

“It’s in the Tough Times You See Who the Vulnerable People Really Are”:
The Perceived Health Influences of Hydroelectric Development Along the Lower
Churchill River Among NunatuKavut Adults in Labrador, Canada

by

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES	vii
ABSTRACT	viii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED	ix
GLOSSARY	x
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	xv
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 The development of the Lower Churchill River, NunatuKavut, and emotional health.....	4
1.2 Research Statement.....	9
1.3 Overview of Thesis.....	9
1.4 Why I am Interested in this Topic.....	10
1.5 Conclusion.....	12
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW	13
2.1 Understanding Aboriginal Health.....	13
2.1.1 Linking Self-Determination and Emotional Health.....	16
2.2 The Importance of Cultural Continuity for Emotional Health.....	18
2.3 The Colonial Legacy of Large-Scale Development in Indigenous communities in Canada.....	21
2.3.1 Examples Demonstrating the Importance of Consultations with Aboriginal Communities.....	23
2.4 NunatuKavut: History, Politics, and Resource Development.....	27

2.4.1 NunatuKavut: History to present day.....	28
2.5 The Lower Churchill River development and the on-going legacy of colonization.....	32
2.6 What Happens when Aboriginal Communities/Groups are able to be Self-determining?.....	42
2.7 Conclusion.....	45
CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY AND METHODS.....	46
3.1 Research Objectives.....	46
3.2 Situating Myself.....	46
3.3 Methodology.....	49
3.3.1 Two-Eyed Seeing.....	51
3.3.2 Indigenous Perspective.....	53
3.3.3 Western Perspective.....	54
3.4 Methods.....	56
3.4.1 Data Collection.....	56
3.4.2 Study Location.....	57
3.4.3 Criteria for inclusion in the study.....	58
3.4.4 Participant Recruitment.....	59
3.4.5 Informed Consent Process.....	60
3.4.6 Ethical Considerations.....	61
3.4.7 Interview Guide.....	64
3.4.8 Data Management.....	65
3.4.9 Data Analysis.....	66

3.4.10 Strategies for Reviewing Findings.....	68
3.4.11 Knowledge Dissemination and Translation.....	69
3.4.12 Limitations of the Study.....	70
3.6 Conclusion.....	71
CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS.....	72
4.1 Theme 1: “There is something really important and significant about being outside, being on the land, just being by the water. It clears your mind if you let it”: The connection between the natural world, culture, social relationships, and emotional health.....	72
4.2 Theme 2: “You are poisoning your people downstream”: Concern about the changes to the land and community, and loss of resources.....	75
4.2.1 Fear and concern about environmental changes.....	77
4.2.2 Environmental and socio-economic changes: Concerns about impacts on social relationships.....	83
4.3 Theme 3: “If there’s a road going to get paved, it ain’t going to get paved in Labrador”: Neocolonialism with respect to the overall development of the Lower Churchill River.....	89
4.4 Theme 4: “I have friends in this community that I’ve been friends with for all of my life, and they are afraid to be seen speaking to me”: The tensions and challenges of the Lower Churchill development and social relationships.....	95
4.5 Conclusion.....	109
CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION.....	111
5.1 Emotional Health.....	112

5.2	Changes to the physical and social environments.....	114
5.3	Hopelessness resulting from neocolonialism and environmental development.....	117
5.4	Community tensions and strained social relationships	119
5.5	Suggestions for moving forward.....	122
5.6	Ideas for Future Research.....	123
5.7	Concluding Remarks.....	125
	REFERENCES.....	127
	APPENDIX A: NUNATUKAVUT LETTER OF SUPPORT.....	137
	APPENDIX B: RECRUITMENT POSTER.....	138
	APPENDIX C: INFORMATION ABOUT PROJECT TO BE GIVEN TO POTENTIAL PARTICIPANTS BY NUNATUKAVUT COMMUNITY COUNCIL REPRESENTATIVES.....	139
	APPENDIX D: TELEPHONE SCRIPT.....	140
	APPENDIX E: EMAIL/LETTER TO BE SENT TO POTENTIAL PARTICIPANTS.....	141
	APPENDIX F: ORAL CONSENT FORM.....	142
	APPENDIX G: TCPS 2 CORE CERTIFICATE.....	145
	APPENDIX H: INTERVIEW GUIDE.....	146
	APPENDIX I: POST-INTERVIEW CONTACT.....	149
	APPENDIX J: SUMMARY OF THEMES.....	150
	APPENDIX K: CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT FOR MEMBERS OF RESEARCH COMMITTEE.....	152

APPENDIX L: LABRADORIAN NEWSPAPER ARTICLE ON MY RESEARCH.....153

APPENDIX M: LETTER OF APPROVAL FROM NUNATUKAVUT COMMUNITY COUNCIL RESEARCH ADVISORY COMMITTEE.....155

APPENDIX N: DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY RESEARCH ETHICS LETTER OF APPROVAL.....156

APPENDIX O: NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR HEALTH RESEARCH ETHICS BOARD APPROVAL LETTER.....157

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2.1	Map of Newfoundland and Labrador: This figure shows the Muskrat Falls and Gull Island Rapids facilities and the proposed energy transmission link to the Atlantic provinces (Nalcor Energy, 2014). The star added to this map shows the location of Happy Valley- Goose Bay.....	37
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Abstract

Many Indigenous people around the world have a strong connection to the natural environment, which is, in turn, connected with their health and well being. This connection, which can be thought of as spiritual or personal in nature, moves beyond the connection that all people have with the natural world (i.e., we need a healthy environment to have healthy people). The connection Indigenous peoples have with the land is special in that the natural world is how they enact everything related to their culture- this is how they access culturally relevant food, medicine, housing, clothing, among other necessities. Beyond the physical health effects of contamination and pollution, damage to the natural world can influence the overall social, emotional and spiritual health of Aboriginal peoples. Hydroelectric development of the Lower Churchill River in Labrador has stirred controversy for the residents of this area, including the Inuit of south and central Labrador, who are politically represented by the NunatuKavut Community Council. Concerns about this development have centered around changes to the natural world, as well as what is perceived to be a lack of meaningful consultation with NunatuKavut members during the environmental assessment process. Previous research has indicated that these types of developments can influence Aboriginal peoples' health, through the physical changes to the environment. Given that Indigenous definitions of health are often holistic in their approach, the physical changes to the environment may influence culturally relevant land use as well, which may influence emotional health (SHRG, 2004).

This study explores the influence of hydroelectric development along the Lower Churchill River on emotional health and social relationships, and how changes to these social relationships may influence the emotional health of NunatuKavut adults. This study involved qualitative interviews with 10 adult members of NunatuKavut. Critical lens theory, narrative inquiry, and principles of Two Eyed Seeing informed all elements of this study. Data were coded by hand and analyzed for major themes and sub-themes.

From these data, it was found that participants view emotional health as being connected to culture and the natural world largely through social relationships, and that having healthy physical and social environments are key to protecting Inuit culture. Four themes have emerged from this data: 1) the connection between the natural world, culture, social relationships, and emotional health; 2) concern about the changes to the land and community and loss of resources; 3) lack of voice and power with respect to the overall development of the Lower Churchill River; and 4) the tensions and challenges of the Lower Churchill development and social relationships.

The knowledge generated from this study will inform the academic community on perceptions that Inuit have about how the Lower Churchill development will influence their emotional health and social relationships. It will also provide NunatuKavut leaders and members with critical and timely information about how its community members perceive the development as impacting their emotional health.

List of Abbreviations Used

CURA	Community-University Research Alliance
CBC	Canadian Broadcasting Corporation
CBPR	Community-Based Participatory Research
CIHR	Canadian Institutes of Health Research
ITK	Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NCC	NunatuKavut Community Council
NSERC	Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council of Canada
SHRG	Social Health Reference Group
SSHRC	Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada
TCPS-2	Tri Council Policy Statement 2
UN	United Nations
USB	Universal Serial Bus

Glossary

Indigenous/Aboriginal

There are many terms used to identify the diverse populations of Indigenous peoples around the world. Indigenous is a term that is currently most accepted internationally, as it refers to peoples who claim they are the original inhabitants of a land (Douglas, 2013). The term Aboriginal is often used to refer to Indigenous peoples of Canada, which includes First Nations, Inuit and Métis (Martin, 2009; Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996). For this study, the term Indigenous will be used to discuss international populations of people collectively who identify as being the original inhabitants of a land, and the term Aboriginal will be used to discuss Indigenous peoples within Canada, including the members of NunatuKavut.

First Nations, Inuit, Métis

There are many distinct cultures, languages and practices among Aboriginal peoples of Canada that are meant to be captured by the three overarching terms – First Nations, Inuit and Métis – that are used to describe the diverse history and peoples within this population (Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, 1996; Douglas, 2013). First Nations is a term used to describe Aboriginal people who are generally south of the Arctic, and in Canada there are “status” and “non-status” First Nations people (Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development). Métis people are generally from a

mixed First Nations and European (often French) descent, and historically this population resided in western Canada (Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development). The Inuit predominantly live in the Arctic regions of Canada, and are more closely related to Indigenous people of other circumpolar lands, such as in Russia and Greenland, than to First Nations people of southern Canada (Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development; Douglas).

For this study, the term Inuit is being used to describe the people of NunatuKavut who live south of the Arctic Circle, and are not part of the national Inuit organization, Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK). The term Inuit will also be used to speak about other groups of Inuit people in Canada and elsewhere in the world. There has been a recent movement in academia to refer to Aboriginal peoples in Canada as Indigenous, however representatives of the NunatuKavut Community Council, who have served in an advisory capacity in relation to this study, have indicated that they prefer the term ‘Aboriginal’. This is largely due to the confusion resulting from the many terms that have been used over the years to refer to this population such as Labrador Metis, Labrador Inuit-Metis, Inuit of NunatuKavut, and Aboriginal (NunatuKavut, 2010b). NunatuKavut was known as the Labrador Metis Nation until 2010, when its name was changed to NunatuKavut. For this study, members of NunatuKavut will be identified as Inuit, but recognizes that some members prefer the term Inuit-Metis, or Labrador Metis.

Mental/emotional health

Within non-Aboriginal research and thinking, the term mental health may be thought to encompass emotional health with very little distinction between the two, although this is not always the case. For the purpose of this study, mental health and emotional health are being defined separately. Mental health is delineated as the ability to think and analyze situations clearly. One definition of **emotional health** involves an individual having appropriate emotional reactions to life events, however this Euro-Western definition of this concept focuses on the well being of an individual rather than examining the context in which the individual lives (Donatelle, Munroe, & Thompson, 2007). Other aspects of emotional health have been identified for Indigenous populations, such as Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in Australia. The Social Health Reference Group (SHRG, 2004) for the National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Health Council and National Mental Health Working Group in Australia illustrate the differences between the separate concepts of mental health, and social and emotional health. They argue that mental health is defined as coming from illness or having a clinical context, and often focuses on individual health, while social and emotional health is a broader concept that takes connection to the land, culture, ancestry, family and community into consideration when looking at the health of an individual (Donatelle, Munroe, & Thompson; SHRG). This study uses the latter definition as it reflects a holistic approach to defining health, and reflects the definitions of emotional health that participants expressed during their interviews (See Chapter Four).

While the terms ‘mental health’ and ‘emotional health’ are closely linked to one another and both influence overall health and well being, this proposed study will focus on the how the changing environment in Labrador will influence emotional health, and social relationships. Even though the focus of this research is on emotional health, I reference studies throughout this thesis that refer to both mental and emotional health, and some studies that only discuss ‘mental health’ if their definition of mental health fits the definition of ‘emotional health’ in this thesis.

Social relationships

The term **social relationships** will be used to refer to social interactions at both the individual and community levels, taking into consideration the influence of social, economic, political, and environmental factors on social relations. An example of an individual social relationship would be between two members of the community, and a community level relationship would be between one person and a whole community, or between different communities.

Social relationships are defined as dimensions of social interaction at the individual, community and societal levels (House, Landis, & Umberson, 1988). Definitions of social relationships may vary from study to study, however these elements are common in most definitions found in both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal research. Emotional health is more difficult to define, as it often changes based on what a particular study is examining and can change from population to population (Diener, Oishi, & Lucas, 2003).

Elder/Older Adult

Within NunatuKavut, an elder is defined in their governance policies as “a person who is respected by the community, typically older in age, knowledgeable of the traditional culture and practices, follows wise practices” (NunatuKavut, 2010a). In this research, I did not ask participants if they were considered elders, and therefore participants are not referred to as elders in the findings of this research. Instead, the attribution of quotes in the findings of this research includes either ‘Adult’ (someone who is between the ages of 18 and 55) or ‘Older Adult’ (someone over the age of 55). Additional supports and resources are often available to people aged 55 or older in Labrador, and thus this age is used in this thesis as a way to differentiate between ‘adults and ‘older adults’.

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Chapter One: Introduction

Many Indigenous people around the world have a strong connection to the natural environment, and this connection to the natural world has been demonstrated to influence health and well being (Richmond & Ross, 2009). This connection, which can be described as spiritual, emotional, physical, social and/or cultural, often forms the very basis for Indigenous peoples' identities, and indeed, the importance of lands and waters for Indigenous identity can be highlighted by the fact that many Indigenous peoples introduce themselves by acknowledging the lands and waters from which they come. The connection Indigenous peoples have with the land and water is special in that the natural world is how they enact everything related to their culture- for some, this is how they access culturally relevant food, medicine, housing, clothing, among other necessities. For others, it is where their languages are derived, where their creation stories emerge and where their ancestral lineages run deep. And for others, it is all of these things.

For Inuit of NunatuKavut, similar to Indigenous peoples globally, their identity as Aboriginal people is shaped by their local, natural world, which is located in south and central Labrador, Canada (NunatuKavut, 2010b). An important element of expressing and maintaining Aboriginal identity for many Aboriginal peoples requires maintaining an intimate engagement with the natural world. This intimate engagement may be expressed through traditional activities, such as hunting, fishing, trapping, and berry picking. An important element of these activities is the social interactions that accompany them, as most people do not engage in these activities alone. Bonds are formed amongst individuals, families and communities through engaging in cultural and traditional

activities together, and these social relationships and how they are enacted, also assist with expressions of culture (Gracey & King, 2009).

In the Aboriginal health research literature, social relationships have been shown to be important for emotional health and well being (Gracey & King). It is also demonstrated that disruptions to one's social relationships can be deleterious to one's health (Chandler and LaLonde, 2008). Throughout Canada and around the world, Indigenous ways of life are being threatened through various types of colonization, which, at its very core, strips Indigenous peoples of their cultural identities by undermining, ignoring and/or intentionally portraying Indigenous people and cultures as inferior to a supposed superior, and more dominant, Euro-Western ideal. This has happened in North American since European settlers arrived, where European settlers claimed and developed land that they did not have the right to develop without input from the other members of the treaties.

Until recently, colonization efforts were blatant and overt (having recently been labeled 'cultural genocide' by Canada's Chief Justice and by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015) and include horrific acts of forced resettlement of Aboriginal people and the forced removal of thousands of Aboriginal children from their homes and sent to residential schools. Today, the legacy of these efforts continues, but in different forms. We see significant underfunding and overrepresentation of Aboriginal children in Canada's foster care system; we see the unchecked violence and murder of Aboriginal women and girls; and we see the dispossession of Aboriginal lands and resources. It is this latter concern that is the focus of this thesis, as we continue to witness the development and destruction of

Aboriginal peoples traditional lands and territories, under the guise of economic development. This kind of environmental devastation is not new – there are far too many examples of these types of developments across Canada, and the hydroelectric development of the Lower Churchill River is but one more example. The development, which is being branded as a 'green' alternative for energy, will irreversibly destroy 126 square kilometres of traditional Inuit and Labrador Innu territory, lands and waters upon which they and ancestors have depended. Such developments, based in capitalist pursuit of economic gain, are happening at the expense of the health of the environment, and thus the health of people, both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal alike. The massive hydroelectric development project that is currently underway on the Lower Churchill River in Labrador is threatening the physical environment. Other researchers and community groups interested in looking at the environmental or other impacts of the Lower Churchill hydroelectric development. My thesis research seeks to understand the ways in which this may affect the ability for NunatuKavut people to engage with the natural world in culturally appropriate ways, and how this development may ultimately disrupt their social relationships, which are key factors in their emotional health.

This chapter will begin with an overview of the Lower Churchill River development, and the importance of these lands and waters for members of NunatuKavut. The potential that the Lower Churchill River development has to impact the social relationships of NunatuKavut people will then be explored. From there, I outline my research goals and provide an overview of my thesis. The chapter concludes with a personal statement on why I am interested in this research.

1.1 The Development of the Lower Churchill River, NunatuKavut, and emotional health

In the first quarter of 2013, construction began on the development of hydroelectric dams along the Lower Churchill River in Labrador – the first one to be constructed is at Muskrat Falls near Happy Valley-Goose Bay, Labrador; and the other will be at Gull Island Rapids, 100 km from Happy Valley-Goose Bay, Labrador. The upper portion of the river was developed for a hydroelectric dam in the 1970s impacting the lands and waters traditionally used by the Innu (Newfoundland and Labrador Department of Natural Resources, 2012). The Lower Churchill River development will cost approximately 6.4 billion dollars, and will generate a combined energy capacity of 3074 megawatts, with most of the energy coming from the Gull Island site at 2250 megawatts (Review Panel, 2011). The Gull Island Rapids facility alone would not only meet the remaining energy needs of the province (800 megawatts), but also allow for energy to be exported to other parts of North America (Review Panel). Most of the energy produced will eventually be transmitted via the Labrador-Island Transmission Link and the Maritime Link to other provinces in Canada, and to the United States (Review Panel). The development of each of the two hydroelectric facilities is predicted to flood surrounding areas: an area of 85 km² at the Gull Island facility; and 41 km² at the Muskrat Falls facility. Construction on the Muskrat Falls facility is currently underway and will be finished before the Gull Island facility (Review Panel).

As is required under Canada's Environmental Act, an environmental assessment process was undertaken prior to the development, which included consultations with

those who would be most affected by this large-scale development – specifically, consultation included Aboriginal groups in Labrador. One of the groups who was originally included in the consultation process was NunatuKavut. The land that the Muskrat Falls facility is proposed to flood, and the land that the electrical transmission lines will be constructed on is land that NunatuKavut has included in its land claim submission to the federal government, and its residents use for traditional and cultural activities such as hunting and fishing (Abouchar & Vince, 2012; Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 2013; CBC News, 2013; The Independent, 2013). Despite the established connection that NunatuKavut people have with these lands and waters, the federal government has yet to accept NunatuKavut’s land claim for negotiation.

Before the community consultations began, NunatuKavut formally pulled out of the consultation process. The president of NunatuKavut has said in media interviews that he and the NunatuKavut Community Council felt that the consultation process was not genuine, and that this resulted in NunatuKavut withdrawing from the process. The process was viewed as insincere as questions or concerns raised by NunatuKavut to the Provincial Government and the Canadian Environmental Assessment Agency were not addressed and NunatuKavut was not given enough time to review and comment on information that was sent from these agencies. NunatuKavut also proposed its own consultation protocol that could be followed for this process, which was rejected (NunatuKavut, 2013b). Due to these reasons, NunatuKavut was not involved in the community consultations that took place as a part of the environmental assessment, which has left the people of NunatuKavut unable to have a collective voice or influence on this development. The lack of meaningful consultation of NunatuKavut people, as

Aboriginal people, undermines and ignores the important relationship that they have with these lands and waters. Bjerregaard et al. (2004) suggest that such lack of meaningful engagement in the development of laws, policies and decisions that directly impact Aboriginal peoples can lead to negative health outcomes. One way in which this lack of consultation can influence health is through undermining self-determination. Self-determination is commonly defined as having control over one's life, and has been linked with mental health in research that has been done in Aboriginal communities in Canada in the past, showing that when communities are able to be self-determining, they have improved mental and emotional health outcomes (Chandler & LaLonde, 2008; Hirsch, 2011).

