understanding from that person's perspective, which informed future questions that could be used to discuss the topic.

Interviewing members of the community, though important, was not enough to give me a multifaceted understanding of the implications of hydroelectric development on the community. In order to gain this more nuanced view, I travelled on the land with both Robert Spence and Noah Massan. Robert took me to many important locations on the waters of Split Lake to show me areas that were important to him as a child and throughout his life as he grew and learned. At

each location, I would be told a story or the relationship he and many other community members had to the area. Multiple times throughout this trip, he would show me a hunting or fishing camp and would be able to tell me to whom the camp belonged as well as how long it had been in use or disuse, depending on the impacts hydroelectric 'development' had on that camp. During our two major trips on the lake, Robert brought his son Chaiton along, allowing him the opportunity to learn much of what I was learning.

While in Gillam, Noah Massan took me out for a five hour trip around the area. The entirety of this trip was filled with stories of what life was like when he was a child or different actions he had to participate in during his time as a heavy equipment operator for Manitoba Hydro and other construction companies in the area. An outcome of this five hour excursion was the visitation of a total of three of the five major hydroelectric dams along the Nelson River system. As a product of seeing this many dams, I was also able to see the most pristine part of the Nelson River, the portion of the river that is downstream of the Limestone Generating Station.

Education from *Aski*, the land, has been extremely important and informative in my research and writing process. Much of what was told to me throughout my interview process was solidified and reinforced through the time spent traveling on the land and exploring the area affected by the production of hydroelectric energy. In an attempt to remember this knowledge, I took a number of photos, which were later labeled with the help of Robert's and Noah's knowledge of the particular areas. These pictures allow me to reflect upon the knowledge that was shared during the time spent on the land and to portray this information to others through presentations showing the images.

Upon completion of the research trip, the recorded interviews were transcribed for the purpose of analyzing the common themes. In many instances, community members emphasized the same or similar concerns for the future of the community or for the future of hydroelectric projects in the area. These common themes have been divided up into sections of this paper and the individual reactions to them will be noted to allow for a more refined understanding of the general theme. Although many people mentioned similar concerns, there were other more particular concerns of comments made by individuals that will also be addressed.

Arguably the most important teaching provided to me during my time in northern Manitoba was not the number of impacts hydroelectric dams have on the community, nor the severity of these implications, but the interconnected nature of everything on the web of life. This idea was constantly shared with me, both directly and indirectly, and has greatly shaped my understanding of the world as we live in it. In order to provide an understanding of this topic, I will attempt to describe the implications of hydroelectric 'development' on a community in northern Manitoba in an interconnected way that flows between all the different affected areas.

Environmental Impacts

Throughout the multitude of interviews, one of the first questions asked of the participants was, "What do you see as some of the social implications of the Keeyask Project?" This question was purposely left rather open to allow for a wide variety of answers, with the expectation that the answers would range from destruction of community cohesion to community support through the introduction of jobs and careers to the community. However, in the majority of cases, community members immediately began to discuss the impacts of Manitoba Hydro's past projects on the land. Emphasizing the variety of environmental destruction brought by the production of hydropower dams when asked about the social outcomes of this project shows an immense emphasis upon the interconnected nature of all life, especially in northern Manitoba. Additionally, these answers also address the particular relationship of these people with their ecosystem. Although everyone began discussing environmental destruction when asked about social implications, they did not all mention the same environmental impacts. Destruction of the environment had a number of different areas, including destruction of the land, decreased water quality, impacts on the wildlife, and a variety of other important topics that also affect the community in multiple ways.

One of the most prominent, and obvious implications of hydroelectric development on the communities interviewed is the destruction of their ancestral lands, particularly along the shoreline of *Kichi Sipi*, or the Nelson River. Community members addressed multiple ways the land had been affected by the production of generating stations along *Kichi Sipi*, many of which were an outcome of erosion. Through the variation of water levels both upstream and downstream of dams, the shoreline of *Kichi Sipi* is constantly eroded to the point that, in some

areas, there is an escarpment where there should be a gradual, sandy beach leading to the river. Charlotte Wastesicoot, an Elder from Tataskweyak Cree Nation at Split Lake described the landscape of the shoreline prior to erosion as, "a great asset to our community" and "our playground in the summertime" (Personal Interview). This destruction of the sandy beaches and buffer zone between the river and the forest, also called the riparian wetlands, has a number of outcomes.

As the shoreline begins to erode, the grand trees of the boreal forest begin to sag precariously towards the river. Erosion continues, and as the soil holding these trees firmly in the ground disappears, the trees fall into the river. This process is best described by a Tataskweyak community member by the name of Horace. He states, "now there's no more shoreline because all the water's right up passed the trees and you got all the land that is breaking away from the high water level and everything's going into the lake" (Personal Interview). Trees falling into *Kichi Sipi* through erosion produces many problems both for the environment and the people living in communities surrounding the river.

Habitat loss is another outcome of the continued erosion of shoreline along *Kichi Sipi*. Community members questioned the ability of moose and caribou to obtain water from the river with the cliff-like slopes leading down to *Kichi Sipi*. In addition to an inability to drink from the river, animals, especially birds, also lose nesting sites in trees that are rapidly falling into the river. Denise Munroe addresses this concern when she says, "birds and fish, they go back to where they were born. They can't go back if their trees and habitats are being affected" (Personal Interview).

Erosion does not only affect the land along the shores of *Kichi Sipi*, but also the island in the middle of this great and powerful river. One example of the habitat lost on these islands is the description of Chicken Island, presented by Robert Spence. Robert described this island as being a wonderful hunting site for the community when he was younger. The island would hold dozens of wild chicken, which would allow many hunters to use this island as a source of food for their families. However, with the ever-present flooding and erosion, the island has decreased in size immensely and is now barely capable of holding more than a handful of these wild chickens. During one of our trips on Split Lake, Robert took me near Chicken Island to show me the current state of this once fruitful location. The island seemed miniscule compared to what he had described to me from his childhood. Approaching the island, the most striking feature of this land mass was the trees at a 45 degree angle with the land. It was obvious that these trees would only be standing, if it could be said that is what they were doing at that point in time, for a short amount of time. This story was devastating, but it was only the first of a multi-hour trip around that lake that would provide a consistent and seemingly unending stream of stories of a similar nature.

Another story, presented to me by Janet McIvor addressed a similar issue of the disappearance of islands. Janet, and her sisters, had a location they loved to visit, they called it Lillian's Island. There was a beach on Lillian's Island that was a wonderful place to take their families to swim, free of charge. The location was named Lillian's Island by the family because Janet's late sister, Lillian, always set up her tent on that island. This island became a common location for the family to enjoy together, Janet joked saying "That was our beach, can't go to Cuba. It's a nice place though, with our kids" (Personal Interview). On this island, the family

came across an owl nest containing baby owls. Curiosity took over, and the sisters began interacting with the owls, including feeding them, however they returned them to their nests when the curiosity had ended, and continued to interact with them every time they went back. Janet said, "I think they got used to us," describing their relationship and co-habitation with the owls of the island (Personal Interview). However, this relationship will end in the near future, with the flooding produced by the Keeyask Project. An island named after Janet's late sister and the home of a group of owls will be non-existent with the production of the dam, an obvious example of both the environment and the community being negatively impacted by the construction of this project, yet another example of the community paying an immense price for a project that is not their own.

During another trip on Split Lake with Robert, this time with another community member, we noticed a goose flying overhead. Robert pointed to it and told me it was sick. We were far enough away that I, as a person from the city, could barely even tell that it was a goose. I asked him how he knew it was sick, and he responded that he could tell by the way it was flying. The other community member in the boat agreed with him, saying it was flying in a way that was abnormal and that it was a sign it was unhealthy. Birds are not the only, or even most affected animals regarding sickness from the introduction of hydroelectric 'development.' Robert Spence and his friend Horace informed me of multiple occasions in which they harvested obviously sick or deformed fish. Some of these fish were found with silt inside of their body cavities, tumours on and inside themselves, and extremely soft meat, as opposed to what should be very firm muscles. These two men indicate that these illnesses were unheard of before the introduction of Manitoba Hydro to the communities in northern Manitoba, and that the only

cause they can see for the problems is the production of hydroelectric generating stations along *Kichi Sipi*.

Hydroelectric 'development' does not only affect the land through its regulation of the waterways upon which the generating stations are situated. In order to construct generating stations, certain resources are needed to build the component parts of the project. Specifically, hydropower projects require gravel and rocks for the construction of the generating station itself, a commodity that can be accessed in northern Manitoba without the shipping costs associated with providing it from another location. As an outcome of this ability, gravel pits are constructed throughout the bush in the north, causing immense destruction as entire hills are flattened in the process of obtaining rock and gravel. Destruction of hills and other areas within the bush greatly affect both the habitat for the animals of this area, but also the migration routes that these animals may take throughout their lives.

Likewise, as the generating station is completed, the outside impacts of the project do not disappear. Infrastructure is required for the maintenance and operation of the generating stations, as well as means of transferring the energy from the relatively sparsely populated north to the densely populated south of the province, and ultimately the United States. Before the energy can be transmitted to the users in both the north and south, it must go through a converter station, a large camp that produces an audible hum that can be heard for a significant distance away. In order to provide this energy to the south, Manitoba Hydro and the province must construct a powerline corridor from the converter stations to the population centres in the south. These power corridors require the complete, and nearly permanent removal of the trees of the boreal forest in this area. As the trees are destroyed, the habitat of the animals living in the forest

is reduced drastically, and migration routes can be reduced or completely cut-off by these corridors. In addition to the destruction of the animals' habitat, the audible hum from both the converter station and the power lines leading to the south reduce the likelihood and ability for large mammals to move in these areas. Both the risk of predation in these open areas and the auditory overstimulation make these areas highly unfavourable to moose and caribou, animals that could have initially used these areas both as permanent habitat or as migratory routes. Community members expressed distress in regards to the constant destruction of the habitat of the local animals, as well as the land upon which they and their ancestors of centuries past have survived.

