

*Building New Relations: Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation, Manitoba Hydro, and
the Proposed Wuskwatim Project*

By
David A. Hultin

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Native Studies
University of Manitoba
March 2005

© by David A. Hultin 2005

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA
FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

COPYRIGHT PERMISSION

*Building New Relations: Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation, Manitoba Hydro, and
The Proposed Wuskwatim Project*

BY

David A. Hultin

**A Thesis/Practicum submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of The University of
Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirement of the degree
Master Of Arts**

David A. Hultin © 2005

Permission has been granted to the Library of the University of Manitoba to lend or sell copies of this thesis/practicum, to the National Library of Canada to microfilm this thesis and to lend or sell copies of the film, and to University Microfilms Inc. to publish an abstract of this thesis/practicum.

This reproduction or copy of this thesis has been made available by authority of the copyright owner solely for the purpose of private study and research, and may only be reproduced and copied as permitted by copyright laws or with express written authorization from the copyright owner.

Abstract

A new relationship is being forged between Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation (NCN) (Nelson House) and Manitoba Hydro for the proposed Wuskwatim hydroelectric generating station that will be located within the Nelson House Resource Management Area. The purpose of this research was to inform the reader about the history of NCN and what role it played in the future development, to determine why NCN members developed from impacted people to potential partners in development and to examine their role in the proposed new hydro project. The history of hydroelectric development within the community was critically examined. The manner in which the new partnership was conceived, the motivation for this partnership, the problems it was supposed to address, and the goals it achieved were considered. The community perspective was outlined and the viewpoints of Manitoba Hydro were also considered. Recommendations for future research were made.

Acknowledgements

My deep appreciation and sincere thanks to: Dr. Wanda Wuttunee, Prof. Thomas Henley and Dr. Jill Oakes, for the support and many hours spent in helping to guide my efforts; the participants and other interested parties in the research process: thank you for welcoming me into your homes, offices, and lives while sharing with me your thoughts; and the 2002-2003 Arts Student Body Council (ASBC) and the Manitoba Research Alliance, by way of Dr. John Loxley, for providing me with funding.

Special thanks go out to my parents (Carl and Vi Hultin), and to some wonderful friends who listened to my rants and kept me laughing along the way: Jenn Bloom, Jill Dutchak, Karen Inskip, Larissa Maslechko, Evan Maximiuk, Jason Sapinsky, and Shannon Steinhoff.

Table of Contents

Abstract		iii
Acknowledgements		iv
Terminology		ix
Chapter 1 - What is the future of resource development in Manitoba?		
1.0	<i>Introduction</i>	1
1.1	<i>Overview</i>	1
1.2	<i>Manitoba Hydro</i>	4
	1.2.1 <i>Overview of electricity trade with the United States</i>	5
1.3	<i>Northern hydro development as colonialism</i>	7
1.4	<i>Choosing the project and community</i>	9
1.5	<i>Background of investigator</i>	11
1.6	<i>Purpose of research</i>	12
1.7	<i>Objectives</i>	13
1.8	<i>Parameters and limitations</i>	13
Chapter 2 – Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation: the project’s co-proponent		
2.0	<i>Introduction</i>	14
2.1	<i>The history of the name</i>	14
2.2	<i>The early history of the Rocky Cree</i>	15
2.3	<i>Treaty 5 adhesion – 1908</i>	16
2.4	<i>The past, present, and future</i>	17
2.5	<i>Governance</i>	19
2.6	<i>NCN and previous hydro development</i>	20
	2.6.1 <i>Northern Flood Agreement (1977)</i>	22
	2.6.2 <i>NFA Implementation Agreement (1996)</i>	24
	2.6.3 <i>Future Development (Wuskwatim)</i>	25
	2.6.4 <i>Manitoba Hydro Act Amendments (1997)</i>	28

2.6.5	<i>Agreement in Principle (2001)</i>	28
2.6.6	<i>Summary of Understandings (2003)</i>	29
2.6.7	<i>Reaction to the agreements</i>	30
2.6.8	<i>The proposed NCN/Manitoba Hydro partnership</i>	34
2.6.9	<i>Advantages of the Wuskwatim project</i>	36
2.6.9.1	<i>What has the partnership achieved so far</i>	37

Chapter 3 – The Research Process

3.0	<i>Introduction</i>	38
3.1	<i>Research settings</i>	38
3.1.1	<i>Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation</i>	38
3.1.2	<i>City of Thompson</i>	38
3.1.3	<i>City of Winnipeg</i>	39
3.2	<i>Data sources and methods</i>	40
3.2.1	<i>Participant observation</i>	41
3.2.2	<i>Interviews</i>	43
3.3	<i>The data collection process</i>	46

Chapter 4 – The Concept of Partnership

4.0	<i>Introduction</i>	52
4.1	<i>The basis for partnerships in Canada</i>	52
4.2	<i>What is a partnership</i>	53
4.3	<i>Elements of successful partnerships</i>	56
4.4	<i>Partnership caveats</i>	57
4.5	<i>Partnership in the Quebec hydroelectric context</i>	58

Chapter 5 – Summary, Conclusions, and Recommendations

5.0	<i>Summary</i>	60
5.1	<i>Objective #1 – Historical background on key Issues concerning the community and any pre-existing partnerships in hydroelectric development</i>	61
5.2	<i>Objective #2 – The motivation for the new partnership, the manner in which it was conceived, and the goals it may achieve</i>	63
5.3	<i>Objective #3 – The impression the community has toward the proposed deal</i>	66
5.4	<i>The relationship to date</i>	69
5.5	<i>Analysis</i>	70
5.6	<i>Recommendations for future research</i>	73
5.7	<i>Conclusion</i>	74
	References	76
	Personal Communications	86
	Appendix	
1	<i>Consent Form (Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation)</i>	88
2	<i>Consent form (general)</i>	93
	Figures	
1	<i>The Manitoba Hydro System</i>	5
2	<i>Manitoba Hydro transmission corridors with the United States</i>	6
3	<i>Hydroelectric development in Manitoba</i>	9
4	<i>Geographical location of project in northern Manitoba</i>	10
5	<i>Northern Manitoba CRD Area</i>	21

6	<i>Northern Flood Agreement Communities</i>	23
7	<i>Taskinigup Falls (specific location of generating station)</i>	26
8	<i>The completed Wuskwatim Hydroelectric Generating Station</i>	27
9	<i>AIP Signing Ceremony, September 2001</i>	29
10	<i>The project approval process</i>	30
11	<i>The fieldwork schedule</i>	40
12	<i>Benefits of partnership for Aboriginal people</i>	56

Terminology

The following acronyms are used within the thesis:

AIP – Agreement-in-Principle

CEC – Clean Environment Commission

CIA – Comprehensive Implementation Agreement

CRD – Churchill River Diversion

KV - Kilovolt

Mile 17 – Location of access road to Wuskwatim site on provincial road 391, 17 miles north of Thompson, Mb.

MW - Megawatt

NCN – Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation (Nelson House)

NFA – Northern Flood Agreement

NFC – Northern Flood Committee

PDA – Project Development Agreement

RMA – Resource Management Area

SILDR – South Indian Lake Displaced Residents

SOU – Summary of Understanding

Chapter I

What is the Future of Resource Development in Manitoba?

“Only beavers should build dams.”¹

1.0 Introduction

Standing underneath the night sky on the side of provincial road 391 (near mile 17), north of the 55th parallel, in late November 2003, is an awe-inspiring experience. The air is cleaner and much more pure, and the sound of your breathing is broken only by the howl of wolves coming from somewhere deep in that immense forest. High above, the stars are brighter and actually twinkle. If you are lucky enough to be here during the winter months as I was, the ever-changing colour of the aurora borealis defies description, as it skips through the crisp night sky. This is also the land of three rivers; the cold, dark Burntwood, Footprint, and Rat.

I was heading south towards Thompson, Mb. when I realized where I was, so I pulled over to contemplate the significance of a proposal for the future of hydroelectric development in northern Manitoba.

1.1 Overview

Since time immemorial, First Nations people have utilized and occupied the land in the northern region of the province of Manitoba. A 1992 report from the Northern Manitoba Economic Development Commission, *Northern Manitoba: A Benchmark Report*, suggests that early archaeological evidence points to the Assiniboine, Cree, and Ojibway peoples as the first to come to what is now known as the province of Manitoba.

¹ Cross Lake Chief John Miswagon, April 15, 2000, *Environmental Justice and Energy Policy in the Upper Midwest Conference*

Since pre-contact, Indian peoples have traditionally used the resources on their land. According to the Reeves and Kennedy (1993), Aboriginal peoples in this country have practised sustainable development, as a framework for the integration of environmental protection and development strategies, for thousands of years. Their concerns regarding the potential impacts from industrial activity [including hydro-electric development] are based upon a living, spiritual relationship with the land, air and waters of this country. The total fabric of society is integrated and there is a continuum in which sets of relationships have developed to bind human life to nature.

Before 1670, notes the Regional Economic Expansion report (1977), a single way of life was known and understood by all who lived in the north. The people were able to provide for their own needs directly from the natural resources of the region. The animals, fish, trees and plants provided the materials for food, clothing, shelter, tools, and even health needs. Groups of people moved freely about the region, following seasonal patterns of fish and animals.

The period after the arrival of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1670 marked the beginning of the extraction of resources for a profit and was the first Aboriginal involvement in resource development. Furs and natural survival skills were traded for the supplies available from the European explorers. As new tools were introduced and new ways of doing things were learned, many of the older survival skills were lost (Anderson, 1992).

Around the time of Confederation in 1867, inland settlement continued while European cultural values continued to influence the skills and attitudes of the First Nations. Reliance on the trader for food and clothing increased while traditional methods

of hunting, building and clothing of the family were no longer being passed on to younger generations. Dependence further increased with the signing of the numbered Treaties beginning in 1871. During this time, demands upon the natural resources increased sharply; it was no longer possible to hunt and fish simply to meet the immediate needs of the settlement, and there was strong demand for furs and timber (Tough, 1996).

The government of Canada's 1977 report viewed the early 1900's as the beginnings of the industrialization of the north. Families and communities were no longer able to move with seasonal resources. Permanent communities were being established and people had to decide between their traditional nomadic existence or a permanent location in a largely white, often unfamiliar industrialized community.

For the historic north, typically characterized by the way in which the residents earn a living and their cultural values, a reoccurring theme is that development and change often happen so fast that they have little time to react. Decisions that affect the future of the area are made in keeping with the needs and standards of the industrial north and the south rather than in consultation with the people at the local level. Local communities have begun to assume more control of their own political and economic development, but they continue to remain outside of the decision-making process (Regional Economic Expansion, 1977).

Northern Manitoba residents have faced two versions of reality: hope and despair. For the urban north, the job prospects have been good, and there were opportunities for advancement. In contrast, the rural (traditional) north faced the prospect that traditional

knowledge would not provide enough income for a growing population (Henley, 2002; Harvey, 1992).

Although a 'culture of poverty' is not restricted to remote communities, it is disproportionately concentrated in the traditional northern region, wrote Blakeslee (1974). The Aboriginal population has suffered because of industrialized urbanized society, exhibiting characteristics of communities enmeshed in poverty: high rates of substance abuse, arrest, and occupational instability.

1.2 Manitoba Hydro

The city of Winnipeg is headquarters to Manitoba Hydro, a Crown Corporation of over 4,000 employees, and the fourth largest energy provider in Canada (Manitoba Water Power, 2002).

Manitoba Hydro (under one name or another) has provided electrical power for well over one hundred years. Since early in the 20th century, the rivers of northern Manitoba have been known for their power potential and during the 1950s, new technology allowed the company to design and capture this source of power (Manitoba Hydro, 1998).

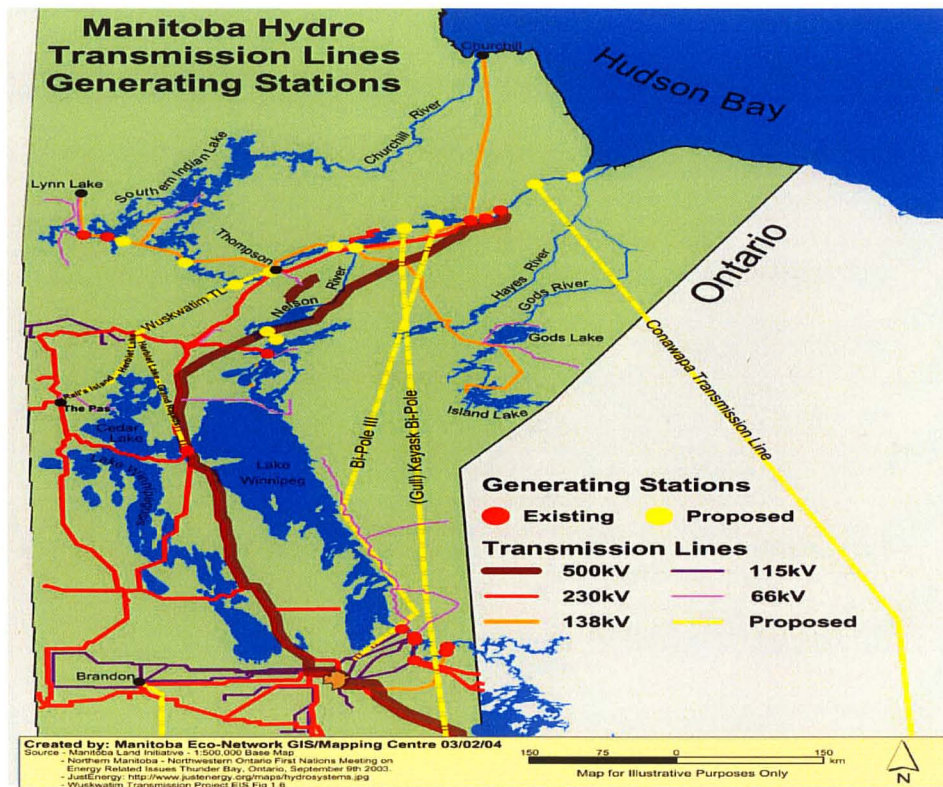
Hydro development of the north began with the discovery of nickel deposits by the International Nickel Company (INCO) in 1956 in the area near what is now the city of Thompson. To meet the power demands for the mining operation, Manitoba Hydro built the Kelsey Hydroelectric Generating Station on the Upper Nelson River (Compton and Williams, 1991).

In the 1960's, increased demand for electricity in southern Manitoba prompted Manitoba Hydro to once again look north for new sources of power. Over the next thirty

years, five northern generating stations (Grand Rapids, Kettle, Jenpeg, Long Spruce, and Limestone) were constructed and now supply over 5,000 megawatts (MW) of electricity (Manitoba Hydro, 1999).

Figure 1 illustrates the locations of current and proposed generating stations, as well as transmission corridors:

Figure 1: The Manitoba Hydro System



1. From website: http://www.manitobawildlands.org/maps/mb_dams_trans_maps.jpg, by Manitoba Wildlands. Copyright 2005 by Manitoba Eco-Network. Reprinted with permission.

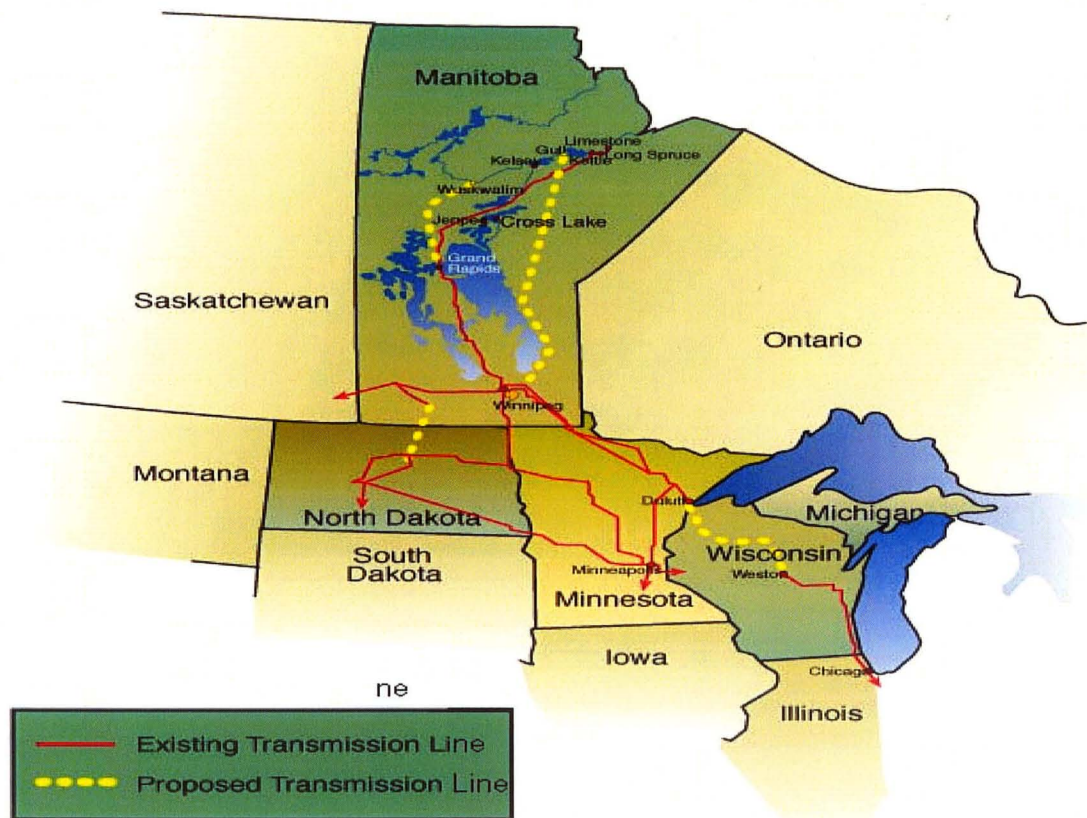
1.2.1 Overview of electricity trade with United States

The trade in electricity between Canada and the United States dates back to the beginning of the 20th century when the first electric power transmission line was built at

Niagara Falls, allowing Canadian hydroelectric power to be sold in the United States (Manitoba Water Power, 2002).