The lack of meaningful consultation for the hydroelectric development project is one way in which NunatuKavut has not had control over the resources that affect their people, and this has led some NunatuKavut members to protest this issue during the environmental assessments that took place in 2010, and since the development commencement was announced in 2012 (The Independent, 2013). The protests came to a head when eight NunatuKavut residents, including the president of the community council and community elders, were arrested for protesting at the Muskrat Falls site due to a court injunction that has since been discarded (CBC News, 2013b). Protests are often a last resort to have one's voice heard after all other means of effective negotiation have been exhausted. In the case of the Lower Churchill development and NunatuKavut, protesting offered a means to oppose what was felt by many to be a blatant disregard for the environment in favour of development, and allowed protestors to be active in having

their voices heard. This is related to self-determination as it meant community members were taking charge of their surroundings and speaking out together.

Protesting can have a positive impact on emotional health through the social aspect of having many people come together for a common cause, and also in increasing self-determination of a community or group of people. This lack of consultation is not unique to NunatuKavut- recently there has been increased mainstream media attention on Aboriginal people within Canada who are standing up for their rights as Aboriginal people to access the land they have traditionally used, and for environmental protection (Idle No More, 2012). Many Aboriginal people feel deeply connected to the natural world in ways that go beyond the physical relationship that we all have with the natural world in ways that go beyond physical relationships. Activities such as hunting or fishing are critical components of daily life and survival and as such have impacts on emotional and spiritual health. This connection is often described as being spiritual or personal in nature, and is thought to be a protective factor against negative mental and emotional health outcomes such as stress, depression, or suicide (Gracey & King, 2009; Chandler and LaLonde, 2008). Aboriginal groups or communities that are self-determining are in a better position to negotiate and have more input into political matters that influence their people, such as environmental developments, and are better able to protect the environment from harmful projects, and protect their people from the possible negative health effects such projects produce.

A healthy natural world is important for the health of NunatuKavut people as many people are still active on the land and consume traditional foods that would be affected by changes in the environment due to the hydroelectric development, such as

added toxins to the environment. The natural world also affects the way in which NunatuKavut people are able to connect with themselves spiritually by being on the land, and how they are able to develop strong social relationships with family and community members by engaging in traditional or cultural activities together. These activities are ways of practicing their culture, which has been shown to be a protective factor against negative mental and emotional health outcomes (Gracey & King, 2009; Chandler and LaLonde, 2008). Concern has been expressed from other Aboriginal groups involved in the consultations (the Nunatsiavut Inuit and the Innu) regarding the Lower Churchill development about the introduction of toxins such as methyl-mercury into the environment and the negative effects this will have on the food chain (Panel Review, 2011).

Aside from physical health of the environment and people, there are other ways in which this development is impacting health as well. The development of the Lower Churchill River is also affecting the social, political and economic environments. This hydroelectric development is a controversial topic in Labrador due to the uneven distribution of money it will introduce to the area and the environmental devastation that comes along with any major natural resource extraction or development project. Conflicting personal opinions on the development are likely to negatively affect interpersonal relationships of community members, and negatively impact individual and community emotional health.

1.2 Research statement

This research explores the influence that hydroelectric development along the Lower Churchill River may have on emotional health, and social relationships within the NunatuKavut community, and perceptions of NunatuKavut adults on how changes to these social relationships may be influencing their emotional health.

1.3 Overview of thesis

Chapter One of this thesis provides introduces background information on NunatuKavut, Aboriginal health, and the Lower Churchill development; the research statement; an overview of the entire thesis; along with a statement on why I am interested in this research and who I am. Chapter Two provides a review of literature relevant to this thesis topic and provides information on why this research is being done. I have used bodies of literature related to environmental development, Aboriginal health, health and self-determination, and the environment and health of Aboriginal peoples, while drawing on specific information and examples that are relevant to NunatuKavut and environmental development in Labrador. Chapter Three discusses the methods and methodology of this research. Qualitative interviews with ten NunatuKavut adults were analyzed using the principles of critical lens theory, narrative inquiry, and Two-Eyed Seeing. Chapter Four presents the findings of my research, organized into four main themes. The four themes in this chapter provide support for the connection between emotional health and the natural world. Each

theme describes how the Lower Churchill development is perceived as impacting NunatuKavut people through: 1) the connection between the natural world, culture, social relationships, and emotional health; 2) concern about the changes to the land and community and loss of resources; 3) lack of voice and power with respect to the overall development of the Lower Churchill River; and 4) the tensions and challenges of the Lower Churchill development and social relationships. Chapter Five then discusses these findings in relation to the literature available in this field, indicates implications of this study, recommendations that come from this research, and ideas for future research.

1.4 Why I am Interested in this Topic

I am a non-Indigenous person conducting research with an Aboriginal community. I have been interested in global health for my entire adult life and I have worked with Indigenous communities in other parts of the world (Ghana and Honduras). However, I did not have any experience in working with Indigenous people in Canada. I knew very little about Aboriginal history and the state of Aboriginal health, and knew that this was an area in which I wanted to increase my knowledge. While taking a class on Aboriginal Peoples' health and healing in the first semester of my Master's degree, I decided I wanted to do research with an Aboriginal community regarding environmental health, and my supervisor Dr. Debbie Martin suggested I look into NunatuKavut and the development of the Lower Churchill River. The more I learn about the history of resource extraction in Labrador and the impact on Aboriginal groups such as NunatuKavut, the

more connections I feel to this research and to this community in Labrador. I grew up on Cape Breton Island, a part of Nova Scotia. Many of the sentiments regarding the relationship between Labrador and the Island of Newfoundland expressed by participants in this study and by people I met while in Labrador collecting data mirror those I have heard at home regarding Cape Breton and its relationship to the mainland of Nova Scotia. Both Labrador and Cape Breton are resource rich and population poor, and provincial decisions often seem to neglect the needs of both places and their peoples in their respective provinces. The quote used as the title of this thesis, “It’s in the tough times you see who the vulnerable people really are”, speaks to the resiliency some NunatuKavut people (and other people from non-urban centers) feel they have when faced with true crises as a result of their ability to survive, live on/with the land, and to connect with one another. The Older Adult male participant from whom this quote was taken was speaking about what he has seen in the past when the market crashed and people working at white collar jobs were thrust into a new financial reality, when Aboriginal peoples like him who worked on/with the land were much less affected by the changes and were able to fend for themselves using traditional hunting and fishing, as they always had. Entering into this research, I knew the environment was a determinant of health, but I really did not understand the intricate ways in which the natural world impacts so much of health, especially for Indigenous communities. I have learned so much during this research and my Master’s degree, and look forward to taking the knowledge I have gained and using it in my future endeavors.

1.5 Conclusion

This study explores NunatuKavut members' perceptions of how the Lower Churchill development is impacting the social relationships and emotional health of themselves and their community. This chapter has provided a brief introduction to the main points of this thesis, as well as an overview of this work and my personal statement situating myself in this work. The following chapter examines the relevant literature surrounding this research including the connections between culture, emotional health, and self-determination, as well as an overview of the history of NunatuKavut and its health.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

This chapter will discuss the interconnectedness between people and the natural world, and the importance of this connection for expressing culture, and for the emotional health of individuals and communities. I will begin by drawing linkages between emotional health, culture, and self-determination (which includes having decision-making abilities regarding one's natural surroundings) (Hirsch, 2011). These concepts – self-determination, emotional health and culture —will be used as a lens to understand the Lower Churchill development as it relates to the people of NunatuKavut. This chapter will conclude with key examples that highlight the importance of self-determination for Aboriginal communities for the overall health and wellbeing of those communities (paying particular attention to the emotional health implications).

2.1 Understanding Aboriginal health

Significant health disparities exist between Aboriginal peoples and the general Canadian population (Bartlett, 2003; Martin, Valcour, Bull, Graham, Paul, & Wall, 2012), many of which can be more fully understood using a social determinants of health framework. A social determinants of health framework shows how social conditions that affect people's lives, such as education, income, environment, and aboriginal status influence health (World Health Organization, 2013). Since the 1950s, the World Health Organization has acknowledged the impact of social and political factors on health, but these factors continue to be largely ignored when organizations or governments work at

addressing illness or disease (World Health Organization). A social determinants of health framework is important because it allows us to understand health disparities from their social roots. This allows for discussions of ‘upstream’ (preventative, health promoting) measures to take place, such as policies, education, and health related social programs to be developed and implemented, rather than only having the reactive, ‘downstream’ (reactive to illness) treatment of health issues that we see in our illness centered model of biomedical health (World Health Organization, 2014).

Reading and Wien’s (2013) work on the Integrated Life Course and Social Determinants Model frames the social determinants of health within an Aboriginal context, recognizing the specific ways in which Aboriginal peoples experience the social determinants of health. In this model, determinants of health that affect Aboriginal people are organized into distal, intermediate, and proximal categories based on their direct or indirect relationship with the health of Aboriginal people (Reading & Wien). Although this model is developed specifically for the purposes of understanding the social determinants of health as they affect Aboriginal peoples, it is understood that such a model might describe other vulnerable populations as well. However, it is important to note that the specific experiences of colonialism, racism, systemic exclusion and marginalization are often experienced by Aboriginal peoples, thus warranting a model that specifically contextualizes the social determinants as they are experienced by Aboriginal peoples.

In Reading and Wien’s model, they refer to proximal, intermediate, and distal determinants that affect health. Proximal determinants of health include individual behaviors and choices that are made on a daily basis that directly influence one’s overall

health. These behaviours might include such things as hunting, fishing and other food-gathering activities, and engaging in social activities with others. For members of NunatuKavut and other people who live near the Lower Churchill River, these activities may be affected by the development (Review Panel, 2011). These determinants are more obvious in how they impact health than the distal and intermediate determinants, however the determinants in each of these categories all influence health and need to be considered throughout this research.

Intermediate determinants are factors that have a clear link to the specific community or population being discussed and influence the proximal determinants of health as they begin to situate specific health behaviors within a particular community and cultural context. In this case, the political context that has shaped the conversations happening about the Lower Churchill development for NunatuKavut, that is currently impacting the health of NunatuKavut people (Reading & Wien, 2013). Not only does politics impact health through environmental development, but also through (health related) policies/legislature, funding for health related programs and services, and other decisions that have either a direct or indirect impact on health (Reading & Wien).

Finally, distal determinants consist of factors that influence health, such as history and socioeconomic factors. Within the context of this present study, the colonial history of Labrador can be referred to as a distal determinant as it sets the context in which the community exists. These historical events are important because they shape how and why the development of the Lower Churchill River has occurred, as well as the involvement (or lack thereof) of NunatuKavut in the processes leading up to the approval of such a large-scale development on its (and Innu) traditional territory. Throughout this literature

review, the Life Course and Social Determinants Model is applied to draw linkages between the development of the Lower Churchill River, and the overall emotional health and wellbeing of NunatuKavut peoples.

2.1.1 Linking self-determination and emotional health

Self-determination has been defined as having control over resources that affect your life and being able to make decisions on topics that impact you (Hirsch, 2011; Richmond & Ross, 2009). Self-determination is an important concept for many Aboriginal communities because many are not able to be self-determining within the current political context, and struggle to have their existing rights recognized. For the purposes of this research, self-determination will be seen as one way in which Aboriginal communities are able to address the health impacts of the distal determinant of health, colonialism, as it allows Aboriginal communities to take back control over their governance and to make/inform decisions that impact their people. The importance of self-determination for overall health has also been highlighted by researchers who have examined environmental dispossession, which is the process through which Indigenous peoples' access to natural resources they have traditionally used is limited, often due to large-scale hydroelectric developments, resource extraction and other types of economic development activities (Richmond & Ross). In particular, Richmond and Ross discuss the link between environmental dispossession and self-determination through examples of physical displacement of Aboriginal peoples in Canada throughout history. In their study on the determinants of First Nations and Inuit health in Canada, Richmond and

Ross found that one of the most significant factors that influences stress for Aboriginal people is related to loss of land (Richmond & Ross). This stress can also be seen through losses resulting from the encroachment of the non-Indigenous world on Aboriginal communities, such as diets changing from traditional to non-Indigenous foods and limitations on hunting/fishing practices, all of which can be attributed to colonization (Richmond & Ross). If people do not have control over the natural resources that affect their life, they are not able to access culturally relevant foods, and participate in traditional activities on the land to acquire these foods, this, in turn, can affect health and wellbeing.

Loss of land (and water) may also occur when environmental contaminants pollute the natural world, such as when methyl-mercury enters the ecosystem contaminating traditional food sources (Bird, 2002; Brown, McPherson, Peterson, Newman, & Cranmer, 2012; Richmond & Ross, 2009). When contaminants are introduced into the environment, people are not able to hunt or collect foods and medicines from the land for human consumption, as the contaminants bioaccumulate moving up the food chain, which makes food from the land unsafe to eat. These examples of loss of land contribute to changes in culture for the people experiencing the loss, which is problematic as cultural continuity is a factor that is strongly related to having good emotional health (Gracey & King, 2009; Chandler and LaLonde, 2008).

It has been shown that communities who have strong ties to their culture and are able to engage in activities that are self-determining, have lower rates of suicide (an indicator of mental/emotional health), and that these health factors should be considered

when aiming to improve and protect the mental and emotional health of Aboriginal communities (Chandler and LaLonde, 2008).

2.2 The importance of cultural continuity for emotional health

Cultural continuity, an intermediate determinant of health, is the preservation of underlying core values that people who belong to a certain culture hold, in the face of a rapidly changing world (Chandler & LaLonde, 2008). In looking at the relationship between cultural continuity and mental/emotional health, it has been found that some Aboriginal communities within Canada are reported to have some of the highest rates of suicide in the world, and it has been suggested that this is related to differences in ways of thinking about and understanding mental health and suicide between Aboriginal and Non-Indigenous ways of knowing (Kirmayer, 1994). Many Aboriginal community members place a high value on social cohesion, which influences the way in which mental health and suicide are understood and should be treated. Social cohesion is defined as how willing members of a society are to work together for mutual benefit (Stanley, 2003). The biomedical healthcare system often treats suicide as an individual problem, whereas for many Aboriginal communities mental and emotional health are understood collectively, not individually. Ignoring the importance of families and communities for overall mental health is thought to be one of the reasons for disproportionate rates of mental and emotional health issues in Aboriginal communities, and is culturally insensitive (Kirmayer). When Aboriginal communities are able to be self-determining, they oversee the health care that community members receive, and can

have more culturally appropriate treatment methods that take differences such as the importance of culture and social cohesion for mental/emotional health issues into consideration. This is but one example of the importance of self-determination – in other instances, self-determination provides the ability to maintain access to the natural world in a culturally relevant way.

It is important to note the diversity of Aboriginal cultures within Canada, whose differences are vast and include diverse languages, customs, and even the nature of their relationships with the land, among other factors. These cultures are generally united by their deep connection to the natural world, which is why it is especially important for Aboriginal people to be able to connect to the natural world in order to celebrate their cultures (Gracey & King, 2009). Aboriginal peoples are often connected to the natural world through practicing traditional activities on the land such as hunting, fishing, and berry picking. This connection, often described as being spiritual in nature, is thought to have health benefits and have been suggested as a protective factor against stressors that may lead to negative mental and emotional health outcomes such as depression or suicide (Gracey & King, 2009; Chandler and LaLonde, 2008). It is this deep connection to the natural world that is thought to have contributed to the excellent health experienced by Aboriginal people in what is now Canada, before European settlers arrived (Reading & Wien, 2013). Since European settlers arrived, the connection between the Aboriginal peoples of Canada and the land has been deteriorating due to environmental dispossession and resource extraction as a result of government and industrial interests. This has made it difficult for Aboriginal people to retain a meaningful connection with

the lands and waters, and may have a negative influence on health and well-being of Aboriginal Canadians (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996).

This connectedness between person and land is of particular importance for many Aboriginal people, as it is this very connection that government policies of assimilation attempted to destroy. For many years, the Government of Canada sought to assimilate Aboriginal people into mainstream Canadian society through extreme methods such as residential schools (1884-1996) (Douglas, 2013; Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996; MacDonald & Hudson, 2012). The Government of Canada and various religious groups ran the Residential School System, and children were forced into these schools and forced to forget their culture, languages and families, and adopt the non-Indigenous Canadian way of life (Douglas; Stagg, 1981). The goal of assimilation was to eradicate Aboriginal languages and cultures by forcing Aboriginal peoples to speak only Euro-Western languages and to no longer engage with celebrations, activities, or ways of life associated with their Aboriginal culture. Even though assimilation is no longer an explicit goal of the Canadian government, institutionalized racism, still exists in our failure to provide equitable treatment for all groups of people through policies and social change (Douglas; Riosmena, Everett, Rogers, Dennis, 2014). Institutionalized racism is when one group (i.e. white Canadians) is seen to be preferable to another group (i.e. Aboriginal people, or other minority groups) This institutionalized racism has been shown in Canada and elsewhere in the world to have negative health outcomes for minority groups, particularly Aboriginal peoples (Larson, Gillies, Howard, & Coffin, 2007; Veenstra, 2009).

2.3 The colonial legacy of large-scale development in Indigenous communities in Canada

Prior to European contact, Aboriginal peoples who inhabited what is now Canada used all of the resources available to them from the land for tools and utensils, and flora and fauna for sustenance (Natural Resources Canada, 2013). Traditional use of land by Aboriginal peoples has been relatively sustainable, as compared to land and resource use by non-Indigenous governments and companies, which have historically been unsustainable, and focused more on capital gain than sustainability of resources (Lertzman and Vredenburg, 2005; Natural Resources Canada). After contact, Europeans began to take and use natural resources at a rate higher than what Aboriginal peoples had been using, and for purposes aimed towards profit and consumerism, rather than for sustenance and aiming to live in harmony with the earth, and this philosophy of resource use continues to the present day (Anderson, Schneider & Kayseas 2008; Natural Resources Canada). Some of the major ways in which resources are used and exploited is through mineral exploration and hydroelectric development. In looking for mineral resources, rural and remote areas of Canada have been explored and mapped, and this has driven population flow to such areas due to the employment opportunities that emerge from extraction and land development projects (Natural Resources Canada). This results in lands being developed for workers' necessities (i.e. stores, lodging/houses, etc.) as well as the development for resource extraction itself (i.e. the hydroelectric dam, mine, or other resource extraction). Such development impacts ecosystems through the introduction of

contaminants into the environment, changes to animal migration patterns, and other changes that result from having more people in the area.

Since the 1960s, there has been growing concern about the long-term effects of resource extraction and land development among Aboriginal, and special interest (environmental protection) groups, and this has led to a call to action for more sustainable development in Canada and around the world (Natural Resources Canada). This call to action has resulted in increased pressure to recognize and respect existing treaties. For companies planning large-scale development, this means that they must consider the effects their project may have on the environment as well as society as a whole, and importantly, it reinforces the responsibility to consult with Aboriginal communities that are going to be impacted by the development prior to development or extraction taking place (Natural Resources Canada, Lertzman and Vredenburg, 2005).

There are many examples of Aboriginal communities facing this ongoing colonial legacy of large-scale developments occurring on their traditional lands. One way in which this colonial legacy, a distal determinant of health, persists today in Canada is through the lack of consultations or meaningful consultations between Aboriginal peoples and the Government of Canada and/or resource development companies (Reading & Wien, 2013). When there is a legal duty of the Crown to consult with Aboriginal peoples, it often occurs as the result of a legal requirement rather than a way to engage with and learn from people who know the land best, and whose ancestors have been living on it since time immemorial (Kovach, 2009).

In order to understand the present day duty to consult with Aboriginal peoples that is required under Canadian law, we must look first at the history between the government

and Aboriginal peoples. When Canada was formed as a colonial entity, there were three distinct bodies that founded the country: English, French, and representatives from First Nations communities. Under the Terms of Union negotiated between these distinct groups there was a provision that required the Crown to consult with First Nations about decisions that stand to impact their peoples (Kovach, 2009). This right was extended to Aboriginal groups other than First Nations (i.e., Inuit and Métis) in section 35 of the 1982 Canadian Constitution, and at that time was termed ‘Aboriginal rights’.

It is important to point out that although there is an obligation or duty to consult, this does not always mean that there is *adherence* to the concerns and suggestions made by the consulted peoples. The historical lack of meaningful consultation that has taken place between the government and Aboriginal peoples has occurred across Canada, including Newfoundland and Labrador, where the Lower Churchill development and NunatuKavut territory are located. Three key examples are useful to explore for the purpose of highlighting the implications and importance of consultation with Aboriginal groups: the Northern Manitoba Flood Agreement, the installation of a NATO low-level flying training facility at the Canadian Forces Base in Goose Bay, Newfoundland and Labrador, and the construction of the Trans-Labrador Highway.