Migration disruption for local animals is also affected by the construction of large generating stations along *Kichi Sipi*. Sturgeon, along with other types of fish living in *Kichi Sipi*, are greatly affected by the establishment of barriers to their migration in a multitude of ways. Community members describe sturgeon as migratory fish that are born in *Kichi Sipi* and swim to Hudson Bay. As the sturgeon grow older and mature, they return to *Kichi Sipi* to spawn in the rapids scattered throughout the river. Establishment of generating stations along *Kichi Sipi* not only physically blocks the migration of the sturgeon and other fish up the river, but also destroys the rapids that are used for spawning by either being placed directly on top of them or through flooding that makes the rapids non-existent.

Manitoba Hydro claims to have reviewed the implications of the Keeyask Project with consideration for the values of communities in the direct area of the generating station. They promote a "two-track approach," in which science and "Aboriginal Traditional Knowledge" are separate and treated with equal respect (Manitoba CEC Vol. 25, 5617-5618). Ideally, this

approach would allow for community members to provide their knowledge of the implications of hydroelectric generating stations on the environment and would influence the ways in which the project is produced. However, when looking at the "two-track approach" it is quite clear that both knowledge systems do not receive equal respect and support. Knowledge provided by community members does not carry the same importance in many of the environmental assessments completed by consultants hired by Manitoba Hydro (Manitoba CEC Vol. 25, 5619). One particular example of this, is regarding "Valued Ecological Components" (VECs). In the model promoted by Manitoba Hydro and their consultants, VECs should include wildlife of importance from both a scientific view and a community cultural view. However, in many of the documents produced by the consultants, species that were studied were either those of scientific or both scientific and cultural importance, failing to review wildlife that was 'only' of cultural importance (Manitoba CEC Vol. 25, 5630-5633). Examples such as these show that, despite Manitoba Hydro claiming to fulfill their requirements for consultation under Section 35 of the Constitution of Canada, these consultations were not adequate.

For the Cree community members in northern Manitoba, especially the Elders and land users, the animals are relatives that require respect and support in order to provide the communities with the food and resources they need. This continued destruction of the environment and habitat of local wildlife has a great impact on the ability to survive off the land, and support themselves through the cultural pursuits of their Elders and ancestors. However, these are not the only effects on the communities, as the inability of community members to participate in these enterprises greatly affects their ability to live out their culture and continue to be the holders of knowledge passed down by their ancestors.

Culture & Food Security

Some community members' perceive the impacts of Keeyask and other generating stations on local community culture and spirituality as disastrous, as expressed by Denise Munroe when she says, "It says they're supposed to protect us and our beliefs and our traditional way of life, and this is affecting our traditional way of life" (Personal Interview). As the hydroelectric generating stations continue to be produced, the impact on the local culture will only continue to increase, as the land continues to be flooded and erode into *Kichi Sipi* and the land users are forced farther and farther from their home communities.

While describing the history and culture of the people in Split Lake, Charlotte Wastesicoot provided information on what it was like to grow up before the community was truly established. As stated earlier, she described a strong sense of community cohesion and support in times of need. In addition to this information, she also described the diet supported through this cohesion and unlimited access to the immense food source that is the area surrounding *Kichi Sipi*. She states, "We didn't buy anything. It was mostly from the land. And it was easier to access because we lived in harmony, with what Creator built. Mother Earth provided for us. As long as we lived in harmony, there was always something there for us that we needed" (Personal Interview). As a qualifier to this statement, she also said, "And I remember seeing our parents and our grandfather, our ancestors, only take what they needed from the water. Usually maybe a day or so, because they didn't have fridges, but they had their own room that they had to store for the winter" (Personal Interview). However, this food security held by the members of Tataskweyak Cree Nation was forever changed with the introduction of the many, and soon to be more, hydropower generating stations along *Kichi Sipi*.

Implications of hydroelectric development on the culture and community of the Cree people in northern Manitoba are not lost on the youth in this area. During the Clean Environment Commission hearings on the Keeyask Project, two letters from concerned students were sent to the Commission addressing their perception of the costs borne by communities in the north. In one of the letters, a student states, "From my experience of seeing videos and pictures of what happened to other towns that have dams near their towns is not swell. They lost their way of life like fishing, hunting, trapping, and living (cabins, etc.)" (A Concerned Student). Another concerned student wrote, "It has also ruined many ways of hunting and fishing for our people. The animals and species are endangered all because of these dams" (A Really Concerned Student). These two students address some of the implications of the projects that are to be built in their area.

Throughout my discussions with community members, one topic that came up with extreme regularity regarding the environment and food sovereignty was the issue of mercury in the waters of *Kichi Sipi*, and by extension Split Lake. Concerns about mercury are based on past tests undertaken by scientists and medical professionals attending the community. Denise Munroe addresses this issue when she states, "I know that some fishermen tested positive for mercury levels in their blood" (Personal Interview). She goes on to state the scientists and Manitoba Hydro, "know it's in the fish, they know it's in the aquatic plants." While discussing this issue, Denise brought forward a document she had obtained that states, "fish and aquatic animals are at risk of mercury contamination causing them to become unsafe to consume if the mercury concentration exceeds healthy limits" (MNP LLP. 79).

Related to the concerns of these students, as well as the possibility of mercury poisoning from local fish and aquatic animal sources, the ability of land users has been greatly affected by the establishment of generating stations in northern Manitoba. With the disappearance of animals and fish from the lands once immensely fruitful for these individuals, community members who are able to must travel long distances to continue their cultural and economic activities. These activities are very culturally important, as they allow an understanding of Cree ancestral lands, as well as an introduction to the local Cree worldview. In addition to an introduction to the community's worldview, the ability to travel on the land with Elders and land users allows the youth in these communities an educational opportunity through the passing on of *Aski Kiskentamowin*, land knowledge, that is held by those who actively participate in this form of economy. Increased distances needed to actively participate in these actions reduce the number of individuals who are willing to go, and in addition to the reduced numbers who are willing to go there is also a reduction in the number of individuals who are financially or physically able to participate. Denise Munroe expressed her distress at her inability to participate in these activities now, and the inability of much of her family to travel to these distant locations to continue a cultural usage of the land when she said, "some of us don't have the luxury of going out elsewhere to go fishing...this is our main source of food for a lot of people" (Personal Interview).

The inability of land users to harvest resources from their local areas is illustrated most strongly by the story of participants in the Youth Wilderness Traditions pilot program of Fox Lake Cree Nation. Three Fox Lake Cree Nation youth gave a presentation to the Clean Environment Commission during the hearings on the Keeyask Generating Station in Winnipeg

(Manitoba CEC Vol. 25). This presentation provided the youth an opportunity to discuss both the Youth Wilderness Training pilot program in which they had participated, as well as describe their view of the Keeyask Generating Station and its impact on both Fox Lake Cree Nation and the local environment (Manitoba CEC Vol. 25). Aavory Wilke, the main presenter for the youth, described the pilot program as an opportunity, "for the reintroduction of our cultural and traditional activities of the Fox Lake Cree" (Manitoba CEC Vol. 25, 5601). One of the first direct effects addressed by Mr. Wilke related to the Keeyask Project is when he addresses the program's goose camp. The location used for the goose camp at this point in time will become a rock quarry, if the community accepts Manitoba Hydro proposal for locations (Manitoba CEC Vol. 25, 5602). He goes on to state, "We prefer they leave our goose camp area alone. But if they need it, we hope they can get another camp built like it, because it is a good goose hunting area for all members of both Gillam and Bird" (Manitoba CEC Vol. 25, 5602). Further, he goes on to state that the Elders of Fox Lake Cree Nation inform the youth of what their traditional areas were like prior to hydroelectric 'development,' but that his generation has not been able to witness it (Manitoba CEC Vol. 25, 5603). As Mr. Wilke begins to speak of the projects, he addresses the possibilities of career and business opportunities arising from the projects as well as recommendations for the Clean Environment Commission, Fox Lake Cree Nation, and Manitoba Hydro (Manitoba CEC Vol. 25, 5604). Additionally, Mr. Wilke provides his perception of what may be the possible benefits of the project stating, "As we move forward as Cree Nation Partners of the Keeyask project with Manitoba Hydro, and with proper training, we will see the benefits in jobs and contracts, not only for us individually, but also with the Fox Lake Cree Nation" (Manitoba CEC Vol. 25, 5604). Statements such as these show that some

youth see possibilities with the introduction of more construction in the area. Other youth who participated in the pilot project voice their opinions about the recommendations to the three entities, many of which address the need to pass along more cultural information through programs such as the one in which they participated, as well as concrete plans to protect the environment (Manitoba CEC Vol. 25, 5605). Upon completing their presentation, the Chairperson of the Clean Environment Commission asked one question of the group that brought forward an extremely important and poignant point not directly addressed in the presentation. The Chairperson asked, "How far do you have to go to get brook trout nowadays?" (Manitoba CEC Vol. 25, 5606-5607) Mr. Wilke responded with, "We have to take a train ride that's about six of seven hours, then you have to get out on the river, on the bridge on the river, Weir River, and you have to canoe about, I don't know, it took us four or five days to get to the trout grounds" (Manitoba CEC Vol. 25, 5607). This prompted the chairperson to ask if there were any brook trout left in the Kettle River, to which Mr. Wilke responded, "No. I actually, well there's a few left in Limestone River but it is very rare to catch them there now" (Manitoba CEC Vol. 25, 5607).

Descriptions of travel time necessary to obtain cultural, and healthy, foods such as that provided by the youth group indicates both a destruction of the food sovereignty of a group as well as a direct attack on the culture of communities in northern Manitoba. As the distance required to obtain healthy and culturally relevant food increases, fewer individuals within the community are able to access these food sources. Inability to obtain food forces community members into a state of dependence upon the local Northern Store for their sustenance, a source of highly expensive food. One aspect of healthy food not provided by the food from the

Northern Store is the cultural awareness and appreciation established through the process of obtaining food from the land upon which community member's ancestors have survived for time immemorial. In addition to the lack of cultural significance of the food found at the Northern Store, community members also face difficulties when attempting to purchase nutritious food, as something as basic as milk can cost upwards of $10-15. As a result of this, communities that would be extremely healthy through the consumption of wild foods are becoming ill from the impacts of high sodium and nutritionally lacking foods sold at the Northern Store.