In Manitoba, the first power transmission line between the two countries was a 230 kV interchange that stretched from Winnipeg to Grand Forks, North Dakota, in 1970. This was followed by a second 230 kV interconnection in 1976, and a third 500 kV transmission line was established in 1980 (Manitoba Hydro, 2004).

Figure 2: Manitoba Hydro transmission corridors with the United States



2. From website: <http://www.manitobawildlands.org/images/energyinterconnect.jpg>, by Manitoba Wildlands. Copyright 2005 by Just Energy. Reprinted with permission.

The 2nd figure shows Manitoba's connectedness with the United States.

Agreements with American utility providers involve what is known as seasonal diversity

exchanges whereby Manitoba Hydro exports power in the summer, and imports power in the winter months (Manitoba Hydro, 2004).

1.3 Northern hydro development as colonialism

The construction of the northern generating stations impacted heavily upon First Nation communities, leaving a legacy of destruction and upheaval. Historically, Aboriginal persons have not been consulted in advance with respect to the environmental impacts that included shoreline erosion, water fluctuations, and reversing of river flows to name but a few examples (Prystupa, 2004; Chodiewicz and Brown, 1999; Compton and Williams, 1991).

With the insatiable demand for electricity comes the fact that hydroelectric projects have a history of dealings that closely mirror the Treaty/Scrip processes of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a phase that ushered in governmental control and exploitation of Aboriginal peoples (Waldram, 1993).

By detaching First Nations people from their land, hydroelectric development facilitated “non-Native settlement and resource exploitation” (Waldram, 1993, p. xi). Waldram also believed that governments sell the idea of massive hydroelectric development to the public under the guise of it being an investment in the province and its people. Quoting an Elder, he writes:

“...When we look at the development of the North, we can say that all governments...have been callous and indifferent to the needs of Indian people when the choice has to be made between the welfare of Indian people and the short-term benefits of a society and a system, which appears to measure benefits using money as its chief standard.”
(Waldram, 1993, p.114).

Grant (1994) described the process as ex-poste decision-making, where Aboriginal people are consulted after the decision has been made to proceed with the project.

Chodkiewicz and Brown, concurred and wrote:

“Southern Manitoba consumers enjoy low electricity rates at the expense of uncounted social and environmental costs to northern communities...whose lands and way of life were destroyed to permit this project...[it is a] sad irony to the fact that the residents had to pay for the electricity that had caused their poverty, or be disconnected in the middle of the winter” (Chodkiewicz and Brown, 1999, p.22-25.)

Byrne and Hoffman (1996) characterized hydroelectric development as an “ideology of progress,” based on the notion that environmental and social harms that accompany complex industrial projects are acceptable, perhaps necessary, to a modern way of life.

Hoffman (2004) interpreted the consequences of northern hydro development on Aboriginal peoples from a colonial framework that actively sought to alter Aboriginal people and bring them into modern society. He wrote:

“Hydro development, at least in the case of South Indian Lake, engineered poverty, a significant and increasing level of welfare dependence, a fundamental change in traditional social practices and the virtual sterilization of the land base” (Hoffman, 2004, p.19).

Sullivan (2004) spoke of the previous development in terms of it being a moral obligation that must be held accountable, because old relationships and promises have been broken and need to be fulfilled.

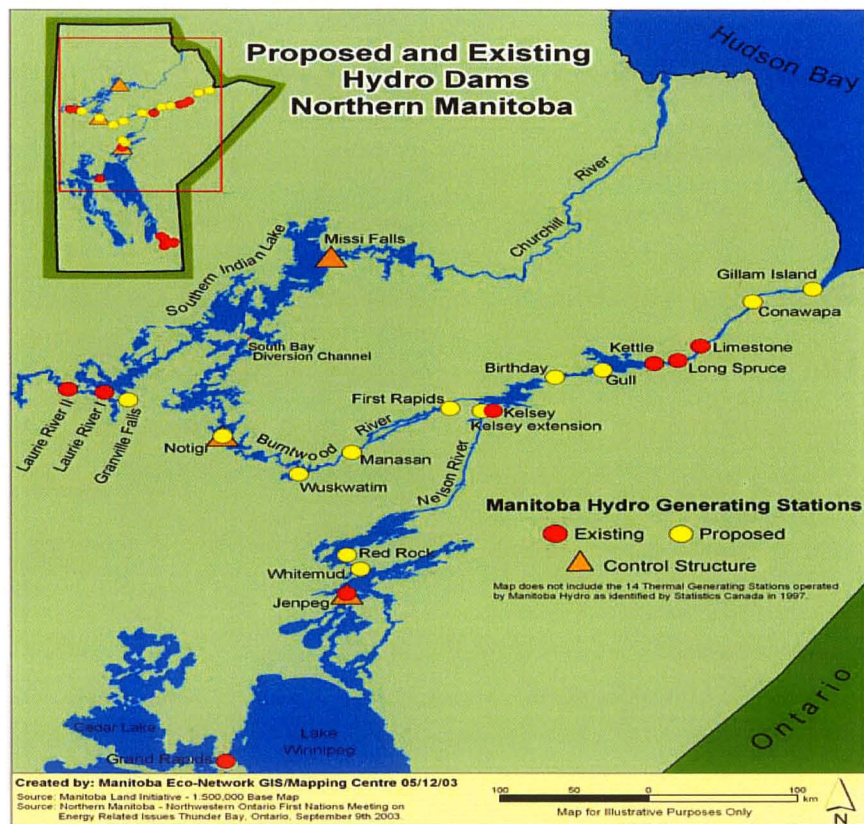
Nearly 5,000 MW of capability remain available in northern Manitoba for hydroelectric development, according to Manitoba Hydro (1999). Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation (NCN) is the proposed partner in new development; how this will proceed is

complex and involves economic, political, and social considerations for both the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal spheres, and thus, an interesting topic to research.

1.4 Choosing the project and community

I was aware of several hydro projects that might form the basis of interesting research. From September 2002 until February 2003, I considered the proposed Conawapa, Gull, and Wuskwatim projects, located on the following map:

Figure 3: Hydroelectric development in northern Manitoba

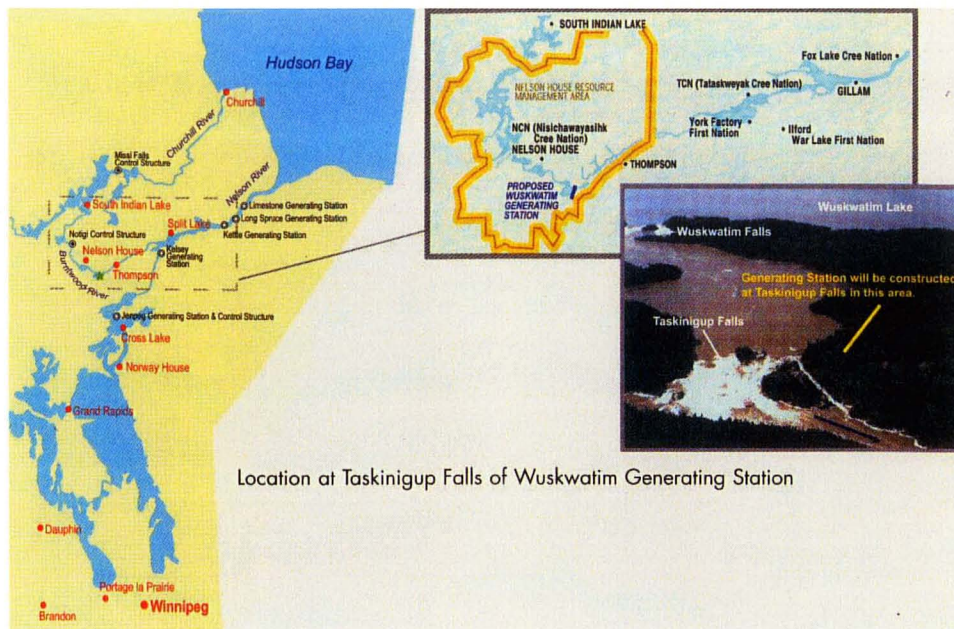


3. From website: http://www.manitobawildlands.org/maps/mb_gen_stations.htm, by Manitoba Wildlands. Copyright 2005 Manitoba Wildlands. Reprinted with permission.

Several considerations weighed on my decision: the community's degree of isolation, the cost of doing research in the north, and my ability to foster a relationship with an Aboriginal community and the participants in a relatively short period of time.

In Thompson, Mb. in May 2002, a joint public presentation was convened by Manitoba Hydro and Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation (NCN), co-proponents of the planned Wuskwatim hydroelectric generation project to be located at Taskinigup Falls at Wuskwatim Lake, which feeds into the Burntwood River approximately 35 km southeast of NCN and 20 km west of Thompson, according to the following illustration:

Figure 4: Geographical location of project in northern Manitoba



4. From: *Wuskwatim Generation and Transmission Projects, Integrated Executive Summary of Environmental Impact Statements* (p.5), by Manitoba Hydro and Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation, April 2003. Copyright 2004 by Manitoba Hydro and Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation.

Based on the information presented, and various newspaper clippings I accumulated afterwards, it appeared that the proposed Wuskwatim Hydroelectric Generating Station was the project that best suited my interest in exploring Aboriginal partnerships in resource development. The Wuskwatim project has generated fierce debate raising many questions about the future of resource development in terms of power, involvement, and Native peoples as keepers of the land.

The proposed Aboriginal partner, Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation (NCN), which in Cree means, “Where three rivers meet,” is a reference to the Burntwood, Footprint and Rat rivers that flow through its traditional land use area. The 1970’s era of hydro development devastated the community and strangers to the land and community imposed change and traditional subsistence activities like hunting, fishing, and trapping could no longer support many families; in short a way of life was changed. The people of NCN have not forgotten what happened; today, the community is considering whether to build a new relationship with Manitoba Hydro for the proposed Wuskwatim hydroelectric generating station (Thomas and Kustra, 2003; Riffel & Sealey, 1984).

1.5 Background of investigator

It was during the late 1980’s that this researcher first acquired knowledge of hydroelectric development by watching the CBC Winnipeg dinnertime news program 24Hours. There were many reports about the Limestone Generating Station under construction in Gillam/Sundance, Mb.

The seeds for this research were planted in 2001, after reading James Waldram’s (1993) work on hydroelectric development in northern Manitoba and exploring the impact of this development on sacred Aboriginal land.

I was aware of Manitoba Hydro’s plans for the proposed Wuskwatim project and upon further investigation, was intrigued by what the project represented for the future of resource development in Manitoba. Thus, the idea for an investigation of the proposed relationship became the focus of this thesis research.

1.6 Purpose of the research

“Today, Manitoba Hydro is more determined than ever to build new partnerships with northern First Nations based upon mutual respect and cooperation — new partnerships that provide a basis for long-term economic development in northern communities.” (Manitoba Water Power, 2002)

A fascinating component of this proposed project is the notion of a new relationship between NCN and Manitoba Hydro. While the idea of partnership is not new to other resource development sectors, it does represent a fresh approach to hydroelectric development in Manitoba. The idea of positive relations ‘based upon mutual respect and cooperation’ is worthy of further exploration and was the driving force behind the idea for this thesis research. Was the agreement between NCN and Manitoba Hydro a blueprint for the future of resource development in Manitoba?

The goal was to inform the reader about the history of NCN and what role it played in the future development. I tried to determine why NCN members developed from impacted people to potential partners in development and their role in the proposed new hydro project. The history of hydroelectric development within the community was critically examined. The manner in which the new partnership was conceived, the motivation for this partnership, the problems it was supposed to address, and the goals it achieved were considered. The community perspective was outlined and the viewpoints of Manitoba Hydro were also considered. Recommendations for future research were made.

This study made a contribution towards the overall body of knowledge concerning hydro development and First Nations communities because there is very little scholarly work in the area of Aboriginal partnerships in resource development specific to

Manitoba. The research was tightly focussed on one community and proposed agreement at a period in time when other First Nation communities in the region were considering entering into similar arrangements with Manitoba Hydro.

1.7 Objectives

There were three objectives for this research: 1) to provide historical background on key issues concerning the community and any pre-existing partnerships in hydroelectric development; 2) to explore the motivation for the new partnership, the manner in which it was conceived, and the goals it may achieve; and 3) to study the impression the community of NCN has toward the deal.

1.8 Parameters and limitations

This thesis research examines the new relationship being built by Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation and Manitoba Hydro for the proposed Wuskwatim project. It is not meant to be a discussion on the merits or faults of the proposed project. The researcher approached this topic as a third-party observer and had no affiliation with either the community of NCN or Manitoba Hydro. These observations should not be taken as personal attacks on either of the co-proponents or the associated individuals involved in this debate. All references to the Wuskwatim project in this thesis reflect its pending status.

Chapter II

Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation: the project's co-proponent

*"It's time to move forward"*²

2.0 Introduction

This chapter will introduce the project's Aboriginal co-proponent, Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation (NCN). The chapter examines the early history of the region and the community, and provides an overview of NCN's history with hydroelectric development and how it came to be involved in the proposed hydroelectric project. This is followed by more detailed information on the proposed Wuskwatim project.

2.1 The history of the name

Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation (NCN) is comprised of the two communities who share the name Nelson House, as well as South Indian Lake, which broke away from Nelson House in the 1930's after the fur trade industry collapsed (Hiebert, 2004; Hart, 2003, personal communication; Linklater, 1997; Nickels, 1996; Waldram, 1993).

The focus of this research is the Nelson House Reserve, which has two main areas of residence, Poplar Point and Dog Point, and is governed by an elected Chief and six-member Council. Approximately three kilometres away is the adjacent Nelson House Community, a Metis settlement, whose residents live in a newer housing development governed by a Mayor and Council. The Nelson House Community arose from the disenfranchisement of Aboriginal women who married non-Aboriginal men; at one time,

² Response of NCN Councillor W.E. Thomas, Future Development portfolio holder for NCN, when asked about the need for Wuskwatim, at the *Power Partnerships Conference* at the University of Manitoba in Winnipeg, Mb. on Nov. 13, 2003.

the Department of Indian Affairs required these families to live on islands out at Footprint Lake. According to Hiebert (2004), most of the residents are “Status Indians” and the women have since regained their status.

2.2 *The early history of the Rocky Cree*

The people of Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation have considered northern Manitoba home for at least 7,000 years. Geographically speaking, NCN is located in a glacial lake plain of the Precambrian Shield in the Footprint River Basin on Footprint Lake, an extension of the Footprint River, which also flows into Threepoint Lake in the Burntwood River System. The vast boreal forest with black and white spruce trees, and abundant lakes and rivers allowed for hunting, fishing, and trapping (Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation, 2004a; Hart, 2003, personal communication; Nickels, 1996; MacDonald, 1993; Henley, 1992).

The earliest recorded explorer to visit the area was David Thompson, in 1793. It is not known if Thompson had any contact with the Rocky Cree while he traversed the water routes in the area to help form a map of the Northwest Territories. According to Zaslow (1984) and McRitchie (1971), later explorations in the area were made by Tyrrell (1896), Alcock (1920), and Fraser (1928).

The Cree inhabitants of NCN self-identify with the Rocky Cree, describing themselves as *asiniskawithiniwak*, which loosely translated means ‘people living in a region of abundant rock’ and are commonly grouped into the subarctic cultural group. Cree peoples have been classified into the Algonquian language group, belonging to the Woods dialect but the Rocky Cree have their own regional dialect (Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation, 2004b; Nickels, 1996).

Mandelbaum (1979) and Smith (1981) have used the term “Western Woods Cree” for the Cree peoples who occupy the northern portions of Ontario and Manitoba, and the forested portions of Hudson and James Bays. Smith (1981) further divided these people into three sub-groupings, with the Rocky Cree “residing in the region from James Bay, westward to Cumberland House, Saskatchewan” (p.256).

2.3 Treaty 5 adhesion - 1908

According to Miller (1997) and Grainger (1979), NCN is located within the Treaty 5 area, first negotiated in 1875 between the Canadian government and the Saulteaux and Swampy Cree. The community signed the Treaty 5 adhesion on July 30, 1908, which arose largely out of growing economic interest in the resources of the area and represented, “The beginning of a century and change and challenge for the people of NCN” (Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation, 2004a).

The adhesion officially designated approximately 400 Cree people as members of the Nelson House Band and forced them to surrender their rights, titles, and privileges to the lands. In exchange, they received a specific portion of land to farm, an area that covered 160 acres per family of five. In addition, they received farming equipment, the right to pursue their avocations of hunting and fishing throughout the tract surrendered and five dollars annually per band member. In 1914, four tracts of land (designated 170, 170A, 170B, 170C) measuring nearly 15,000 acres in and around the Footprint River and Lake were designated segments of land for the Nelson House Reserve (Hart, 2003, personal communication; Tough, 1996; Waldram, 1993, Grainger, 1979).

2.4 *The past, present, and future*

Nickels (1996) cited a report from the Social and Economic Impact Study Team (1974) that suggested that NCN was largely isolated from the outside world until the 1950's; the forests and rivers provided everything that the residents needed to survive.

However, after World War II, two versions of Canada emerged. There was the budding, largely non-Aboriginal south, full of jobs and opportunities. It was much the opposite for Aboriginal people, who could only watch as the fur industry collapsed leaving few economic opportunities, while the residential school system further destroyed their lives (Anonymous, 2003c, personal communication; Miller, 1997; Nickels, 1996; Pannekoek, 1987).

Soon, southern businesses realized that there was much more than just fur in the north, which fuelled dreams of expansion and the prospect of large-scale resource development, with little to no regard for the impact on Aboriginal people and land (Mochoruk, 1994; Waldram, 1993).