2.3.1 Examples demonstrating importance of consultations with Aboriginal communities

There are several hydroelectric sites in Manitoba, which were created in the 1950s when hydro power was being touted as having a lower carbon footprint than other power

sources (Government of Manitoba, 2015; Rosenberg, Bodaly, & Usher, 1995). The Northern Manitoba Flood Agreement was signed in 1977 as an agreement between the province of Manitoba, the Manitoba Hydro-Electric Board, and the Northern Flood Committee, which represented the five First Nations whose lands would be flooded by the planned hydroelectric projects (Manitoba Hydro, 1977). This agreement includes articles on the land exchange and use, areas and objects of cultural significance, how Manitoba Hydro planned to minimize damage, and policies on the impact on wildlife, the environment, and trap lines (Manitoba Hydro). As a result of the province not properly following the terms of this agreement, in 2015, the Premier of Manitoba issued an apology statement for the impacts that hydroelectric development has had on Aboriginal peoples in Manitoba (Government of Manitoba). Due to this development, the water became full of silt, erosion caused trees along the river bank to fall in to the river, and the river and adjacent area that was historically used for fishing, hunting and travel was rendered unsafe due to physical changes in the environment (Rosenberg, Bodaly, & Usher; Jackson, 1991).

Another example that reflects the failure of consultation with Aboriginal peoples is the Canadian Forces Base in Happy Valley-Goose Bay. The base was constructed in the 1940s by the United States Air Force, in later years used by other countries, including Canada, for military flight training (Harrington & Veitch, 1992; Labour, 1993). The base was viewed as a positive development by the government: a way to introduce economic development to the people of Labrador, and to allow easier access to other parts of Canada and the world (Harrington, & Veitch; Labour). However, like other projects that impact the environment and society, this base altered the traditional ways in which people

lived. Not only did it introduce changes to the environment through construction, but it also introduced year round and seasonal wage-labour (Harrington, & Veitch). The people of Labrador, mostly Aboriginal peoples, had used local resources for survival, and with the introduction of these new jobs that required a permanent location, their way of life was altered without comment from the people of Labrador who were being directly impacted by the base (Harrington & Veitch). In addition to changes in the environment and social roles, the base also caused controversy in the 1970s and 1980s when low level flight training was carried out in the surrounding airspace (Royal Canadian Air Force, 2014; Labour). This low level flying controversy was largely due to the noise pollution generated and the negative impact it was having on the wildlife in the region, and this issue was raised by Aboriginal groups in the Happy Valley- Goose Bay area and negative effects were shown by researchers looking at mortality and birth rates of caribou, yet low-level flying persisted until the early 2000s (Harrington, & Veitch; Labour). The Crown's legal duty to consult with Aboriginal communities for such developments did not come into effect until the *Constitution Act* of 1982, and as such the hydroelectric developments in Manitoba, and the construction and activities of the air force base in Labrador were not required to consult with communities prior to construction. Consultation could have mitigated such large-scale environmental issues from happening, as Aboriginal people could have informed these developments with their perspectives (such as where the low level flying should take place) to reduce the negative impact on the natural world (Labour).

The construction of the Labrador highway is another example of land development that has affected NunatuKavut people. In 2006 the Labrador Metis Nation

(now known as NunatuKavut) took the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador to court over the lack of consultation that took place during the development of this 1,250 kilometre highway that travels from Labrador City through central Labrador, along the southeast coast of Labrador, ending in Blanc Sablon – a significant portion of which travels through traditional territory of NunatuKavut (*The Labrador Metis Nation v. Her Majesty in Right of Newfoundland and Labrador*, 2006; Chrétien & Murphy, 2009). Much of the land that the highway travels through is included in NunatuKavut's current land claim, and traditional activities such as hunting, trapping, salmon fishing and berry picking were disrupted by this land development (Chrétien & Murphy). The Supreme Court of Newfoundland and Labrador ruled that meaningful consultation had not taken place, and that use of the land for traditional purposes was affected by the highway (*The Labrador Metis Nation v. Her Majesty in Right of Newfoundland and Labrador*; Chrétien & Murphy). This example of land development demonstrates why it is not only important for meaningful consultation to take place for legal purposes, but also to better inform important environmental decisions so the development would have the least amount of impact on the natural world and on the lives of (Aboriginal) people.

As described in this section, there are many examples of failure to consult with Aboriginal peoples in Canada, as well as a lack of meaningful consultation when consultation does occur. The failure to successfully engage NunatuKavut in the consultation regarding the development of the Lower Churchill River is only one example of inadequate consultation that has taken place in Canada and Labrador.

2.4 NunatuKavut: History, Politics, and Resource Development

The NunatuKavut Community Council, previously the Labrador Metis Nation, represent the Inuit of South and Central Labrador (NunatuKavut, 2010b). The Inuit of NunatuKavut are descendants from unions between Inuit women and European men, and were historically seasonally migratory, spending summers on the coast of Labrador and the winters inland (Hanrahan, 2003; NunatuKavut, 2010b). The people of NunatuKavut survived by using natural resources around them, and by relying on their family groups of 20-30 people with whom they resided (Hanrahan). The people of NunatuKavut historically used local plants and animals such as fish, seals, berries, and a variety of animals, for food, clothing, medicines, and shelter (Martin, 2011). During the mid twentieth century, Inuit children in Labrador started going to schools, where non-Indigenous ideas and ways of knowing were instructed, while their traditional culture and values were taught at home (Hanrahan).

Having strong social relationships is an important part of Inuit culture, as it has always been an essential element for survival in isolated northern communities. People relied on each other for sharing of food and other resources, particularly during the harsh winter months (Martin, 2009; Pauktuutit, 2006; Stopp & Murielle, 2002). Perhaps resulting from the isolation and the need to rely heavily on one another, an important social norm within Inuit communities generally was the avoidance of conflict (Pauktuutit). If a member of the community were to go against this norm of keeping the peace within the community, or to speak out against others in the community, they may be ostracized, which might compromise not only emotional well being, but also the

ability for that individual to survive, as the community might physically move their camp without this person knowing (Pauktuutit). This punishment would be lifted once the community decided the person had changed their ways and should be allowed to return (Pauktuutit). This way in which the people of NunatuKavut have expressed their culture has been impacted by historical events that have affected them. The history of NunatuKavut land and people will now be explored to better understand the community as it is today.

2.4.1 NunatuKavut: History to present day

In 1763 Britain acquired Labrador from France through the Treaty of Paris (Fixico, 2007). This change of hands introduced tensions to the area regarding land and resource ownership and exclusivity of trade between the people of Labrador and Britain, as trade had happened for centuries in southern Labrador between the Inuit and the French fishermen. In 1764 Britain appointed Sir Hugh Palliser as Governor to Newfoundland, and under this appointment the coast of Labrador was placed under the governance of Newfoundland (NunatuKavut). Palliser was tasked with ending the turmoil in Labrador, largely to protect British interest in the fisheries (Fixico). On August 21, 1765 the Governor entered into a treaty with the Inuit of south and central Labrador, which was a formal representation of a peace and friendship relationship with the British Crown (NunatuKavut, 2010b). This treaty was signed during a meeting with hundreds of Inuit at Pitts Harbour, Chateau Bay, Labrador and secured rights relating to self-government, harvesting of wildlife, natural resources, and commercial right of trade

(Inuit; NunatuKavut). Under this treaty, the Inuit of south and central Labrador, now known as NunatuKavut, retain the right to their natural resources, including waters and lands used for traditional hunting and navigation purposes. The *Labrador Treaty of 1765* makes no mention of Inuit surrendering land to the British (NunatuKavut). Under this treaty Inuit were to continue their way of life, accessing the resources they had traditionally used for self-sustenance, while generating economic surplus in order to trade exclusively with the British.

Newfoundland and Labrador became a province of Canada under the *Newfoundland Act* (1949), and this act outlined the terms of the union between the new province and Canada. The *Act* makes no mention of the Aboriginal peoples in this new province, and until the 1980s many people in Newfoundland and Labrador were unaware of their rights or the services they should be provided as Aboriginal Canadians (Newfoundland Act, 1949; Hanrahan, 2003). The rights that exist for NunatuKavut as a result of the *Labrador Treaty of 1765* are included under the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* (s 35,1), which states that Aboriginal and treaty rights that exist are recognized and affirmed by this part of the *Canadian Constitution* (1982). This section 35(3) goes on to say that treaty rights include current or future land claim agreements. Land claim agreements can be filed for places where land was not surrendered and no treaties were signed that renounced claim to the land (Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, 2012).

NunatuKavut filed its first land claim with the Government of Canada in 1991 under the name Labrador Metis Nation for the lands and waters of south and central Labrador, which was rejected based on the government stance that the people of this area

were not Indigenous to the land and therefore had no claim to the land (NunatuKavut 2010b). Due to social pressure and racism in the 1970s and 1980s, people in Labrador were less likely to identify as Inuit, and more likely to define themselves as being Metis (i.e., being of mixed descent), or in some cases, Inuit-Metis, in order to downplay the significance of their Inuit ancestry (NunatuKavut, 2010b). The Labrador Metis Nation changed its name to NunatuKavut, which means “Our ancient land”, in 2010 following new information being discovered about the history of the Inuit of south and central Labrador (NunatuKavut).

In 2006 researchers at Memorial University and the Labrador Metis Nation began working together through the “Understanding the Past to Build the Future” research project, to better understand the heritage of the people of central and southeast Labrador (NunatuKavut, 2010b). This Community-University Research Alliance (CURA) was funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) in 2009, which supports research in anthropology, historic research, ethnography, and education (Memorial University, 2014; NunatuKavut). The preliminary findings from this research gave NunatuKavut evidence to support a new land claim. Archaeological evidence collected through the CURA project found that Inuit resided on the coast and in central Labrador since the 1500s, well before European contact, refuting the assertion by the federal government that there was no Inuit presence along the coast of Labrador prior to European contact (NunatuKavut, 2010b). With this new information strengthening the claim of Inuit of this region, the NunatuKavut Community Council, Inc. submitted a new land claim to the Federal Government in 2010.

Another issue with the 1991 land claim was that membership for the Labrador Metis Association was not regulated, so NunatuKavut formed membership criteria for full and allied membership. Full membership is allowed for a person of Inuit descent, who is a member of one of the governed communities, who is accepted by the NunatuKavut community, and has been a permanent resident of the area for the preceding six months (NunatuKavut, 2008). Full membership may also be granted to a non-resident of the community if they are of Inuit descent, a member of one of the governed communities, a citizen of Canada, in current contact with members of NunatuKavut, and has at least one Inuit grandparent of a NunatuKavut community (NunatuKavut). Allied membership may be given to an Aboriginal person who is not able to hold full membership, but is from Labrador and one of the NunatuKavut communities, and has at least one grandparent who is an Aboriginal resident of a NunatuKavut community (NunatuKavut). The new regulations on NunatuKavut memberships are included in the latest land claim, which has not yet been reviewed, as the entire process of having a land claim approved can take decades to complete. While NunatuKavut has been waiting for their claim to be processed, development of the trans-Labrador highway, logging activities (Hanrahan, 2003), some mining exploration, and now the Lower Churchill hydro-electric development have all occurred on land Inuit of NunatuKavut include in their claim.

There have been some successful land claims filed in Labrador, one by Nunatsiavut, which represents Inuit from northern Labrador, agreed upon in 2005 and one in progress by the Innu Nation of Labrador (Intergovernmental and Aboriginal Affairs Secretariat, 2013). These groups were included in consultations prior to the

development of the Lower Churchill River being approved as it was decided that these people would be impacted by the development, as the Innu have an approved land claim agreement since 2011.

According to data collected in the 2006 Statistics Canada Census, 65% of respondents in the current land claim area of NunatuKavut reported having very good mental health and 80% report having very good overall health (Statistics Canada, 2006). However, the Labrador Metis Nation performed a needs assessment report about diabetes, and found that the majority of their members had a Body Mass Index (BMI) of 25 or greater, indicating these participants are overweight or obese (Martin et al., 2012). It was also found that members of NunatuKavut had higher rates of diabetes than the national average (Martin et al.). Lack of access to natural resources has been associated with increased rates of obesity and diabetes, as this increases the reliance on processed foods (Reading and Wien, 2013), which is important to consider when examining the potential physical health effects of the development and operation of the Muskrat Falls facility, and how this physical health may be indicative of negative outcomes in other areas of health.

2.5 The Lower Churchill River development and the on-going legacy of colonization

The hydroelectric dam that is currently being constructed at Muskrat Falls, along the Churchill River has the potential to flood land that NunatuKavut has included in its land claim to the federal government (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 2013;

CBC News, 2013a; The Independent, 2013). There have been ongoing protests about this project since September 2012 (The Independent). In October 2012, Nalcor Energy (the company that is overseeing the entire development project) was granted a successful injunction (later overturned) to prevent NunatuKavut protesters from blocking the entrance to the development site (CBC News, 2013a). The community leaders of NunatuKavut attempted to discuss the project with the provincial government, but their requests were denied as they had previously withdrawn from the consultation process (CBC News, 2013a). Some NunatuKavut members and leadership protested the development because it will impact the way they are able to carry out their traditions and express their culture (The Independent). The greatest concerns relate to the impact that the development will have on the environment, as one of the ways in which many members of NunatuKavut practice their culture is through hunting and consuming traditional foods, which are part of the ecosystem that the Muskrat Falls facility will alter through its development and operation. Since the protests began, there have been eight arrests of protesters, including the President of the NunatuKavut Community Council, and community elders (CBC News, 2013b). The arrests were made due to these people violating a court injunction that was enacted in 2012. The injunction was later repealed in December 2014 by the Newfoundland and Labrador Court of Appeal (NunatuKavut, 2014).

The development of the Lower Churchill River, will impact three Aboriginal groups: NunatuKavut; the Innu; and Nunatsiavut. As mentioned, the NunatuKavut Community Council oversees Inuit living in central and southern Labrador, (NunatuKavut, 2010b). The Innu are a First Nations group that has its own governing

bodies- there are two Innu First Nations in Labrador (Mushau Innu First Nation and Sheshatshiu First Nation), and 10 in Quebec. , The Executive Council of the Innu Nation, represents the 2200 Labrador Innu collectively, and has a relationship with the federal government that is separate from agreements that the First Nation band councils have with the federal government (Innu Nation, 2008). They have been involved in land claim processes with the provincial and federal governments since the 1970s, and some progress in agreements has been made. The Nunatsiavut government represents Inuit of northern Labrador, and had a land claim agreement established with the crown in 2006 (Nunatsiavut, 2014). This land claims agreement allows Nunatsiavut to claim land and waters in the province based on traditional and current use of these resources, and they are therefore able to negotiate an agreement for any development project that would affect these resources (*Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement Act*, 2005, part 2). The *Act* requires Nunatsiavut to compile Annual Reports in which the year's activities are summarized. The 2007-2008 Annual Report (Nunatsiavut Government, 2008) briefly stated that the Lower Churchill Project has the potential to impact the lands claimed or settled by Labrador Inuit as outlined in the *Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement Act*. The following year's report discussed that the Nunatsiavut Government was consulted on this project, and was working with the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador on this matter (Nunatsiavut Government, 2009). It was determined by the Joint Review Panel for this project that as the land claimed by Nunatsiavut in the Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement Act are not directly impacted by this project, Nalcor is under no obligation to heed the recommendations made by this group (Review Panel, 2011). Nunatsiavut wanted to have input on the project plans, but have had to do so as members

of the public, rather than an Aboriginal group with which the company is required to negotiate (Nunatsiavut, 2011).

By affecting the physical environment, the development of the Lower Churchill River may impact the health of members of NunatuKavut and other Aboriginal groups, as the lands and waters are used for cultural and spiritual practices, therefore the loss of this land may directly impact the ability for people to hunt, fish and use the land in traditional ways, thus impacting social and emotional health. Some of the concerns that were brought forward by other Aboriginal peoples in the area regarding this development were related to introducing toxins to, or altering the environment in a way that negatively impacts the health of plants, animals, and people (Review Panel, 2011). The environmental assessment that was done on the Lower Churchill development identifies that the hydroelectric dam has the potential to alter water temperatures, turbidity, and phosphorous content (Review Panel). These kinds of changes would have a direct impact on the fish and other organisms living in the river, as well as an indirect effect on any animal, including humans who consume the fish or another affected animal.

Nalcor Energy registered for an Environmental Assessment of the Lower Churchill Project in 2006, to fulfill the requirements of the Newfoundland and Labrador *Environmental Protection Act*, and the *Canadian Environmental Assessment Act* (1992). In addition to the Provincial Government being part of this project, various Federal Government agencies indicated that some of their departments were relevant to this project, such as: Transport Canada; Fisheries and Oceans Canada; Environment Canada; Health Canada, 2010; Natural Resources Canada; and Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada. The need to take into consideration perspectives from each of

these departments, as well as perspectives from Aboriginal groups and the general public, was used to support federal interest in undertaking a thorough review. The federal Minister of the Environment, the provincial Minister of Environment and Conservation, and the provincial Minister for Intergovernmental Affairs worked to establish the Joint Federal and Provincial Panel that would review this project (Review Panel, 2011).

The purpose of the panel review and subsequent report is to inform the national and provincial governments about this development project and the panel's advice surrounding its implementation (Review Panel, 2011). There were nine public hearings about the development of the lower Churchill project in Newfoundland and Labrador and in Quebec during March and April 2011 (Government of Canada, 2012). Perspectives from Aboriginal groups, community members, and Nalcor Energy were heard during this process (Review Panel). Environmental concerns as well as perceived benefits resulting from this project were identified. While all three Aboriginal groups were invited to be part of the consultation process, only one group, the Innu Nation, has a negotiated agreement about the impacts and benefits of this project with Nalcor Energy and the Province of Newfoundland and Labrador as they are recognized by the government as having strong ties to the affected lands and waters as they are an Aboriginal group in close proximity to the development site (see *Figure 2.1*) (Review Panel; Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, 2012)



Figure 2.1: Map of Newfoundland and Labrador: This figure shows the Muskrat Falls and Gull Island Rapids facilities and the proposed energy transmission link to the Atlantic provinces (Nalcor Energy, 2014). The star added to this map shows the location of Happy Valley- Goose Bay.

The impact that this project may have on the traditional land use, such as hunting, fishing, and collecting plants, of the Labrador Innu Nation was mentioned in the Impacts and Benefits Agreement between this group and Nalcor Energy (Review Panel, 2011; Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, 2012). Through this agreement, Nalcor committed to respecting the culture of the Labrador Innu and to plan the Lower Churchill development to reduce the impact it may have on this community (Review Panel). Some Labrador Innu shared their history with the Lower Churchill River, as well as concerns about what this project might mean for the future of cultural practices in their community with the Joint Review Panel for the project. Concerns were also raised about the transmission lines that will be used in this project between the Muskrat Falls, Gull Island Rapids facilities, and the rest of the Atlantic provinces, as this may further impact their land and resource use (Review Panel). Labrador Innu members also discussed the possible negative impacts of noise pollution from the construction that will take place,

especially for residents who reside in cabins in or near the area of construction. Baseline and regular monitoring of land and resource use was recommended by the Innu if this project was to proceed in order to understand the effects this project is having for their members. The concerns outlined by the Innu Nation and Nunatsiavut shows that multiple Aboriginal groups in Labrador are concerned about this development.

For the development of the Lower Churchill River, Nalcor determined there were no lands or waters used for traditional purposes by NunatuKavut that would be impacted due to construction or operations of the facilities (Review Panel, 2011). This was based on previous information gathered from 1980-1994 on another matter related to resource use (Review Panel). Not included in this panel report, however, was the new information gathered by the CURA project mentioned previously that allowed for a new land claim to be filed (NunatuKavut, 2010b). This newer information extended the boundaries of claimed lands by NunatuKavut, thus this group now claims that this development will impact lands and waters used for their traditional purposes (Review Panel). NunatuKavut was invited to participate in the community consultations that occurred during the panel review, however they withdrew from the process, feeling that the information they were being provided through this process was not adequate and their concerns were not being addressed (NunatuKavut, 2013b).