As if the forced relocation of traditional land use areas by the destruction from generating stations was not disruptive and disrespectful enough, Manitoba Hydro has also established its ability to destroy the traplines of community members in the north through both flooding and the establishment of gravel pits throughout the bush. Elder Noah Massan's trapline near Gillam, Manitoba will be greatly disrupted by the construction of a gravel pit near his trapline (Personal Interview).

As if the reduction in ability to provide a healthy and culturally appropriate source of food isn't enough of an insult, hydroelectric projects in northern Manitoba also reduce the ability of community members to heal themselves through the use of local plants used by their ancestors for centuries. During our trips on Split Lake, Robert pointed out an area of immense importance to himself and his culture. This area is known as Medicine Point in English and is a location rich in medicinal plants known to the Cree people of the area. However, this point has been reduced in size by the flooding from previous hydropower dams, erosion from the nearly constantly fluctuating water levels, and has the potential to be reduced even more with the introduction of the Keeyask Generating Station. As Keeyask will be constructed in the nearby area, at least

some flooding of Medicine Point seems highly likely, making some of the areas that are both culturally and medically important less productive and less present for use.

In addition to the loss of land area used in Medicine Point, the ability to access these medicines is also impacted by hydroelectric 'development.' As stated earlier in the discussion of environmental impacts, trees fall into the lakes and river on a regular basis as an outcome of the erosion and flooding brought about by damming the river. Many of these trees migrate to the shoreline through waves action and currents, making the shoreline hazardous and difficult to approach. With this in mind, it is easy to understand that visiting Medicine Point would be difficult, as the shoreline is covered with fallen trees and, if you can get past the floating trees, the shoreline itself consists of eroding land and trees falling into the water. Medicine point, as well as many other areas around Split Lake and *Kichi Sipi*, was very easy to access by boat prior to Manitoba Hydro's intrusion into the area, and this intrusion has impacted the ability of people in the area to participate in cultural events like harvesting wild medicines for use within the family and community. The importance of travel by boat along waterways can not be taken lightly. Elder Noah Massan shared a phrase that addressed this importance when he quoted his Elder's perception of the hydropower dams. They said, "ka pa ha muk ke mes ka na naw," which means, "closing/blocking our road" (Personal Interview). Using the term *mes ka na naw* to describe the river is important, as it implies that it was one of the most important and prominent forms of travel for the Elders at that time.

Of course, some may argue the above stated difficulty would be easily rectified through accessing wild medicine locations by land, either through foot travel in the bush, use of all-terrain vehicles, or by constructing roads near areas of great cultural importance. At present,

there is an example in which a road leads to a wild medicine harvesting location, and that this location should be useable by community members with relative ease. However, despite what should be an immense ease of access to a culturally significant location, many community members may actually face difficulty, or at least annoyance, in their attempts to reach their medicine for harvest. This is an outcome of the location of a Manitoba Hydro workers camp near the area proposed for the Conawapa Generating Station. Within the camp lies a preferred harvesting location of Fox Lake Cree Nation members for multiple medicines, most prominently what is termed Labrador Tea in English.

During my travels on the land with Elder Noah Massan, we attempted to visit this location so I would be able to help him harvest so tea leaves and he could share information with me about the area. Upon our arrival at the gates to the camp, we were informed that Fox Lake Cree Nation members are allowed to access the area, however they require prior permission from the Site Liaison Officer, as well as an escort by security personnel to the location of the tea leaves. As we did not have prior consent from the Site Liaison Officer, we were not allowed access to the area, however the security guards did provide us with the required information so Elder Massan would be able to harvest tea at a future time after receiving the required permission. This inability to access wild medicines, plants, and in some cases animals, has a significant impact on the ability of Elders and land users to pass along their knowledge of their territory to their children, grandchildren, and other youth within the community.

In local community culture, there is a term used for knowledge about the land that is passed down by Elder's and known by those who live on the land. This knowledge is called *Aski Kiskentamowin*, and is immensely important to the local culture, as it can help establish and

solidify the relationship between the people in northern Manitoba and their ancestral lands. As one could imagine, the introduction of flooding, erosion, and a near constant restructuring of the land as an outcome of hydroelectric megaprojects has had an extreme and long lasting impact on the ability of community members to use and pass along *Aski Kiskentamowin*. In many ways, through an inability to pass along or receive this knowledge, community members are, for all intents and purposes, being forced off of the land. As stated earlier, Denise Munroe has difficulty practicing her cultural activities on the land as a direct result of the forced relocation of hunting, fishing, and trapping locations due to the movement of fish and animals away from the community. This inability to practice her cultural activities also has an impact on her family members, who may not be able to learn the knowledge she has about the land from when she was a child.

Robert Spence has also addressed the difficulty of passing along *Aski Kiskentamowin*, however he did not call it that directly. As we were driving around Split Lake on my second trip with him, he would take what seemed to be extremely large turns around points and other areas that seemed to be an expanse of open water. I did not understand this at the time, but I did not question it, as I assumed he had a reason for this method of driving. Throughout much of our trip, he would point to different islands and tell me which ones used to be connected to the land prior to the flooding by Manitoba Hydro. As we continued on, he'd also point out areas that looked nearly identical to any other location in the lake and tell me there is a reef there, or a boulder under the water in a certain locations. As this continued, it dawned on me that the reason for driving in areas that seemed extremely far from shore was because he knew all the areas that had reefs or other hazardous boating conditions. Later on, he told me that was the

exact reason, but despite being able to show me these locations, he cannot pass this information along in any true way to his children. He informed me that he will not allow any of his children to drive is boat on the lake, because they did not grow up with the land the way it was before the flooding so they do not know where hazardous areas are, despite his attempts to tell them. This knowledge that Robert carries is *Aski Kiskentamowin*, and the inability to pass it along is a direct result of the introduction of multiple hydropower projects in northern Manitoba, with the conclusion being that Robert's children are unable to drive a boat on the lake upon which they were raised.

Charlotte Wastesicoot described another aspect of local culture to me in her discussion of the implications hydropower production has had on her community. At this point in time, she was discussing some of the actions of the Elders when she was a child and the importance of respectful relationships with the environment and the other living beings in the area. She described what is known as *Oochinehwin* in the Cree language by saying,

> They followed that, what comes around goes around. They called it *oochinehwin*, one word many meanings. *Oochinehwin*. So that's karma in a different culture, that's what we had. Anyway our spirituality was very important, very sacred and that was that, everything that was Mother Earth was sacred and that we had to treat it with, when we took something from the water or from the, to eat, they put a little bit of tobacco (Personal Interview).

This concept can be difficult when discussing hydroelectric development, as the theme of *Oochinehwin* would indicate that the destruction of the lands and waters, as described in the previous section, is bound to come to those who perpetuate it. Robert, along with

many of the others with whom I spoke, stated they believe this is why the community is suffering from the destruction, the destruction the community has 'supported' through 'partnerships' and other interactions with Manitoba Hydro is now coming back to the community.

Finally, it is necessary to discuss one of the most prominent and understandable attacks upon community culture as an outcome of hydropower generating station construction. Despite many Tataskweyak Cree Nation members living within the Split Lake community now, in the past many of these people lived along the edge of the lake. Charlotte Wastesicoot shared this information along with much about what the area was like prior to the establishment of the community at Split Lake. She explained that, at that time, many community members would live along the lake, hunt and fish to provide food for their families, and share whatever excess food they had with those who had the bad luck of not obtaining enough. When discussing this sense of community support and cohesion, she said, "everybody shared, if somebody got sick in the community, which was rare, it was usually the older people, they would help the family, look after each other. And if there was, people donated a little bit of this and a little bit of different things if that person couldn't, say if a father or provider for the family could not go out hunting because of some illness" (Personal Interview). Despite the community not being established as it is now, she describes the sense of community as strong and important at that point in time. As an outcome of many families living along the edge of the lake with no truly established community to visit, and this being the approach taken for as long as history can tell (oral history), many of the 'artifacts' and archaeological sites are found along the edge of the lake.

These archaeological sites are either flooded or on the verge of being washed away by erosion, removing the possibility of communities accessing physical aspects of their cultural history.

Another aspect of the community history that is drastically affected to the detriment of the community is the erosion of graves and burial sites. The destruction of these important reminders of history and monuments to the ancestors community members have lost is an immensely disturbing problem. Obviously, Manitoba Hydro does not wish to destroy the graves of community members, however the damage is a direct outcome of the flooding and erosion Manitoba Hydro has introduced through their attempts to control *Kichi Sipi*.

Impact on Community Life

As has been emphasised throughout this thesis, all aspects of life affected by hydropower production in northern Manitoba are interconnected and it is nearly impossible to separate the different aspects from one another. However, I will now attempt to describe the impacts of hydroelectric 'development' on community life and relationships. Many aspects of what will be addressed here have been described before, however this will be from a different perspective with the goal of providing a more nuanced understanding of the implications of each impact.

Although the Keeyask Cree Nations are all technically 'partners' in the Keeyask Project, there is not necessarily an agreement between the communities on how much each should own or whether all communities are deserving of being a part of the 'partnership.' Some community members in Tataskweyak provided their belief that some of the other communities would not actually be affected by Keeyask, and therefore should not have a say in its construction of the 'partnership' established to support this dam. As these ideas rise and are spread, separations between communities can arise, causing rifts between communities that historically have had strong and close relationships. Ivan Moose of Fox Lake Cree Nation stated, "We're fighting each other. We're fighting for ownership on more of a share of the money" (Personal Interview). Additionally, past decisions by different communities, including those within the Northern Flood Committee and those related to the Comprehensive Implementation Agreements can exacerbate the situation, causing even further rifts that may be extremely difficult to overcome. Some community members described fear that Pimicikamak Okimawin may perceive Tataskweyak as sell-outs, as they were the first community to accept a Comprehensive Implementation Agreement in the early 1990s. If separations begin to form between different communities, it

becomes extremely difficult for these communities to come together with a common interest or goal and allows Manitoba Hydro and the province of Manitoba to continue the centuries old tactic of divide and conquer, ultimately preventing any future possibility of another Northern Flood Committee or Peace of the Braves type action.

Destruction of cohesion between separate communities is not the only negative implication of these projects on communities. As in nearly all democratic systems, there are individuals within each community who have different perceptions of how hydroelectric projects will impact the community and how these impacts will work out over the long term. These views range from a complete support for all projects and programs established by Manitoba Hydro to the complete distrust and dislike of anything and everything related to the Crown corporation. Within such small communities, these tensions can arise even within individual families, causing rifts within a community and ultimately destroying the community from the inside out.