Tensions between the traditional, remote, north, and industrialized north became increasingly apparent. Residents could access television and radio services. There was a move away from the traditional hunting/trapping/fishing lifestyle, as the young people looked to the wage economy. This also marked the beginnings of an increased dependence on governmental assistance as the community moved away from its traditional pursuits to meet demands placed upon it by the south (Hart, 2003, personal communication; Nickels, 1996; Regional Economic Expansion, 1977; Social and Economic Impact Study Team, 1974).

Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation has a total registered population of 4,938, including those living in Nelson House, South Indian Lake, Thompson, Brandon and Winnipeg (INAC, 2004). By the year 2011, it is anticipated that the membership will increase to over 7000 residents, making it one of the fastest growing populations in Canada (NCN Special Report, 2004).

The majority of the population is between the ages of 13 and 30 years. In the rest of Manitoba, only 41% of the population is under 30 years of age. Almost 50% of the population is of school age, compared to 11% for the province of Manitoba. One-third has less than a grade nine education, which compares to 13% for the balance of Manitoba (Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation, 2004a; Thomas and Kustra, 2003).

According to people with whom I spoke while in the community, NCN is facing its share of challenges, including a high dropout rate, a growing drug problem, teenage pregnancy, a high unemployment rate five times the provincial average, and welfare-dependency (Anonymous, 2003a, personal communication; Anonymous, 2003b, personal communication; Anonymous, 2003c, personal communication; Linklater, 2003, personal communication; Moore, 2003, personal communication; Thomas and Kustra, 2003).

The future “is about the children and building a sound platform that is good for both the land and people” (Thomas and Kustra, 2003), while overcoming “our northern location, reserve status, and dependence on natural resources” (Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation, 2004c) to develop a sustainable economy.

The traditional economy still exists (hunting, fishing, trapping, and gathering) and is worth preserving but it diminishes in importance as the young population seeks new opportunities. To that end, the Band Council is promoting a multi-faceted vision of a

“sovereignty that sustains a prosperous socio-economic future” (Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation, 2004d) by investing in businesses that can bring jobs and opportunities, and by developing natural resources through partnerships so as to minimize the impact on the land (Thomas, 2004).

2.5 Governance

According to Kulchyski (2004a), the Indian Act provides the community with a ‘custom system’, which is essentially a community-determined electoral system with a constitution that provides for an Election Appeals Committee. The elected Chief and 6-member Council serve 4-year terms. From an informal discussion with Band Council W.E. Thomas (2004), I was told that the decision making process in the community resembles traditional consensus patterns; leaders consult with the community on issues and the final decision is reflective of the majority viewpoint.

However, some residents spoke of a different system of governance being subjected to outside pressures for rapid decisions on issues relating to the proposed Wuskwatim project. This appeared to have contributed to a substantial increase in the anxiety level amongst the community (Anonymous, 2003b, personal communication; Moore, 2003, personal communication).

Another source of anxiety is the most recent Band Council election, held in 2002. Kulchyski (2004a) mentions how the Nelson House Election Appeals Committee recommended another vote should take place, after several individuals not eligible to run did so, in effect splitting the vote. The dispute (*Primrose v. Spence*) was settled in the Federal Court of Canada (2003) and the election results were allowed to stand but it has only further alienated an already divided community.

2.6 *NCN and previous hydro development*

Between 1875 and 1910, all the land in what is now northern Manitoba had been surrendered by way of Treaty. When the government of Manitoba came calling once again in the 1960s for hydroelectric projects, a process that Waldram (1988) believed is very much the same as the original Treaty process, left “Indian people without the benefits that should have accrued from their status as original occupiers of the land.” (1988, p.1)

Waldram (1988) argued that that the government of Manitoba, in this early development, merely provided an ‘image’ of improvement’ and did not use “the energy, employment, and income potential of hydro development” (p.1) to advance the economic lives of Aboriginal peoples living in the affected areas. Waldram is of the view that this entire exercise was merely a replication of the Treaty process, which secured compliance only to be forgotten afterwards and notes that once governments have interfered extensively in a people’s lives, they are never quite the same again.

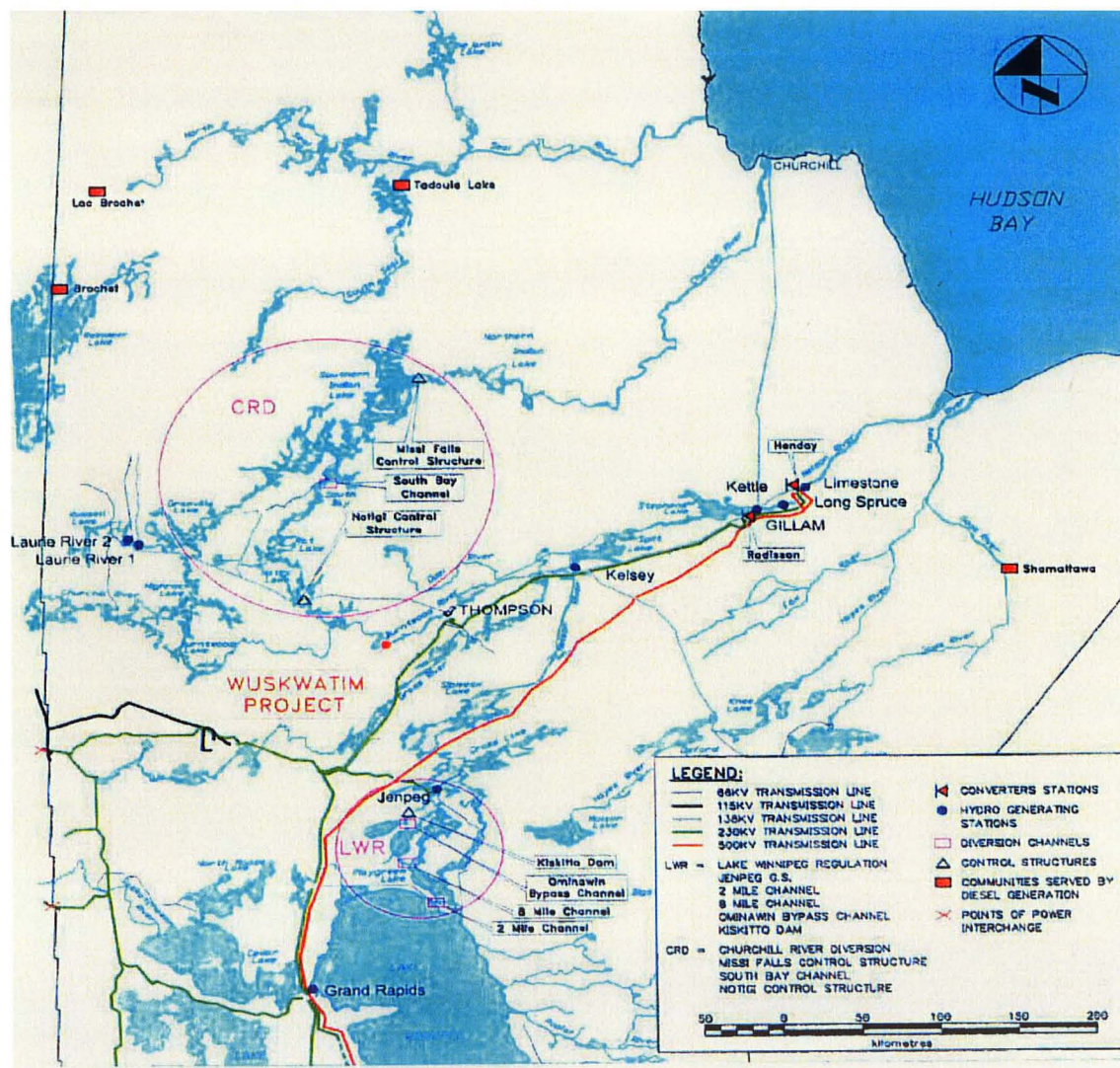
The 8000 megawatt (MW) Churchill River Diversion (located within the Nelson House RMA) became public in 1966 and in Woodford’s (1974) words, was an “engineer’s dream and an environmentalist’s nightmare” (p.3).

“In the case of South Indian Lake, the approach...to the process of negotiation became more deceitful, and the human rights of the people in the impact area were more arrogantly trampled than ever before.”
(Waldram, p. 217, 1984)

Manitoba Hydro wanted to produce a diversion scheme, sending the waters of Southern Indian Lake (on the Churchill River system) south into the Nelson River. A control structure was also created to reverse the current in part of the lake, raising it and turning it into a giant reservoir to feed varying amounts of water in to the Nelson River

system. This plan meant that the community of South Indian Lake and its 700 residents would be submerged (Dickson, 1974). A map of the CRD system follows in figure 5:

Figure 5: Northern Manitoba CRD Area



5. From *Wuskwatim Generation Project, Vol.3, Environmental Impact Statement*, p. 1-8, Manitoba Hydro and Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation, April 2003. Copyright 2003 by Manitoba Hydro and Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation.

The sheer size of the damage totalled over 500,000 acres of land, according to the Northern Flood Agreement Report of 2003. Water level fluctuation and erosion are but two of the environmental problems and still continue to this day. "The reckless disregard

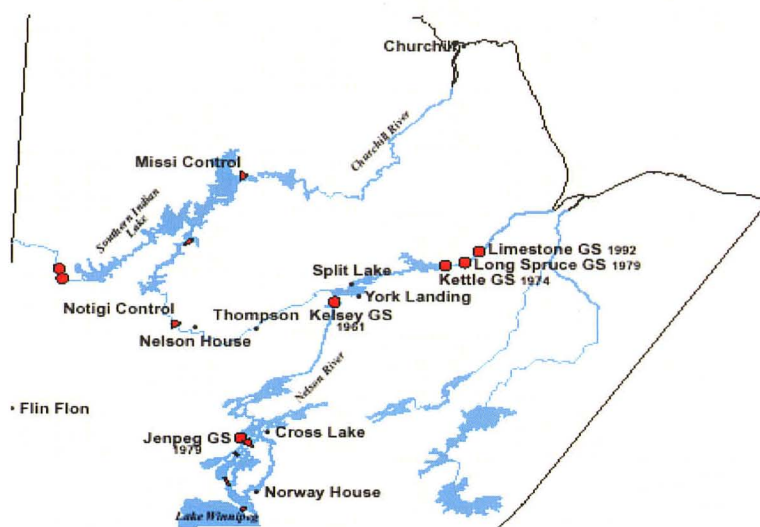
for the lives of the Cree people...” (Northern Flood Committee, 2003, p.2) led to the next phase in NCN’s history of hydroelectric development: the negotiation and subsequent signing of the 1977 *Northern Flood Agreement* (NFA).

2.6.1 Northern Flood Agreement (1977)

In the early 1970's, when Manitoba Hydro undertook hydroelectric development in northern Manitoba, the affected First Nations worked hard to get commitments from the governments of Canada and Manitoba, along with Manitoba Hydro to provide compensation and take steps to limit the impact of development.

In 1977, five First Nations communities - Cross Lake, Nelson House, Norway House, Split Lake, and York Landing (known collectively as the Northern Flood Committee [NFC]) - together with the governments of Canada and Manitoba, and Manitoba Hydro, signed the *Northern Flood Agreement* (NFA) to facilitate cooperation among the signatories to improve social and economic conditions for northern Aboriginal residents affected by the CRD. The agreements provided for compensation, employment, mitigation works, and training and perhaps most importantly, the affected First Nations were empowered to make their own decisions with regard to the use of funds and the development of their communities (Northern Flood Committee, 2003). On the following page, the map in figure 6 shows the locations of the NFA communities:

Figure 6: Northern Flood Agreement Communities



6. From website: <http://www.manitobawaterpower.com>, by Manitoba Hydro. Copyright 2002 by Manitoba Hydro. Reprinted with permission.

The eight-year period following ratification of the NFA was largely void of activity because “a clear and concise working definition was lacking” (Northern Flood Committee, p.3, 2003). Initially, the NFC made little progress in trying to implement the *NFA* on a claim-by-claim basis. The NFC leadership decided to implement a comprehensive negotiated settlement that would see all past, present, and future claims involving the *NFA* settled in ‘one global agreement’ with the monies divided between the five First Nations.

In April 1990, a framework agreement called “Proposed Basis of Settlement of Outstanding Claims and Obligations” was agreed upon. The accord covered “the settlement of outstanding claims, land transfer and land use, joint resource management, economic and social development, infrastructure works, resource compensation, and legal and monetary issues related to the *NFA* provisions” (Northern Flood Committee, p.3,

2003). Total monetary compensation was \$243.5 million in cash and Manitoba Hydro Bonds.

2.6.2 *NFA Implementation Agreement (1996)*

According to the joint NCN/Manitoba Hydro public presentation (2002), it took four years of negotiations for NCN to resolve the outstanding issues relating to the *NFA*, but in December 1995 the *NFA* Community Implementation Agreement was ratified by the community and formally signed on March 15, 1996 at a community feast.

The agreement involving NCN and the governments of Canada/Manitoba, plus Manitoba Hydro implemented and resolved most outstanding claims and obligations under the *NFA*, and "...provided NCN with land and financial compensation and other important provisions..." (*Summary of Understandings*, 2003, p.2), including: \$119 million (including interest) in cash and Hydro Bonds to be administered by the Nisichawayasihk Trust; \$1.99 million in loan forgiveness; 56,000 acres of new reserve land, and ongoing commitments concerning water levels, resource management, arena operation, and *NFA* liabilities (Manitoba Hydro and Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation, 2002).

It also included Chapter 8, noteworthy because it was the means by which Manitoba Hydro involved NCN in a positive framework to move forward together for a better process and project within the Resource Management Area, according to Kustra (2004). It requires Manitoba Hydro to consult with the community on:

"...undertaking studies to understand potential impacts, develop plans to reduce negative effects, and identify how NCN can benefit from training, jobs, and business opportunities associated with future development"
(Kustra, 2003).

In 1997, the NCN Future Development working group was established for more frequent exchanges of information with Manitoba Hydro, and in accordance with the terms of Article 8, a joint planning process was established to assess the effects of proposed Future Developments on the community and people of NCN (*Summary of Understandings*, 2003). The original working group included Councillor Norman Linklater (now Co-Manager of Future Development), Marcel Moody, Manager of the NCN Trust Office (now Co-Manager of Future Development), and Charlie Hart.

Two years later, the Future Development Team was created to represent NCN in discussions with Manitoba Hydro. Currently, NCN Councillor W. E. Thomas holds the Future Development Portfolio, and oversees Community Consultants tasked with informing the community about future development (Thomas, 2004).

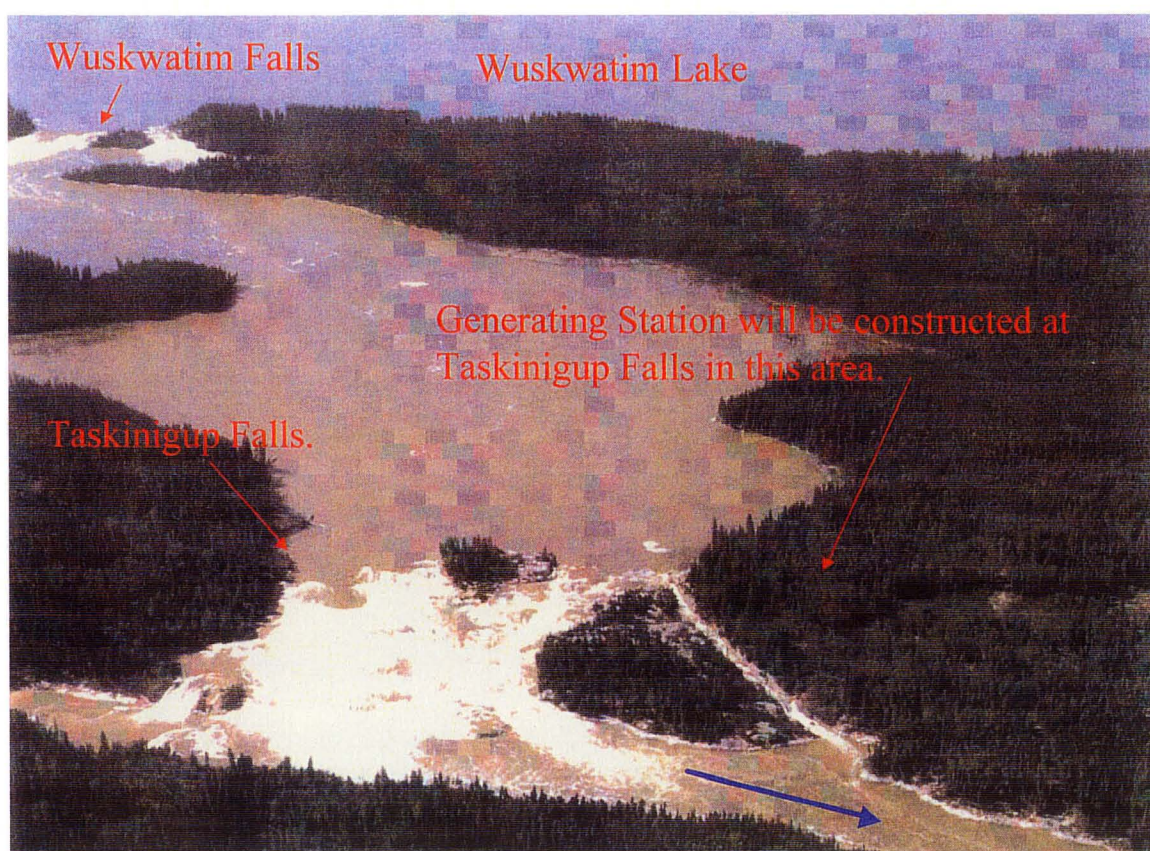
2.6.3 Future development (*Wuskwatim*)

In the early 1970's, at the height of the CRD debate, there were already calls for a new approach to hydroelectric development in Manitoba; the proposed 200 MW Wuskwatim project located at Taskinigup Falls on the Burntwood River is meant to begin to address these concerns. Planning for the Wuskwatim project dates back to 1974, when there was an awareness of the hydroelectric potential of the area arising out of the Treaty Land Entitlement (TLE) process, according to Kustra (2004, personal communication), Dickson (1974), and Lowery (1974).