There were significant negative environmental effects that this development may have on the lands and waters of Labrador identified in the Review Panel report (2011) such as the negative impact on land and water environments, and how this may affect cultural uses of the environment. This project has the potential to impact the environment by clearing land for the facilities, access roads, and flood zones, by altering the air quality

in the areas, and altering the water quality and fish habitat. This impact on fish habitat was approved under the *Fisheries Act* (s 35), which discusses proposed activities that are likely to result in altering, disrupting or destroying fish habitat (Government of Canada, 2012). The Panel Review determined that this development has the potential to alter the water temperature, turbidity, and phosphorous suspended in the water, which may have a negative effect on the environment. One of the concerns brought up by Nunatsiavut was the potential for mercury to be introduced to the environment and how this contaminant may lead to bioaccumulation in animals that are commonly consumed as a part of a traditional diet by Inuit (Nunatsiavut, 2011). The ultimate stance of Nunatsiavut is that unless precautions are put in place to ensure the traditional Inuit diet and lifestyle will not be negatively affected by this development that it should not proceed (Nunatsiavut).

Overall, the panel review committee suggested that the development of the Lower Churchill River for a hydroelectric dam as it was proposed was not necessary and that decision makers should take alternatives and the long-term effects of this development project into account when making their final decision (Review Panel, 2011). The panel decided that the development of the Muskrat Falls site and the Gull Island Rapids site should be considered separately, as the larger output of energy from the Gull Island Rapids facility would not only meet the remaining energy needs of the province (800 megawatts), but also allow for energy to be exported to other provinces (Review Panel). Ultimately, the panel found that there was not sufficient justification of the whole Lower Churchill development, and suggested that the provincial government review separate proposals for the two facilities prior to ruling on the development project (Review Panel).

The joint Provincial and Federal review of the Lower Churchill development made recommendations for the development process, but the governments of Newfoundland and Labrador and of Canada ultimately made the final decision of approval for this project (Government of Canada, 2012). The Government of Canada concludes that this project met the recommendations of the panel, government departments and has followed the requirements of the Canadian Environmental Assessment Act, and is justified in proceeding despite the ‘significant adverse environmental effects’ as they are thought to be outweighed by the positive effects the project will bring in terms of cleaner energy and economic prosperity (Government of Canada).

After the Review Panel and both federal and provincial governments had made suggestions and decisions about this project, some concerned groups in Labrador filed a legal case against the outcome of the Lower Churchill development (Grand Riverkeeper, Labrador Inc. v. Canada). The applicants for this case were: Grand Riverkeeper, Labrador Inc.; the Sierra Club of Canada; and the NunatuKavut Community Council, Inc. Both the Sierra Club, and Grand Riverkeeper are federally recognized non-profit organizations whose missions relate to the protection and conservation of the environment, and the protection of the Lower Churchill River, respectively (Review Panel, 2011). This case was taken against the Attorney General of Canada, the Ministers of Fisheries and Oceans, Transport, and Natural Resources, and Nalcor Energy. This case was born out of concern from the applicants that the Federal and Provincial Joint Review Panel Report and the federal and provincial government responses to this report were unlawful as the Canadian Environmental Assessment Act requirements were not adequately addressed in the panel

report (Review Panel). NunatuKavut's concern in this application is that their right to be heard as an Aboriginal group was ignored during the consultation process. This claim in the case was rejected by a Federal Court judge, as the Panel invited this group to provide information about concerns and their perspectives on a few occasions, and even received some written submissions from NunatuKavut (Grand Riverkeeper, Labrador Inc. v. Canada). Additionally, NunatuKavut was given over 130,000 dollars to participate in the Environmental Assessment process with the Panel. According to the court proceedings, NunatuKavut chose to not participate fully in the review process, and that the Panel attempted to involve this group in collecting information about the project (Grand Riverkeeper, Labrador Inc. v. Canada). A Federal Court judge rejected this case on the basis that the Panel had complied with the legislation and regulations they were bound by, and no unlawfulness was found (Grand Riverkeeper, Labrador Inc. v. Canada). It is clear through this civil action, as well as media articles and reports, that members of NunatuKavut disagree with the extent to which their involvement in the evaluation processes as an Aboriginal group was sought and their needs accommodated (CBC News, 2013a; NunatuKavut b, 2013). The rejection of this legal case adds to growing tension in the NunatuKavut community in relation to the Lower Churchill development.

One of the challenges with the development of the Lower Churchill River is that even though this project will affect the people of NunatuKavut's ability to use their traditional land and express their culture, they do not have a settled land claim. Since the submitted land claim has yet to be reviewed or processed, the government is within its legal right not to engage in meaningful consultation with this group of communities. The

perceived ways in which this project is affecting the social relationships and emotional health of NunatuKavut people will be explored through this research project.

2.6 What happens when Aboriginal communities/groups are able to be self-determining?

The development of hydroelectric facilities along the Lower Churchill River is only one example of natural resource extraction and development that impacts Aboriginal peoples in Canada. Across the world there are countless Indigenous communities and groups that are faced with developments that harm the environment, do not benefit the people living on/with the land, that are not meaningfully consulted, and are not able to voice their concerns about what happens on their territory. Despite the many negative examples that are readily available throughout history of Aboriginal people being treated as less than equals, there are outcomes for some communities that are less negative than others. The use of the term 'less negative' is intentional, as any outcomes in these situations can never be considered entirely positive as they impose Western ways of life and development on to the original inhabitants of this land. These are examples of Aboriginal communities or groups of Aboriginal people who have been able to have some voice in decisions that are made that affect their traditional territories. This has often happened either through asserting their rights as Aboriginal people through protesting. Having or establishing self-determination has been shown to have positive outcomes for health, particularly emotional health (Chandler & LaLonde, 2008; Richmond & Ross, 2009).

One example that has offered some benefit to the community began in the late 20th century, when a great deal of land that was used by Aboriginal people for traditional purposes were flooded due to the development of the James Bay hydroelectric dams in Quebec. As Agyeman (2009) describes, this development negatively impacted the natural land, which affected the Aboriginal people who are deeply connected to the land. The James Bay hydroelectric dams, the largest system of hydroelectric dams in the world, were constructed in the 1970s on the traditional territories of the Cree and Inuit in Quebec (Agyeman). Due to these hydroelectric developments, in 1973 the courts decided that in light of the development, the Quebec government was now required to have consultations that result in agreements with Aboriginal peoples (Agyeman). In 1991, the Inuit and Cree of James Bay Quebec paddled from James Bay to New York City Harbour to protest the hydroelectric dams in Quebec that were constructed without adequate consultation (Agyeman). This protest was successful, in that New York refused to buy power from these hydroelectric facilities, and the construction of the Great Whale River dams were stopped. In 2002, a nation-to-nation agreement, the Paix De Braves, was signed by the Government of Quebec and the Cree (Agyeman). Through agreements such as this, Aboriginal communities have been able to negotiate deals that allow their voices to be heard and are better able to control their circumstances- moving in the direction of self-determination. Even though the Cree and the Inuit whose territories were affected by the James Bay hydroelectric dams were not adequately consulted prior to the hydroelectric dam construction, they were able to be included later on in the process, and measures are now in place so a similar situation does not happen to these groups again.

As Caine and Krogman (2013) discuss, the Canadian Territories are leaders in self-determination through governance and land-claim agreements. Increasingly, environmental impact assessments and agreed upon impact and benefit agreements for development projects are proving to be vital for Aboriginal peoples to influence the decision making process of government and development companies (Caine & Krogman). These methods of influence are not only benefiting communities financially, but are impacting the way in which Aboriginal communities are able to manage the scale of the environmental development as well. A specific example of more successful environmental governance by an Aboriginal community through impact and benefit agreements and environmental impact assessment is the Galore Creek Project in British Columbia. This project involved relationships and agreements between the development company, the Tahltan Nation, and the Crown, as this copper and gold development was located in the traditional territory of the Tahltan Nation. The impact and benefit agreement used for the Galore Creek development is a legally binding contract, and outlines the framework for partnership throughout all of the stages of the project, and states the benefits to Tahltan, and the support from Tahltan for the project. Also included in this agreement is that upon the closure of the mine, the Tahltan Nation will perform their own evaluation of the project to ensure the details included in the agreement regarding the final steps of the development have been followed appropriately to reduce environmental harms.

2.7 Conclusion

There are many factors which influence health, and the historical context of Aboriginal peoples in Canada certainly influences health and well being today, as it affects the ability for Aboriginal communities and groups to be self-determining. The connection between the natural world and cultural continuity, and how these factors affect emotional health was explored in this chapter, and will be expanded upon in subsequent chapters through the findings of this research project. The way in which many Indigenous communities worldwide have not been able to have control over the resources of their traditional lands was discussed, and applied to the contemporary context of NunatuKavut with respect to resource development and lack of meaningful consultation.

Chapter Three: Methodology and Methods

This chapter will discuss the methodology and methods chosen for this research. I begin the chapter by situating myself in the research process, exploring how ‘who I am’ affects the kind of research I am doing. Next, this chapter describes the process of how my data were collected and analyzed.

3.1 Research Objective

As stated in the introductory chapter, this research project will explore the influence of hydroelectric development along the Lower Churchill River on emotional health, and social relationships in the community, along with how changes to these social relationships may influence the emotional health of NunatuKavut adults.

3.2 Situating myself

For the purpose of this thesis, the term “Western”, or “Non-Indigenous/Aboriginal” will be used to discuss methodologies and worldviews that have roots in European (often termed ‘Euro-Western’) society, and have since been transferred around the world through the various processes of colonialism. In this context, I am a western woman because I have been trained in formal academic institutions that are based on curricula and values of European society. I was born in Canada to a family of third generation European settler descent, and my education has mostly taken place in

this country through formal (provincially-mandated) educational institutions. This upbringing influences the way in which I understand the world. For example, in school I was not taught much about Aboriginal peoples of Canada, and what I was taught made it seem like these cultures only existed in the past. We made models of Mi'kmaq wigwams and canoes, and learned a bit about what their life was like when Europeans first came to North America, but we never talked about Aboriginal people and their cultures as they exist today. This lack of education regarding Canadian history and current events has, in part, led to my own misunderstandings and misconceptions about Aboriginal peoples, treaties, and the current relationship between the Crown and Aboriginal communities in Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, where I was raised. This lack of understanding in which I grew up unfortunately resulted in racist attitudes towards Aboriginal peoples being commonplace in this community. I have always thought of myself as being open to other people and cultures, however in retrospect these community attitudes and beliefs impacted the way I thought about the world during my youth.

Through this research project, I am beginning to challenge some of these assumptions about the world that were thrust upon me as a child, and am beginning my journey to understanding new perspectives, in this case, Indigenous perspectives. Through this research process I have begun my own path of understanding what it means to conduct research in a (cross) culturally and ethically appropriate way. I have been able to recognize the way in which an absence of Indigenous knowledge and history in my previous 18 years of formal education has imposed upon me a certain, western, way of understanding the world. My undergraduate degree was a Bachelor of Science in Psychology, and I spent a lot of my time working with student societies and community

organizations that allowed me to connect with people from other cultures. During my Master's program I have been involved with the Dalhousie Aboriginal Health Interest Group, and have been working for over a year as a research assistant on a CIHR funded Oral Health project: 'Kungatsiajuk: Supporting the Healthy Smiles of NunatuKavut Youth'.

Through my research and related activities, I have started to understand the great injustice that is being done to all Canadians, as our schools fail to teach about Aboriginal peoples, their rich histories, and their role in shaping the history of Canada. Without learning about the people who have inhabited the land of this country since time immemorial, we are teaching the majority of Canadians to be ignorant about the true history of Canada, which from my perspective, contributes to present day tensions and misinformation about treaties and Aboriginal rights [a perspective which was recently reinforced by the recommendations included in the summary report of the Reconciliation Commission (2015)]. Learning about these gaps in my own education has made me concerned about the current state of our education system and how unaware many Canadians are about Aboriginal peoples and the entire history of Canada, as I can understand how these factors influence public opinion and attitudes, thoughts which other Canadian scholars share (Godlewska, Moore, & Bednasek, 2010). I have become passionate about seeking out that which I do not yet know and intend to use this passion as I continue to develop as a researcher doing work with communities of cultures and situations different than my own. I have always been interested in learning about people – learning about psychology, cultures, and relationships both historical and present day, and now I am interested in learning more about Aboriginal peoples in Canada, their

diverse cultures and their relationship with government. One mechanism for doing so is through this research.

3.3 Methodology

Recently there has been a push towards more ethical and culturally appropriate ways of conducting research, termed decolonized research. Some examples of this decolonized research are the emerging practices of community based participatory research and Two-Eyed Seeing, as well as an increase in numbers of Indigenous people who are researchers (Holkup, Tripp-Reimer, Salois, & Weinert, 2004). Decolonization is based in first understanding one's own perspective and world view, and using this to better understand why research is being conducted and what will be done with the findings of the research (Smith, 2012). More Indigenous people are entering the academy and conducting research with their communities than in the past, and they, along with their non-Indigenous academic allies are raising serious concerns about the processes through which conventional 'western' research has approached research with Indigenous peoples. Historically, academic research has been carried out by non-Indigenous academics *on* Indigenous people, without their input (Smith, 2012; Kovach, 2009). The result of this has been research conducted and discussed through a western academic lens, which may not align with views held by the Indigenous peoples being researched. University-based researchers, who have traditionally been trained in this western way, regardless of their cultural identity, have also generally taken information and resources out of a community, with no benefit to the people being researched (Smith). These acts,

which were largely intended to further scholarly knowledge, not community-needed practical knowledge, have formed a divide between the predominantly western academy and many Indigenous peoples and communities. As a result of this type of research, many Indigenous peoples and communities have developed a general distrust of research. Thus, a great deal of current research involving Indigenous peoples strives towards a ‘decolonized’, more culturally appropriate approach. One of the key features of this kind of research is that Indigenous peoples are integral to the planning and implementation of the research process (Smith, 1999), and I have done my best during this research process to ask questions and look for guidance from people who identify as being Indigenous (my academic supervisor, and members of the NunatuKavut Community Council).

I have begun the process of taking a decolonized approach to my research and life by educating myself and seeking guidance from others who can challenge my way of thinking. When I first learned about decolonizing research, I thought of it as stand-alone process that affected only the research practice and had a positive impact on the participants. I am beginning to learn how this process is also a way of thinking and a way of life for the researcher. In order to become an effective researcher taking a decolonized approach (a lifelong process in and of itself), I need to be able to take a step back from the colonial mindset and practices that have been thrust upon me, and be able to consider issues outside of this lens. In addition to this, I understand how this decolonizing process may affect other parts of my life. I personally did not consciously take action to seize land and resources that do not belong to me, however, by being uneducated in Aboriginal and Canadian history and not challenging my own thoughts, I allow this process of colonization to continue. As I undertake the process of becoming decolonized (a lifelong

process), I am recognizing that I no longer want to ignore these issues that are happening all around me, rather I want to get involved to make positive social change.

3.3.1 Two-Eyed Seeing

There is a gap between Western and Indigenous ‘ways of knowing’, as these perspectives have been established independently of one another, but have not evolved in isolation (Martin, 2009). ‘Ways of knowing’ is synonymous with epistemology, and can be described as how we understand the world around us, and how we gather information from our experiences. The reasons why these ‘ways of knowing’ were established independently of one another stems from the differences between Indigenous and Western cultures and experiences, and how this information has been passed along to future generations as knowledge about the world. The differences in how knowledge is gathered and communicated to others between independent ways of knowing has meant that there is often a ‘knowledge gap’ between perspectives, including Western and Indigenous perspectives about what that gap is and how it manifests in our day-to-day lives.

One way in which this gap might be bridged is through a concept called Two-Eyed Seeing. Mi’Kmaq Elder Albert Marshall of Eskasoni, Cape Breton introduced this term in 2004 (Bartlett, Marshall & Marshall, 2007). This concept uses the analogy of two eyes to understand the world: one eye views the world from an Indigenous perspective, and the other eye views the world from a Western perspective (Martin, 2012). When someone only uses one perspective or eye to see, their world-view is incomplete, because

there are multiple ways of understanding. By using both, or many, perspectives, one can understand the world and people around them in new and different ways (Martin, 2012). This is particularly salient for situations that involve Indigenous and Western worldviews working together in cross cultural collaboration, as there is no one 'right' perspective for all situations and that balancing these worldviews is key to fully understanding the world (Bartlett, Marshall, & Marshall, 2012).

Through this study, I will explore the Two-Eyed Seeing approach of viewing the world, and attempt to understand my research question using this framework. Having been raised in a Western, non-Indigenous perspective, I will be relying on the experience and perspective of my academic supervisor who identifies as being of Inuit descent, Dr. Debbie Martin, as well as a member of NunatuKavut, in order to begin to view the world in a new way. Being able to understand my research using Two-Eyed Seeing is not something I will realistically be able to accomplish during this degree due to time and financial limitations, however it is one of my long-term academic goals, and I will be taking the first steps along this path during this research project. I am interested in learning more about this methodology, as it not only highlights that there are multiple perspectives regarding any topic, it also recognizes that there are power imbalances in relationships. Two-Eyed Seeing does not dictate that one perspective has more value than the other, it simply seeks to use the most appropriate perspective(s) to respond to a given question. It is my goal for this project to approach every decision I make by thinking about biases or assumptions I may bring with me, and how these may not hold true for someone approaching the same issue from an Indigenous perspective, or through any lens different from my own. In doing this, I hope to begin to realize how I understand the

world now, so that in time I may more fully understand other perspectives. In attempting to understand the issue, forming the questions to be asked during interviews, and in analyzing data, I have asked for advice and guidance from others who are Indigenous and from NunatuKavut. My supervisor, Debbie Martin, and community contact George Russell (Manager, Department of Natural Resources and Environment at NunatuKavut Community Council) have helped me to be more culturally aware, and hopefully this has allowed my research to be more beneficial to NunatuKavut community members. Thus, my research is part advocacy and part academic in nature.

3.3.2 Indigenous perspectives

Indigenous methodologies have evolved separately from Western methodologies, and serve to share knowledge and answer questions in an Indigenous way (Kovach, 2009). Indigenous methodologies tend to be participatory in nature, relying heavily on the researcher, the community members and their relationship with one another (Henderson, 2000; Kovach). This knowledge is often based on collective experiences, and is situated within the culture and traditions of the community.

Some of the Indigenous methodologies that have influenced my research include story telling and oral traditions. These ways of sharing knowledge closely parallel qualitative interviews in western methodologies, and rely on collecting information from participants through personal accounts and memories of history that are relevant to them (Baskin, 2005; Ritchie, 2014). By using a method that has one eye in each the Western and Indigenous world, I am able to draw from my own Western training and the

familiarity with this type of research that some of my participants may have to conduct research in a culturally aware way (McKeough, Bird, Tourigny, Romaine, & Graham, 2008). I hope to strengthen my understanding of story telling and oral traditions, and learn more about the similarities and differences between Indigenous and Western perspectives.

As a non-Indigenous researcher, I do not have comprehensive knowledge about Indigenous ways of knowing. For this and for reasons relating to cultural differences in understanding and perspective, it would not be possible for this research to be solely focused in Indigenous ways of knowing, as I do not and may never fully understand this way of viewing the world. However, I feel it is important to incorporate Indigenous perspectives in this study as much as I am able, in an effort to acknowledge and embrace cultural differences between me and my participants to better understand the findings and implications of this research.

3.3.3 Western Perspectives

Western perspectives for this research are based in narrative inquiry and critical theory. Narrative Inquiry can have many forms and is rooted in academic fields as varied as literature, history, anthropology and sociology (Creswell, 2013). It is a qualitative research approach that collects personal stories from participants, and allows for deep and meaningful understanding of individual experiences and perceptions (Creswell). Through this framework, the personal history of the participant as well as their current perspectives on health and its determinants will be discussed to add context to their

responses. Narrative Inquiry also allows for the exploration and discussion of the research process, as well as the researcher-participant relationship. This method was chosen as it relates the “Western eye” of this two-eyed seeing approach (Battiste, 2011).