Split Lake has a very different interaction with Manitoba Hydro than does Gillam regarding community cohesion, as Gillam is in essence a CN Rail town turned Manitoba Hydro town. The best way to describe the separation within Gillam is to look down the middle of the town. Rita Moose of Fox Lake Cree Nation described the separation by saying, "You see this fence here? It's like a barrier" (Personal Interview). The fence to which she's referring is the divide between the First Nations side of Gillam and the Manitoba Hydro employees side of town. It is nearly impossible to describe the vast differences between the two side of the community, but I will attempt to describe it in as much detail as possible.

Nearly all First Nations residents living in Gillam reside in double-wide trailers. Many of these homes were either built in the 1970s as temporary housing for Manitoba Hydro employees working on the construction of either the Kettle or Long Spruce Generating Stations. As the camps emptied following the completion of these projects, many of the First Nations community members were able to obtain these double-wides for their housing, despite them not being constructed for long term use. Some other community members have newer double-wides provided as band housing, however some of them are lacking basic amenities like running water. In a place like northern Manitoba, winters are cold and heating bills are high. In housing as inferior as that provided to the First Nations portion of Gillam, as well as their counterparts on the reserve, Hydro bills are immensely expensive every month. Many community members are on the Equal Payment Plan, allowing them to pay the same amount each month, as opposed to more in the winter and less in the summer. During my time in Gillam, I saw an Elder with a bill of over $500 for electrical costs. It is an abomination that communities who have had their livelihood destroyed by hydropower production are being charged this much for electricity produced literally in their backyards. These houses are all substandard, especially when compared to the housing provided by Manitoba Hydro for their employees.

On the other side of town from the First Nation community, lies the Manitoba Hydro employee housing, along with housing for nurses, teachers, and MTS employees. When driving through this side of Gillam, I was immediately transported to what I would perceive to be a suburb in a relatively large, modern city. Houses range from single family homes to duplexes and a number of other buildings capable of comfortably housing employees. Many of these

Hydro houses have subsidised electricity so Manitoba Hydro employees are not forced to pay large percentages of their paycheque back to their employers (Manitoba CEC Vol. 25, 5747).

Disparity between Hydro employees, predominantly Euro-Canadians from southern Manitoba, and First Nations community members has established the possibility for racism to flourish in places like Gillam and Hydro camps. Rita and Ivan Moose discussed this topic in relation to Gillam very directly. When I asked if they felt racism was prevalent in Gillam, their response was a resounding yes, which brought forward the question of if this was an outcome of Manitoba Hydro entering the area, or if it was a remnant of the establishment of Gillam as a CN town. Ivan addressed this question when he stated,

> We got along well, had a lot of fun in those days. We had no worries about someone trying to be the boss or saying we can't do this here, you can't do that here. They helped each other…. They were all here, all the Métis people and the white lived people, they helped everybody. If they knew a family couldn't afford to buy groceries, they allowed them to charge, and they did pay it back back then (Personal Interview).

Throughout the interview, Ivan and Rita argued that the community had a strong sense of cohesion prior to the introduction of hydropower dams in the area and the establishment of Gillam as a Hydro town. Now, they feel the cohesion is diminished, as is apparent when considering the earlier statements about the town being very visibly separated.

In addition to the impacts of racism upon Gillam, Rita and Ivan believe the continued influx of workers for the construction of current and future generating stations will have grave impacts on the community. Through the introduction of what community members perceive to

be about 2,000 individuals to help construct the Keeyask Generating Station, many difficult social problems can arise. First, Ivan addressed the introduction of negative substances to the community. He states, "That'll do what it did before...back then it was mostly drinking, some soft drugs like marijuana. But this time they're into hard drugs, there's people selling drugs, not only strange people that are coming but also our own community" (Personal Interview). With the introduction of hard drugs and other substances, Ivan and Rita also believe that gangs may attempt to enter the community as a means of making money through the sale of these drugs. Both of these problems would have an immense social impact on a community as small as Gillam.

Introducing such a large group of men to a small, relatively secluded community has another host of problems, in addition to those stated above. In many cases, the men who move north to help construct large generating stations are honest, hard working individuals attempting to support their families through this work. However, there are those in the construction camps who do not prize the lives of others as they should, or who perceive others as lesser than them. These individuals have been present at past construction projects and will almost certainly be at hand on present and future projects. One of the most prominent, and arguably most destructive outcomes of these people entering communities like Gillam is the possibility of sexual assault on those who reside in these areas. During the Clean Environment Commission hearings, video testimony was presented from Nancy Beardy, an Elder from Fox Lake Cree Nation. Nancy explained her story of growing up in Gillam and the impacts of hydroelectric 'development' on her as a child. One of the most prominent and life changing impacts was an attack on her by three Manitoba Hydro employees when she was 14 (Nancy Beardy, Interview). She was

sexually assaulted and states that she blamed herself for what happened, ultimately leading her to drugs and alcohol. In many ways, this assault had a profound and life changing impact on Nancy, however she states that, as she got older, an Elder sat down with her and told her she could not blame herself for what happened (Nancy Beardy, Interview). This interaction convinced Nancy to change her life and tell her story to others. As she began to tell her stories, she discovered that she was not alone, other women in communities near hydroelectric construction sites had suffered the same assaults (Nancy Beardy, Interview). In no way am I arguing that Manitoba Hydro supports these actions, however the fact that this is happening brings forward yet another cost communities must face when a hydropower project is being constructed in their homelands. As future projects move forward, this extremely negative impact must be addressed so as to protect all those who will be most negatively impacted.

Racism does not seem to be only expressed in areas like Gillam, that have a relatively large population of both Indigenous and non-Indigenous people living in a constant state of close proximity. Norm McIvor worked for Manitoba Hydro for over two decades, and has a strong relationship with people within the corporation. He stated that, as a young man he faced racism while working in the Kelsey Generating Station. One individual would continually harass his team, which included a number of people from different ethnic or national backgrounds. Throughout this harassment, Norm stated that, "the management in Kelsey, there was always one or two of them that side with that redneck" (Personal Interview). After a number of times in which the "redneck" was sent to the managers office, one manager decided to investigate and found that this individual was constantly harassing other employees. This manager, of whom Norm spoke very favourably, confronted the individual and told him, after 15 years of working

at Kelsey, that he had to leave. That individual was then sent to a generating station along the Winnipeg River System to be closer to home. In addition to this interaction, Norm also faced discrimination when hired, stating, "For the longest time, when I got hired on, my boss told me, 'well we gave you a job'" (Personal Interview). After receiving statements like that, he was asked where he was going to stay while working, as Manitoba Hydro did not wish to provide him housing in the camp as it does for the employees from the south. Based on these actions taken by Manitoba Hydro as a whole, Norm and Janet McIvor expressed the belief that Manitoba Hydro only tries to cover up or hide cases of racism, not eradicate them altogether.

Despite this past interaction Norm, and many other Manitoba Hydro employees, faced, he still believes that racism was relatively uncommon among the individuals with whom he worked. He argues that many of the individuals in his group never considered racism and it was very irregular to run into racists while he worked there, however he does not believe that is the case anymore. While discussing this topic, Norm said, "You guys spent millions of dollars on racism, but you don't do anything to these donkeys you've got there" (Personal Interview). As stated earlier, Manitoba Hydro did not wish to provide housing for Norm when he was working in their employ. This practice continues today, with First Nations individuals working on the construction of the Keeyask Generating Station being expected to commute from their community to the worksite each day.

Job prospects are limited for community members at the present point in time, and many community members expressed concern about the hiring practices used by Manitoba Hydro. Some community members requested anonymity during interviews for fear of the loss of potential work as an outcome of speaking out against the actions and results of Manitoba Hydro

and its power production projects. Others provided fear of repercussions from individuals they termed “Hobbits” as their reasoning for not wishing to be identified in this project. Hobbits are local community members who work for Hobbs and Associates, the consultant employed by Tataskweyak Cree Nation. Repercussions from these two entities were mostly addressed as the loss of future employment by Manitoba Hydro or subcontractors, making supporting one’s family extremely difficult. In addition to fears for themselves, these community members were also worried about the possibility of future actions against their children, believing that their actions would making the hiring of their relatives less likely and further hindering the possibility of the entire family to provide for itself in a meaningful way.

Commuting along Provincial Road 280, the main highway running from Thompson through Split Lake and Gillam, is immensely dangerous. Provincial Road 280 is a gravel road along which large construction vehicles travel to help build and maintain the generating stations produced by Manitoba Hydro. As constant, weight intensive traffic moves along this gravel road, the trail begins to deteriorate at an alarming rate, making travel extremely dangerous for the majority of those who must use it to gain access to affordable goods in Thompson or to travel to work and back to their communities. Many community members have also described negative health effects from this road both from the potential of rollover accidents as a result of large potholes along the highway, as well as the immense dust produced by this and the other gravel roads that are all too common in this area. Community members also brought forward the problem of traveling by ‘ambulance’ from the community to Thompson if required for the treatment of a patient. Tataskweyak Cree Nation does not own a real ambulance, but use what many would view as a pickup truck with a topper on the back. This ‘ambulance’ is not

constructed in a way that prevents dust from the gravel roads entering the area in which the patient is housed. Without proper ventilation, this dust could have extremely negative effects on the patient if s/he is suffering from any form of respiratory illness. Respiratory problems for patients is not the only fear addressed by community members. Time sensitive travel along PR 280 is problematic as a result of the potholes addressed earlier, making both EMT and Police responses difficult and highly dangerous for both the first responders as well as those to whom they are responding.

Health was a major issue addressed by a multitude of individuals from each community, and many of the responses were very similar despite the different challenges facing Gillam and Split Lake. One of the most prominent fears addressed by the communities was the increase in multiple different diseases facing the communities. These diseases including prominent and life changing illnesses like diabetes and cancer. Elders from the communities stated that they rarely, if ever, saw diabetes and cancer as children and throughout their early adult lives, however now that Manitoba Hydro has begun the process of 'developing' the area, these diseases are on the rise. Both Janet McIvor and Rita Moose stated that they believe these rates are rising in their respective communities, despite attempts to address the issues. Many of the residents of Split Lake believe the cancer rate is rising as a result of the constant and increasing necessity of chemicals to purify the water from Split Lake.