The current project was planned as a low-head design, meaning the dam will produce less electricity and there is less chance of severe flooding, projected to be one-half square kilometre, roughly the size of the Polo Park Shopping Centre in Winnipeg, Mb. (Thomas, 2004). The dam is expected to be designated a merchant dam, which

means that the electricity produced is destined for export only, though could conceivably meet electrical demands in Manitoba should the need arise, according to Henley (2002, personal communication). Figure 7 shows the location of the proposed generating station, across Taskinigup Falls, while figure 8 on page 27 shows an image of what the proposed project may look like upon completion.

Figure 7: Taskinigup Falls (specific location of the generating station)



7. From: Proposed Wuskwatim Generating Station and Associated Transmission Facilities: Storyboards from the Round Two Public Open House in Thompson, May 2002. Copyright 2002 Manitoba Hydro.

Compared to other hydroelectric development in Manitoba, the electricity that could be generated by Wuskwatim will only represent a small fraction of the overall remaining system capability of Manitoba Hydro, roughly 4%. However, for the NCN Cree the proposed development represented four keys: 1) nominal impact on the

environment; 2) an improved future thanks to new sources of revenue; 3) economic development by way of jobs and business opportunities and 4; training and educational opportunities (Thomas and Kustra, 2003). As well, it represents a:

“Huge opportunity to provide both short-term and long-lasting benefits and hope for a brighter future...this project is not just about money and jobs. It is about our destiny as a People. It is about having the resources and the power we need for self determination and sovereignty over who we are and what we want to do.” (NCN Special Report 2004, p.4)

The total project (including the associated transmission facilities, of which NCN is not a partner) is anticipated to cost around \$1 billion. The power plant (generation) project is valued at \$800 million, with NCN potentially taking a 33% stake in the ownership and profits (Thomas and Kustra, 2003).

Figure 8: The Completed Wuskwatim Hydroelectric Generating Station



8. From website: <http://www.acresinnovations.com/spring2003/award.html>, by Acres International. Copyright 2005 Acres International. Reprinted with permission.

The relationship is about new beginnings, and includes open houses for public consultation, no forced relocation of NCN residents, information gathering on the environmental and socio-economic impacts, near-total elimination of new flooding, and the near-elimination of land use changes (Manitoba Water Power, 2002).

Between the completion of the Limestone hydroelectric generating station in 1991 and the beginning of the serious discussions surrounding Wuskwatim, Manitoba Hydro tried to come to some closure in an effort to better define how they would meet their obligations to the affected northern communities. Implementation Agreements were signed with four of the affected *Northern Flood Agreement* (NFA) communities (Norway House, Nelson House, York Landing, and Split Lake). As well, 12 other agreements with impacted Aboriginal communities were also concluded, even though they did not have the same legal obligations to do so as those covered by the *NFA*. Kustra (2004) noted that after signing these agreements, Manitoba Hydro was not just going to “walk away” but instead look to “provide a foundation to build more positive relationships for the future” (Kustra, 2004, personal communication).

2.6.4 *Manitoba Hydro Act Amendments (1997)*

The 1997 *Manitoba Hydro Act* amendments were passed through the Manitoba Legislature to provide Manitoba Hydro with the legislative powers it needs to explore new opportunities in the electrical industry. Of importance is section 16, which allowed Manitoba Hydro to construct new generation to create export revenue should the opportunity arise (Manitoba Hydro, 2004)

2.6.5 *Agreement-in-Principle (2001)*

The consultations between NCN and Manitoba Hydro discussed “environmental impacts and potential training, employment and business opportunities” (Summary of Understandings, 2003, p.2) and led to the next step in the Wuskatim process, an *Agreement-In-Principle* (AIP) in September 2001, as per the image in figure 9 on the following page.

Figure 9: AIP Signing Ceremony, September 2001



Councillor David Spence, Honorable Steve Ashton, Councillor Elvis Thomas, Honorable Eric Robinson, Honorable Greg Selinger, Premier Gary Doer, Councillor James Moore

9. From: *NCN Newsletter*, p.3, October 2001. Copyright 2001 Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation

The *AIP* presented NCN with the chance to acquire an equity position through an investment in the proposed Wuskwatim project, and to become a limited partner. In March 2001, the community and Manitoba Hydro agreed on the terms of the *AIP*, which was then ratified by NCN in May, and signed in September of that same year (*Summary of Understandings*, 2003).

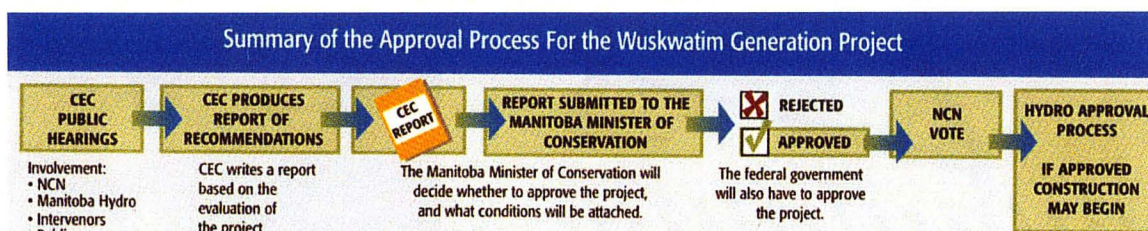
2.6.6 *Summary of Understandings (2003)*

The *Summary of Understandings (2003)* is a non-binding document representing the results of the discussions between NCN and Manitoba Hydro regarding the Wuskwatim project. It covered the period from the signing of the *AIP* in September 2001 to October 2003 and was meant to:

“...assist both Parties in moving forward with the consultation and approval processes required before decisions can be taken to proceed with the Wuskwatim project” (Summary of Understandings, 2003, p.2).

The *SOU* is the basis for the *Project Development Agreement (PDA)*, the legally binding document that will serve as the master guide for the Wuskwatim project. The *PDA* must be approved by the community in a referendum, which was originally scheduled for January 2005, but is now delayed indefinitely according to Kobliski (2004, personal communication).

Figure 10: The Project Approval Process



10. From: *NCN Special Report 2004*. Copyright 2004 Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation.

2.6.7 Reaction to the agreements

The *Justice Seekers*, who have also used the name *Energy Justice Alliance*, are “an international partnership of environmental, social justice groups, and Indigenous Peoples” who “seek justice for the people and environments impacted by hydro development” (2003, press release). In addition to the Wuskwatim project, they wanted a full review of all past, present, and future hydro developments. They are not

“Fundamentally opposed to hydro development...we are opposed to hydro development that creates and perpetuates environmental damage and social and economic hardship on our people...we are living in the ongoing disaster created by past hydro development and we want it dealt with before additional damage and impacts are created” (Kobliski, 2003, personal communication).

Kulchyski (2004a; 2004b) questions the impact of the proposed agreements. His reasoning is based upon two recent Supreme Court of Canada decisions [*Sioui* (1990) and *Marshall* (1999)], which decreed that Treaties should be interpreted in a liberal and generous manner, and Aboriginal people treated as co-managers of the land. He gave an unfavourable assessment of the *Comprehensive Implementation Agreements (CIA)* that arose from the *Northern Flood Agreement (NFA)* (2003), which is widely seen as a Treaty, describing the *CIAs* as unconstitutional "...cash buyouts of the promises made in the NFA" (2004a, p.1).

He is also critical of the *Summary of Understandings (SOU)* (2003), and according to his analysis of the agreement, the deal "is deeply flawed" (2004a, p.3). The Cree of Nisichawayasihk are not receiving any compensation for the development taking place in the Nelson House Resource Management Area (RMA), "nor are they being made into nation-to-nation partners in economic development...they are being tossed a poisoned bone" (2004a, p.3).

Furthermore, Kulchyski (2004b) points out several areas of concern within the agreement. He notes that the *SOU* assumes that ratification will happen, as there is no long period for community consultation, the training program offers no detailed numbers regarding the amount of jobs to be created, and that most jobs are in lower paying positions. He also noted that the *SOU* is nothing more than a risk model for NCN. He believes that the agreement does not compare favourably to other agreements, and there is nothing innovative or indicative of a new relationship. The equity position being offered to NCN links their fortunes to Manitoba Hydro's fortunes and the larger development as a whole, which may further remove any traditional linkages to the land.

Finally, Kulchyski (2004b) expressed two concerns with the Wuskwatim project because 1) it represents the first piece of a planned set of development that could have dramatic impacts on the northern ecology; 2) the proposed partnership between NCN and Manitoba Hydro benefits on the assumption or risk by the First Nation, so if the project fails, the community is just as responsible. He questioned if Aboriginal people should have to assume this position of risk as part of some maturation process.

Hoffman (2004) reasoned that colonialism is a useful framework for understanding the northern Manitoba situation, and questioned whether the NCN/Manitoba Hydro partnership represented the beginning of a post-colonial era, through the 2001 *Agreement-in-Principle (AIP)* and 2003 *Summary of Understanding (SOU)*.

Hoffman (2004) noted that the 2001 *AIP* used oblique terms to acknowledge the *Northern Flood Agreement (NFA)* and subsequent Implementation Agreements. There are very few verifiable terms in the report, and what is contained, is ambiguous in lieu of specific conditions. He does acknowledge that the *AIP* contained issues that are of concern to the community (such as job training, employment, protection of culture, and minimized flooding) but that it “specifies few explicit or verifiable requirements” (pp.15-16), describing the contents of the document as nothing but a “quasi-commitment” (p.17) that amounts to a promise to explore possibilities. He concluded his analysis of the *AIP* by noting that if this agreement proved to be the same as the Churchill River Diversion (CRD), there will be no land base available to use.

With regards to the *SOU*, a legal review of the document, prepared for the Displaced Residents of South Indian Lake (DRSIL) by Murphy (2003), found that

Manitoba Hydro has possession of the electricity generated by the project, but was less clear how NCN would profit from the proposed partnership.

Hoffman (2004) concludes by noting that the proposed partnership “is the one substantive and concrete contribution that the *AIP* makes towards securing the future of the community” (p.18) but that its cost is too high, because the Churchill River Diversion (CRD) will continue to operate.

Craig (2004) reasoned that development is going to occur and felt that there has to be certainty that jobs will be created and given to First Nations. There also has to be a tangible and real benefit to the First Nations people, otherwise they are just watching the resource base leave.

Martin (2004) believed that most hydro agreements in Canada are colonial in nature, because they ask the First Nations people to give control or title to the land in exchange for promises of economic prosperity. He believed that all hydroelectric companies should be forced to consider signing agreements that are much broader and not exclusively set in economic terms. Furthermore, these agreements should be profitable for both groups and incorporate a social aspect, which takes into account cultural aspects of the Aboriginal peoples, and signed in conjunction with others, including the government.

The *Manitoba Clean Environment Commission* (CEC) hearings were called in April 2003, when the Manitoba Minister of Conservation requested a public hearing into the proposed Wuskwatim hydroelectric generation (and transmission) projects. The mandate of the hearings considered 1) the justification, need for, and alternatives to the

project; and 2) the potential environmental, socio-economic, and cultural effects of the construction and operation of the Projects (Clean Environment Commission, 2004).

During the hearings held from March to June 2004, the CEC was made aware of many issues surrounding hydroelectric development, including concerns with the entire Churchill River Diversion (CRD) process, which has been and continues to be a source of contention for northern Manitoba residents impacted by hydro development.

The hearings also heard from NCN Chief Jerry Primrose, who hoped the Wuskwatim project would “change the way resource development is done in Manitoba” (Primrose, 2004).

The CEC report recommended supporting the Wuskwatim project,

“If the appropriate mitigation and monitoring regime is put in place and the Projects are constructed and operated proposed, the adverse effects on the biophysical, socio-economic, and cultural environment will not be significant. If managed and developed in an appropriate manner, the benefits for Aboriginal people, northerners, and all Manitobans could be significant” (Clean Environment Commission, 2004, p.1).

2.6.8 The Proposed NCN/Manitoba Hydro Partnership

“It’s phenomenal. You don’t get 200 MW from this small a dam, operating almost as run of river, with so little environmental impact” (Kustra, 2004, personal communication).

Manitoba Hydro appears convinced the best way to do embark upon development in northern Manitoba is to do it with the support of the Aboriginal people who will be impacted by a project, and that the end result must be that everyone comes away positive, not negative, remarked Kustra (2004, personal communication).

The 1997 NCN/Manitoba HydroWorking Group discussions centred largely upon understanding what the impacts and opportunities would be and it was decided during those discussions that the best way to move forward was in partnership. It was felt that

the training, jobs, and business opportunities for NCN, while small in the context of the project but large for the community, were worth pursuing. It was also felt at the time that the worst that could happen to NCN, provided they operated under the legal terms of any agreement set out, was that they could lose the investment they make, a risk that any partner (Aboriginal or not) has to assume in a business venture (Kustra, 2004, personal communication).

The proposed partnership is meant to address two challenging areas, according to Thomas and Kustra (2003), and Thomas and Adams (2004): 1) land; and 2) people. In terms of the land, Thomas reported that there are no mineral resources, but there is a water resource – a source of revenue, which can be developed without damage in a relatively remote area. The second challenge involved the people of NCN and the need to develop “business attitudes in preparation for the knowledge economy” (2003, Thomas and Kustra,).

Thomas and Kustra (2003) believe that this project can be implemented, primarily because several important agreements have been made. Manitoba Hydro must confer with NCN before any development can take place and there must be agreement on any compensation package; Thomas noted that with previous hydro development, the community was “shut-out” from the negotiation process and that any future development will take place with the full understanding and cooperation of NCN.

Kustra (2004, personal communication) spoke of the proposed partnership as “a great opportunity” (Kustra, 2004, personal communication) that is ultimately up to the NCN membership to decide. The company appeared willing to concede that it is an internal matter that they should have no influence over. As well, he noted that, “If it is

not approved we will not proceed with Wuskwatim” (Kustra, 2004, personal communication) and that if there is a power shortage in the future, Manitoba Hydro planners may decide to take another look at the Wuskwatim area for hydroelectric development.

Negotiations for the proposed Wuskwatim hydro project began in 1997 with Manitoba Hydro initially offering the community a 10% stake in the project. After tireless negotiations, the community’s ownership level in the project rose to 33%. NCN also wanted real and meaningful input into the environmental assessment, a small environmental impact, and opportunities for the resource users in the area (Kustra, 2004, personal communication; Thomas and Kustra, 2003).

Kustra (2004, personal communication) noted that Councillor Thomas “is a hell of a negotiator” (2004, personal communication) and that in the beginning Thomas was sceptical about Manitoba Hydro and what they wanted to work together on. Now, the two parties negotiate together, not against each other, in a cooperative atmosphere and are aware of what each party needs and wants. He also spoke of the proposed project as a business opportunity, not a gift, with a sincere desire to treat the people positively.

2.6.9 Advantages of Wuskwatim Project

Thomas (2004) spoke of his hope for the young people that if this project should go ahead, it will create a brighter future. Improved transportation along with construction and business knowledge are expected to be gained. And while the project is modest in terms of hydro development, it is large in terms of opportunity and the overall cooperative approach.

The following benefits are contemplated: 1) minimal environmental impact; 2) better training and education during the construction phase and beyond, including 81-93 jobs for NCN members during the initial two years of construction and 80-113 jobs during the remaining four-year construction phase; 3) new employment and business opportunities to improve infrastructures; 4) a \$6.5 million training centre currently under construction, called A-Tec; 5) a projection 200-300 years into the future in maintaining a traditional way of life within a business environment; and 6) it is expected that by 2035, after the loans are paid off, NCN will gain between \$27 and \$59 million each year (Thomas and Kustra, 2003).

2.6.9.1 What has the partnership achieved so far?

Finally, Thomas (2004) cited numerous tangible benefits that the proposed partnership has achieved thus far, including: definition of the terms; influence over the decision to proceed with a low-head design for the dam, which meant less power and less revenue, but less severe flooding; the preferred location for the work camp and access road (referred to as mile 17); local people to staff 30 newly created positions in the NCN Future Development Office; funding for the A-Tec training centre; reconstruction of the access road into NCN from provincial road 391; the use and recognition of Traditional Knowledge; and joint partners in the environmental and regulatory approval process for the project.

The focus of this project will now shift towards an explanation of the research process, including the locations of the field research, and how the information was collected.

Chapter III

The Research Process

*"I can't wait to see what else happens!"*³

3.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the methods utilized for this thesis research. It begins with details about the research settings, the fieldwork schedule, data sources and methods, information on the participant observation and interview method of research, and concludes with the data collection process.

3.1 Research settings

Data collection took place during the fall of 2003 and from January – July 2004 in three geographical locations: Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation (NCN), the city of Thompson, and the city of Winnipeg.

3.1.1 Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation

Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation (NCN) is 80kms northwest of Thompson on provincial road 391. A total of 21 days were spent in NCN during the fall of 2003. The research settings for interviews in NCN included the Future Development Office, the Band Council Offices, the arena, a rental vehicle, and the homes of several participants.

3.1.2 City of Thompson

Thompson is located 740 km's north of Winnipeg, and dates back to the mid 1950's, when the International Nickel Company (INCO) discovered a massive nickel deposit.

³ The principal investigator, in an email to friends about an overheated (and abandoned) rental vehicle 220 km's south of Thompson (November 15th, 2003) and the confusion over a meeting he was invited to attend, but immediately asked to leave (November 24th, 2003).

Several different aspects of the research took place in Thompson. During the first visit in September 2003, the archives of the Thompson Citizen/Nickel Belt News were searched for information about the project. As well, a visit was made to the Northern Cabinet Office of Steve Ashton (NDP – Thompson) to inquire (unsuccessfully) if he would be interested in taking part in the research. The researcher also met with Mr. Norman Linklater, Co-Manager of Future Development (Environmental) for NCN over lunch to discuss his participation in the project.