Critical theory is a way to understand the world that critiques existing social structures. Critical theory will be used to analyze the findings of this research, and the issues of environmental policy and race surrounding the development of the Lower Churchill development (Creswell). Both of these perspectives will be used as this research involves examining personal stories about a topic that requires critical analysis of the sociopolitical structures that shape the experiences of NunatuKavut’s community members as they relate to the perceived health effects of this project.

Another Western methodology that complements a decolonized approach to research is Community-Based Participatory Research (CBPR). This is a philosophy/methodology that provides a means for communities and marginalized people typically not included in processes of research that affect them, to have a voice in the research process (Braun, Nguyen Hébert et al., 2012). NunatuKavut represents an excluded population, as the community has taken a stance against the development of the hydroelectric dams, but have largely been left out of the decision making process due to politics surrounding their land claim status. CBPR uses a process of sharing decision-making power and ownership between the researcher and the community with whom they are working, mutual learning, and disseminating knowledge in a way that benefits the community in order to be effective (Noble et al., 2012). This methodology is becoming increasingly popular in many academic disciplines, such as health and education, especially with researchers who work with marginalized populations, as it emphasizes the

importance of community collaboration with socially excluded people who have largely been ignored or treated in a paternalistic way.

This research has integrated some CBPR principles into the research process. For example, I have engaged with members of the community (The NunatuKavut Community Council and its representatives) throughout the research process as much as was possible, given my time and financial constraints. I was able to meet with George Russell at his office in Labrador in February, 2014 to discuss my proposed research and sent him email updates and questions throughout the following months in preparing for data collection. Mr. Russell was able to give me great feedback on what would be feasible and beneficial for the community and what ideas I was proposing that might not work as well. However, due to limited resources for this study, engaging entirely in a CBPR approach was not possible, as it would require engaging not only with those who represent the community (The NunatuKavut Community Council) but also with other members of the community on an ongoing basis. Also, ideally I would have met with community members in person relatively frequently in order to establish a truly collaborative relationship, and due to distance, financial, and time constraints this was not feasible.

3.4 Methods

3.4.1 Data Collection

Data collection for this study involved individual semi-structured interviews with 10 NunatuKavut adults (8 females, 2 males). Most of the participants were currently residing permanently in Happy Valley-Goose Bay (n=9), however one participant was in Happy Valley-Goose Bay for a short time for work, and lived on the Southeast Coast of Labrador in a NunatuKavut community. Half (n=5) of the participants spoke about having moved away from Labrador- either for work or for schooling. Participants mostly did office or retail work, with many having at least one immediate family member work in a trade. This means that while they personally may not be working at the hydroelectric facilities, they have family members and close friends who may be working or seeking work there. This number of participants (n=10) has been chosen because it allowed for diverse perspectives to be collected, and also allows for time to deeply analyze the content of each interview, bearing in mind the limited time and finances that are available for this study. Data were gathered using an audio-recorder for eight interviews, however two participants did not consent to being audio-recorded, and detailed notes were taken during this interview. For this study, participants are described following their quotes in the findings chapter as either an ‘Adult’ (less than age 55) or an ‘Older Adult’ (over the age of 55), as it was not asked during the interviews if participants have been recognized as elders in the community, but participants did provide their age (or approximate age- i.e. ‘in my 30s’).

3.4.2 Study location

The territory of NunatuKavut extends from the Quebec border along the south-eastern coast of Labrador and encompasses the Town of Happy Valley-Goose Bay. It was decided (in consultation with members of the NunatuKavut Community Council) to focus recruitment for this study only in the Happy Valley-Goose Bay area. This was decided because the Muskrat Falls facility is physically located closest to this community, and these are the residents who will be most directly impacted by its development (*Figure 2.1*). Nevertheless, NunatuKavut members who reside outside of the Happy Valley-Goose Bay area were not excluded from this study, as members of other areas of NunatuKavut may hunt or fish in the areas directly affected by the hydroelectric facilities, and they may be otherwise directly or indirectly impacted by its development.

3.4.3 Criteria for inclusion in the study

The inclusion criteria for this study were adults (ages 18+) that self-identify as being Aboriginal and a member of NunatuKavut. NunatuKavut has established conditions that are to be met before someone can apply and become a part of their association (NunatuKavut, 2013). The exclusion criteria were anyone who is entirely unable to communicate their responses, or comprehend the questions being asked in the interview. Participants who were unable to communicate in English would have been excluded from the study, as this research does not have the resources to provide for a

suitable translator, however this was not perceived as an issue as most people in NunatuKavut speak English as their first language (NunatuKavut, 2010b).

3.4.4 Participant recruitment

The NunatuKavut Community Council expressed interest early on in engaging with this research project (See attached letter of support in Appendix J), and were able to help recruit NunatuKavut members for this study. The participants were recruited through various strategies: 1) physical posters; 2) electronic posters; and 3) via word of mouth. The following are descriptions of the recruitment tools used: 1) Posters were placed in public buildings in Happy Valley-Goose Bay, by a NunatuKavut Community Council employee (in advance of my arrival) and by me when I arrived there in November 2014. The posters are attached in Appendix A and include information about the research project, what was asked of participants, and my contact information as the researcher. The recruitment posters were sent to NunatuKavut electronically to be put up in public locations where they were permitted to advertise approved research projects; 2) Virtual posters contain the same information as the physical posters but were shared online via emails from NunatuKavut, as this allowed members of NunatuKavut who are not living in the Happy Valley-Goose Bay area to have access to the information regarding the study. These virtual posters were also posted on local, public Facebook groups so that potential participants who may not be subscribed to NunatuKavut's emails would be reached; 3) With respect to word of mouth recruitment, community connections through the NunatuKavut Community Council Inc. were used to identify potential participants.

The contact person for this research project working for the NunatuKavut Community Council passed along a brief information sheet either virtually or in printed form (Appendix B) to NunatuKavut members who had expressed interest in this study. If participants were interested in learning more about the study or had questions, my contact information was included on this sheet, and they were to contact me to set up a time to meet. Having a contact person from the community was very important to the recruitment process as I am not from this community, and this person played a large role in introducing this research and me to the community.

Potential participants that were identified through these community connections or through personally contacting me as a result of learning about the study from posters or other informal sources were provided additional information about the research-regarding its purpose, inclusion criteria, where interviews may take place, etc. (either through email or a telephone call to my temporary Labrador phone number) (Appendices C & D). Once the study was explained, and any initial questions they may have had were answered, they were then asked if they would like to participate in this research.

3.4.5 Informed consent process

Each of the interviews took place in a public location with a private area. I arranged to have a classroom available at the College of the North Atlantic for the evenings and weekends while I was in Labrador, and NunatuKavut Community Council offered their boardroom and/or a spare office for these interviews. One interview took place at the College of the North Atlantic, and one took place over the phone after I had returned to

Halifax due to scheduling difficulties. For the phone interview, the consent form was sent in advance of our interview, and the interview was audio recorded. The rest of the interviews took place in person at the NunatuKavut Community Council building in a spare office. Informed consent forms were presented to the participant at the time of the interview, and risks, benefits and purpose of the interview were outlined and discussed with the participant, and any questions that they had about the study were answered at this time. The consent form is attached in Appendix E. An oral consent form was used as it was agreed as the most culturally appropriate way to gain consent with this community by my supervisor, community contact, and the TCPS-2 Chapter 9 on research involving Aboriginal peoples (2010).

3.4.6 Ethical Considerations

With any cross-cultural research, considerations need to be made to ensure the research activities are not culturally insensitive or offensive to the people participating in the study (Ryen, 2008). One must also be aware of cultural norms in order to be able to ask questions in a way that is meaningful for the participants, as well as being sensitive to the historical context that may not be apparent to the researcher. Historically, research *on* Indigenous people has been invasive and has not benefited the participants (Smith, 2012). This study aimed to be culturally and ethically appropriate in its conduct with participants and with the NunatuKavut community at large. Several measures were taken to ensure appropriate ethical standards were followed.

Based on what I had learned by reading the Tri-Council Policy Statement (2010),

and taking the associated online module (Appendix G), I recognized the importance of learning as much as possible about the unique culture and specific concerns facing the people of NunatuKavut. The Tri-Council Policy Statement is a policy shared by Canada's three federal research agencies- the Canadian Institutes of Health Research (CIHR), the Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council of Canada (NSERC), and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) (TCPS 2). This policy outlines these research agencies' stance on the ethical conduct of research that involves humans. Chapter nine of this policy outlines the policy for research being conducted with Aboriginal peoples in Canada (TCPS 2- Chapter 9). This chapter of the policy recognizes that Aboriginal peoples in Canada have histories, traditions and culture that are unique, and that relationships between communities and researchers are particularly important for this population. Historically, research has been done on Aboriginal peoples by non-Aboriginal researchers, often not benefiting the people and communities being researched, and researchers have used Western approaches to their research. However, there are a growing number of Aboriginal people, and non-Aboriginal allies, who are now leading and conducting research, so the approach to research is changing. This chapter of the policy was written to guide researchers looking to do research with Aboriginal groups, and talks about the importance of fostering reciprocal relationships between academia and communities in order for the research to benefit the people it is researching. The chapter explains the need for researchers to ensure respect for persons, concern for welfare, and justice as they pertain to research. It also speaks to the need for respect for traditions and community customs, and the need for researchers to become familiar with these customs and to work within the context of the community.

As a result of my commitment to doing research in an ethical way, I involved members of the community in the planning, recruitment, and analyzing stages of my research. I place great value on the perspectives of the members of this community, and have been consulting with Natural Resources and Environment Manager of the NunatuKavut Community Council, George Russell, via an in-person meeting at which the ideas about this project were discussed, as well as email contact with follow up questions I had while developing the plan for this study. Mr. Russell has been a wealth of knowledge and has provided many suggestions throughout the research process, such as logistics of recruiting and interviewing participants in Labrador, and with the conceptual aspects of my thesis- ensuring that I am doing research that is meaningful to NunatuKavut and its members. A summary of themes was sent to research participants and to George Russell at NunatuKavut to seek their feedback on initial data analysis. Respondents to this summary indicated that the themes fit with what they expected/responded and that they were happy with the findings of the research. Had respondents not received the summary so positively, I would have noted and discussed any points of disagreement in my discussion chapter.

I am not Inuit; therefore there are differences in culture between myself, as the researcher, and the participants and I have relied on collaborating with other people who are Inuit to conduct research that is community focused and relevant. I entered into this research having thought deeply about my own worldview and how it may differ from others around me. I believe that this approach to conducting research allows for flexibility throughout the research process and understanding of any cultural differences that may arise. I have also learned a great deal from my discussions with my research

supervisor, Dr. Debbie Martin, as she has worked on health research in NunatuKavut communities previously, and has familial ties to the region. In trying to conceptualize my research questions and goals of this project she has been able to guide me and push me to think about my work in new ways by questioning assumptions I may take for granted about the world that are not true for everyone. My interpretations of the findings may not be what someone else who is Inuit may have concluded from these data, however this is true for qualitative research generally, since the goal is not about making generalizations but about deeply understanding the perspectives of the participants and how that might inform the issue being investigated. Throughout this research I have constantly been questioning the interpretations I am forming from the data, and the experiences I have had during this degree learning from Inuit people have aided with this critical thinking about what I am doing.

Permission was granted to conduct this research through the NunatuKavut Community Council Research Advisory Committee (Appendix N), the Dalhousie University Health Sciences Research Ethics Board (Appendix O), and the Newfoundland and Labrador Health Research Ethics Authority (Appendix P).

3.4.7 Interview guide

The interview guide that was used (Appendix H) was constructed to reflect the research purpose and questions of this study. The questions that were asked consider: the participant and their personal history as well as their connection to Labrador; how they personally view the relationship between social relations and emotional health; and their

perception of the Lower Churchill River project and its impact on aspects of their life such as the community, economics, politics and the environment and how this may influence their social relationships and emotional health. The questions were a guide for those that were asked throughout the interview sessions, however if the conversation veered away from the guide, yet was providing relevant information; probes were asked to clarify their statements.

The interview guide is available in Appendix H and was pilot tested on two people: a graduate student colleague, and a friend who identifies as Aboriginal. The intent was not that this Aboriginal friend would represent NunatuKavut, rather that they provided a non-academic perspective on these questions to ensure the questions came across as asking what was intended. Following this testing, how some questions were phrased was changed for clarity.

3.4.8 Data management

A digital audio recorder was used to record the interviews. Once the seven days post interview had passed, (during which participants were able to withdraw their data from the study), I transcribed the raw data from the recordings to my personal computer at my home office, my hotel room in Labrador, and at my office space at Stairs House. All digital files were stored in an encrypted file on a password protected USB drive, which were in a locked cabinet along with any paper files (hand written notes for two participants who did not consent to be audio recorded, and consent forms) at Stairs House. Following transcription of the interviews, the audio files were deleted.

Several steps were taken to protect participants' confidentiality. If participants indicated on their consent form that they wish for their identity to remain confidential in relation to the study, their names are not included in the acknowledgement section of my thesis, however quotes are used with information such as gender adult/older adult (without specific identifying information included). Only my supervisor, Dr. Debbie Martin, and I had access to the audio-recorded data. Transcriptions had identifying information removed (e.g., people's names, and any identifying information pertaining to their employment or residence), so the ability that someone reading the quote will be able to identify it as belonging to a specific participant is greatly reduced. There was one quote in which identifying information could not be removed, and it had the potential to identify an older adult who was jailed for protesting the development. After consulting with my supervisor and a committee member, I reached out to the participant to see if they were comfortable with this quote being used. The participant agreed that given the information provided in the quote they would be identifiable to others in the community, but consented to having the quote used as they felt it told an important story that they wanted told.

All data (including the USB drive with transcribed interviews and any printed documents) have been re-located to a locked filing cabinet in Dr. Debbie Martin's office at the School of Health and Human Performance (Stairs House). Study data will be kept for 5 years, after which time papers will be shredded and all electronic records will be deleted and the USB drive will be destroyed.

3.4.9 Data Analysis

The data gathered in this study were analyzed using inductive thematic analysis. This method was used in order to allow themes to emerge from the data itself, rather than using a pre-determined framework in which the participant responses fit (Creswell, 2014, p. 66).

During transcription, I was able to immerse myself in this data, and used this time to familiarize myself more with each interview, and to create a general summary of each of the interviews on a word document. These summaries were organized into a table that included the following column headings: description of participant (age category, male or female, where they considered to be their home); information about family relationships; positive things regarding development; negative things regarding development; general thoughts on the development; thoughts on the natural environment; stories about the area; thoughts on tensions in the community; thoughts on emotional health; information about the protests; and a quotes column where notable quotes were put for quick reference. Each interview was included in this table for easy access to general ideas relating to each question I had asked during the interview. These summaries were used as an organizational tool to quickly see what a given participant had said generally about a particular question. Full responses of each question were then compared to identify the main themes that emerged from the data, and quotes that best described a particular theme or identified a unique point of view were identified for incorporation into the findings chapter of my thesis.

3.4.10 Strategies for Reviewing Findings

Once the data were collected and the interviews were transcribed, participants who indicated during the interview they would like to be contacted again for this purpose were given the opportunity to review a summary of the initial themes that were emerging from the research (Appendix J). This two-page summary was also presented to the George Russell, Manager of Department of Natural Resources and Environment at the NunatuKavut Community Council for review. I felt this was an important step in the research process because I realize that the responses participants gave are not necessarily representative of all members of NunatuKavut, or of the NCC, and I was interested in participant and NCC responses to these themes, as this is a polarizing and controversial topic in Labrador and among NunatuKavut people. I took any comments from participants under serious consideration, and had they required it I would have made every effort to accommodate concerns, while maintaining the integrity of this study. From this process of member checking, no substantial comments were made, two participants responded saying that the summary looked great, and thanked me for my follow up. Had other comments been made, they would have been discussed in my thesis, but not used to alter themes or censor data that had emerged from this research. As an outsider to the community, I felt that this process was useful even with the lack of substantial feedback, as it allowed me to reconnect with participants and allow them the opportunity reflect on the overall findings of this research.

If resources and time were not an issue for this study, one of the ways I might have been better able to engage participants in this process would be if I were able to be

in Labrador physically to follow up with in-person meetings, or in presentations on my findings open to all members of NunatuKavut for feedback. Social media or monthly updates could have also been used to keep participants and community members engaged throughout the entire research process. These strategies are useful for me to keep in mind for conducting future research.

Following this review of the summary of themes, I continued to write and re-write the themes for clarity, and to begin writing the discussion of my findings by asking myself if my findings were surprising, or contained contradictions, based on the available literature reviewed prior to data collection, and began to think about the implications of these findings.

3.4.11 Knowledge Dissemination and Translation

One of the aims of this study is to publish findings in a peer-reviewed academic journal, as well produce a Master's thesis that is available to the academic community. Presentations have been given at academic conferences in order to further disseminate results to the academic community. The conferences I have presented at to date are: The National Gathering of Graduate Students (July 2014, poster presentation, Simon Fraser University); Sustainability and Environmental Research Symposium 11th Annual conference (March 2015, poster presentation, Dalhousie University); the 13th Annual Crossroads Interdisciplinary Student Health Research Conference (March 2015, oral presentation, Dalhousie University); and the Integrated Health Research Training

Partnership Graduate Student Research Day, 2015 (May 20, 2015, poster presentation, Dalhousie University).

NunatuKavut will be given a copy of the full thesis (either in print or electronically- whichever they prefer), and research participants will be provided with the link to this thesis on DalSpace for their reference. I have also been contacted by the Labradorian, a local newspaper in Labrador, to do a story with them about the findings of my research, and thus I will be able to provide a brief summary of my findings to many people via this story.

3.4.12 Limitations of the Study

One of the limitations of this study is that I am not a member of NunatuKavut, and was only in the area for 12 days while collecting data. I was an outsider coming to learn from this community, and historically this kind of relationship between community and researcher has not worked well for Indigenous peoples. I aimed to reduce this limitation by asking questions and learning from the NunatuKavut Community Council during the entire research process. As I am not based in Labrador, I relied on the assistance of members of the NunatuKavut Community Council to recruit participants. This organization has taken a stance against the development of the hydroelectric dams, and therefore the people assisting me with recruitment may have been more familiar with community members with similar views on this issue. Ideally, I would have been in Labrador to recruit participants for this study myself, but as this is not an option due to limited resources, I attempted to reduce the impact that this limitation may have on my

study by having posters put up in public locations, so anyone in the area was able to learn about the study and have access to my contact information, and two participants were recruited this way.

3.5 Conclusion

This study explores the concept of Two-Eyed Seeing to bridge Indigenous and Western ways of understanding the world, in relation to the effects the Lower Churchill development may have on social relationships and emotional health. Interviews were semi-structured, and were conducted with 10 participants. Analysis of these interviews was done by hand using inductive thematic analysis.

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS

This chapter reports the findings of this study, which included interviews with 10 participants. The purpose of this research study was to explore how the development of hydroelectric dams along the Lower Churchill River is impacting, if at all, social relationships and/or emotional health for members of NunatuKavut. From the interviews conducted, four main themes emerged: 1) the connection between the natural world, culture, social relationships, and emotional health; 2) concern about the changes to the land and community and loss of resources; 3) lack of voice and power with respect to the overall development of the Lower Churchill River; and 4) the tensions and challenges to social relationships resulting from the Lower Churchill development. Each of these themes is discussed in detail below.

4.1 Theme 1: “There is something really important and significant about being outside, being on the land, just being by the water. It clears your mind if you let it”: The connection between the natural world, culture, social relationships, and emotional health

In order to understand the remaining themes, we must first understand how the participants described the connection between the natural environment, culture, social relationships, and emotional health. When asked, each of the study participants had different ways of defining emotional health, but generally spoke about emotional health as being happy, being able to support yourself and your family (both materially and

emotionally) and being able to cope well with stress. Through their stories, however, participants also described emotional health in ways that go beyond ‘conventional’ definitions. Participants spoke about how they and other members of NunatuKavut need to be able to hunt, fish, and be on the land doing traditional activities in order to be emotionally healthy and happy, which aligns with Indigenous definitions of (emotional) health. One participant articulated that defining emotional health is challenging because it is so interrelated with other aspects of health that include physical, mental, and spiritual dimensions.