As children, many of the community members drank directly from the lake and suffered no negative side effects from this practice. Charlotte Wastesicoot emphasized this in her description of life in the area as a child when she says, "We didn't need to treat our water because I remember, even before I started school, I remember travelling here and there with my

parents, my mum was alive then, and it was very safe, didn't matter where you went, you didn't have to be afraid of floating debris. And the water was clear, you could see to the bottom" (Personal Interview). However, while speaking with Robert, he told me a story about a community member who spent much of his time at Assean Lake, an inland lake that has been relatively unaffected by the hydropower projects in the area. This community member only drank water from the lake while he was there, and when he was in Split Lake he attempted to do the same on two separate occasions. During his time drinking from Assean Lake, he would not get sick from the water, however drinking the water from Split Lake made him sick.

Lakes in northern Manitoba provide more than just drinking water for children, they also provide the opportunity to stay active through swimming and playing in the water. However, the introduction of hydropower production in northern Manitoba has corresponded well with the rise of rashes from swimming in the lake. Upon leaving the water, many children are covered in a light grey film over their entire bodies, which parents must wash off immediately. Many children also produce rashes from swimming in this water, and as stated earlier, may get sick from the involuntary ingestion of water during their activities.

Changing water levels along the lake can have far more serious implications on individuals than those listed above. Hanging ice and increased current strength can be extremely deadly for those who end up in the waters of *Kichi Sipi* and the lakes along its route to Hudson Bay. As winter temperatures require the need for an increased amount of energy to heat houses, Manitoba Hydro must run more water through their generating stations to produce enough for the demand. At this point in time, waters in northern Manitoba are frozen, and can be used as a road to different locations, allowing for more opportunity to travel to hunting grounds and other

important locations. However, after the ice has frozen, if Manitoba Hydro lowers the water level through the opening of turbines, this can create a gap between the ice and the water below it. As this gap is produced, it creates hanging ice which is extremely hazardous to those who would travel along the lakes and rivers, as the ice has the possibility of collapsing from lack of support beneath. If the ice collapses, the individual driving on top will fall through into the water, an almost certain death sentence in the frozen waters of northern Manitoba. However, community members in northern Manitoba have said that the number of people passing away from hanging ice has reduced as of late, mostly as an outcome of fewer people going out on the land and traveling by river or lake to their locations. In essence, the creation of hanging ice through Manitoba Hydro's production of energy along *Kichi Sipi* has directly forced community members off the land and reduced their ability to obtain food throughout the winter.

Survival on the water is not only difficult during the winter. Throughout the summer, there are a multitude of ways the river and lakes can be hazardous to the lives of those who wish to enjoy them. With the increase of speed and strength from currents as an outcome of the extreme flooding and diversion of the Churchill River through the Nelson River, drowning has become far more common than it was before Manitoba Hydro entered the region. Janet McIvor tells the story of the passing of her brother as an outcome of drowning. She told me that he was out on the land with them, and disappeared. They never found him, but they know the area in which he was last seen, and that area has now become a memorial to him. Her entire family is still greatly affected by his passing, however this memorial provides them some solace. However, with the construction of the Keeyask Generating Station, the memorial island the family holds so dear will be flooded out, removing all traces of the area they use to celebrate the

life of their late brother. This shows the multiple impacts hydroelectric power production can have on communities, but physically and emotionally.

As if drowning while swimming was not bad enough, community members are also having difficulty traveling along the waters during the summer, as the trees falling in the water are being washed out into the lakes and river. As these trees float in the water, they begin to submerge, and only small sections of them are seen. In other cases, portions of the tree break off and are difficult to see as an outcome of their size and shape. When the wind comes up on the lake, the trees and branches become obscured by waves, causing difficulty for community members to notice these obstacles. Robert told me of multiple stories in which fishermen or those who traveled on Split Lake hit trees or branches, some of these individuals passed away while others had to wait in a precarious situation until someone could come to help them. As these obstacles provide another difficulty in their practice of cultural pursuits, it also limits the time community members can spend on the lake in boats, making night travel or travel during windy days nearly impossible and extremely risky.

Water's implications on the community are immensely important and continue to impact the communities health in more ways than can be described. In addition to the implications of the waters of the lakes rivers, as well as the perception of chemicals used to sterilize the water as causing cancer, some community members are faced with a different problem when turning on their taps. Robert has lived in his house for approximately 15 years at this point in time. Since he has moved into this house with his family, he has not had direct plumbing from the community's water purification plant. Instead, Robert, along with many of the other houses in his area of the community, must use a cistern to hold the water for the house, which is filled on a

regular basis to make sure they never lack water. However, Robert informed me that his cistern has only been professionally cleaned once or twice in his 15 years there. He informed me that the first time his cistern was cleaned was after government officials tested his cistern and informed him that it was contaminated with E. coli. As an outcome of these results, the cistern was cleaned but has not been cleaned again for many years. Both Robert and Horace state that they can see what can only be described as a black, slimy seaweed inside their cisterns. Neither Robert nor Horace feel safe drinking directly from their taps, as they believe they are probably still affected by the E. coli that was found in the past. Horace mentioned that only the cistern was cleaned when his house tested positive for E. coli, but he is certain that the E. coli must also be in the piping of his house. While I was visiting Robert, he informed me that the way his family addresses the problem of contaminated water is through the purchasing of large quantities of bottled water from Thompson, both a costly and garbage intensive approach to the problem, but it is the only way for he and his wife to feel safe in providing their children water and other drinks. In addition to this, Robert also informed me the he is so worried about his childrens' safety that he is unwilling to use the bottled water for his coffee, and instead uses the tap water despite its possible contamination.

Of course, the waters of *Kichi Sipi* and the lakes along its path have more effects on the community than just those related to swimming and drinking. Community members have expressed immense fear regarding the possibility of mercury in the water, fearing that eating the fish they have survived on for centuries is now very likely to cause them serious illness, and possibly death. As described earlier, Denise Munroe was informed in the past that the fishermen had been tested for mercury contamination and the results showed at least some mercury

poisoning. Many community members expressed interest in the possibility of being tested for mercury poisoning, and many of the fishermen have addressed this possibility as well. This removal of both a food source and a cultural activity has immense social impacts on the community as well. As individuals lose their ability to both feed themselves from the land, participate in this activity that can tie them to their culture and provide them with educational experiences, and a source of income from commercial fishing is literally forcing people into social assistance programs.

As Manitoba Hydro continues to promote the construction of hydroelectric generating stations in northern Manitoba, many community members believe these social impacts will continue, and even more argue that they will become worse. In many ways, Manitoba Hydro promotes their 'partnership' agreements as a way to attend to these community impacts and provide a means for the community to benefit from the projects in this area. However, anyone who steps foot in Split Lake or Gillam, Manitoba can see that this is no true 'partnership,' with community members suffering from appalling housing problems, social and racial stratification, immense health problem and what I would call epidemics, and a problematic employment opportunity that seems to repress community voice while promoting the continued construction of hydroelectric dams for the profit of Manitoba Hydro and the province of Manitoba.

Perception of Hydro and the 'Partnership' Agreement

Despite Manitoba Hydro's attempts to form 'partnerships' with the communities and establish a 'new era' of Indigenous relations between the Crown corporation and the affected communities, the "legacy of hatred" has continued. Many community members expressed their dislike or distrust of Hydro throughout their interviews, however I felt it was necessary to also ask both their perception of Hydro and of the 'partnership' agreement. In every interview, the person sharing their knowledge had a negative perception of Manitoba Hydro and the 'partnership' agreements, though the description and reasoning for disliking the corporation differed between individuals. However, despite this multitude of immensely negative perceptions of Manitoba Hydro and the provincial government, there are many within these communities, as well as other communities, who believe the new relationship they have been offered is a great opportunity to begin anew.

One of the most prominent and commonly addressed views can be summarized in one quotation by Norm McIvor. Norm worked for Manitoba Hydro for 20 years and shared a depth of knowledge about the life of a First Nations Hydro employee. Despite this long history of working for Manitoba Hydro, he states "They're always lurking around the corner, those guys, trying to ruin something" (Personal Interview). Many other individuals shared other descriptions of a similar theme, however Norm's quote includes a number of nuanced views about both the nature of Manitoba Hydro and the implications of hydropower projects. On the surface, this quote describes the environmental destruction of hydroelectric 'development' in the area, when he states that Hydro is "trying to ruin something." However, it also implicates the business practices of Manitoba Hydro when he states that they are, "always lurking around the corner."

This follows with the emphasis other community members placed upon the ever present knowledge of the generating stations, the constant effects of the project, and the insidious nature of Manitoba Hydro's dealings with First Nations communities. Hydro's "lurking" nature implies that they have, and always will, be working in the shadows attempting to pull the strings within communities to accomplish their goals at the expense of community health and environmental sustainability.

Robert Spence has an immensely eloquent way of speaking about his perceptions of the impacts of hydroelectric 'development' on his community. When asked about his perception of Manitoba Hydro, Robert stated,

> It's a replay of the treaties all over again. Broken promises and broken treaties, that's all it is. I'm pretty sure they got the blueprint on how to deal with First Nations people, with the people, each reserve and each community that they had to deal with, the blueprint from the negotiations of the treaties. They got all of that from the history, they got damn good history lessons those guys, they're smart, they know how to fuck over the Indian, you know what I mean? We're just an Indian problems to them, give us very little as possible for the most amount of damage that they're doing. Everything that's done to the people, everything that's done to the land, it's all minimized. The populations of fish disappearing, minimized, because they say it's over harvesting. Everything from the land, everything as a whole is affected by Manitoba Hydro (Personal Interview).