The second visit to Thompson occurred in November 2003, and because of a lack of accommodations in NCN, the researcher stayed in the city and commuted back and forth each day. Several local restaurants served as meeting places for the participants and the researcher as well as the Thompson Public Library.

During this time, Inter-Universities North (IUN) held a conference called, “The Changing Northern Environment” where NCN Councillor W.E. Thomas, Future Development portfolio holder, and Ryan Kustra of Manitoba Hydro made a joint presentation about the proposed Wuskwatim project.

Finally, in March 2004, the researcher attended the Clean Environment Commission hearings in Thompson.

3.1.3 City of Winnipeg

The fall 2003 research phase in Winnipeg took place around the trips to northern Manitoba. In November 2003, a conference called “Power Partnerships” took place at the University of Manitoba Faculty of Law, where NCN Councillor W.E. Thomas and Mr. Ryan Kustra from Manitoba Hydro presented their plans for the partnership and proposed generating station.

Early in 2004, Mr. Kustra took part in the research through a personal interview. As well, the research attended a daylong symposium at the University of Winnipeg where hydroelectric development (and the Wuskwatim project) was discussed. From March until June, sessions of Clean Environment Commission hearings on the project took place at the Radisson Hotel. In July 2004, NCN Councillor W.E. Thomas presented to the students in a summer course, which the researcher was instructing at the University of Manitoba.

Figure 11: The fieldwork schedule

Thompson / Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation	September 13-17, November 5 & 10-26, 2003; March 22, 2004
Winnipeg	January 9, February 20, March 1– June 9, & July 13, 2004

3.2 Data sources and methods

Duboff (2001) inspired my approach for conducting research. Data considered included information about the history of the community, literature on Aboriginal experiences with hydroelectric development, interviews with members of the community and Manitoba Hydro, the joint NCN/Manitoba Hydro (2003) submission to the Clean Environment Commission (CEC), conference presentations, and observations (and materials made available to the public) at the CEC hearings.

The research phase involved gathering historical, economic, and social literature on the community to gain a greater understanding of NCN. As well, analysis of the body of literature already available pertaining to Native involvement in hydroelectric development was undertaken.

Included is a discussion on the theoretical literature surrounding the participant observation and interview method, as well as the advantages and disadvantages of both.

3.2.1 Participant Observation

According to May (1997), the origins of the participant observation method can be found in social anthropology, specifically from the Chicago School of social research where Robert Park encouraged his students to study, by observation, the constantly changing social phenomena of Chicago in the 1920's and 1930's. From the Chicago tradition of research emerged two intellectual traditions: pragmatism and formalism.

The tradition of pragmatism is derived from the work of such philosophers as Mead and Dewey where it was emphasized that social life is not fixed, but dynamic and changing. If people's social lives are constantly changing, researchers must become part of those lives in order to record the experiences of those transformations, its effects on people, as well as their interpretations. Knowledge of the social world comes from experience and the undertaking of detailed and meticulous inquiries through which we generate our understandings (May, 1997).

May (1997) also elaborates on the second tradition from the Chicago School, known as formalism. While social relationships may differ from each other, they take forms, which display similarities. In this way researchers do not simply talk about one setting or group being unique but ask the extent to which it displays similarities or is typical of other groups or settings. Formalism is concerned with the ways in which particular social and cultural forms of life emerge. As with pragmatism, these forms of life are thought to come from the practical concerns of people's everyday lives but that,

once established, they take on a life of their own. These forms may actually conflict with each other but the task of the research is to understand how they evolve (May, 1997).

Participant observation is about engaging in a social scene, experiencing it, and seeking to understand and explain it. The researcher is the medium through which this takes place. The researchers must question whether they have perceived enough and whether their understanding is as accurate as they can make it. They must also understand their own impact upon the social situation they are studying and what influences other participants and the situation has upon them. Researchers learn to expect a personal sense of culture shock as a symptom that they are bringing new perceptions of situations into focus and they are becoming able to assimilate those perceptions into their modified understandings (Jacobs, 1970).

The essence of participant observation is to place oneself within the process of conduct without disrupting it and to take the perspective of the participants. By actually participating in the social worlds they are describing, the researchers not only observe events but also experience the emotions and concerns of the people they are trying to understand (Guy, 1987).

Participant observation is said to make no firm observations about what is important. Instead, the method encourages researchers to immerse themselves in the day-to-day activities of the people whom they are attempting to understand. In contrast to testing ideas (deductive), they may be developed from observation (inductive) (May, 1997).

3.2.2 *Interviews*

In terms of the interview approach to data collection, May (1997) writes that the methods of maintaining and generating conversations with people on a specific topic or range of topics, and the interpretations which social researchers make of the resultant data, constitute the fundamentals of interviews and interviewing. The form and style of an interview is determined by its purpose. For a research interview, the purpose is to obtain information and understanding of issues relevant to the general aims and specific questions of a research project. If interviews differ in their purposes they, none the less, have a great deal in common. The main dimension of difference is in the extent to which the interview is structured, and the degree to which the interviewee is allowed to 'lead' the content of the interview.

Gillham (2000) believes it takes confidence to be a listener, to decentre from oneself, and focus on the person being interviewed. It is he or she who has something to tell you: the researcher may have a broad aim - the specific topic on which information is sought - but it is only the interviewee who can provide this. In a research interview you are the research instrument. Interviewing style, like writing style, is to some extent a personal business. No matter how much a researcher knows about interviewing, it is his/her own personal resources, which breathes life into the technique. Yet skill, in any medium, is characterized by certainty and a quality of "naturalness" – responding naturally to the person being interviewed, who will sense the researcher's interest and concern.

May (1997) believes there are four types of interviews used in social research: the structured interview, the semi-structured interview, the unstructured interview, and the

group interview. While these characterizations may appear to strictly demarcate one method from another, a research project may not be simply one of the following, but a mixture of two or more types.

Moving from a structured to unstructured interview, the situation shifts. The researcher attempts to control the interview through predetermined questions and thus guide the respondent to reply in accordance with the interview schedule or to a situation in which the respondent is encouraged to answer a question in his/her own terms. Put another way, a researcher can characterize interviews along a quantitative-qualitative dimension, varying from the formal to an unstructured situation of qualitative depth, which allows the respondent to answer without feeling constrained by preformulated questions with a limited range of answers (May, 1997).

Whatever the purpose and no matter how sensitive or person-centred the interview may be, the relationship is essentially a controlling one, writes Gillham (2000). “Control” is a word with negative connotations but control in the sense of management is fundamental to skilled interviewing. An interviewer can begin with a question but where it goes from there is unpredictable so the researcher must follow, controlling the direction.

According to May (1997), there are three necessary conditions for the successful completion of interviews:

- 1) *Accessibility*: whether or not the person answering the questions has access to the information which the interviewer asks;
- 2) *Cognition*: an understanding by the person being interviewed of what is required of him/her in the role of the interviewee; and

- 3) *Motivation*: the interviewer must make the subjects feel that their participation and answers are valued, for their cooperation is fundamental to the conduct of the research.

The overpoweringly positive feature of the interview is the richness and vividness of the material it turns up. When working with Aboriginal people, the interview also honours the oral tradition. In a research report using different kinds of data, the interview material is almost always the most interesting and it enables you to see and to understand what is reflected rather more abstractly than other kinds of data (Gillham, 2000).

Using Hart's (1995) model, before the discussions began each interviewee was asked to sign a consent form. This form stated that the interviewee agreed to participate in the interview and that the information they provided may be included in this thesis. The consent form asked if the researcher may use the name of the interviewee in the final report. If the participant chose "no," they were referred to as "anonymous." The form also asked if the researcher could use a recording device during the discussion to ensure accuracy in the final report. The discussions occurred in English and the location of the interview was at a mutually agreeable location. The forms remained in the possession of the author and upon completion of this project, will be destroyed.

The questions were in an open-ended format. Open-ended questions allow the interviewee to expand on areas of which they feel strongly, or to provide short responses to questions they do not feel comfortable answering. This format permits descriptive responses and reflection, as well as leads to new areas to discuss (May, 1997; Gillham, 2000). As much as possible, I refrained from note taking during the actual interview and instead listened as a sign of respect. Upon completion of each discussion, the participants

were asked to identify other community members who may be interested in taking part in the research.

3.3 *The data collection process*

In June 2003, I received approval from my thesis committee to proceed with my research and I first began by contacting representatives of NCN to explain my proposed work and to build a relationship.

I began by contacting Mr. Norman Linklater, Co-Manager of Future Development (Environmental), and my initial conversations with him proved very cordial. I had no previous relationship with Mr. Linklater so I learned two lessons very early in the process: 1) that I had to adjust my pace from what I am regularly accustomed to - decisive, time sensitive – towards a much slower approach; and 2) that it would take time for him to trust me and share information.

I continued to remain in contact with Mr. Linklater by way of phone (and fax) conversations. Our conversations proved more and more productive to the point that I inquired about visiting him in NCN so we could talk face-to-face about my proposed research. Mr. Linklater was open to the idea so we scheduled a meeting for September 14, 2003 in Thompson. I wanted to make the most of my time in the north so I also made plans to visit Rev. Nelson Hart, the United Church Minister in NCN, and the Thompson Citizen and Nickel Belt News to scour through their archives.

Mr. Linklater was supportive of my idea and invited me to the community the next day where I was given a tour, met one of the Band Councillors, several of the Future Development Community Consultants, and had an unplanned one-on-one 15 minute meeting with Chief Jerry Primrose. Chief Primrose was very gracious and, to my

pleasant surprise, gave me his verbal support to undertake the research. My meeting with the local United Church Minister, Rev. Nelson Hart, was conducted at his residence where spoke of the early history of the community and some of the previous impacts of hydroelectric development.

My anticipated late fall field research meant that weather would play a central role in my transportation needs to reach the community. Having grown up in northern Manitoba, the period after October 1st is usually the beginning of unpredictable weather patterns, so I opted to rent a four-wheel drive vehicle to commute to NCN each day because of a lack of accommodations in the community.

The next test was finding people from the community of NCN who would be willing to take part in my research. A very lucky break occurred in October 2003; during a conversation with another graduate student, Ramona Neckway, she mentioned that NCN was her home and she knew many people in the community. Ramona contacted several people and introduced them to my research, secured their participation, and provided me with their contact information.

During the month of October, I remained in contact with Mr. Linklater as best I could via phone messages and fax conversations although these conversations were decidedly one-sided with no responses coming from NCN.

On November 7th I finally got a real voice on the other end of the telephone; it was the secretary in the Future Development Office. She informed me that my plan to make my first visit to the community on the morning of Nov. 10th would not be a wise idea because everyone was taking the day off because of Remembrance Day.

As it would turn out, the absence of the Future Development Team would stretch out for two frustrating weeks. It appears that my faxes indicating my arrival dates coincidentally coincided with the need to travel to Winnipeg for meetings. Had I known about this earlier on, I could have remained in Winnipeg to conduct interviews and then proceed north.

During the afternoon of the 8th, I found out about an interesting panel discussion taking place in Winnipeg at the University of Manitoba Faculty of Law on November 13th. The discussion was on hydroelectric power partnerships and featured many of the key individuals involved in the NCN/Manitoba Hydro project.

I arrived in Thompson on November 9th and the next day began making the rounds in the city to get in touch with my contacts, and secured my first interview for the next afternoon.

My plan for handling the recruitment of subjects for this project was very low key. The proposed Wuskwatim project is controversial and as I came to realize, the community is divided. I had made it very clear to the Chief in September that I wished to speak with subjects representing all facets of life in the community. However, individuals seemed reluctant to avoid saying anything about the project for fear of losing jobs or favour in the community. Subject recruitment in this atmosphere proved to be difficult and one that required patience and professionalism, as well as the ability to assure the participants that the researcher was a neutral third party.

On the 12th I headed (back) to Winnipeg. At the panel discussion on the 13th I had the opportunity to meet the attendees from Manitoba Hydro, NCN, and the legal counsel for both parties. These individuals all gave verbal assurances they would be willing to

meet with me upon my return to Winnipeg. I also met up with one of the Community Consultants (Mr. Kevin Hart) who indicated that the Future Development Team was scheduled to return to the community Nov. 24th and that I would be welcome to chat with them at that point.

The following day (November 14th) was spent in the vehicle returning to Thompson discussing the presentation. We observed that once the more difficult questions started from the audience, the discussion was shut down. Observing this dynamic was an interesting because it appeared to correspond with what the initial interviewees were telling me that people are not getting answers to questions in the community. Two and a half hours south of Thompson, the vehicle suffered a dire mechanical problem, forcing us to abandon it and catch a bus the rest of the way.

The week beginning Nov. 17th was spent going back and forth to NCN to interview participants. I attempted to make contact with the Superintendent of the Nelson House Education Authority, a professional contact and someone who I felt might be able to add an interesting perspective to the research. A common theme then began to emerge whereby I was assured that Mr. Matt White would return my call, but never did. This was not the only participant who would prove to be difficult to track down.

A contact in NCN had suggested that an individual at the Health and Wellness Centre would be willing to participate, so I paid this person a visit to explain my research. Looking back, I'm not sure if it was my unwillingness to partake in his offer of a moose meat dinner, the University of Manitoba Informed Consent document that I gave him or some other factor at play that created the situation where I never heard from him again.

During this same week, I had the opportunity to meet Mr. Linklater and he indicated to me that I would be welcome to join the Future Development Team at a meeting on November 24th where they were discussing the proposed project.

On the morning of the 24th, I went to NCN and proceeded into the Future Development Team boardroom to introduce myself, where a copy of the NCN/Manitoba Hydro *Summary of Understanding* (2003) was placed in front of me. They began and within minutes asked whom I worked for. I indicated that I was a graduate student who was in the process of writing a thesis about the proposed Wuskwatim project. This immediately caused everyone in the room to begin speaking Cree, whereupon a phone rang in another office and several Team members went to answer it. When they returned I was informed that I was not allowed to be present in the room to view the *SOU* by order of the Co-Manager of Future Development (Business), Mr. Marcel Moody. I informed everyone that I had been given permission by Mr. Linklater to be present at this meeting but I was told that, "Norman doesn't always know what is going on" by a Future Development Team member whose name I do not recall. The *SOU* was removed, I was given a few documents about the project that were already public, and told to speak to the NCN lawyer about viewing the *SOU* once it was made public.

I left the meeting but before leaving the community, I decided to proceed over to Mr. Moody's office to introduce myself and try to alleviate some of the confusion. As I mentioned earlier, the common theme emerged and I was told that he had just left for Winnipeg. Amused by this automatic response, I again proceeded to attempt to make contact with the NCN Education Authority Superintendent. He too was in Winnipeg, or so I was told.

Upon returning to Winnipeg, I made contact with the NCN lawyer, Valerie Matthews-Lemieux. I was informed that everything I needed was in the public registry and here was no offer to meet, or no suggestions of whom else might be worth contacting.

I had better luck with Manitoba Hydro on Jan. 9, 2004 at the main office on Taylor Ave. in Winnipeg, where Mr. Ryan Kustra was very gracious and gave me 90 minutes to answer my questions.

Another phase of my research took place from March to June 2004, during which time I attended fourteen sessions of the Clean Environment Commission (CEC) in Winnipeg.

The final aspect of my data collection took place during a summer course I taught in July 2004. I invited Councillor W.E. Thomas to speak to the students using a PowerPoint presentation where he outlined the history of the community, NCN's previous dealings with hydro development, the financial aspects of the proposed new project, and took questions about the need for Wuskwatim.

Overall, the research process was challenging and afforded me a glimpse of the complexities associated with undertaking a major resource development project. The discussion now shifts towards offering a greater understanding of the implications associated with partnering.

Chapter IV

The Concept of Partnership

“Partnerships are a means to an end, not an end in themselves.”⁴

4.0 Introduction

Aboriginal communities have a desire to be self-sufficient and gain more control over their lands and resources, and the question that propelled this research process was not only based upon the question of defining partnerships in this context, but also the recognition of it being an emerging trend. What is a partnership and what are its elements?

The main focus of this chapter is an examination of the notion and meaning of partnership. This type of undertaking is new with regards to hydroelectric development in Manitoba, and is thus a unique element of the proposed project and worthy of special consideration.

4.1 The basis for partnerships in Canada

Weaver (1981) suggested that partnership is the latest evolution in the way in which the federal government describes its ‘improving’ relationship with Aboriginal people. In the 1980s, a shift in attitudes took place for governments and corporations who realized the importance of including Aboriginal people in decision making in general and the development of resources on reserve land.

The 1996 Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) advocated for the partnership approach to resource development - the benefits of which have eluded

⁴ Government of Ontario Partnership Development Resource Kit (2002), found at www.aboriginalbusiness.on.ca/resource_kit

Aboriginal people for decades - noting that this type of relationship could create new business and employment opportunities in Aboriginal communities. The report noted that it is important that partnerships must

“...protect what Aboriginal people value – their environment, their culture, their institutions – from insensitive development and its consequences...[and] Aboriginal partners must have a say in determining the rate and nature of development on their own and shared lands” (RCAP, p. 858, 1996).

According to spring 2003 Eagle Feather marketing supplement prepared by Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC), partnerships are the focal point in a strategy to support economic development in Manitoba First Nations. Partnerships should reduce obstacles and improve access to opportunities, and increase First Nation participation in all areas of economic growth.

4.2 *What is a partnership?*

Smyth, Soberman, and Easson (2001) defined partnership as a consensual, and contractual relationship between two or more legal persons (corporations), “...carrying on a business in common with a view of profit” (p.580). If the Wuskwatim project goes ahead, NCN will be a limited partner, which according to Smyth, Soberman, and Easson (2001), means their “liability is limited to the amount of his or her capital contribution” (p.598). This means that NCN’s investment for up to 33% of the profits, limits them to 33% of the risk.