When you think about emotional health, it’s quite contingent on other aspects of health: your physical health, your spiritual health, your mental health, you know? It’s hard for me I guess to separate health into a specific category like that, because it’s... I don’t know how to explain it. It’s like I can’t have good emotional health if I have a physical ailment, or if there is something going on in another part of my life. They are just so intertwined. That’s why this project, I think, about the dynamics of this development are creating so much tension. Because it’s impacting so many parts of peoples’ lives. Emotional, physical, mental, it’s really impacting all of these levels.

(Female 1, Adult)

Despite significant cultural differences that exist across Indigenous groups worldwide, Indigenous peoples are often characterized globally based on their respect for the land, use of traditional foods, and having an emotional and spiritual connection to

being on the land (SHRG, 2004). This seems to also apply to the individuals interviewed for this study. The members of NunatuKavut I spoke with for this research all discussed how being on the land and being able to access traditional foods was very important to them. When people spoke about being on the land, they often talked about family memories and feeling connected to past generations of Inuit. One example of this connectedness and how it influences health is provided by a participant who spoke about how she feels connected emotionally and spiritually to the water, and why this is important to her.

The other day, I was having a really shitty day, and for me in Goose Bay there is still a lack of water source, and I couldn't do anything, and I have a daughter and she wanted to decorate for Christmas. And I was like, 'Can we just go down to the dock and chill out for a minute'. So I had to do that, and I've had to do that quite a bit since I've moved here. Go to where the water is and get your perspective. So it's just really important. There's something really. I don't want to make it sound commercial, or not natural, but there is something really important and significant about being outside, being on the land, just being by the water. It clears your mind if you let it. I have to say that water is central to me and my health. And it's a really big part of my life. Being able to be near water, actually dictates my health.

(Female 1, Adult)

This quote demonstrates personal or spiritual connection with the land that some people of NunatuKavut, as well as many other Aboriginal peoples in Canada, have. The

following theme discusses how this connection is threatened by physical changes to the environment, and how this impacts both social relationships, and emotional health.

4.2 Theme 2: "You are poisoning your people downstream": Concern about the changes to the land and community, and loss of resources

All of the participants spoke of their 'right' as Aboriginal people to hunt and fish for food, and how this is related to their health and overall well being- not only related to their physical health as a result of nutrition and having access to culturally relevant foods, but also as it relates to emotional and spiritual health. A concern was expressed amongst all participants that the Lower Churchill development would result in a loss of their ability to access traditional foods. The concern was partly related to the importance of being able to access these foods for their nutritional value, but there was even greater concern over the loss of ability to feel connected to nature, to practice cultural activities, to be happy, and to be emotionally healthy. One example of this concern is expressed in the following quote.

Yeah, definitely there is a connection between health and the land. They are connected because if NunatuKavut members are able to hunt and fish, they are able to be healthy and happy. If you're not able to do the things they've done all of their life, this leads to unhappiness and being unhealthy [sic].

(Female 4, Older Adult)

The family and community bonding that happens while doing traditional activities on the land was discussed by four participants, and these participants also brought up a fear of how the Lower Churchill development would impact bonding activities for future generations. Participants who were older adults talked about how they learned a great deal about their family members and themselves while being on the land, and in relation to this, there is a genuine fear that future generations will not be able to have these same types of experiences that were so important to shaping their own identity when they were young.

My mom was from Mud Lake, which is just across the river, and because my dad worked on the base, the things we did as kids we did with my mom. Fishing, berry picking, hunting, partridge hunting, that kind of thing. You look at the mercury levels in the fish now...and it's only going to get worse...My mom, until she died, lived outdoors. She was happy if she was berry picking and having a boil up and partridge hunting that type of thing. Now if you go up the road, you see these signs, warning people not to pick berries or the mercury levels in the vegetation that kind of thing. So she seen that impact, and we seen that impact. And that was caused by the upper Churchill. Knowing that the Lower Churchill is going to do this too... The mercury levels are going to be higher again. So that's really frustrating to know that not only are our health issues caused from the mercury, but the lack of fish the lack of berries, and other food. There's a ban now on caribou hunting, we grew up with caribou. I ran into a lady in the store today we

were talking about when we grew up, and you'd sit down at the supper table and say not caribou again! Now everyone would die for caribou because we haven't been able to harvest it the last couple of years, because the numbers are so far down. Our grandkids are going to grow up in a totally different society than what we grew up in. they're not going to be able to do the things on the land that we did. How do you turn that back? How do you reverse that?

(Female 3, Older Adult)

As described in the above quote, the ways in which people of NunatuKavut are able to engage in traditional ways of life, specifically accessing traditional foods (berries, caribou) has changed in the last generation, and many participants spoke about how this may be impacted further by the development of the Lower Churchill River.

4.2.1 Fear and concern about environmental changes

NunatuKavut people value the connection between the natural world, social relationships, overall health, and emotional health. Participants described past developments that had happened in Labrador. There is agreement amongst participants that there has been a lack of 'genuine' consultation with affected Aboriginal peoples including NunatuKavut people when significant development projects happen. Their stories describe how they have lived through, or been directly affected by, these projects, and that these other projects have already impacted traditional and cultural activities. The

following quote describes the impact past developments have had on traditional activities, such as Caribou mating patterns and calf survival, which impacted hunting.

I wasn't around when the upper Churchill was developed, I just remember there was an old woman who lived next to us who had a bunch of pictures of the Churchill river before the upper Churchill was dammed, and you would see this massive river with white water flowing because it's so rapid you know, so now every time I go to Lab west I drive and you go over this single lane bridge it's pretty far up, a few hundred meters for sure, and you look down and it's just a little trickle of water. I just think about how it was, and where all of the fish have gone to now. You fly over Lab west, and the Joey Smallwood Reservoir is massive and it blows my mind how much land is flooded there. That is a prime location for the Georges River caribou herd, that is affected, and now the Georges River herd numbers are decreasing significantly and that is culturally significant to my family, I never ate beef until I was 15 or 16, I always ate caribou. So maybe that had an effect, maybe all of the food for the caribou, all of that lichen destroyed. I don't know.

(Female 2, Adult)

The following quote describes an example of cultural loss (the loss of Innu burial grounds) related to the Upper Churchill dam, and how the impacts of this loss are still felt today.

I remember so many stories of how when they developed the upper Churchill how they flooded their [the Innu's] burial grounds and how heartbreaking it was. And those wounds don't go away.

(Female 3, Older Adult)

In speaking about the current development taking place along the lower portion of the Churchill River, a number of participants expressed fear and concern about how the development is going to impact the physical environment, and what that would mean for NunatuKavut people who actively engage with these lands. Some of the concerns and fears related to the effects of the dam and transmission lines construction on the environment, as NunatuKavut land claim areas include the transmission line route from the hydroelectric dams to the Island of Newfoundland, as well as the areas impacted by the hydroelectric dams themselves.

One thing that I've heard that a lot of people are concerned about is where they are clearing brush for the transmission line. The stuff they are spraying [herbicides], I don't know exactly what it is, they are spraying to keep down on the overgrowth, so eventually over time there will be nothing growing there. They are concerned about the environmental impact it will have on people, and that possibly running off into the water and affecting animals.

(Female 5, Adult)

This connectedness to the natural world is not unique to NunatuKavut- rather it is something with which Indigenous peoples around the world, and other non-Indigenous groups identify. Other Aboriginal groups in Labrador have expressed concern regarding potential negative impacts of the Lower Churchill development on the natural environment as well. Similar to the concerns expressed by participants taking part in this study, both the Nunatsiavut Government and the Innu Nation mentioned concern over environmental toxins and impact on the land and wildlife due to flooding (Panel Review, 2011). As the participant explains below, there are toxins being added to the ecosystem from this project, such as methyl-mercury, which bioaccumulates through the food chain, ultimately leaving traditional foods (fish, plants, and animals) unfit for consumption.

You are poisoning your people downstream, which is actually what is happening. Adding to the methyl mercury that is already in this system from the upper portion of this project, and what is going to be added here, and this all goes out into the main stream, which comes methyl mercury in fish. What they've done basically is sullied up our food supply and in an age when they're taking about food security, I think that is a very funny thing to accept.

(Male 1, Older Adult)

When many participants spoke about their fears and concerns related to the Lower Churchill development and the effect it will have on the land and traditional or cultural activities, it was expressed that these concerns would not only impact the people of NunatuKavut, but also other people living in Labrador who have a vested interest in the

lands and waters of the region. As the participant in the following quote discusses, Labrador is known by those who live there as being a ‘free’ place where there are many ways to get out on the land. There is a fear that with more and more development projects happening, this ‘free’ and resource-rich region will lose what it is known for.

My primary concern, I think, is the reason I moved back to Labrador, is that sense of freedom, that living on the land. I’m a really big country girl, I enjoy winters a lot, I enjoy going out with people hunting, and all these types of things. And I guess I fear that increased and rapid industrialization like this is going to at some point, Labrador is going to become unrecognizable from what it is known for now. For the freedom, the bounty, all these things that are discussed when you think about Labrador. So my issue is that it seems to be resources are being developed in this territory in a way that is not really sustainable. The important thing for people seems to be the biggest bang for your buck.

(Female 1, Adult)

There was also a great deal of fear expressed for the safety of NunatuKavut people regarding the stability of the North Spur. As two participants described during their interviews, the North Spur is a large, naturally occurring clay and silt deposit on the northern side of the river, which has the potential to form a landslide if it becomes unstable. Many participants expressed fear about the North Spur giving way and the potential physical damage to communities and the possible injury or death of people in the water’s path. People spoke about this as one of the many ways in which the provincial

government and Nalcor are disregarding the people of NunatuKavut and the Happy Valley-Goose Bay area (particularly the community of Mud Lake), as the potential damage from the North Spur would devastate this community based on the path of potential landslides. By disregarding this important element of the development, participants felt as though the government and Nalcor are placing more importance on the development than protecting individuals' lives.

We didn't really understand it and then as you learn more about things and you start... all of sudden we got a copy of this document and video from Norway where the clay [on a similar Spur] just let go and the whole you know 5 or 6 farms went out at 30km/hour. Just dissolved into liquid, it liquefies... If the north spur is not stabilized properly and that thing fails there's a lot of things that can happen- first of all Mud Lake goes underwater in a matter of hours- there's no time.

(Female 6, Older Adult)

Even though participants expressed concern over such changes due to changes to the physical environment, they also spoke about how these changes are impacting their lives in other ways. With the above quote, the concern that this participant feels for the North Spur giving away is not only due to the physical damage it could cause, but how this fear is impacting the community, and the emotional health impact that this kind of large-scale damage of Mud Lake could have on many members of NunatuKavut or other residents of the area.

4.2.2 Environmental and socio-economic changes: concerns about impacts on social relationships

In addition to the fears expressed about toxins and changes to the landscape, people also spoke about socio-economic concerns. For example, they noted that the prices of food, housing, childcare, and other living costs have increased dramatically since the construction began on Muskrat Falls in 2013. And while there have been some benefits related to the increased employment opportunities in the region (in relation to the benefits it has provided to local businesses and landlords), but there is growing concern that the rising cost of living is forcing some people to move away for work to support their families, as not everyone is working at the hydroelectric development.

My husband and I have actually thought about leaving because we thought that we couldn't afford to stay here. My husband was lucky enough to get a job, not at Muskrat Falls, but where he is making decent money and can stay here. But I think it would be a negative thing for social relationships and family relationships if people had to move away.

(Female 5, Adult)

One of the results of this increased cost of living has been an increase in homeless people in Happy Valley-Goose Bay, something that is relatively new to the area. Participants spoke about how unfair it seems that people have nowhere to live, while this

multi-billion dollar project is happening in the community. Many people mentioned that Nalcor should be giving something back to the community, but that is not happening.

There are so many homeless people. I never ever thought growing up in Happy Valley that there would be someone without a roof over their head. And now its mind-boggling how many homeless people are here. So you've got a multi-billion dollar project on your doorstep, but you can't look after the homeless? How does the government justify that? That's really frustrating,

(Female 3, Older Adult)

In Labrador, as in other parts of Atlantic Canada, many people need to move away temporarily for work, often doing a few weeks on the job in Western Canada and flying home for a few weeks. Participants of this study explained how it used to be affordable to live in Labrador while working elsewhere, but now with the increased cost of living due to the Lower Churchill development, they expressed fear that this is no longer a realistic or affordable option for people who work in other areas of the country. As a result they may need to move away permanently due to the increased cost of living in Labrador. Participants were concerned about this because they view being close to one's family and home community as important for having social support and good emotional health.

People are going to move away because it's too expensive to live here. That means that the few people that are left are going to pay the highest prices. Guess

what? They are going to have to be subsidized, because they're going to be retired people, they're going to have to go to the government and say I can't pay my light bill, I'm going to freeze to death, what are you going to do to help me?

(Female 6, Older Adult)

There were also some participants who voiced concerns over what happens when the jobs are mostly gone once the hydroelectric dams have been developed. Many people noted they were wary of the high salaries being paid for skilled and unskilled labor alike, saying how easy it is to get laid off or let go from the project. There were stories of people leaving lower paying jobs that they have had for years in order to take up employment with Nalcor or other companies working on the project, and concern about what will happen if these people were to lose their jobs, or what happens when the project finishes.

One of my best friends is working over there now, as a cleaner, she's making beds, and washing floors and doing bathrooms making \$40/hour. And for someone who doesn't have a degree, she's worked in various fields in labor work all of her life, always worked, always did something. But how do you expect them to say no? What happens in a few years time? There's not going to be the other jobs to go back to. What happens to these people then? How many houses are going to be lost?

(Female 3, Older Adult)

A key concern raised was how the development of the Lower Churchill River and the associated environmental and socioeconomic impacts are affecting relationships within families and the community as a whole. Some of the older participants have seen many development projects happen over the years that have stirred similar controversy and increased relationship tensions, and therefore had some insight into how this might affect community relationships in the short and long term.

I think that temporarily this will lead to worse relationships in the community, but people will forget about this in a few years time when it's done. For now there is bickering between those with jobs at Muskrat Falls and those without.

(Female 4, Older Adult)

Many participants spoke about concerns of 'outsiders' coming in and taking jobs at Muskrat Falls that could have otherwise been given to qualified people from Labrador. This was talked about as a source of frustration for people in the community, as the influx of new people into a relatively small community changes the social atmosphere of the community. One participant had a story relating to this common complaint.

I remember being on a flight coming from the island several months ago, and the local people were crying for jobs at Muskrat [Falls], because the unemployment rate here was huge- the base had cut back, there were a lot of other factors as well. So you had a lot of people trying to get jobs in on the project, so I sat on the plane next to a guy that was coming from Manitoba. I didn't know who he was, and

because I'm a bit nosey, I asked, 'Where are you heading?' 'Goose Bay'. 'Oh are you from Goose Bay?' 'No I'm from Manitoba'. 'Oh, what are you doing in Goose Bay?' 'I'm going to work on the development project there.' And I said, 'Oh, ok. I got two brothers living in Winnipeg. Do you know anyone in Goose Bay?' 'No'. 'Uh, how did you manage to get on the project?' 'My buddy got me a job over there'. And I'm thinking, 'Ok, he's an engineer, or something', and I said, 'Oh what are you doing over there?' 'Labour work'. And I'm thinking, 'There's people waling the streets in Goose Bay, who can't get in on the project, can't get the employment, and they're bringing in labourers from Manitoba?' And I can understand having to have certified electricians and certified that. There is accountability when you're building a project no doubt. But when you see people coming from elsewhere getting work and still have a lot of unemployment here...it's frustrating.

(Female 3, Older Adult)

There was also some discussion about how the increased employment and workers in the area are affecting family relationships. People spoke about the strain that working and living in a camp can have on a family, as well as people leaving their romantic partners for a new person to the area.

You've got all of these Muskrat workers they're coming in, majority are male, coming in staying wherever, some of them have spouses here working with them, some of them have spouses elsewhere, so they have girlfriends while they're here.

So you've got a ripple effect where families are splitting up, because this couple lives down here and they've just left their boyfriend or their husband because they met a Muskrat guy because he got money. And not that they are out there looking for the money, it's just that this is what is happening.

(Female 3, Older Adult)

People are splitting up over this, because you have spouses that are living in camp for 14 days or 21 days. Their spouse and kids are not living in camp, so it's a lot to take in for a project that our grandkids are going to pay for.

(Female 6, Older Adult)

Concern was also raised about what happens when a lot of money starts to come into a community, and how this affects the social environment, and thereby the social relationships and emotional health of the community. The following quote discusses the increase in housing costs and how it is putting strain on local people who are not making high wages working for the development.

The usual harassment that comes with construction companies is going on. That is the social distortion, people roaming around the streets with money, soliciting whoever they can get, that is way distorted. Homelessness is up, the prices are up, whatever space was available for rent, those people have rented it. They've driven up the cost as usual, the cost to the guy who makes \$10/hour is tied to the cost of

the guy who is making \$60/hour because they have to rent the same place. So who is going to get that piece of property? And for what price?

(Male 1, Older Adult)

This quote is only one example of the widening economic differences in the community, and many participants expressed concern about how feasible it is to continue to live in an area where cost of living is on a seemingly never-ending upward trend.

4.3 Theme 3: “If there’s a road going to get paved, it ain’t going to get paved in Labrador”: Neocolonialism with respect to the overall development of the Lower Churchill River

This third theme describes the lack of voice and power with respect to the ability to have input into the overall development of the Lower Churchill River. Many comments were made about the general struggle in Labrador with resource development and lack of political power. Participants talked about how they are from an area that is resource rich, but lacking in population, resulting in decisions being made that affects their resources by political representatives from Newfoundland. Many participants spoke about resource development as part of an ‘ongoing saga’ where resources get taken away from Labrador, and the people of Labrador see very little or no benefit, and have little opportunity to affect change with these types of developments.

If you're in Labrador long enough and talk about these things, the thing you'll always hear is just an ongoing saga of resource development or what a lot of people refer to as rape of resources in Labrador without any gain or benefit to people living in Labrador- the Aboriginal peoples of Labrador and to Labradorians. It seems that through resource development happening anywhere in Labrador, there seems to be these issues, some group left out. It's an ongoing story. You can take the Trans Labrador highway for example, or Voisey's bay, different things like that. Any development here hasn't been developed in a way that's been shared equitably.

(Female 1, Adult)

Another point that was articulated by many participants was how this kind of resource use was rooted in history- the people and organizations that hold positions of power in the region are getting what they want to the detriment of those who are of this land, but yet whose voices are not being heard. An example of this was given by a male participant, who spoke about the historical relationship between Inuit fishermen and the merchants in St. John's who would become rich from the fishermen's work, and how this continues today from other sources- Nalcor and the government in relation to the Lower Churchill development.

If you look at the history of Newfoundland and Labrador, it never developed a middle class that would be able to spend and circulate money in the economy. It was always the poor fishermen right? And they were used and abused by the

merchants in St. John's and the merchants are still doing it. Now they're [Nalcor and the Provincial and Federal Governments] doing it to us too, no difference.

(Male 1, Older Adult)

Many participants spoke about feeling like what they think or want does not matter, because they have never been able to be self-determining as Aboriginal people or as Labradorians. There was a sense that even if people in Labrador try as hard as they can to make their voices heard, they still do not have a political voice that is loud enough to make a difference. This led to a few participants wondering if there was any point in even trying anymore to have their voices heard. The following quote is an example of one participant speaking about the lack of control the people of Labrador feel over what happens around them, though it's worth noting that most participants expressed this sentiment in one form or another.

I keep telling people why do you even bother to vote? Why are we voting? So we [Labrador] can have 4 members in the house of assembly to their [Newfoundland] 44? What sense does it make? If there's a road going to get paved, it ain't going to get paved in Labrador. Unless Nalcor needs it, or we are out there up in arms. The only way we get anything here is when we fight like dogs. You shouldn't have to do that.

(Female 6, Older Adult)

In spite of this feeling of having little control over the political agenda of the province, participants were keen to suggest alternatives instead of such large development projects that drastically impact the environment and community. A few participants brought up suggestions of how developing resources could be done in a better way. People spoke of the need for NunatuKavut members and other Aboriginal people of Canada to be stewards of the land and work to best protect it and the people who live on it.