In addition to the statements Robert has made to me, he has addressed Manitoba Hydro directly at hearings such as the Clean Environment Commission and the Public Utilities Board hearings on the Keeyask Generating Station. Throughout the hearings to the Public Utilities Board, Robert discussed his perception of Manitoba Hydro through his description of what he sees on the land in his community. He states, "I come here to speak the truth, that what Manitoba Hydro is doing is killing our mother" (Manitoba PUB 8224). He goes on to address what he perceives as the reason Manitoba Hydro's lawyers were present at the PUB hearing by saying, "the people here who are here to question me today are here to question me because of the fact that they are led by the almighty dollar" (Manitoba PUB 8225). He states this to compare their motivation with his own, which is to support the land upon which he and his ancestors have survived and thrived for centuries (Manitoba PUB 8225). In relation to this past statement, Robert goes on to state, "I was born under … the shadow of the Kelsey Dam. Now it looks like I'm going to die underneath the shadow of another" and he clarifies this by stating, "what I meant by this was, whatever Manitoba Hydro touches, they kill. They're like a cancer on the land, on the river, on the people, and the environment" (Manitoba PUB 8271-8272). One the most poignant, powerful statements made by Robert throughout these hearings was, "You're killing us every day" (Manitoba PUB 8272). This statement was made regarding the perception Manitoba Hydro touts of hydropower projects being green and renewable energy. He clarifies this statement with another statement to the PUB as well as a statement made to me about the nature of Manitoba Hydro's projects as 'development.' After stating Manitoba Hydro is killing the Cree people of TCN, he states, "Throughout

our history as a people are the same waters that Manitoba Hydro are using to kill us today" (Manitoba PUB 8273). In conversations with me, Robert addresses this again, though he directly addresses the idea of hydropower mega-projects as a form of development when he says, "How is it development when it pushes him and I off the lake and pushes us onto the welfare line?" (Personal Interview).

Adult community members are not the only people attempting to address these problems through directly addressing Manitoba Hydro and the province of Manitoba. As stated earlier in the discussion of implications of hydroelectric development on the culture of communities in the north, two students from the Otter Nelson River School submitted letters of concern to the Clean Environment Commission regarding the proposed Keeyask Generating Station. Throughout these letters, the students addressed their concerns about the project as well as their perception of Manitoba Hydro and the approach it has, and continues to take regarding hydroelectric 'development' in northern Manitoba. One student states, "I hope Manitoba Hydro is happy with what they will do to our future and the next generation after us, and the next generation after them. They will give them a life that no one would look forward to and they should really just stop building dams" (A Really Concerned Student). In addition to this, the same student said regarding the proposed dam, "All it is doing is ruining our land" (A Really Concerned Student).

Another student held very similar perceptions of Manitoba Hydro, stating, "Hydro is greedy" (A Concerned Student). In addition to sharing her/his perception of Manitoba Hydro, this student also has some recommendations for the Crown corporation, including

"They should think of the people who live around the dam and not only the money signs in their eyes" (A Concerned Student). Finally, the student provides Manitoba Hydro with a question and a warning stating, "Didn't you destroy enough of our land?" and "You are going to make a whole lot of people angry" (A Concerned Student). These students took time to write anonymous letters suggesting Manitoba Hydro rethink their plans and their relationship with those whom they affect, however they also show the perception those affected have of Manitoba Hydro.

Despite the immensely negative environmental and social impacts of hydropower production in northern Manitoba, some community members have a positive view of the motivation behind Manitoba Hydro's new 'partnership' approach to relations with First Nations communities. Chief Marcel Moody from Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation has stated that the partnership between his community and Manitoba Hydro is working for the community ("Partnership is working"). When discussing the community's important role in the Manitoba economy, Chief Moody states, "We have invested in businesses that employ other Manitobans and we have used the profits of those businesses to create jobs in our community" ("Partnership is working"). Additionally, he promotes deals with Manitoba Hydro as being one of the leading reasons the community is no longer 100% dependent on funding from the federal government ("Partnership is working"). Finally, Chief Moody finishes his argument with the statement, "Our citizens deserve to be proud of the fact we could overcome such a negative history and move forward for the betterment of all Manitobans" ("Partnership is working"). This position is echoed by both former Chief Jerry Primrose and Councilor Agnes Spence (Green Green Water).

Additionally, proponents in southern Manitoba cite economic 'development' in these communities are a major asset for First Nations in the north. Introduction of construction projects and population increase with the introduction of workers into the area allows communities the possibility of making financial gains through the establishment of construction companies, gas stations, and other businesses (Loxley, 147). These companies can both supply the hydropower construction industry with goods and services as well as the community from which they come. Partnerships may allow for the profits of electricity generation to be invested into these companies, providing the necessary capital to start the company that may not have been present without the monies provided by hydroelectric generation. However, some proponents of this approach fail to consider one of the many alternatives, the aforementioned Peace of the Braves agreement that provides communities with capital similar to the partnerships in Manitoba without the financial and political implications of a capital investment in the project.

One of the most prominent and consistent statements made by individuals with whom I spoke can be best expressed in the words of Denise Munroe, "They don't know because they don't live here year round" (Personal Interview). Many community members feel that Manitoba Hydro has no way of knowing much of what they state in hearings because they only send researchers to the area for relatively short periods of time, and many community members feel the little consultation that was done was nearly never used in report made by those researchers. Yet another instance of Denise putting nearly everyone's thoughts into words is when she states, "How can we be seen as equal 'partners' when they don't even want to listen to the

community?" (Personal Interview). This questions directly addresses the lack of support provided to community testimony, and I would argue is a strong motivator for community members to participate in hearings through personal presentations or direct involvement as interveners in the process. Lastly, when asked about the 'partnership' itself, many community members expressed the view that Manitoba Hydro was not working in a way that was for the best of the people. Denise says, "they're not upholding their end of the deal," a theme that can be seen throughout Manitoba Hydro's nearly 50 years of existence and throughout the entirety of the history of hydropower production in this province (Personal Interview). These perceptions provide insight into the community's perception of a 'partnership' agreement that Manitoba Hydro promotes as providing social licence. Without true community consent, is social licence provided? If community join in 'partnership' with the perception that the project will go forward without regard to their participation, can true social licence be granted or obtained? The short answer to both of these questions is a resounding no. We, as citizens of Manitoba cannot accept the fallacious social licence touted by Manitoba Hydro with the knowledge that many within the communities of northern Manitoba want nothing to do with the projects and even more only support them because they are informed they have no other option. These projects must stop now, until a time such that an alternative can be proposed or true, valid social licence is provided by communities. Until that time, we must respect the communities, the treaties established in this province, and the way of life of the Cree people of northern Manitoba.

Conclusions

Hydroelectric development has had a vast, constant, and ever changing impact on both the Indigenous communities and the environment of northern Manitoba. These impacts have been devastating and continue to affect the communities, despite Manitoba Hydro's claim to have started a 'new era' in their relations with First Nations. In every way, these travesties are the true cost of hydroelectric power production, and they are solely borne by those living in the north. Now, with the contemporary approach of Manitoba Hydro to construction of dams and compensation for communities, affected First Nations are literally paying for the projects both socially and financially, while Manitoba Hydro must only cover the costs of projects, a cost that can be passed on to consumers in both Manitoba and Minnesota. As current and future projects continue this approach to relations with First Nations communities, Manitoba Hydro and the province of Manitoba will continue to promote the "phenomenal social licence" brought about by 'partnership' agreements (Braun, "Loses Shine"). With a definition for social licence that is community oriented and progressive in nature, "free, prior, and informed consent," it is clear the Manitoba Hydro has not established social licence merely through the use of partnership agreements. These 'partnerships' are inherently one-sided, with Manitoba and Manitoba Hydro taking no real risk and the communities being forced to sacrifice all they love and hold dear for the slight hope of some prosperity for their future generations. Free consent is not provided by communities, as they perceive the projects as a guarantee with little power placed in their hands to stop them. Prior consent is not provided, as Manitoba Hydro has failed in the past to gain consent from communities and continues to plan projects prior to formal consent being provided by the communities in question. Additionally, only communities in the direct vicinity of the

projects are included in the partnerships, failing to gain consent from other communities affected by these projects. Informed consent, although attempted by Manitoba Hydro, is also not provided. Throughout interviews with community members, it is clear they feel they were not provided all information necessary to make an informed decision on the partnership. This feeling is exacerbated by the introduction of confidentiality agreements forced upon the leadership of partner communities. In no way does this provide "phenomenal social licence," but rather shows a continued attempt to colonize and subjugate a proud and sovereign people in the north of this province. Social licence provided by 'partnership' agreements is fallacious in nature, and will continue to be so until First Nations can gain from projects without having to give up all they have as collateral.

Despite the immense negativity surrounding the production of energy in this province, there is hope for the future, both of the province's prosperity and the prosperity of communities impacted by hydroelectric development. There are multiple ways the "legacy of hatred" established by Manitoba Hydro can be rectified, none of them will be easy but they will all come together to establish a more prosperous province that will lift the perception of Manitoba as one of the last bastions of colonialism in Canada and the approach of Manitoba Hydro as the "zenith" of colonization (Hoffman 128).

In recent years, the ability of solar panels to produce energy on a large scale has increased immensely, with Germany being one of the countries leading the way in renewable energy through a combination of their solar and wind energy production (Vidal, "Solar Power Records"). During the summer solstice in 2014, Germany produced a maximum of approximately 23.1GW of energy by midday, corresponding to approximately 50.6% of the

country's energy requirement (Vidal, "Solar Power Records"). Based on a quick calculation of the total capacity of hydroelectric generating stations in Manitoba at this point in time, not including the introduction of Conawapa or Keeyask, hydropower in Manitoba produces approximately 5.217GW of energy per day, if all generating stations are producing energy at their max capacity ("Generating Stations"). Obviously, it would take time for Manitoba to reach the amount of energy produced by Germany from solar power, however it appears that the use of solar energy to power the province may be a distinct possibility, especially considering that some of the energy produced by the aforementioned generating stations is sold to the United States.