In a speech in February 1994 entitled, “Partnering with Aboriginal people: a business imperative” Ronald Jamieson, Vice President (Aboriginal Banking) for Bank of Montreal, noted that partnering with Aboriginal people is an “...opportunity that can’t be ignored” (p.25-26).

Jamieson also noted it is about reversing the injustices done to Aboriginal peoples since they were 'discovered' by European explorers hundreds of years ago. He suggested four specific methods for cooperation with Aboriginal peoples: 1) awarding more contracts to Aboriginal firms, which would result in millions of dollars of support; 2) tax incentives for companies that partner with Aboriginal people to spur interest and investment; 3) removing trade barriers between provinces and territories which hurt Aboriginal industries; and 4) "have the federal government remove restrictive clauses within the Indian Act such as the fact that Status Indians cannot pledge as security for a loan assets they have on reserve." (p.28)

Research done by Anderson (1997) showed that an increasing amount of non-Aboriginal companies have created relationships with Aboriginal people that broadly serve several purposes: 1) socially responsible corporate behaviour; 2) legal/ regulatory requirements; 3) increasing amount of natural resources being controlled by Aboriginal people; and 4) increasingly affluent, well-educated, and growing Aboriginal population.

Forbes (1999) characterized the need for partnerships along the lines of supporting the First Nations' goal of self-sufficiency and self-determination. He viewed it as good business to include First nation in the mainstream economy.

Loizides and Greenall (2001), writing for the Conference Board of Canada, argued for developing relationships of an economic nature with Aboriginal peoples, because their interests have long been pushed to the margins of Canadian economic activity, and "Aboriginal peoples are working to move beyond dependency relationships and are strengthened by a heightened sense of economic importance and their ability to shape their own future..." (p.15).

The Canadian business community must be made aware of the significant business case that can be derived from the “economic engagement” (p.i) of Native peoples and those that choose to ignore this potential do so “at their own peril” (p.i).

“Aboriginal groups are increasingly sophisticated in their understanding of and approach to partnership with the private sector. Entrepreneurial Aboriginal leaders have in many instances moved beyond dependency mind-sets and realize that they bring valuable assets to economic partnerships. They understand that the long-term sustainability of their communities and local economies is dependent on both their active involvement in the management of industrial projects and their contribution to the achievement of bottom-line financial returns.” (Loizides and Greenhall, 2001, p.8-9).

The report (pp.10-14) listed several keys to a successful relationship, including: 1) patience; 2) understanding the unique goals, needs and capabilities of the partner; 3) maintaining an open and honest exchange of ideas; 4) a long-term relationship to build loyalty and a common vision; 5) anticipating challenges and being flexible about different approaches to dealing with them; 6) fostering positive relationships with Aboriginal people; 7) a solid environmental record; and 8) supporting economic development programs.

The Government of Ontario (2002) developed a partnership resource kit, which makes mention of six factors driving the partnership trend: 1) Aboriginal economic self-sufficiency; 2) business opportunity; 3) demographic factors; 4) access to resources; 5) commitment to social and environmental responsibility; and 6) government policy and legislation. It is worth noting “partnerships only make sense if each partner is made stronger by working together” (www.aboriginalbusiness.ca/resource_kit/ch3/ch3_4.html).

4.3 *Elements of successful partnerships*

The Office of the Chief Researcher of the Scottish Executive (2002) noted that successful partnerships have the following components: 1) principles and purpose; 2) effective planning and specific objectives; 3) communication between partners; 4) resources and partnership; and 5) evaluation and monitoring.

The Government of Ontario (2002) included many of the same principles, and also mentioned several others, including flexibility, trust, and a sustained commitment.

In 1994, Rheaume interviewed Eric P. Newell, Chairman, President, and CEO of Syncrude Canada Ltd. to explore the emerging corporate/Aboriginal relationship. At that time, Syncrude was the largest industrial employer of Aboriginal people in Canada, with over 500 Aboriginal workers drawing wages.

The impetus for Syncrude to become involved in Aboriginal issues stemmed from a realization that their business operations impacted Aboriginal land and it was only right to share in the development of the property. Syncrude also recognized that menial jobs with no future are not the keys to success for Aboriginal people. The company realized that providing Aboriginal people with an environment to empower themselves to become more self-sufficient was a better strategy.

Figure 12: Benefits of Partnership for Aboriginal people

Sustainable community Development	Strengthen Aboriginal business capacity	Increased access to markets
Expanding and diversifying community economic base	Developing and training employees	Improving ability to compete for contracts
Transferring management expertise in many areas	Fostering innovation	Transferring market knowledge
Long-term employment and skill development	Developing managerial skills and expertise	Building capacity to serve a larger customer base

12. From website: http://www.aboriginalbusiness.on.ca/resource_kit/ch3/ch3_5.html, by the Government of Ontario. Copyright 2004 by the Government of Ontario.

4.4 *Partnership caveats*

The United Nations Development Fund on Partnerships (1999) noted that achieving partnership requires a fundamental change in thought away from treating Aboriginal people as objects to be transformed, towards people to be empowered by building on their priorities. It is important to mention that “success cannot come unless the definition of partners is horizontal: sharers, collaborators, associates...” (p.2).

The Government of Ontario (2002) noted that there could be some hesitancy on the part of Aboriginal organizations to enter into partnerships, due to the legacy of colonialism, or a damaging impact on traditional values.

The Office of the Chief Researcher of the Scottish Executive (2002) mentioned that some “barriers can include a lack of understanding between partners, or a lack of focus on the objectives...of the partnership” (p.1)

Sawatsky (2004), in his work on partnerships and the Canadian Model Forest Network, spoke of how relationships of varying degrees of communication and cooperation are deemed partnerships by a dominant partner to improve their own image. Unfortunately, this misuse weakens the perception of partnerships causing some to be reluctant to participate in real partnerships. He cited work by Langford (2002) that the word partnership is applied “to [dress up] any working relationship between organizations no matter how prosaic the connection or oppressively lopsided the power imbalance among the parties” (p. 69).

Ray (2004, personal communication) elaborated on some of the pitfalls with natural resource agreements. Considerations include knowing whether internal consultation has been carried out, because they may open a door to legal challenge if

people feel they were not adequately consulted about the process. Other areas to be aware of include the degree of financial commitment required, a long-term promise to assist the community that is not front end loaded, and due diligence regarding the guarantees of employment.

4.5 *Partnership in the Quebec hydroelectric context*

Inevitably, critics will draw comparisons between the Wuskwatim project and the agreements signed in Quebec. I will provide a brief summary of one such agreement, the *Paix des Braves* reached in 2002.

According to Gregoire (2004) from Hydro Quebec, the lead-up to the 2002 agreement worked to define a new approach built upon three conditions: 1) be profitable under market conditions; 2) be environmentally acceptable; and 3) be well received by local communities.

The partnership with the communities had to be environmentally and economically sustainable, and had to contain agreement on EIA study processes and mitigation measures. More importantly, the agreement needed to be long-term in nature, incorporate some form of capacity building to strengthen Indigenous peoples, and be built upon trust and mutual respect (Gregoire, 2004).

The *Paix des Braves* (2002) agreement is also noteworthy because it incorporated provisions for forestry and mining operations on the Aboriginal land. The financial provisions integrate a mathematical index that calculates the economic productivity of the land and uses this to determine monetary payments.

Sagamash (2004, personal communication) of the Grand Council of Crees offered the opinion that no true partnership can exist without a common set of goals and shared

objectives. He reasoned, “The national interest is served if everyone *shares* [emphasis added] the natural resources of the land. The Paix des Braves does this, acting as an economic agreement to achieve social development” (Sagamash, 2004, personal communication).

This discussion on partnership relationships leads to the final section where the nature of the proposed agreement between Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation and Manitoba Hydro is explored.

Chapter V

Summary, Conclusions, and Recommendations

“Low head or high head, a flood is a flood. The past will always follow the future.”⁵

5.0 Summary

This research explored the notion of a partnership and what it could conceivably represent in terms of large-scale hydro development. To do this, I observed and made a contribution to the debate by considering the history of the area, previous hydroelectric development within the traditional land use region, and how this eventually led to the proposed Wuskwatim project. There were three objectives for this research: 1) to provide historical background on key issues concerning the community and any pre-existing partnerships in hydroelectric development; 2) to explore the motivation for the new partnership, the manner in which it was conceived, and the goals it may achieve; and 3) to study the impression the community has toward the deal.

The most important lesson learned while undertaking this research was that many of the answers simply did not exist. Perhaps some of the questions were slightly ahead of the process itself, with both sides trying to sort out how to make a business arrangement like this work. I am grateful that those who spoke with me were able to find the time and courage to do so. Their candour and passion were appreciated and helped form a better understanding the complicated nature of large-scale resource development on Aboriginal land.

It was difficult to recruit community residents to take part in the research, and as such, the results that were obtained may not reflect a high degree of accuracy. The work

⁵ NCN resident Carol Kobliski, November 17, 2003

would have benefited from increased participation by all members of the community, regardless of what side of the debate they represent. Some expressed interest but were afraid of being seen chatting with the researcher. Others outright refused, for reasons unknown. This research therefore is limited in scope which leads to conclusions that while narrow are still of interest because of the potential for other generating projects to be located in northern Manitoba.

Many appeared fearful of signing the consent form, and the researcher was not aware that he could obtain oral consent as a means to secure participation. Another lesson that arose out of this process is that while the University of Manitoba Ethics Board approved the research plan using written and signed consent forms, it would have been possible to have an amendment made to the research proposal while in the field, without requiring an entirely new proposal to be submitted.

Modern hydroelectric development is a mix of the ghosts of the past with the dreams of the future. Somewhere in the middle lies present-day reality, a complex dynamic of personalities, politics, and power struggles. Were the two co-proponents able to build a new relationship? I sensed the possibility, but it is far from clear as to where it will lead because of tensions that exist. This is my characterization of the emerging relationship between Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation (NCN) and Manitoba Hydro.

5.1 *Objective #1 - Historical background on key issues concerning the community and any pre-existing partnerships in hydroelectric development*

Moore (2003, personal communication) noted that hydro development has been a detriment to NCN up to the present time. Members of the community lost contact with their spirituality, something that has yet to be remedied. The jobs that were promised

with the Churchill River Diversion (CRD) were not fulfilled, and the promised prosperity is still not there 30 years later. He asks, “How can we go ahead and negotiate when we haven’t finished dealing with the issues of the past?” (Moore, 2003, personal communication)

Kobliski (2003, personal communication) spoke of how everything went downhill after the arrival of hydroelectric development. Families became separated, children’s performance in school diminished, there was alcohol abuse with many children born with FAS (fetal alcohol syndrome), and substance abuse by children as young as seven years of age. Kobliski remarked, “What Manitoba Hydro did to the community 30 years ago will never be forgotten. Cosmetic surgery [Wuskwatim] will never fix it” (Kobliski, 2003, personal communication).

Two NCN residents who requested anonymity (2003a; 2003b) spoke at length about lack of respect for the sacred lands in the area, and the resulting environmental legacy that Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation has been saddled with, remarking that, “The lake, the fish have changed. They are probably just catching up to the old changes now, what will the future hold? The course of nature has been changed” (Anonymous, 2003b, personal communication).

This same resident (2003b) also remarked that NCN has been so damaged by the past that residents cannot swim in the lake or eat the fish because of pollution and shoreline erosion. Fishermen have been catching fish with deformities and bumps on them. The other resident (2003a) described the dangers of walking near the shoreline in terms of it being a very real possibility that one could break their leg on all the debris that has accumulated. They also expressed grave concern that was later repeated by Kobliski

(2004, personal communication) over the quality of the drinking water; evidently, portable water is now being trucked into the community for the residents.

Moore (2003, personal communication) observed that the community could not expect the Wuskwatim project in the next five years to correct the socio-economic problems facing the community. He felt that Manitoba Hydro had made no effort to correct the problems since it signed the *Northern Flood Agreement (1977)*.

What conclusions can be drawn from the previous development? It was antagonistic, litigious, and dragged out over 25 years. The new agreement is voluntary and the residents have not forgotten the past, but seem to want to move forward.

5.2 Objective #2 - *The motivation for the new partnership, the manner in which it was conceived, and the goals it may achieve*

Kustra (2004, personal communication) noted the reality facing the Wuskwatim debate, conceding that just because Manitoba Hydro has signed agreements with NCN, it does not automatically mean the community thinks the company is a bunch of “great guys” (Kustra, 2004, personal communication). He acknowledged the legacy of hydro development in the north, and mentioned that it takes a long time to move things forward as they build community/corporate relationships through personal levels. He also felt that the only way to respond to the project’s critics is by asking, “Does somebody have a better suggestion” (2004, personal communication)?

He also went on to talk about Wuskwatim as being something of potential value to both co-proponents, far beyond the economic value it could represent, an “opportunity for NCN and Manitoba Hydro to get beyond the past” (Kustra, 2004, personal communication). If the project should not pass the community referendum, he explained the situation in terms of it being a risk that any business has to anticipate, and “one that in

due course bears fruit” (Kustra, 2004, personal communication). He felt there is a greater risk in not doing anything than in spending the money to evaluate the potential for hydro development in the Wuskwatim area.

Two residents of NCN (2003a; 2003b) expressed unease that while members of the community are informed about what is taking place with the Wuskwatim negotiations, they questioned whether the residents actually understand, whether it is because of literacy issues or because information is not being made available in the Cree language. Moore (2003, personal communication) felt that the community knows roughly what the general public knows, perhaps even less, and the terms of the proposal are being dictated to the community.

When asked about the motivating reasons for Wuskwatim, a participant (2003a) remarked it might very well be personal interest and a desire for personal gain on the part of the Chief and Council that is driving the need for this project. Also, this individual (2003a) expressed an opinion that money could be a factor, though was unsure of the need to go into partnership when the only people who will be making money on the deal, he believed, were the lawyers involved in the negotiations. Another participant (2003b) agreed, and noted that, “There is no such thing as a partnership with Manitoba Hydro. I don’t see anything beneficial for the people, only the negotiators” (2003b, personal communication).

Kobliski (2003, personal communication) offered the opinion that what the community leadership is negotiating for is not enough, and that her brother, Councillor W.E. Thomas, has not consulted with the community elders and residents. She is not opposed to the project, but rather the process, and her role as the spokesperson of the

Nelson House Justice Seekers is about getting what is owed to the community from 30 years ago. She went on to talk about the need for Wuskwatim in the community, saying, “the prosperity [W.E. Thomas] is trying to bring is going to kill them [the community] because they are not healed” (Kobliski, 2003, personal communication).

Moore (2003, personal communication) was adamant in remarking that NCN is a partner in name only, and that any money from the project will only be a band-aid solution, when, what the residents need is opportunities. He felt that should the project go ahead, the potential downsides could include more uncertainty for the people, continued environmental problems, and the deficit that the community would accrue from partnering in such a large and complex financial project.

Kobliski (2003, personal communication) talked of the idea of partnership in terms of it being a relationship, where both sides are completely open with each other. She questioned the proposed partnership in terms of it being an investment, when the community does not know what kind of revenues will be derived from the partnership and felt that project is jeopardizing the future of the community and its children.

Several conclusions can be drawn. This is a community that wishes to take control of its own destiny, while achieving the highest value possible from their Resource Management Area. They also want a much greater degree of participation in the decision-making process for this project from the entire membership. For those who took part in the research, there appears to be a sense of frustration with the process and an inability to effect meaningful change.

5.3 Objective #3 - *The impression the community has toward the proposed deal*

Of those who took part in the research process, it was the process, not the project that was their main cause of concern. One respondent (Moore, 2003, personal communication) made it clear that the community gave the leadership consent to go ahead with the process, not to go ahead and make agreements with Manitoba Hydro. He expressed hope that the project will happen, but that the process changes.

During my second trip to NCN in November 2003, I began to learn more about the political situation in the community. The most recent Band Council elections in August 2002 remain a source of controversy, with some individuals left feeling like they cannot voice opposition to the proposed project because they did not support the current Chief and Council. One individual from the community wanted to take part in the research but was worried about being seen talking to this writer because his employment depended on keeping favour with the Band Council. Kobliski (2003, personal communication) would not go into great detail but did mention that there are (unproven) allegations of voting irregularities.

Kobliski (2003, personal communication) and Moore (2003, personal communication) both expressed trepidation over the money that is being spent by Manitoba Hydro to run the NCN Future Development Office, a number which they pegged at approximately \$4.2 million per year since 1998, or roughly \$25 million in total. The residents could not answer their own question regarding whether that money is a forgivable loan from Manitoba Hydro if the Project Development Agreement (PDA) goes ahead, or if it must be repaid in full with interest should the community vote against moving forward with the agreement.

It appears that the day-to-day governance of the community is also a concern. Two participants (2003a; 2003b) spoke of Band Council meetings being called on very quick notice so as to avoid 'dissident' residents from showing up with questions about the proposed project. As well, residents who did manage to attend these meetings and who were known to be uncomfortable with the project were cut off while trying to speak to the project, or denied the chance to speak all together, and are now afraid of saying anything at all for a perceived fear of reprisal. Furthermore, the threat of job loss, ostracization within the community, and Band Council Resolution (BCR) where a community member can be forced to leave the community, loom large over the heads of those who take the chance to speak against the proposed project. It was noted to me that those who are in support of the project did not experience this type of behaviour.

Kobliski (2003, personal communication) noted that at these Band meetings, the Elders are prevented from speaking, and that the community does not consider itself well enough informed. She reasoned that, "If the negotiations involved the whole community, I see prosperity for the community. I see our people with employment, new homes, paved highways" (Kobliski, 2003, personal communication).

In their opinions, these interviewees had yet to see one constructive Band Council meeting. They felt the elected leadership and the project itself may not have the legitimate support of the people, and that the Chief and Council are misleading the public regarding community support for Wuskwatim (Kobliski, 2004, personal communication; Hart 2003, personal communication; Anonymous, 2003b, personal communication; Moore, 2003, personal communication).