I think if resource development is inevitable, I think there are ways to do it that are more sustainable and that value and respect the territories to which these resources belong. And I think that would have to be done in a way, really meaningfully engaging with people and with communities about what the outcome of the project should be or how it should look along the way. Again, I keep going back to does it really need to be this large of an endeavour? Does it have to have this type of impact? Is there a way things can be slowed down, scaled down so it becomes more of a sustainable initiative?

(Female 1, Adult)

I'm all for it being developed as long as it's done in the correct way. We have to be stewards of the lands. If something is wildly dangerous or inappropriate then we have to say something about it.

(Male 2, Adult)

One of the most talked about immediate concerns relating to the Lower Churchill development was around the increasing energy costs on the coast of Labrador and how these communities are still run on expensive diesel, and the fact that this large hydroelectric development is going to directly bypass these communities without providing them any access to the hydroelectric power that will be generated. There were many participants who were concerned that due to the increasing energy costs as well as other strains on the cost of living in Labrador, that people would have to move away to provide for their families. This is another example of how the Lower Churchill development is harming NunatuKavut resources, and how the people who will be affected by the project are unable to have their concerns effect change.

I mean I just think that like one concrete example is the south coast not benefiting from this at all, and these coasts are run by diesel. It's a very expensive way to operate, particularly in the winter months. There's obviously a large gap between valuing the territory in which these resources are in, and what's being done, and there's little collaboration it seems.

(Female 7, Adult)

Many participants spoke about how good emotional health is linked with being self-determining—having control over what happens to you. Historically, the people of NunatuKavut, like many other Aboriginal communities in Canada and around the world, had a great deal of control over their own resources, that is, until outside economic and political interests have trumped their respectful use of the land. There are many examples

of the lands and waters of Labrador being changed through development and resource extraction that took place prior to the development of the Lower Churchill River. Some of the past developments that participants noted include: The Nickel mining at Voisey's Bay; the Uranium mines; the Trans-Labrador Highway; the military base used for low-level flying; and the development of the hydroelectric dam on the Upper portion of the Churchill River. The following quote is an example of this, from a participant who was speaking about the protests that were organized by members of NunatuKavut against the Lower Churchill development and about the subsequent arrest of the protesters.

Every time they tell me I can't do something, I have no right, I have no power. I can't do this or that – impacts your emotional health totally. Because that is kicking in to your self-esteem, which means you don't feel relevant at any level that means that anything you do or say is irrelevant.

(Male 1, Older Adult)

The examples of fatalistic thinking presented in this quote illustrate the emotional impact that being repeatedly silenced can introduce. The following section speaks to possible impacts on social relationships and emotional health of people who speak their mind in spite of this history of being silenced.

4.4 Theme 4: "I have friends in this community that I've been friends with for all of my life, and they are afraid to be seen speaking to me": The tensions and challenges of the Lower Churchill development and social relationships

The fourth theme relates to the tensions and challenges of the Lower Churchill development and social relationships. The stressors that have resulted from this development are creating community tensions – both within NunatuKavut, and between NunatuKavut and the two other recognized Aboriginal groups in Labrador – the Inuit and the Innu.

With respect to the relationship between the Innu and Nunatsiavut Government, it is worth noting that many participants mentioned that historically the relationships between all three groups were often linked. For example, individuals would have been deeply connected with more than one group due to intermarrying between Inuit and Innu. Undoubtedly, there are cultural differences between Inuit of Nunatsiavut and NunatuKavut, however during my time in Labrador I was told that the largest distinction is geopolitical for some communities. The geographical 'border' between Nunatsiavut and NunatuKavut lands means that in some extended families, members who live in neighboring communities along this border are members of two different Inuit groups, even though their ancestry is similar. The division between these Aboriginal groups was created by cultural differences, but is exacerbated due to the politicization of Aboriginal communities, required by the federal government. For example, Inuit of Northern Labrador are represented by the Nunatsiavut Government and have a formal land claim

agreement with the Canadian government, while Inuit of Central and Southern Labrador, represented by NunatuKavut Community Council, do not have an agreed upon land claim. As one participant noted, this divide quickly becomes a conversation about race and identity whenever the Lower Churchill River and its development are discussed, as the discussion shifts from the issue at hand (the development of the Lower Churchill River) to a discussion on who is benefiting and why this is happening.

One of the things I've noticed since I moved here is how this translates into blatant racism. It's actually really sad to see, it becomes a discussion—not of the issue anymore—but of who is benefiting and why, and I think it becomes very racialized. And it becomes a way to divide the populations, and in particular the Aboriginal populations here in Labrador.

(Female 1, Adult)

Despite the divide that has been created by colonialism, members of each of these groups continue to interact with one another, share values and experiences, and live in close proximity. Many participants spoke about the interconnectedness of the three Aboriginal groups in Labrador, and one participant explained that she is married to someone who is a member of Nunatsiavut, and also discussed the historical connection her family had with the Innu. The following is a quote in which this participant is speaking about the similarities and differences between her and her husband.

And he said, 'I can't live here. I don't know how you can live here. You get up in the morning and look out the window and all you see is the other side of the street'. And I'm like, 'Well what's wrong with that?'. And he says, 'You've got to be able to see the ocean, you've got to be able to be on the land'. And I said, 'We're on the land'. I grew up in a house where we ice fished, hunting and berry picking, and we did all of the outdoor things. But he grew up on the coast, which is a different kind of outdoors. And it took me a couple of years to realize what his connection was.

(Female 3, Older Adult)

It is important to note that even though these three Aboriginal groups are culturally distinct, they share the land and have been, and continue to share, the impacts of the environmental, political, and social changes that are happening in Labrador. Due to their political affiliations and differing degrees of recognition by the Federal and Provincial Governments, members of the Innu First Nation and of Nunatsiavut were included in the consultations that occurred before the development of the Lower Churchill River, while NunatuKavut withdrew from the consultation process. Although my interview questions did not ask about these other groups of Aboriginal peoples in Labrador, some participants brought up stories about people close to them who belong to these 'other' groups. As one participant discusses below, within Labrador the people from different cultures grew up with and around each other, and this speaks to the interconnectedness of the people of Labrador- regardless of with which group they identify.

When we were kids- because the Innu are people who moved, they would come out to the lake at Mud Lake, every year and set up camp. I remember as a little girl, my mom taking me up for a walk up along the bank, because the Innu would be expected to be out. And I remember walking up there past the point into the lake, and they weren't there yet. So the next day we would walk back up again, and nope, still not there. And all of sudden one day you would walk up and the Innu would be there. And there would be tents, and we'd go up and, because they were my mom's friends, I would play with the kids my age. I couldn't understand what they were saying because they were speaking Innu, but I mean my mom didn't speak their language, but she understood enough and had enough of a connection, being such an outdoors person. I remember being up there and she would be with the Innu ladies, and they would bake bread in the sand. And I remember sitting in their tent, and the smell of the boughs of their tents, and drinking, well we still call it Indian Tea, from the Indian Tea leaves. And it's the most horrible tasting stuff in the world, but we got to drink it in the Innu tent, so it was amazing to us as children. And I have very few memories of being a child in Mud Lake, but I do remember the Innu coming up and trading things with my grandfather- tobacco. I was 5 or 6 years old, so I don't remember much, but I still remember seeing them coming down the shore knowing the Innu are here! And it was exciting because it was new people that every year you get to see them. And then it would come time, and I don't even know what time of the year it was- I guess it was late fall that we would walk up to the lake and they would be gone.

We didn't know when they would leave, maybe my parents did, but we didn't know. And all of a sudden they wouldn't be there. You wouldn't see the tents; you wouldn't see the smoking coming from the tent stoves. But even more so, you would walk up the shore and there was no sign that they were ever there. The fires they used. I remember someone telling me, my mom maybe, telling me that the last thing they burned in the fires before they left were the poles for their tents. So you didn't see anything, because there was nothing other than a flattened area left.

(Female 3, Older Adult)

As mentioned, the community tensions that have surfaced in relation to the Lower Churchill development, are not limited to the differences that exist between NunatuKavut members and other Aboriginal groups. Indeed, many of these tensions also exist within the NunatuKavut community. A few participants were quite involved with the organized protests surrounding the hydroelectric development, and spoke of feeling ostracized from the community (NunatuKavut members and non-members alike) due to speaking their mind about the development. These participants indicated that they felt quite isolated sometimes due to their beliefs and passion about protesting the development project, which was talked about later in the interview as negatively affecting their emotional health, as their social relationships within the community are deteriorating.

I have friends in this community that I've been friends with for all of my life. And they own businesses, and they are afraid to be seen speaking to me. Honestly they don't say that, but I can feel the changes in our friendship, in our

acquaintanceship. They're not friends obviously, if they were friends I wouldn't have to go through this because they'd understand where I am. But I can feel the tensions around my openness about this project, and their fearfulness that if they are seen siding with me, that you know, their business will hurt.

(Female 6, Older Adult)

These divisions within NunatuKavut and Happy Valley-Goose Bay relate to the stress that has been introduced to the community relating to the Lower Churchill development. The development is a controversial, polarizing topic in Labrador and has resulted in the NunatuKavut Community Council and NunatuKavut members actively protesting this development. Given tensions in the community regarding the development, many participants brought up internal struggles either they or people they know are experiencing about feeling morally opposed to the project, but needing the money from the high paying jobs provided by the developing companies. A few participants spoke of the hesitation and stress that comes from wanting a good paying job, and being concerned with the effects of this development on Labrador. These tensions and stress impact the way in which people interact with one another, and also impacts emotional health of an individual and of the community.

I have family members that work with the project. My daughter actually works with Nalcor on the Lower Churchill project. She was very hesitant about actually working over there because of her grandparents and the whole Muskrat Falls

issue. But she does enjoy her job. At the end of the day, she has two kids to look after, so it is an income, a good income.

(Female 3, Older Adult)

One participant summarized what many participants had been talking about- the different ways this project has added stress to their lives and to the community in general. Many participants spoke about the stress of taking a job ‘across the river’ (a term used locally to describe the Muskrat Falls development site) or not, and how many jobs there are not permanent, and how this could affect their friends, families, and neighbors in the future if they are not fiscally responsible in spending their ‘Muskrat money’. This coupled with other tensions, leads to a complex situation that can manifest itself as stress in a variety of ways.

I think that it’s stressful for people in the community. But I would think that stress manifests in different ways. Some people don’t really think about the consequences of this, and there’s work there, so there’s stress over how long they are going to have this job, and then I know people who are completely opposed to the project but have to work there for monetary reasons, and I can only imagine that that would be stressful. And then I think there’s a high degree of contempt within communities between aboriginal groups and other people, and even within aboriginal groups, and between different aboriginal groups, about the project, increasing stress levels and tensions.

(Female 1, Adult)

The protests themselves have led to outcomes that are perceived to be both positive and negative by the participants in this study. There was some concern brought up during the interviews about the lack of engagement of the entire community, particularly the youth, and this resulted in concern over what would happen should similar events take place in the future- would there still be NunatuKavut people willing to step up and take action? Some participants also spoke about how other protests in other places across Canada have had more success and express their concerns about what this may mean for NunatuKavut and for Labrador in the future. The following quote is from a participant who spoke about her concern that the protests against the development were not engaging enough people, particularly youth, and were not producing enough results to be considered successful. Some other participants articulated similar sentiments regarding the protests and their effectiveness.

I see other groups protesting and I see the success they've garnered from their protests. And I really respect that and I appreciate that, and I think that we're not doing enough and I wonder why is that? Why aren't we able to stand up like that? Sometimes it's very concerning for me. When I stop and reflect on it, it scares me a little. Because I wonder. What if it's not important enough anymore? What's going to happen generation after generation, are our communities going to exist, are people going to feel the same way about these things? It's just this fear of cultural change.

(Female 1, Adult)

As one participant pointed out, the protests may mean something different for each member of NunatuKavut and for the community as a whole. Some of the varying reasons why the participants felt the protests were happening were: an overall lack of consultation with NunatuKavut members; unfair hiring processes; trying to stop the project; protecting the environment; and letting Nalcor and the province of Newfoundland and Labrador know that Labrador people do not feel they are benefiting from this development, and that they are not happy.

Well, I guess for the most part it's happening when people feel their rights are being trampled on right? If you feel you are not being treated fairly, if you're not being consulted or if your voice is not being heard. And if you've taken every other democratic recourse you can think of, then the only thing you have left to do is protest. And I think that's why people have been protesting this, and that's why people protest in general- to get their voice heard.

(Female 5, Adult)

When speaking about the protests, many participants expressed that even though people have varying reasons for not wanting the project to go ahead, and even varying reasons as to whether they thought the protests should result in a halt to the project itself, they still found the experience of protesting to be empowering, and unifying for NunatuKavut members. Many participants spoke about how the protests are the only way they can have their voices heard, and these events allow them to express that they are concerned about the development.

We had a gathering at the gates to Muskrat Falls, and it was good for emotional health. NunatuKavut is concerned about the issue at Muskrat Falls, and NunatuKavut is trying to make things better, they are empowering members.

(Female 3, Older Adult)

I think that protests should go ahead, and let Nalcor and the Newfoundland and Labrador government know that Labrador people are not getting the benefits of the project and are not happy about it. Yes, I think these protests are important. They're not going to stop the project, but I would protest every day if I could. Labrador people should be the ones getting the jobs.

(Female 4, Older Adult)

As with any group of people, there are differences of opinion on controversial topics- this development and the resulting protests are no different. Some members of NunatuKavut have been arrested for their actions during protests against this development project, while other members support the protests but are not active in them. At the same time, there are also NunatuKavut members who are employed by Nalcor (the energy company in charge of the development), who may not engage or identify with the protests at all, or feel unable to because they cannot afford to risk their employment. None of the participants interviewed for this study were working with Nalcor on the development, however a few members had immediate family members working there, and others still had close friends and other family members who were working there.

Some of our people feel there haven't been enough protesting and that the protesting that has happened hasn't been assertive enough. And I know other people that feel it has been adequate, and I know other people that feel we shouldn't do this at all, and people who can't or won't protest because they are afraid to compromise their current employment. So again there's all these different levels of awareness of what protesting means and why we should protest.

(Female 1, Adult)

One of the underlying messages common among all of the participants who spoke about the protests was how frustrating and disappointing it is that this community needs to take such measures in order to have their voices heard. One participant, who actively protested the development spoke about his dedication to having his voice heard in the following quote.

I went on a week's hunger strike to push this up, when I broke the injunction, I said no to signing a peace bond that I wouldn't do this again. I said absolutely not, I am not doing it. I will go do this again in your face. So when I got in jail, I said if I'm in jail for this, I'm not eating. So that means I had to go into solitary confinement. I was asked, 'Do you realize what you are doing and all of that' and initially I guess I didn't, because I have never done this before, put my life on the line, so they asked, 'Will you follow through? Will you die?' And I thought,

‘Well, that’s not a fair question, I’m doing the best I can here’. But at the end of the day, I had to say, ‘yes’.

(Male 1, Older Adult)

Some of the participants who are more active in the protests surrounding the development of the Lower Churchill River spoke of the ‘silent majority’ of NunatuKavut people who feel similarly to the protesters, but for a variety of reasons have not actively participated in the protests. Some of these reasons include a perceived or actual lack of knowledge on the subject, the technical nature of the development, fear of losing employment or losing business if they engage actively in protesting or are thought to be close friends with active protesters, or being too busy with everyday life to really engage in protesting.

People sit home at their kitchen tables, and I can visit with some of my friends and they’ll say exactly what I’m saying. But they don’t feel empowered enough or knowledgeable enough to speak out about it. It is a very technical issue, there is a lot going on with the Muskrat Falls issue. We’re following it 24 hours a day and we know nothing compared with what the engineers at Nalcor know. Right? And we feel stupid about it, or unlearned about it. You can imagine what the people at home who go to work every day and have to look after their lives and their kids, and they don’t have time to listen to the news or if they do they hear the garbage that comes out of these people’s mouths over and over. They go around the same circle and never says anything different. And it’s always, ‘we know what we’re

doing, trust us'. I don't trust anyone that won't release their documentation. I don't care who they are.

(Female 6, Older Adult)

You have to separate us [the protesters who got arrested] from the average everyday person because they have their lives to get on with. They are just beginning their families, they have mortgages, they have to get a job, all of that is in the mix. That is why we have to stand our ground. We've got to clear the ground on principle, so they can come with us. With this action now, we will. For people who don't come they will understand that we've made the move they will be able to think, 'oh good, someone is looking after this, I don't have to say a word.' They're still with us, but they're quiet... a silent majority. We have to feel that silent majority in the undercurrent, and I know its there. I've been hearing it, not because of who I am or what I've done, but I'm hearing it. People tug me aside and say you're doing the right thing. I go in to the judge, to get my court day, and there are people that say, 'We're on your side, you know'.

(Male 1, Older Adult)

Despite the community tensions that exist, and the very real fear that this development will significantly change how future generations are able to interact with the land, one of the concepts that came out of a few interviews was one of resiliency. The people of NunatuKavut have lived off of the lands and waters of Labrador over many generations, and they have always been very resilient to various political and economic

changes. Most participants spoke about being proud of knowing how to hunt, fish, and pick berries for food, and knowing traditional methods for living on/with the land. Some examples of this are highlighted in the following quotes. These quotes came from a portion of the interview that emerged from talking about the possible negative economic effects that the development of the Lower Churchill River might have on the economic climate of Newfoundland and Labrador, and they speak about the resiliency of the people of NunatuKavut and other peoples in Labrador.

It's like the old country song says, a country boy will survive. And when we get a rabbit out the woods, we can get a caribou, we can get a fish out of the river, might be full of mercury now, but you can get a fish.

(Female 6, Older Adult)

In 1939 when the market crashed, you didn't have trappers jumping out of high-rise buildings. They were stuck on the ground and hungry every day and dealing with it and nothing changed. But the guy with the money, when that money went away, he was out the window it was all over. It's in the tough times you see who the vulnerable people really are.

(Male 1, Older Adult)

Despite the long history of being silenced, mistreated, and taken advantage of, the participants in this study have also acknowledged their persistence to survive and to have their cultural and traditional ways of living survive. The above quotes speak literally

about physically being able to survive despite socioeconomic changes that may come about, however they also illustrate a resilient state of mind that has existed in this community throughout this ongoing saga of resource development and changes to their land and way of life.