Recently, a couple moving to Manitoba was faced with the option of paying either $60,000 to Manitoba Hydro to have their rural house connected to the power grid, or pay a total of $30,000 and run their entire house on solar power (Owen, "Solar-powered house"). Based on their living situation prior to their move into the solar powered house, the couple was using approximately five kilowatts of energy per 24 hour period (Owen, "Solar-powered house"). The bank of 24 solar panels the couple placed in front of their house produces approximately 4.4 kilowatts in that same period of time, and the couple has installed a wood burning stove to supplement their heating needs on extremely cold days (Owen, "Solar-powered house"). The ability of this couple to produce their own energy and survive completely off the energy grid establishes the ability of others in Manitoba to do the same, and by extension the entire province to move away from the continued construction of destructive hydroelectric projects in northern Manitoba. At this point in time, the Crown corporation only provides loans to those hoping to use solar power to heat their water systems, however Hydro informed the Public Utilities Board that southern Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba have the highest potential for solar power in

the entirety of Canada (Owen, "Solar-powered house"). Given this information, and the knowledge that from 2013-2014, Canada has increased its solar power production by 440 megawatts to a total of 1.2 gigawatts (Vidal, "Solar Power Records"), Manitoba could become the leading solar power producing province in the country if we were to begin to aggressively work towards this more sustainable and environmentally conscious form of energy. In the same briefing to the PUB in which Manitoba Hydro states southern Manitoba has one of the highest potentials for solar power in Canada, it also states that the "rooftop potential of Winnipeg has been estimated to be greater than 3,000 megawatts" (Owen, "Solar-powered house").

Manitoba Hydo's proposed Conawapa Generating Station has a rated capacity of 1,485 megawatts, and would produce an annual average of 7,000 gigawatts of energy ("Conawapa Generating Station"). In order to truly understand these numbers, Manitoba Hydro has estimated the energy produced by the Conawapa Generating Station would power approximately 636,000 homes ("Conawapa Generating Station"). Considering the quoted rooftop potential of Winnipeg as described by Manitoba Hydro to the Public Utilities Board, it seems solar power in Winnipeg would be double the amount produced by the Conawapa Generating Station, establishing it as a far more productive project than the expensive and extremely destructive hydropower projects proposed in the north. In addition to the benefits of not constructing another generating station along *Kichi Sipi*, the production of energy in Winnipeg would protect potentially millions of acres of boreal forest, as the energy would not need to be transmitted from northern Manitoba to the population centres in the south. Although there are problems with the use of solar energy, for example the necessity of mining for the resources to produce these solar panels, the amount of environmental protection in Manitoba itself would be vast.

If Manitoba Hydro and the province of Manitoba were to embrace this new and hopeful prospect for energy production in this province, the possibility of removing past dams may present itself. Decommissioning of past projects seems like a large and daunting task, but it has been done in other places with immense success. During the years of 2011-2014, Washington state in the United States undertook the largest decommissioning project in the world, with the removal of the Elwha River and Glines Canyon dams along the Elwha River in the Olympic Peninsula of the state (Main, "Dam Removal"). The Elwha Dam was built in 1913, with the Glines Canyon Dam being completed in 1927 to add to the energy produced by the Elwha River (Main, "Dam Removal"). As in Manitoba, the construction of these generating stations along the river reduced the ability of fish to migrate, in particular the red salmon native to the area (Main, "Dam Removal"). The Indigenous people of the Lower Elwha Klallam band protested the construction of these dams, stating that the generating stations had destroyed their way of life, very similar to what is happening in northern Manitoba right now (Main, "Dam Removal"). As the energy from these dams became less necessary, the work of the Indigenous community and like minded individuals from other communities pressured the government to the point that the state Congress agreed to its removal in 1992 (Main, "Dam Removal"). With this agreement passed, the Indigenous community, the City of Port Angeles, and the National Park Service worked together to finalize a plan in 2004, with work beginning in 2011 (Main, "Dam Removal").

Completion on the removal of the Elwha River Dam, downstream of the Glines Canyon Dam, was accomplished in March, 2012 (Main, "Dam Removal"). Following the removal of the Elwha River Dam, the Glines Canyon Dam was almost completely removed in August, 2014

(Main, “Dam Removal”). Nearly immediately, positive results were recorded along the river, with the two bullhead trout being found upstream of the Glines Canyon Dam, the first time in over a century (Main, “Dam Removal”). In addition to the results of the bullhead trout, scientists recorded a record number of chinook and red salmon upstream of the Elwha River Dam (Main, “Dam Removal”). Migration of fish is not the only positive effect of the removal of these two generating stations. With the removal of both dams complete, sediment has begun to flow to the Strait of Juan de Fuca, replacing bare rock with sand and soil (Main, “Dam Removal”). Reintroduction of beaches to the area through the settling of sediment allows many species new habitats as well as an effective area for reproduction (Main, “Dam Removal”). Scientists have stated a complete shock at how quickly the river system has recovered after the removal of the two dams (Main, “Dam Removal”). In particular, Christopher Tonra of the Smithsonian Migratory Bird Center in Washington D.C. has stated, “We are all trained, as biologists, to think of things over the long run. I am not saying the Elwha is fully recovered. But it is so mind blowing to me, the numbers of fish, and seeing the birds respond immediately to the salmon being there. It makes the hairs on the back of my neck stand up” (Main, “Dam Removal”). Overall, the project cost a total of approximately $325 million for the removal of the 108 ft. tall Elwha River Dam and the 210 ft. high Glines Canyon Dam (Main, “Dam Removal”; Nijhuis, “Unleashes U.S. River”).

Decommissioning dams may be costly and difficult, but if we are to progress as a province towards a more sustainable livelihood, and a more equitable relationship with our First Nations relatives within their homelands, we must take this opportunity into consideration. The most minimal effort that can be made at this point in time would be to cease all dam construction

from this point forward. Moving forward with alternative, green forms of energy production would remove the necessity for any future dams, as our energy capacity as a province would increase through these other methods. At this point in time, Manitoba is a province steeped in colonialism that is best described through a thorough review of the historical and contemporary relationship between Manitoba Hydro, and by extension the provincial government, and the affected First Nations communities in northern Manitoba. If we are to move forward and become a beacon to the rest of Canada, and the rest of the world, as a centre of decolonization and mutually beneficial relationships with our Indigenous community members, we must first address the unequal and destructive means of producing energy for the citizens of the province and for export.

Many of the suggestions made above are long-term solutions to a problem that has existed for more than 40 years. In order to mitigate many of the problems present at the current moment, there are steps that can be taken to provide affected communities with financial support until such a time as alternatives to hydropower production can be produced. In a recent article for the Winnipeg Free Press, Peter Kulchyski outlines a number of changes that can be made that will turn the tides of this inequitable relationship. Most prominently, Kulchyski calls for a step better than a "Manitoba Peace of the Braves for all Hydro-affected communities" ("Better Deal"). One of the necessary steps for this to happen would be to establish "resource-revenue sharing" through providing affected communities with a percentage of the gross earnings of all generating stations in northern Manitoba (Kulchyski, "Better Deal"). In addition to the percentage of the existing dams being provided to affected First Nations, these communities should also receive a percentage of new and future generating stations, without the requirement

of providing their own equity to purchase shares of the projects (Kulchyski, “Better Deal”). Kulchyski proposes these funds be provided through a portion of the water rental paid to the province by Manitoba Hydro, a portion of Manitoba Hydro’s profits, and a small, dedicated portion of what ratepayers pay for their Hydro bills (Kulchyski, “Better Deal”). These steps would establish Manitoba Hydro and the province of Manitoba as having one of the best approaches within the industry, although it would not fix all problems faced by affected First Nations. Steps such as these would allow northern communities the opportunity to mitigate many of the problems that have been established by hydroelectric ‘development’ in their areas, until a better future can be produced through the establishment of better forms of energy production and the removal hydroelectric mega-projects in Cree territory.

Bibliography

A Concerned Student. Letter. *Manitoba Clean Environment Commission*. n.d. Web. 18 Feb. 2015.

A Really Concerned Student. *Manitoba Clean Environment Commission*. n.d. Web. 18 Feb. 2015.

Beardy, Nancy. Interviewed by Peter Kulchyski. *Concerned Fox Lake Grassroots Citizens*.

Braun, Will. "Dam deal loses shine: First Nations gambled on bold talk of prosperity." Winnipeg Free Press, 24 April, 2014. 10 Dec. 2015.

"Building Keeyask Together: Introduction to Our Capacity." *Cree Nation Partners*. n.d. Web. 9 Feb. 2015.

"Calder Case." *Indigenous Foundations*. University of British Columbia. n.d. 6 Feb. 2015.

"Conawapa Generating Station." *Manitoba Hydro*. n.p., n.d. Web. 16 Feb. 2015.

"Constitution Act." *Indigenous Foundations*. University of British Columbia. n.d. 20 Feb. 2015.

Dobrovolny, Lydia. "Monitoring for Success: Designing and Implementing A Monitoring Regime for Northern Manitoba." *Power Struggles: Hydro Development and First Nations in Manitoba and Québec*. Eds. Thibault Martin and Steven Hoffman. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2008. 169-202. Print.

Ducharme, Steve. "Fighting for a fishery: The Churchill River Diversion swamped lucrative whitefish fishery." Winnipeg Free Press, 10 Dec., 2013. Web. 10 Dec. 2014.

Dupuis, Renee. "Should the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement Serve as a Model Agreement for Other First Nations?" *Power Struggles: Hydro Development and First Nations in Manitoba and Québec*. Eds. Thibault Martin and Steven Hoffman. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2008. 215-225. Print.

"Generating Stations." *Manitoba Hydro*. n.p., n.d. Web. 9 Feb. 2015.

Green Green Water. dir. Dawn Mikkelson. cultureunplugged.com, 2005. Web.

"History & Timeline." *Manitoba Hydro*. n.p., n.d. Web. 9 Feb. 2015.

Hoffman, Steven. "Engineering Poverty: Colonialism and Hydroelectric Development in Northern Manitoba." *Power Struggles: Hydro Development and First Nations in*

Manitoba and Québec. Eds. Thibault Martin and Steven Hoffman. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2008. 103-128. Print.

Horace. Personal Interview. 20 June, 2014.

"Inflation Calculator." *Bank of Canada*. n.p., n.d. Web. 18 Feb. 2015.

"Innu of Labrador." *Interchurch Council on Hydropower*. n.p., n.d. Web. 15 Jan. 2015.

"Jenpeg Generating Station." *Manitoba Hydro*. n.p., n.d. Web. 9 Feb. 2015.

"Keeyask Project." *Manitoba Hydro*. n.p., n.d. Web. 9 Feb. 2015.

"Kelsey Generating Station." *Manitoba Hydro*. n.p., n.d. Web. 9 Feb. 2015.