Two residents (2003a; 2003b) expressed concern over the high rate of unemployment facing the community, and that the promise of 80-90 (temporary) jobs associated with the project was not enough. Both of the interviewees expressed disappointment that there seems to be no improvement in the economic, financial, and social situation of the community since the last negotiations, and they doubted whether the community had the skills necessary to negotiate a fair agreement with Manitoba Hydro on the new project.

“How does a team of lawyers and businessmen/women who have spent their lives perfecting their skills, fairly negotiate with members of the community who have very little educational experience and life experience?” (Anonymous, 2003a, personal communication)

Several conclusions can be drawn. There appears to be a lack of unanimity with much questioning of the proposed relationship. As well, the basis for the dissension is not clear and is very complex, stemming from a combination of the contested election results, and problems with governance within the community.

Band politics are complex and people will always have opinions about the Chief and Council so criticism is normal and to be expected. The 2002 election created a great deal of upheaval and tension in the community, but it was settled on appeal in the Federal Court of Canada so the Chief and Council remain firmly in office until the next elections, in 2006.

I observed a community facing the fear of the unknown, manifesting itself through the disagreements between community members and the Chief and Council. Many community members simply do not understand what could be taking place on their land or if the partnership will actually benefit the people as promised.

Finally, it would have been beneficial to be able to interview members of the community who hold other opinions than those expressed in order to achieve a more balanced, and richer, discussion.

5.4 *The relationship to date*

The relationship between the two co-proponents is an agreement to explore a business arrangement and the NCN Chief and Council are represented by a team of lawyers and consultants who assist in the negotiations with Manitoba Hydro. Both parties have spent money, retained and gained expertise, and held public hearings and meetings on the project. As well, there is an element of democratic nicety within the language of the project, with a vote on the Agreement-in-Principle and a vote (referendum) on the Project Development Agreement (PDA), once that is finalized.

Geography has played an important role in this debate because of the role of South Indian Lake. One resident of NCN noted that the South Indian Lake Displaced Residents (SILDR) collected nearly 1,000 signatures for a petition opposing the Wuskwatim project. Henley (2005, personal communication) explained that the delay in the approval process is a direct result of negotiations taking place between NCN, South Indian Lake, and the Federal Government to grant South Indian Lake full reserve status, if they will back away from their opposition to the Project. If they agree, a referendum vote may have a much greater chance of passing, a necessary step in the approval process for Wuskwatim.

Finally, an important observation is that the relationship of the larger society to the First Nation is self-serving. Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation has never received this much attention or coverage, and it has happened because of the proposed hydroelectric

dam. NCN is using all resources and is holding its own very well as it tries to reach a resolution.

5.5 Analysis

Spending time in NCN and speaking with the residents' suggests the community is under intense tension and pressure to make decisions related to Wuskwatim. This is also a community that undergoes typical upheavals every now and again; the proposed hydro project and what it represents for the future of NCN happens to be the source of controversy in this instance. That conclusion reflects research results drawn from a very complicated story and set of relationships. Unfortunately, I was unable to access differing opinions about this project in order to achieve a balance that is needed.

Perhaps it was speculation that I was being provided with and I would acknowledge the limitations of this information, but it does represent what participants were willing to tell me during the research phase. Given the controversial nature and complexity of a project like this, I am grateful for any information I could glean from those involved in the process, allowing this researcher to get a sense of what is taking place.

A partnership with an Aboriginal community should not serve short-term political goals, but instead triumph over barriers that have characterized their social and economic lives since the process of colonization began. But this is a complex process for both parties because there is an incredible amount of scrutiny being placed on this project from many different interest groups, both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal. As well, NCN wants to maintain its traditions, but they also want to be part of the economic development taking place within their Resource Management Area (RMA).

For Manitoba Hydro, they are not used to sharing their profits and by partnering because their reputation may improve after the 1970's era of hydro development when consultation or partnerships were never on the table. Manitoba Hydro has endured many changes over the past 40 years, ranging from differing societal attitudes about what is acceptable development, shifting political beliefs, and the impact of large financial settlements arising out of the *NFA* process. It is unclear if Manitoba Hydro anticipates partnership benefits as well as support for future development and increased profits.

A question that has yet to be answered is whether Wuskwatim will proceed without the support of the Nisichawayasihk Cree. In the past, Manitoba Hydro's actions reflected a lack of understanding regarding the scope and magnitude of the developments they were proposing. Now, people are much more environmentally aware and increasing amounts of attention are being placed on large-scale resource development, as well as questioning of the need for these infrastructure developments. Kustra (2004, personal communication) noted that Wuskwatim would not proceed without the support of the NCN Cree. Partnerships and joint ventures and other arrangements become an important aspect of any resource development. Aboriginal people are in a good position when it comes to a negotiating position because corporations are finally beginning to awaken to the many benefits of having an Aboriginal partner.

Perhaps the results of the Clean Environment Commission hearings will have some impact on the past legacies of northern hydro development. The CEC noted that Manitoba Hydro needs to do more to address what happened in the past; perhaps the Wuskwatim proposal (as examined through the eyes of the CEC) can be seen in a

positive light which will encourage Manitoba Hydro to address some of the outstanding issues which continue to remain a point of frustration for northern residents.

This could be somewhat of a test situation for Manitoba Hydro regarding other future developments, namely the proposed Keeyask project with Tataskeyak Cree Nation (TCN) (Split Lake). However, evidence has not been ascertained to suggest there is a dependency upon the success or failure of Wuskwatim for the Keeyask project. It is also unknown if the TCN Chief and Council face the same degree of opposition as the NCN Chief and Council does.

Whatever comes of the Wuskwatim project, the process that evolved from these discussions was by and large, good. The mere fact that a First Nations community and a major corporation are trying to stand together, is a solid step in Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal relations, and just might represent the first micro steps in post-colonial relations in Canada. I applaud the Chief and Council of NCN for trying to build a new relationship when there is considerable financial risk and opposition to the project involved. As Thomas (2004) remarked to me, "Without risk, there is no reward. We are not going to stand by and watch our children have no future." Thomas is a leader who envisions a brighter future for the community as a whole, and is willing to take a chance that these new relations will benefit NCN as anticipated.

The community and Band Council may want to consider finding ways to ease the tension arising from the political situation and governance issues, while also considering what kind of future they wish to have when it comes to resource development on their land. The longer all these questions remain unanswered, the longer they will divide NCN and leave them unable to move forward in a united fashion. But how should this

community heal itself when both sides are firmly entrenched and neither is prepared to break the gridlock that exists? That is an answer that only the community can decide for itself.

5.6 Recommendations for future research

Many research questions have arisen from this research, and thus form but some of the recommendations for future research.

A key element of future research is basically to look at what happened from January 2005 onwards. This thesis only considers what took place up to and including December 2004, and there was no decision to proceed with the project because the community referendum was on hold for the negotiations over South Indian Lake's reserve status. The *Project Development Agreement (PDA)* will be the next step in the process, and will certainly be open to criticism and praise.

An in depth analysis of the 2002 election should be undertaken, in order to gain a better sense of the complexity and tension that continues to grip the community of Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation. Perspectives from winners, losers, and those overseeing the election should be identified.

The process, hearings, and results of the *Manitoba Clean Environment Commission (CEC)* would be well worth analyzing. The CEC made several key decisions, and while it was not in their mandate, also gave some consideration to decisions that have been made in the past that continue to apply in the present, most notably the impact of the *Churchill River Diversion (CRD)*. How the CEC results will impact the Wuskwatim project as well as future projects is an interesting concept to consider.

The role of social justice in the Wuskwatim debate was very important, as the *Nelson House Justice Seekers* demonstrated. Their role in the process is an important story in itself, and the personalities that emerged would be worth researching some more, if only to better understand how the proposed development has impacted and split the community.

Finally, the governance of the community is an important area as well. It emerged as a substantial problem for the residents, and is worthy of more consideration. Along that same line of thought, decision-making processes/bodies in the community and how dense, technical information is disseminated to the community is worth a closer look. The Wuskwatim project is a unique opportunity to build a new relationship between an Aboriginal community and a major corporation. In principle, partnership is a good idea and worth pursuing, so long as it is done for the right reasons. Wuskwatim will not fix all things that were wrong with previous hydro development in northern Manitoba, nor is it a perfect model for other hydroelectric development projects. But it should be recognized as a beginning point for a new way to undertake hydro development in Manitoba.

5.7 Conclusion

This research has offered a glimpse into the complexities of a major resource development project. When well-held, entrenched beliefs are so fundamentally dissimilar – regardless of whom is right or wrong – how do you even begin to understand where the other side is coming from and break this gridlock?

Whether or not the Wuskwatim project ever produces a single megawatt of electricity, the debate it spawned and the people it empowered to speak out will always

be its greatest legacy. It also brought the question of hydro development to a wider audience in the southern half of the province of Manitoba. And finally, it should also serve as a cautionary tale to other First Nations leaders who are considering hydroelectric development within their traditional land use area.

Much like the aurora borealis on that crisp November evening in 2003, it is difficult to see an end point with this proposed project. It keeps shifting, and will continue to loom large over the heads of the people of northern Manitoba for many years to come.

References

- Anderson, M. (1992). Large-scale projects and local people. In Y.G. Lithman et al. (Eds.), *People & Land in Northern Manitoba*. University of Manitoba Anthropology Papers 32. Winnipeg, MB.: Hignell Printing Ltd.
- Anderson, R.B. (1997). Corporate/indigenous partnerships in economic development: the First Nations in Canada. In *World Development*, J.L. Craswell (Ed.), 25 (9), pp. 1483-1503.
- Blakeslee, C.D. (1974). *Economic and social developments of remote communities and areas of poverty, 2nd draft*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba.
- Byrne, J. & Hoffman, S.M. (1996). The ideology of progress and the globalization of nuclear power. In John Byrne and Steven M. Hoffman (Eds.) *Governing the Atom: The Politics of Risk*, pp.10-46. Rutgers University: Transaction Press.
- Canada. (1996). Restructuring the relationship. *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, vol.2, part 2*. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada.
- Chodkiewicz, J.L. & Brown, J. (Eds.). (1999). *First Nations and hydroelectric development in northern Manitoba: the northern flood agreement: issues and implications*. Winnipeg: The Centre for Rupert's Land Studies at the University of Winnipeg.
- Compton, J. & Williams, K. (Reporters). (1991). *Hydro, the price of power* [Documentary]. Winnipeg: Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Program Development Fund Video Collection.

Craig, B. (2004, 23 February). [Panelist]. University of Winnipeg conference, "*Old Relationships or New Partnerships: Hydro Development on Aboriginal Land in Quebec and Manitoba.*"

Dickson, I.W. (1974, December). Hydroelectric development on the Nelson River system in northern Manitoba. In the Canadian Association in Support of Native Peoples Bulletin, 15 (3), pp. 9-16.

Duboff, C. (2001). *Unpublished thesis draft*. Winnipeg: Natural Resources Institute, University of Manitoba.

Energy Justice Alliance. (2003, 13 October). *Energy Justice campaign launch today* [press release].

Federal Court of Canada. (2003). *Primrose v. Spence*. Last retrieved October 19, 2003 from <http://decisions.fct-cf.gc.ca/fct/2003/2003fct464.shtml>

Forbes, D. (1999, 19 May). [Presentation]. Facilitating partnerships in Aboriginal economic development through effective advocacy. In *Canadian Bar Association (Ontario), Continuing Legal Education*. Toronto.

Gillham, B. (2000). *The research interview*. New York: Continuum.

Government of Ontario. (2002). *Partnership Development Resource Kit*. Last retrieved September 6, 2004 from http://www.aboriginalbusiness.on.ca/resource_kit

Grainger, D.M. (1979). *Nelson House, Manitoba: an ethnodemographic history*. Unpublished MA thesis. Winnipeg: Faculty of Graduate Studies, University of Manitoba.

- Grant, H.M. (1994). *Resource rents from Aboriginal lands in Canada*. Winnipeg: Department of Economics, University of Winnipeg.
- Gregoire, P. (2004, 23 February). [Panelist]. University of Winnipeg conference "*Old Relationships or New Partnerships: Hydro Development on Aboriginal Lands in Quebec and Manitoba.*"
- Guy, R. (1987). *Social research methods: puzzles and solutions*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Hart, E. (1995). *Getting started on oral traditions research*. Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre. Northwest Territories: Government of the Northwest Territories. Last retrieved 15 November, 2002 from <http://pwnhc.learnnet.nt.ca/ressec/otrman1.htm>
- Harvey, M.O. (1992). *Technical report #2: comparison of the industrial economy and the traditional economy in northern Manitoba*. Thompson, Mb.: Northern Manitoba Economic Development Commission.
- Henley, T. (1992). *Northern Manitoba: a benchmark report*. Thompson, Mb.: Northern Manitoba Economic Development Commission.
- Hiebert, S. (2004). *NCN otinawasuwuk (receivers of children): taking control of birth in Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation*. Unpublished PhD. thesis. Winnipeg: Faculty of Graduate Studies, University of Manitoba.
- Hoffman, S.M. (2004). *Engineering poverty: colonialism and hydroelectric development in northern Manitoba*. Last retrieved December 23, 2004 from <http://www.justenergy.org/news/0204hoffman.pdf>

- Indian and Northern Affairs Canada. (2003). *Eagle Feather: Celebrating First Nation Achievers in Manitoba*. Volume two, issue one, Spring 2003. Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada.
- Indian and Northern Affairs Canada. (2004). Last retrieved November 24, 2004 from http://sdiprod2.inac.gc.ca/FNProfiles/FNProfiles_PrintForm.asp?BAND_NUMBER=313&BAND_NAME=Nisichawayasihk+Cree+Nation&ES=CUS&Q=5
- Jacobs, G. (Ed.) (1970). *The participant observer*. New York: George Braziller.
- Jamieson, R. (1994). Partnering with Aboriginal people: a business imperative. In *Canadian Speeches: Issues of the day*. May 1994. p.25-28.
- Kulchyksi, P. (2004a). *Manitoba Hydro: how to build a legacy of hatred*. Last retrieved November 26, 2004 from http://www.canadiandimension.mb.ca/v38/v38_3pk.htm
- Kulchyski, P. (2004b, 12 March 2004). *Treaty Rights and Land Use Planning*. Paper presented at a symposium organized by the Faculty of Environment, Winnipeg, Manitoba.
- Langford, J. (2002). Managing Public-private Partnerships in Canada. In *New Players, Partners and Processes: A Public Sector Without Boundaries?* M. Edwards and J. Langford (Eds.). Canberra, Australia: National Institute for Governance.
- Linklater, E. (1997). Archaeology, historical landscapes and the Nelson House Cree. *Manitoba Archaeological Journal*, 7, pp.1-44.
- Loizides, S. & Greenall, D. (2001). *Creating value through corporate-Aboriginal economic relationships*. The Conference Board of Canada: 332-01 Report.

- Lowery, B. (1974, December). Hydro and Manitoba's Indians: a new approach is needed. In the *Canadian Association in Support of Native Peoples Bulletin*, 15 (3), pp.21-22.
- MacDonald, J. (1993). Land of the north wind: chapter two. In G. Shilliday (Ed.), *Manitoba 125: a history – Rupert's Land to Riel, Vol 1*. Winnipeg: Great Plains Publications, Ltd.
- Mandelbaum, D.G. (1979). *The Plains Cree*. Regina: University of Regina.
- Manitoba Clean Environment Commission. (2004, September). *Report on public hearings: Wuskwatim generation and transmission projects*. Winnipeg: Manitoba Clean Environment Commission.
- Manitoba Hydro. (2004). Last retrieved 10 October, 2004 from <http://www.hydro.mb.ca>
- Manitoba Hydro. (1999). *The hydro province* [map]. Winnipeg: Manitoba Hydro Public Affairs.
- Manitoba Hydro. (1998). *A history of electric power in Manitoba*. Winnipeg, MB: Manitoba Hydro Public Affairs.
- Manitoba Hydro and Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation. (2003, October). *Summary of Understandings*. Winnipeg: Manitoba Hydro Public Affairs.
- Manitoba Hydro and Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation. (2002, 13 June). *Proposed Wuskwatim generating station and associated transmission facilities: storyboards from the round two public open house in Thompson*. Winnipeg: Manitoba Hydro Power Planning and Development.
- Manitoba Water Power. (2002). Last retrieved October 16, 2003 from http://www.manitobawaterpower.com/manitoba_hydro_overview.html

- Martin, T. (2004, 23 February). [Panelist]. University of Winnipeg conference, "*Old Relationships or New Partnerships: Hydro Development on Aboriginal Land in Quebec and Manitoba.*"
- May, T. (1997). *Social research: issues, methods and process: 2nd Ed.* Philadelphia: Open University Press.
- McRitchie, W.D. (1971). *Preliminary geological investigations of the Nelson House-Pukatawagan region, Manitoba (Burntwood Project).* Winnipeg: Manitoba Department of Mines and Natural Resources.
- Miller, J.R. (1997). Canada and the Aboriginal peoples: 1867-1927. In N. McMahon and D. Lacasse (Eds.), *Canadian Historical Association Historical Booklet No. 57.* Ottawa: The Canadian Historical Association.
- Miswagon, J. (2000, 15 April). *Only beavers should build dams.* Presented at the Environmental Justice and Energy Policy in the Upper Midwest Conference University of St. Thomas, Minnesota.
- Mochoruk, J. (1994). Dream of expansion: chapter 6. In G. Shilliday (Ed.), *Manitoba 125: a history – Gateway to the West, Vol. 2.* Winnipeg: Great Plains Publications, Ltd.
- Murphy, E. (2003, 14 January). *Memorandum re: review of Summary of Understandings between NCN and Manitoba Hydro regarding the Wuskwatim Power Limited Partnerships.* Victoria, B.C.: author.
- Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation. (2004a). Last retrieved December 1, 2004 from <http://www.ncncree.com/history.html>

Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation. (2004b). Last retrieved December 10, 2004 from <http://www.ncncree.com/people.html>

Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation. (2004c). Last retrieved December 12, 2004 from <http://www.ncncree.com/economy.html>

Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation. (2004d). Last retrieved December 5, 2004 from <http://www.ncncree.com/vision.html>

Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation. (2004). *Special report 2004*. Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation: Future Development Office:

Nickels, B. (1996). *The perceived factors affecting the survival of traditional moose skin preparation procedures by the Nelson House Rocky Cree*. Unpublished MA thesis. Winnipeg: Faculty of Graduate Studies, University of Manitoba.