"Kettle Generating Station." *Manitoba Hydro*. n.p., n.d. Web. 9 Feb. 2015.

"Keeyask & TCN." *Interchurch Council on Hydropower*. Mennonite Central Committee. n.d. Web. 9 Feb. 2015.

Kulchyski, Peter. "A Step Back: The Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation and the Wuskwatim Project." *Power Struggles: Hydro Development and First Nations in Manitoba and Québec*. Eds. Thibault Martin and Steven Hoffman. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2008. 129-144. Print.

----. *Aboriginal Rights Are Not Human Rights*. Winnipeg: Arbeiter Ring Press, 2013. Print.

----. "Better deal, better life for northern bands." Winnipeg Free Press, 13 Nov., 2014. Web. 15 Nov. 2014.

Kulchyski, Peter, & Ramona Neckoway. "The Town That Lost its Name." *Doing Community Economic Development*. Eds. John Loxley, Jim Silver, and Kathleen Sexsmith. Halifax & Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing, 2007. Print.

"Lake Winnipeg Regulation." *Manitoba Hydro*. n.p., n.d. Web. 20 Feb. 2015.

"Limestone Generating Station." *Manitoba Hydro*. n.p., n.d. Web. 9 Feb. 2015.

"Longspruce Generating Station." *Manitoba Hydro*. n.p., n.d. Web. 9 Feb. 2015

Loxley, John. *Aboriginal, Northern, and Community Economic Development: Papers and Retrospectives*. Winnipeg: Arbeiter Ring Press. 2010. Print.

Main, Douglas, "As World's Largest Dam Removal is Completed, Fish Already Returning." Newsweek, 9 Sept. 2014. Web. 13 Nov. 2014.

Manitoba. Ministry of Conservation. *Keeyask Generation Project Public Hearings*. Vol. 15. [Winnipeg]: Manitoba Clean Environment Commission, 14 Nov., 2013. *Manitoba Clean Environment Commission*. Web. 22 Jan. 2015.

Manitoba. Ministry of Conservation. *Keeyask Generation Project Public Hearings*. Vol. 25. [Winnipeg]: Manitoba Clean Environment Commission, 10 Dec., 2013. *Manitoba Clean Environment Commission*. Web. 22 Jan. 2015

Manitoba. Public Utilities Board. *Manitoba Hydro Needs for and Alternatives to Review of Manitoba Hydro's Preferred Development Plan*. [Winnipeg]: Manitoba Public Utilities Board, 25 April, 2014. *Manitoba Public Utilities Board*. Web. 22 Jan. 2015.

Martin, Thibault. "Hydro Development in Québec and Manitoba: Old Relationships of New Social Contract?" *Power Struggles: Hydro Development and First Nations in Manitoba and Québec*. Eds. Thibault Martin and Steven Hoffman. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2008. 19-38. Print.

Massan, Noah. Personal Interview. 24 June, 2014.

McClullum, Hugh, & Karmel McClullum. *This Land is Not For Sale*. Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1975. Print.

McIvor, Janet. Personal Interview. 21 June, 2014

McIvor, Norm. Personal Interview. 21 June, 2014.

MNP LLP. *NFAT Review: A Review of Manitoba Hydro's Macro Environmental Considerations*. Toronto: MNP LLP, 2014.

Moody, Marcel. "This Hydro partnership is working." Winnipeg Free Press, 3 May 2014. Web. 9 Feb. 2015.

Moose, Ivan. Personal Interview. 17 June, 2014.

Moose, Rita. Personal Interview. 17 June, 2014.

Munroe, Denise. Personal Interview. 20 June, 2014.

Newman, David. "History of NFA Implementation by the Government of Manitoba." *First Nations and Hydroelectric Development in Northern Manitoba: The Northern Flood Agreement: Issues and Implications.* Eds. Jean-Luc Chodkiewicz and Jennifer Brown.

Winnipeg: The Centre for Rupert's Land Studies at the University of Winnipeg, 1999. 41-53. Print.

Nijhuis, Michelle. "World's Largest Dam Removal Unleashes U.S. River After Century of Electric Production." National Geographic, 26 Aug. 2014. Web. 13 Nov. 2014.

Orkin, Andrew. "Northern Flood Agreement 1977: A Case Study in Treaty Extinguishment and Violation of Fundamental Human Rights." *First Nations and Hydroelectric Development in Northern Manitoba: The Northern Flood Agreement: Issues and Implications*. Eds. Jean-Luc Chodkiewicz and Jennifer Brown. Winnipeg: The Centre for Rupert's Land Studies at the University of Winnipeg, 1999. 106-130. Print.

Owen, Bruce. "Couple's solar-powered home aims to challenge Manitoba Hydro." Winnipeg Free Press, 28 March 2014. Web. 12 Nov. 2014.

Owen, John R. & Deanna Kemp. "Social Licence and Mining: A Critical Perspective." *Resources Policy* 38 (2013): 29-35. Web.

Parsons, Richard & Kieren Moffat. "Constructing the Meaning of Social Licence." *Social Epistemology* 28 (2014): 340-363. Web.

Pike, Rory. "Social Licence to Operate: The Relevance of Social Licence to Operate for Mining Companies." Schroders, July 2012. Web. 20 Dec. 2014.

Spence, Robert. Personal Interview. 20 June, 2014.

Suchan, Allan. "What is the Northern Flood Agreement?" *First Nations and Hydroelectric Development in Northern Manitoba: The Northern Flood Agreement: Issues and Implications*. Eds. Jean-Luc Chodkiewicz and Jennifer Brown. Winnipeg: The Centre for Rupert's Land Studies at the University of Winnipeg, 1999. 36-40. Print.

Tough, Frank. *As Their Natural Resources Fail: Native Peoples and the Economic History of Northern Manitoba 1870-1930*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1996. Print.

Vidal, John. "UK and Germany break solar power records." The Guardian, 23 June 2014. Web. 12 Nov. 2014.

Waldram, James. *As Long as the Rivers Run: Hydroelectric Development and Native Communities in Western Canada*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1988. Print.

----. "Falling Through the Cracks (in the Dam): South Indian Lake and the Churchill River Diversion Project." *First Nations and Hydroelectric Development in Northern Manitoba: The Northern Flood Agreement: Issues and Implications*. Eds. Jean-Luc Chodkiewicz

and Jennifer Brown. Winnipeg: The Centre for Rupert's Land Studies at the University of Winnipeg, 1999. 67-77. Print.

Wastesicoot, Charlotte. Personal Interview. 21 June, 2014.

Wera, Romuald, and Thibault Martin. "The Way of Modern Treaties: A Review of Hydro Projects and Agreements in Manitoba and Québec." *Power Struggles: Hydro Development and First Nations in Manitoba and Quebec.* Eds. Thibault Martin and Steven Hoffman. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2008. 55-74. Print.

"Wuskwatim & NCN." *Interchurch Council on Hydropower*. n.p., n.d. Web. 9 Feb. 2015

"Wuskwatim Generating Station." *Manitoba Hydro*. n.p., n.d. Web. 9 Feb. 2015.

Appendix A

UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

204 Isbister Building
Winnipeg, Manitoba
Canada R3T 2N2
Telephone (204) 474-9266
Fax (204) 474-7657
Department of Native Studies

Information and Consent Form

Study Name: The Effects of Hydroelectric Development on Aboriginal People in Tataskweyak Cree Nation

Principal Investigator: Joseph Dipple, Native Studies, M.A. Graduate Student
[redacted] dipplej@myumanitoba.ca

Research Supervisor: Dr. Peter Kulchyski, Professor, Native Studies
[redacted], peter.kulchyski@ad.umanitoba.ca

Description of Project:

This research will examine the effects of the Keeyask Dam on the members of the Tataskweyak Cree Nation living on the Tataskweyak Reserve. The construction of the Keeyask dam has many environmental, social, and economic impacts on the community. We are interested in the Cree experience of these changes and this is why we wish to speak with you. This data will be used for the Principal Investigator's Master's Thesis. Interviews will take approximately 30 minutes, however if you wish to speak longer, the Principal Investigator will be happy to continue the interview. You may withdraw from this study at any point in time, with no repercussions, by corresponding with the Principal Investigator or Research Supervisor using the contact information above. If you wish to receive a summary of the findings, your interview video and transcript, or the completed Master's Thesis, please contact the Principal Investigator using the contact information above. You may use the video interviews you receive in any way you see fit.

If you have any questions regarding the ethical approval of this project, you may contact the University of Manitoba Joint-Faculty Review Board at:

Margret (Maggie) Bowman
Human Ethics Coordinator
Room 208-194 Dafoe Road (CTC Building)
or by email at margaret.bowman@umanitoba.ca

Statement of Informant Rights:

I have been fully informed of the objectives of the project being conducted. I understand these objectives and consent to being interviewed for the project. I understand that steps will be taken to ensure that this interview will remain confidential unless I consent to being identified. I also understand that if I wish to withdraw from the study, I may do so without any repercussions. All data that I provide will be withdrawn at my request.

This interview will be conducted face to face and will be video recorded, with consent. The interview will be confidential unless you agree that what you say can be quoted and identified with your name in anything the researchers may write. The interviews will be destroyed one year after the completion of this project in April of 2015. You may change your mind at any time before April of 2015 by notifying the researchers.

1) **I agree to participate in this project having my response/s *and full name* published in Joseph Dipple's thesis.**

Print name:

_____

Signature:

_____

2) **I agree to participate in this project having my response/s published in Joseph Dipple's thesis, but *my full name is to remain anonymous*.**

Print name:

_____

Signature:

_____

3) **I agree to participate in this project having my response/s published in Joseph Dipple's thesis using *only my first name*.**

Print Name:

_____

Signature:

_____

4) **I agree to be video recorded for the purpose of easier transcription on the part of the Principle Investigator. I understand that, at my request, these video interviews may be used in any way I see fit.**

Print name:

_____

Signature:

_____

***NOTE:** Age, background and occupation of all participants will be published with their response/s to provide some evidence of research but this information will only consist of a general occupational term such as student/retail/administration/unemployed, how long the participant has lived in Tataskweyak Cree Nation, educational background, marital status, number of children; information obtained and published will not make those participants requesting anonymity identifiable.