Northern Flood Committee. (2003). *Northern Flood Agreement: 25 years after the historic signing and ratification*. Norway House, Mb.

Office of the Chief Researcher. (2002). *Partnership working: key issues around evaluation*. Last retrieved September 6, 2004 from <http://www.Scotland.gov.uk/library5/Europe/pwkiae.pdf>

Pannekoek, F. (1987). The fur trade and western Canadian society: 1670-1870. In T. Cook & G. Blais (Eds.), *The Canadian Historical Association Historical Booklet No. 43*. Ottawa: The Canadian Historical Association.

Primrose, J. (2004, 1 March). Opening presentation by Chief Jerry Primrose to the Manitoba Clean Environment Commission hearings at the Radisson Hotel in Winnipeg, Mb.

- Prystupa, M. (Reporter). (2004, 25-27 November). *The price of power* [documentary].
Winnipeg: CBC Manitoba.
- Reeves, B.O.K. & Kennedy, M.A. (Eds.). (1993). *Kunaitupii: coming together on
native sacred sites: their sacredness, conservation & interpretation*. Alberta:
Archaeological Society of Alberta.
- Regional Economic Expansion. (1977). *Manitoba's changing northland: options and
opportunities for development*. Ottawa: Government of Canada.
- Rheume, G. (1994, Summer). A new spirit of partnership: an interview with Eric P.
Newell, Chairman, President and CEO, Syncrude Canada Ltd. In *Canadian
Business Review*, 21, 2, pp.6-11.
- Riffel, J.A. & Sealey, D.B. (1984). *Education in Nelson House: a report for community
discussion*.
- Sawatsky, H. (2004). *Partnership Communication for Promoting Sustainable Forest
Management: The Canadian Model Forest Experience*. Unpublished MNRM
thesis. Winnipeg: Faculty of Graduate Studies, University of Manitoba.
- Smith, J. (1981). Western woods Cree. In J. Helm (Ed.), *Handbook of North American
Indians: Subarctic*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution.
- Smyth, J.E., Soberman, D.A. & Easson, A.J. (2001). *The law and business
administration in Canada, 9th edition*. Toronto: Prentice Hall.
- Social and Economic Impact Study Team. (1974). *Nelson House community profile*.
Winnipeg.

- Sullivan, D. (2004, 23 February). [Panelist]. University of Winnipeg conference “*Old Relationships or New Partnerships: Hydro Development on Aboriginal Lands in Quebec and Manitoba.*”
- Thomas, W.E. & Adams, K. (2004, March – June). [Presentations] *Clean Environment Commission Hearings*. Winnipeg, Mb..
- Thomas, W.E. & Kustra, R. (2003, 12 November). *Power partnerships*. Paper presented at the Inter-Universities North conference, Thompson, Mb.
- Tough, F. (1996). *As their natural resources fail: Native peoples and the economic history of northern Manitoba, 1870-1930*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- United Nations Development Fund. (1999, December). Buzz, or substance? In *Cooperation South*, n.2, p.4. New York: United Nations Development Program Special Unit for TCDC.
- Waldram, J. (1993). *As long as the rivers run: hydroelectric development and Native communities in western Canada*. Winnipeg: The University of Manitoba Press.
- Waldram, J.B. (1988, Spring). Native people and hydroelectric development in northern Manitoba, 1957-1987: the promise and the reality. In M. Morris (Ed.), *Manitoba History*, pp. unknown. Winnipeg: Manitoba Historical Society.
- Waldram, J.B. (1984). Hydroelectric development and the process of negotiation in northern Manitoba, 1960-1977. In S. Corrigan (Ed.), *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, 4 (2), pp. 205-239. Brandon: Society for the Advancement of Native Studies.
- Weaver, S. (1981). *Making Canadian Indian policy: the hidden agenda 1968-1970*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Woodford, J. (1974, December). One more river. In the *Canadian Association in Support of Native Peoples Bulletin*, 15 (3), p.3. Ottawa.

Zaslow, M. (1984). The Northwest Territories: 1905-1980. In T. Cook (Ed.), *The Canadian Historical Association Historical Booklet No. 38*. Ottawa: The Canadian Historical Association.

Personal Communications

- Anonymous. (2003a, 11 November). Aboriginal man from Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation. Interview conducted in NCN.
- Anonymous. (2003b, 11 November). Aboriginal woman from Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation. Interview conducted in NCN.
- Anonymous. (2003c, 12 November). Aboriginal man originally from Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation. Interview conducted in Thompson, Mb.
- Hart, Rev. N. (2003, 16 September). Aboriginal man and United Church Minister in Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation.
- Henley, T. (2002, 26 September). Professor at the Natural Resources Institute, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Mb.
- Henley, T. (2005, January 14). Professor at the Natural Resources Institute, University of Manitoba.
- Kobliski, C. (2003, 17 November). Aboriginal woman from Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation, and spokesperson for Nelson House Justice Seekers (Energy Justice Alliance).
- Kobliski, C. (2004, 18 December). Aboriginal woman from Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation, and spokesperson for Nelson House Justice Seekers.
- Kustra, R. (2004, 9 January). Mr. Kustra is a Senior Environmental Specialist with Manitoba Hydro and has participated in the Wuskwatim discussions since 1997.

Linklater, N. (2003, July-November). Mr. Norman Linklater is a Co-Manager of Future Development (Environmental) for the Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation.

Moore, J. (2003, 17 November). Aboriginal man and member of Nelson House Justice Seekers (Energy Justice Alliance).

Thomas, W.E. (2004, 16 July). W.E. Thomas is a Councillor with Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation and holds the Future Development Portfolio.

Ray, M. (2004, 23 February). Ms. Ray is a lawyer with Woodward and Company, speaking on behalf of Eamon Murphy.

Sagamash, R. (2004, 23 February). Mr. Sagamash is an Aboriginal man involved with the Grand Council of Crees in Quebec.

Appendix 1

Partners in Resource Development: Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation, Manitoba Hydro and the Proposed Wuskwatim Hydroelectric Generating Station

Consent Form for: *Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation*

Principal Investigator

David Hultin, BA (Adv.), MA Candidate
University of Manitoba, Dept. of Native Studies, (204) 474-6268

Thesis Advisor: Dr. Wanda Wuttunee, Grad Chair, Dept. of Native Studies, (204) 474-6405

Purpose

The purpose of this study is to learn more about the proposed partnership between Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation and Manitoba Hydro concerning the proposed Wuskwatim Hydroelectric Generating Station. The study will focus on learning about the history of Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation (NCN) and what role it will play in future development.

Investigators' Statement

I am asking you to be in a research study that I am calling the "Partners in Resource Development: Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation, Manitoba Hydro and the Proposed Wuskwatim Project." The purpose of this consent form is to give you the information you will need to help you decide whether or not to be in the study. Please read the form carefully. Participants are encouraged at any time to ask questions about:

- the purpose of the research;
- possible risks and benefits;
- your rights as a participant; and
- anything else about the research or this form that is not clear.

When all your questions have been answered, you can decide if you want to be in the study or not. This process is called 'informed consent.' A copy of this form will be left with you for your records and reference.

Procedures

Residents of NCN

The researcher will meet you in Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation, in a location where you feel most comfortable answering questions. A typical location can be your home, or the band office. The interview will be in English or Cree [through the use of a translator] and

will take approximately 60 minutes and will consist of approximately 15-20 questions about length of time living in the community, attitudes towards past, present, and future hydro development, your expectations for what new hydro development may or may not bring, and knowledge about the proposed Wuskwatim Generating Station. Should a follow-up interview be required to elaborate or clarify information, the researcher will repeat the procedure. If the possibility exists that a meeting can be arranged in Thompson or Winnipeg, the researcher will work with the participant to schedule a time and location that is convenient for both parties.

Your participation is completely voluntary. You are free to skip any question you want. If you are under 18 years of age, you will need your parent or guardian's consent to be in the study.

Other Sources of Information

In addition to information gained through your participation in this study, the researcher will be using other sources of data to construct this thesis. This may include but is not limited to: personal interviews, historical records, internal reports (if available), publications and additional sources of information that the researcher feels is applicable.

Risk, Stress or Discomfort

The principal investigator does not envision that participating in this research project will involve a substantial degree of risk, stress or discomfort. If you don't want to answer a question during the interview, you do not have to.

Recording Device

All of the information you provide is completely confidential. It is your choice if you would like to be identified by name or pseudonym in the research.

The principal investigator will be taping your interview to ensure the accuracy of information. Only the researcher will have access to the interview and the information you share will not be made available to anyone else. If you feel more at ease, you can request that the interview not be tape-recorded. The principal investigator does retain the right however, to make notes about the conversation.

If translation services are required during the interviews, a translator will be asked to sign a confidentiality form in the presence of the researcher and participant.

Only the principal investigator will be privy to your information. No other individuals will be able to listen to the interviews or read any of the notes made by the researcher. Once the thesis is complete, all information will be destroyed.

Participant Feedback

The community will be given the opportunity to learn about the research findings once the principal investigator has prepared a draft of his thesis. The researcher will also work with the community to resolve any disputes that may arise in the course of the research process over information provided by the community that is contained in the draft of the thesis. Final editorial decisions regarding the contents of the thesis rest with the researcher.

Remuneration

Participants from NCN will not be remunerated for taking part in this study. The researcher will consult with the community to determine what is the best method to express thanks to the Elders for their participation.

*This research has been approved by the University of Manitoba Ft. Garry Campus Human
Subject Research Joint Faculty Research Ethics Board (JFREB).
Protocol #J2003:145*

University of Manitoba Office of Research Services
Human Ethics Secretariat
244 Engineering Bldg.
(204) 474-7122
margaret_bowman@umanitoba.ca.

Researcher's Statement:

This is a thesis research project that relies on a blend of written and oral information surrounding the topic chosen by the researcher, David A. Hultin. An interview will be conducted with a person who has appropriate expertise/experience using questions that have been approved by the University of Manitoba and the thesis advisor, Dr. Wanda Wuttunee. The researcher will explain the thesis and the role of the participant in the research prior to the interview. The results will be tape-recorded and portions may be submitted as part of the oral defence and written portions of the thesis.

The researcher agrees to maintain confidentiality of all sensitive information, which is to be deleted from the final paper. No one will have access to this information. This information will not be used for any purpose, other than for this project as it is presently conceived, unless the participant agrees.

David Hultin, Principal Investigator

Date

Translator's Statement (if required):

The study described above and my role in it has been explained to me. I have been compensated for my time and efforts. I have had a chance to ask questions. I will not receive a copy of this consent form for my records and reference in order to maintain the confidentiality process. I understand that anything I have heard while working as a translator will not be repeated except to the principal researcher. I understand that I am not to speak with anyone about the interviews I have been a part of. Any notes I have made will be turned over to the principal researcher at the conclusion of the interview process.

Translator (Print and sign name)

Date

Summary:

As a participant in this investigation, I understand the following process will be followed:

- I understand that I need not answer every question or give information that I do not wish to.
- Recording devices may not be used without my agreement.
- I am free to withdraw from participating in the interview phase of this study at any time and I agree that the researcher has a similar right to terminate the interview process at any time.
- I agree to allow my name to be published in the project. Yes____ No____
- All identifying notes, recordings and photos any other materials will remain with the researcher until receiving the final grade for the thesis and then will be destroyed.
- Any complaint regarding procedure may be reported to 1) the University of Manitoba Office of Research Services, Human Ethics Secretariat (204) 474-7122 or 2) Dr. Wanda Wuttunee, Grad Chair, Dept. of Native Studies, (204) 474-6405.

Subject's Statement:

The study described above has been explained to me. I volunteer to take part in this research. I have had a chance to ask questions. I will receive a copy of this consent form for my records and reference. If I have questions later on about the research I can ask the investigator listed above. If I have questions about my rights as a research subject, concerns or complaints, I can call the **University of Manitoba Office of Research**

**Services, Human Ethics Secretariat (204) 474-7122, or email
margaret_bowman@umanitoba.ca.**

Signature of Participant (Print and sign name)

Date

Signature of Parent or Legal Guardian (Print and sign name)

Date

Appendix 2

Partners in Resource Development: Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation, Manitoba Hydro and the Proposed Wuskwatim Hydroelectric Generation Station

General Consent Form

Principal Investigator

David Hultin, BA (Adv.), Master of Arts (MA) candidate

Contact information: (Nov. 10-26, 2003)

Email:

Purpose and Benefits

The overall purpose of this research study is to learn more about the proposed partnership between Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation and Manitoba Hydro respecting the proposed Wuskwatim Hydroelectric Generating Station. The study will focus on discovering the history of Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation's (NCN) experiences with hydroelectric development and what role it hopes to play in the development of the proposed generating station.

Investigators' Statement

I am asking you to be in a research study that I am calling "Partners in Resource Development: Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation, Manitoba Hydro and the Proposed Wuskwatim Project." The purpose of this consent form is to give you the information you will need to help you decide whether or not to be in the study. Please read the form carefully. Participants are encouraged at any time to ask questions about: the purpose of the research; possible risks and benefits; your rights as a participant; and anything else about the research or this form that is not clear.

When all your questions have been answered, you can decide if you want to be in the study or not. This process is called 'informed consent.' A copy of this form will be left with you for your records and reference.

Procedures

The interview will last approximately an hour and will consist of 10-15 questions concentrating on new dam development, the proposed partnership, etc.

Your participation is completely voluntary. You are free to skip any question you want. If you are under 18 years of age, you will need your parent or guardian's consent to be in the study.

Other Sources of Information

In addition to information gained through your participation in this study, the researcher will be using other data sources. This may include but is not limited to: personal interviews, historical records, internal reports (if available), publications and additional sources of information that the researcher feels is applicable.

Risk, Stress or Discomfort

The principal investigator does not envision that participating in this research project will involve a substantial degree of risk, stress or discomfort. If you don't want to answer a question during the interview, you do not have to.

Recording Device

All of the information you provide is completely confidential. It is your choice if you would like to be identified by name or pseudonym in the research.

The principal investigator will be taping your interview to ensure the accuracy of information. Only the researcher will have access to the interview and the information you share will not be made available to anyone else. If you feel more at ease, you can request that the interview not be tape-recorded. The principal investigator does retain the right however, to make notes about the conversation.

Only the principal investigator will be privy to your information. No other individuals will be able to listen to the interviews or read any of the notes made by the researcher. Once the thesis is complete, all information will be destroyed.

Participant Feedback

The participant will be given the opportunity to learn about the research findings once the principal investigator has prepared a draft of his thesis. The researcher will work with the participant to resolve any disputes that may arise in the course of the research process over information provided by the participant that is contained in the draft of the thesis. Final editorial decisions regarding the contents of the thesis rest with the researcher.

Remuneration

Participants will not be remunerated for taking part in this study.

*This research has been approved by the University of Manitoba Ft. Garry Campus Human
Subject Research Joint Faculty REB.*

Protocol #J2003: 145

University of Manitoba Office of Research Services

Human Ethics Secretariat

244 Engineering Bldg.

(204) 474-7122

margaret_bowman@umanitoba.ca.

Researcher's Statement:

This is a thesis research project that relies on a blend of written and oral information surrounding the topic chosen by the researcher, David Hultin. An interview will be conducted with a person who has appropriate expertise/experience using questions that have been approved by the University of Manitoba and the thesis advisor, Dr. Wanda Wuttunee. The researcher will explain the thesis and the role of the participant in the research prior to the interview. The results will be tape-recorded and portions may be submitted as part of the oral defence and written portions of the thesis. The researcher agrees to maintain confidentiality of all sensitive information. No one will have access to this information. This information will not be used for any purpose, other than for this project as it is presently conceived, unless the participant agrees.

David Hultin, Principal Investigator

Date

Translator's Statement (if required):

The study described above and my role in it has been explained to me. I have been compensated for my time and efforts. I have had a chance to ask questions. I will not receive a copy of this consent form for my records and reference in order to maintain the confidentiality process. I understand that anything I have heard while working as a translator will not be repeated except to the principal researcher. I understand that I am not to speak with anyone about the interviews I have been a part of. Any notes I have made will be turned over to the principal researcher at the conclusion of the interview process.

Translator (Print and sign name)

Date

Summary:

As a participant in this investigation, I understand the following process will be followed:

- I understand that I need not answer every question or give information that I do not wish to.
- Recording devices may not be used without my agreement.
- I am free to withdraw from participating in the interview phase of this study at any time and I agree that the researcher has a similar right to terminate the interview process at any time.
- I agree to allow my name to be published in the project. Yes____ No____
- All identifying notes, recordings and photos any other materials will remain with the researcher until receiving the final grade for the thesis and then will be destroyed.
- Any complaint regarding procedure may be reported to **1) the University of Manitoba Office of Research Services, Human Ethics Secretariat (204) 474-7122 or 2) Dr. Wanda Wuttunee, Grad Chair, Dept. of Native Studies, (204) 474-6405.**

Subject's Statement:

The study described above has been explained to me. I volunteer to take part in this research. I have had a chance to ask questions. I will receive a copy of this consent form for my records and reference. If I have questions later on about the research I can ask the investigator listed above. If I have questions about my rights as a research subject, concerns or complaints, I can call the **University of Manitoba Office of Research Services, Human Ethics Secretariat (204) 474-7122, or email margaret_bowman@umanitoba.ca.**

Signature of Participant (Print and sign name)

Date