4.4 Conclusion

There are four main themes as a result of this research project. The first theme looks at the connection between the natural world, culture, social relationships, and emotional health. The second theme explored the concern participants had about the changes of the land and loss of resources, and how this affects tradition/culture, and thus, social relationships and emotional health. This theme drew on quotes relating to traditional activities that will be impacted by the development, as well as the economic and social changes that are happening as a result of the hydroelectric development. The third theme revealed the lack of voice and power with respect to the ability to have input on the overall development of the Lower Churchill River, which has both damaged and strengthened social relationships. In this theme, the lack of self-determination that the people of NunatuKavut have had since colonizers arrived is evident, as is how they lack self-determination today in facing issues such as the lack of meaningful consultation for the Lower Churchill development. The fourth theme elucidated the tensions and challenges of the Lower Churchill development and the impact on social relationships in the community. This theme explored the variety of opinions people of NunatuKavut may

have regarding the development itself and the related protests. The following chapter discusses the implications of these findings in relation to the relevant literature.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION

One of the issues underlying the findings of this study is that the various levels of government in Canada are not fulfilling their legal, fiduciary, and Treated responsibilities to Aboriginal peoples in Canada, through lack of meaningful consultation, and by largely disregarding historic and modern treaties agreed upon by the Crown and the Aboriginal people. Canada has also signed on to various international documents, such as the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, and the International Covenant on Economic, Cultural, and Social Rights. These documents are not legally binding, but represent international norms and standards agreed upon by member countries (United Nations, 2007; United Nations Human Rights, 1966). The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples sets a minimum standard for the treatment of Indigenous people and is aimed at reducing the human rights violations, discrimination, and marginalization against these groups, and Canada signed on to this document in 2010 (United Nations). Canada has also signed on to the International Covenant on Economic, Cultural, and Social Rights in 1976, and through this covenant the state has an obligation to ensure that Indigenous peoples are able to access adequate resources for a culturally appropriate, healthy life (United Nations Human Rights). These documents show that on paper Canada is supportive of improving its treatment of Indigenous peoples in this country in principle, however this has not yet followed suit to practice. Based on these documents and the findings of my research, the broad recommendation for this study is to improve the relationship between Aboriginal peoples in Canada and the government by increasing the amount of meaningful

conversation, emphasizing the need for shared decision making that happens in trying to make these abstract documents more of a reality for Canada. For the people of NunatuKavut and the Lower Churchill development specifically, this would mean that the provincial and federal government would be better able to understand the issues Labrador people are facing. When decisions are made that will affect the people of Labrador, this would ensure their voices are included in the decision making process. This would lead to the community having more self-determination, and lead to improved emotional health outcomes. Even though the development of the Lower Churchill River has already started, NunatuKavut could still be included in discussions in order to reduce further negative impacts the project will have on its land and people, which would give decision-making power over resources to the people of NunatuKavut, thereby improving emotional health through self-determination, and improving social relationships in the community that have been strained due to the controversy surrounding this issue. Given that NunatuKavut withdrew from the consultation early in the process, this would involve a readiness from NunatuKavut, the governments, and Nalcor to enter in to discussions at this point, and to address the concerns that led NunatuKavut to withdraw from the consultations (NunatuKavut, 2013b)

5.1 Emotional health

As described by Reading and Wien (2013), there are proximal, intermediate, and distal categories of determinants that affect health: Proximal refers to factors that are close to the individual person and have a direct impact on health (i.e. individual health

behaviors, social environment); intermediate refers to determinants that impact the community in which someone lives, and therefore impact the proximal determinants of health (i.e. infrastructure, resources); and distal determinants are broad factors that influence proximal and intermediate factors as they construct the context in which a community exists (i.e. history, politics, and economics). In this study, participants described their connection to the lands and waters of Labrador, and being able to participate in traditional activities on the land (i.e. a proximal determinant of health), as being linked to their emotional health explicitly (Reading & Wien, 2013). The development of the Lower Churchill River is affecting the physical environment through changes in land development and pollution, which is impacting the ability of NunatuKavut members to be on the land engaging in these traditional activities, which affects their ability to connect with the land personally. These activities also negatively impact familial and community relationships and endangers the preservation of NunatuKavut's culture for future generations. Participants also spoke about the connection between the Lower Churchill development and the ability to support one's family (i.e. an intermediate determinant of health) given the increasing cost of living in Labrador due to the development. Similar to the description of Reading and Wien's work, participants were also able to draw connections between their colonial history (i.e. a distal determinant of health) and emotional health by acknowledging that stress which is present in their lives due to the development of the Lower Churchill River, along with stress from other developments that have taken place in the past, is largely related to the lack of meaningful consultation of NunatuKavut people. This lack of meaningful consultation that has accompanied such developments is one way in which NunatuKavut

people have not been able to be self-determining, which is related to mental and emotional health. Self-determination is related to better mental and emotional health outcomes, as it correlates with lower incidences of mental illness and related deaths in Aboriginal communities (Chandler and LaLonde, 2008). One way in which NunatuKavut may be able to improve their self-reported mental and emotional health for its people is by achieving a greater degree of self-determination. A way for this to happen would be for the government to enter into negotiations regarding NunatuKavut's current land claim submission, affirming the legal rights to NunatuKavut that are given to other Aboriginal groups in Canada. This would then allow them to have more control over proposed developments that impact their people or the lands and waters they include in their territory, and would likely improve mental and emotional health for NunatuKavut people. The concerns of NunatuKavut (evidenced by findings of this study, through other research studies and media articles regarding the hydroelectric development of the river) need to be addressed before there are long lasting or intergenerational effects on the people of NunatuKavut and their way of life due to the hydroelectric development of the Lower Churchill River.

5.2 Changes to the physical and social environments

Findings from this study suggest that there is great concern about the changes that are happening to the land and resources as a result of the Lower Churchill development, and the effects that these changes will have on culture, social relationships, and emotional health. The participants clearly argue that physical changes happening to the natural

world have the potential to influence emotional health, and such an assertion is supported by other research. As discussed in the literature review, the Cree and Inuit that were impacted by the James Bay hydroelectric development were deeply connected with the natural world and were not able to participate in traditional activities to the same extent following the development (Agyeman, 2009). Niezen (1993) explored this issue and found through social services files that this development and subsequent alteration of lifestyle led to social instability manifesting in high rates of suicide, child neglect, and drug use/misuse. This study speculated that large-scale development could be expected to make such problems worse, despite the economic benefits to the area as a result of increased employment (Niezen, 1993). The way in which the James Bay Hydroelectric developments have affected the health of Cree and Inuit in that area could indicate how the Lower Churchill hydroelectric development may impact the health of NunatuKavut and other Aboriginal groups in Labrador.

Research done with Nunatsiavut Inuit in Labrador focusing on the impact that environmental changes due to climate change are having on emotional health mirrors these findings, as it was found that with reduced access to the land and traditional activities, Nunatsiavut Inuit experienced anxiety, depression, and that these changes to the environment affected their culture, their self-worth, and their health (Cunsolo Willox, Harper, Edge, Landman, Houle, & Ford, 2011). This connection between health and loss of land and resources reinforces why consultation with Aboriginal groups prior to resource development is crucial- changes to the natural world affect Aboriginal peoples' health in many ways. Consultation should be considered only a first step in the process of engaging Aboriginal peoples in development projects, as consultation alone does not

affect change. Shared decision making, however, would result in changes to the way in which the development is going to occur, and addresses community concerns by listening and understanding different perspectives, and then taking action to reflect these voices. In the case of the Lower Churchill River development, the three Aboriginal groups in Labrador (The Innu, Nunatsiavut, and NunatuKavut) have been further divided through differences in how their voices were heard and used to inform decisions in the consultation process. The Innu were included in the consultation process and it was decided that the development would impact their members' way of life, thus concerns voiced by this group in the Panel Review (2011) report needed actionable responses (i.e. relocating the Canada Yew to an area that would not be flooded by the dams). Even though Nunatsiavut was included in the consultation process it was decided that due to their land claim area not being directly affected by the Lower Churchill hydroelectric dams, and yet they feel their concerns (i.e. regarding methyl-mercury entering the environment and affecting their members' way of life) were not adequately addressed (Fitzpatrick, 2015). NunatuKavut was not involved in the consultation process and their concerns have not formally been heard. The differences throughout this process for each of these three Labrador Aboriginal groups has led to increased friction between these groups, as discussed during participant interviews for this study. Each group (and every individual person within these groups) has their own reasons for concern with this development, however their combined voices would be stronger than they are separately. This divide and conquer mentality has been used by government and large-scale developments, and have been successful in increasing powerlessness among the people who might gain strength from one another.

5.3 Hopelessness resulting from neocolonialism and environmental development

The findings from this research also suggest feelings of hopelessness amongst members of NunatuKavut due to an inability to voice their opinions and concerns about this hydroelectric development, and lack of power to effect change with decisions that impact them. Participants for this study spoke about feeling as though they have no say in what happens to them or resources around them. This feeling of disempowerment was evident throughout all of the interviews, and several participants explicitly spoke about how this negatively affects emotional health. Some participants expressed that they felt they were not able to have their opinions or voices heard due to being Aboriginal, while other participants spoke about this as being a Labrador-wide issue. These feelings of disempowerment are not unique to NunatuKavut, and have been studied across many Aboriginal communities in Canada (Kirmayer, Simpson, & Cargo, 2003). Most participants in my study explained that this was a result of Labrador being resource rich, while Newfoundland is population rich- the part of the province with the people makes the decisions that affect the entire province to the detriment of people living in the resource rich areas. Although democratically, it makes sense to have more politicians representing population dense areas, the participants of this study felt as though nothing they could do or say would make a difference, suggesting that the democratic process, in this case, works against them and their interest in protecting the environment. This sentiment also reflects the intra-provincial politics that takes place between the Island of Newfoundland, and Labrador. These feelings of disempowerment, and lacking self-

determination, are known to have an impact on mental health, by increasing depression, substance abuse, and are linked with the colonial relationship still present between Aboriginal communities and the governments in Canada (Kirmayer, Simpson, & Cargo).

If NunatuKavut had a settled land claim that included the lands and waters affected by the Lower Churchill development, more of an effort might have been made to accommodate their requests and concerns surrounding the consultation process. However, even having a settled land-claim does not always imply that a truly consultative process would have taken place. Nunatsiavut, for example, was included in these consultations, and their suggestions to the Panel Review (2011) have yet to be acted upon, suggesting the consultations are a formality that are not effective at enacting change. The people of NunatuKavut have had a similar, recent experience. A separate environmental assessment was carried out for the transmission lines that will transmit power generated at the dams to Newfoundland, and then on to the Maritimes and the rest of Canada. It was determined that the transmission lines run directly through much of NunatuKavut territory included in their land claim submission, would have both direct and indirect impacts on the people of NunatuKavut (Nalcor Energy Lower Churchill Project, 2012). Consultations revealed that one of the most prominent ways the development of this transmission line will impact the people of NunatuKavut is through the impact it will have on animals and plants used traditionally for food and other purposes (Nalcor Energy Lower Churchill Project). The NunatuKavut Community Council has spoken out against this aspect of the larger development going ahead, as the environmental assessment clearly stated the negative impact the transmission lines will have on NunatuKavut people, yet this development has been approved (The Telegram,

2013). In this case, and in all cases where Indigenous communities are being significantly impacted by large-scale economic development, shared decision-making (rather than inadequate consultative processes) are needed. Such shared decision-making would enable actionable changes that result from community voices, and inform all decisions to better suit communities that are most directly affected by the development in question.

5.4 Community tensions and strained social relationships

The fourth theme that emerged from the data demonstrated the tense feelings and challenges to social relationships resulting from the development of the Lower Churchill River. As participants discussed during the interviews, the development project has been a controversial topic in Labrador since it was announced- with some NunatuKavut people actively protesting the development, while others are employed there. Differences in personal opinions on the development have created divides in relationships, which creates stress for the people involved, negatively impacting (mental and) emotional health as discussed by participants. Some participants spoke about friends or family members with whom they no longer speak, or feeling ostracized from the larger community due to their protesting against the development. They discussed how even though some of these people support the protests, they feel they are not able to associate with the protestors due to working at the development site, or fearing losing business from the development. The way in which NunatuKavut was not adequately included in the consultation process, and thus how the development has been designed and carried out (without NunatuKavut input) is exacerbating the stress experienced by NunatuKavut people in regards to this

development. This is linked with the extraction of resources from Labrador, which has happened many times through this land's history, including the construction of the American/Canadian Forces Base in Happy Valley-Goose Bay, and construction of the Labrador Highway (Chrétien & Murphy, 2009; Harrington & Veitch, 1992; Labour, 1993). The development of the Lower Churchill River is an example of how colonial and paternalistic attitudes/actions of the Canadian governments are impacting Aboriginal peoples by not sharing the decision making process with the people whose land they are affecting prior to developing the environment.

Participants also spoke about the racist attitudes towards Aboriginal people that are strengthening in Happy Valley-Goose Bay as a result of the development. This is also demonstrated through participants who have been active in the protests talking about how they feel ostracized for their beliefs and actions against the development. As Bombay, Matheson and Ainsman (2009) discuss, current day tensions, such as those due to the Lower Churchill River development, that are built on generations of colonialist attitudes resulting in trauma may escalate to racism, violence or other manifestations of stress. This racism or violence may be between Aboriginal peoples and Non-Aboriginal peoples, or it could be between groups of Aboriginal people or even within one's own Aboriginal community. Bombay, Matheson, and Anisman discuss in their research the connection between intergenerational trauma experienced by First Nations people in Canada and a variety of mental illnesses such as depression, and substance misuse/abuse. This intergenerational trauma is described in their study as stemming from many years of colonialism and assimilation being forced upon this population, which in more contemporary times also includes discrimination and racism. If the tensions and stress

that are present in NunatuKavut as described by participants continue, coupled with past experiences of colonialism and stress, this could lead to a form of intergenerational trauma, which is shown to have negative outcomes on mental and emotional health. Therefore, it is important for the health and well being of NunatuKavut people that they are able to reduce the stress, tensions, and subsequent racism that are being experienced in their communities for improved health outcomes.

In speaking about the protests against the development, most participants felt they were positively impacting social relationships, as they were uniting members towards a common goal, and that these protests allowed community members to come together to support one another and to speak out against the development. There have been examples of this unifying nature of political action among other Indigenous groups around the world. Wilkes (2006) discusses the similarities and differences of social movements of Indigenous peoples in Canada and the United States, and one of the four key themes they write about is 'collective identity'. This collective identity uses examples of the Red Power movement in the United States, and the Oka crisis in Quebec, to discuss the way in which these political actions brought people together for a common goal (Wilkes). However, there were participants who did not think the protests were doing enough to bring together the people of NunatuKavut towards a common goal and were not effecting enough change. One of the critical comments regarding the protests was that members were protesting for different reasons- some were against the environmental aspects, while others protested regarding jobs available to Labrador people. The criticism of this was that the message the protests were trying to get across was getting lost due to this lack of direction.

5.5 Suggestions for moving forward

This chapter began with the broad recommendation to improve the relationship between Aboriginal peoples in Canada and the government through the application of various international documents involving the rights and treatment of Indigenous peoples that Canada has signed (i.e. the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous peoples; and the International Covenant on Economic, Cultural, and Social Rights). A new relationship needs to be created- the government needs to rethink how they are engaging Aboriginal peoples in Canada. One of the ways that this can begin to be addressed is by properly educating the Canadian population about the Aboriginal peoples in Canada and our country's history. We are all treaty people, and by educating the general Canadian population about this, a new relationship between the governments of Canada (and the general Canadian population) and Aboriginal peoples may be formed. I have always been interested in history, and I had to search to learn about the full history of Canada- one that includes the history of Aboriginal peoples in Canada. All Canadians should be taught about this history, and this recommendation is also included in the recently released Truth and Reconciliation Commission report (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015).

In the search for 'greener' alternatives to fossil fuels, hydroelectric power is one of the options, however it has negative impacts on the environment and people who are tied to the natural world. It is therefore a recommendation for other, greener, alternatives to fossil fuels and hydroelectric power, such as solar energy, to be considered and for community discussions to take place prior to deciding what kind of power development

will be implemented in a province in order to address any potential concerns community members might have early in the development process, providing all communities with increased self-determining capacity.

Another avenue to pursue in moving forward from the findings of this research may be for NunatuKavut to strengthen their outreach to members regarding issues such as the Lower Churchill development, to be specific about reasons for protesting further developments or issues, and to work with local (environmental) interest groups to be better able to educate NunatuKavut members on the issue at hand, so members feel they have the knowledge to be able to make change and be heard. Given the support from the non-Indigenous community for other Indigenous centered protests happening in Canada, such as the pipeline protests in British Columbia (Crawford, 2014), it may also be beneficial for NunatuKavut to determine a way to engage allied non-Indigenous peoples in their protesting of this development, and other developments in the future. One place to start in planning to make such changes would be on the Idle No More website (www.idlenomore.ca) and contacting organizers from other parts of the country about the advocacy and protests they have engaged in, and how to best educate and prepare one's community for such action.

5.6 Ideas for future research

The success of Idle No More (2012) has been largely attributed to their involvement of youth. There was concern expressed by some participants in this study about the lack of youth engagement in the NunatuKavut protests. It would be highly

interesting and beneficial to speak with youth of NunatuKavut. This research could focus on understanding their perspectives about the Lower Churchill development and to what extent they are/would like to be involved with the ongoing protests/advocacy on behalf of NunatuKavut, or what barriers make it difficult for them to get involved in political action. This research could also ask youth about the extent to which they feel issues of sovereignty and self-determination are important to them, exploring their personal feelings of connection to the historical and political contexts in which NunatuKavut exists.

It would also be valuable to compare the similarities and differences in perspectives between Aboriginal people in Labrador, Newfoundland, and the Maritime Provinces (connected to this project through the Maritime Link) with respect to the developments themselves, and the consultations that have occurred regarding the Lower Churchill River development and Maritime Link construction. From this research one could discuss the different ways Aboriginal people are treated with respect to consultation in environmental development projects across these provinces, and between different Aboriginal groups (i.e. Inuit, First Nations, and Métis).

Additionally, further research could be done that includes the perspectives of multiple groups of people that are involved in/impacted by this development: NunatuKavut; the Innu; Nunatsiavut; non-Aboriginal Labradorians; representatives of the government; and representatives of Nalcor Energy. This would allow for a more complete understanding of the intricacies that may be lost from each perspective in the Review Panel (2011) report and media articles, as well as provide a way to gather information from people while the development is taking place, rather than what is

usually done- collecting information only at the beginning or the end of a project.

Including representatives from the government and Nalcor would also provide the other side of the argument and may allow for more discussion on the realities of doing resource development that impact Aboriginal peoples, and could result in improving every party's understanding of one another.

5.7 Concluding remarks

The purpose of this research was to gain insight into the perceived influence of the hydroelectric development along the Lower Churchill River on emotional health, and social relationships in the community, and how changes to these social relationships may influence the emotional health of NunatuKavut adults. There are four main themes that emerged from this research: 1) the connection between the natural world, culture, social relationships, and emotional health; 2) concern about the changes of the land and community, and loss of resources, and how this affects tradition/culture, and thus, social relationships and emotional health; 3) lack of voice and power with respect to the overall development of the Lower Churchill River, which has both damaged and strengthened social relationships for NunatuKavut people and affected emotional health; and 4) the polarizing tensions and challenges of the Lower Churchill development and social relationships and emotional health. These themes demonstrate the importance of culture for protecting both social relationships and emotional health of individuals, and that a healthy environment is considered an essential element of protecting culture. Thus, damage to the local, natural environment was described as having implications for social

relationships and the overall emotional health of individuals within NunatuKavut. There is often an assumption amongst the non-Aboriginal population in Canada that Aboriginal people are completely against all forms of development, but this is not always the case. As evidenced by the findings of this study, most participants understood the need for development projects and are protesting or feel negatively towards the current development of the Lower Churchill River due to lack of shared decision making regarding the project, and that their concerns that the environmental impact of this large-scale development have not been heard, and thus, not adequately addressed. The Lower Churchill development stems from a long history of resource extraction and land development in Labrador, with little or no consultation, and it stands to impact the social relationships and emotional health of local residents through its impacts on the environment, society, the traditional way of life, and the natural resources around them. Without shared decision making regarding the proposed project, and having Aboriginal peoples concerns and suggestions used to implement new policies or procedures with regards to the construction and running of the project, Aboriginal groups are left lacking self-determination, which leads to negative health outcomes. With this kind of consultation, the development projects may still proceed, but in ways that are respectful of the environment, and of the people who have been living with the natural world for generations, and are most familiar with how to engage with it in respectful ways.

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APPENDIX A: NUNATUKAVUT LETTER OF SUPPORT



NUNATUKAVUT
P. O. Box 460, Station C
Happy Valley-Goose Bay, NL
A0P 1C0
Phone: 1-709-896-0592, Ext. 2242
Fax: 1-709-896-0594
Email: grussell@nunatukavut.ca
Website: www.nunatukavut.ca

August 7, 2014

Ms. Marissa Ley
School of Health and Human Performance
Dalhousie University
PO Box 1500
Halifax, NS B3H 4R2

Dear Ms. Ley;

I am pleased to be given the opportunity to collaborate with you in the proposed project entitled, *"Hydroelectric development along the Lower Churchill River and the perceived influences on social relationships and emotional health of NunatuKavut adults"*. As the Environment and Resource Manager for NunatuKavut, I am interested in contributing to this important research focused on learning about environmental dispossession and the impact on social relationships and emotional health.

Our office will collaborate with you to help promote this research study to members of NunatuKavut in Happy Valley-Goose Bay. As well, our office will (1) provide guidance on questions that arise during the planning, data collection, and analysis stages, and (2) assist with dissemination of research materials/updates to community members.

We are looking forward to assisting with this research project. If you have any questions or concerns regarding this support letter or my involvement, please contact me at grussell@nunatukavut.ca or 1-709-896-0592, Ext. 2242.

George Russell Jr.
Environment and Research Manager

APPENDIX B: RECRUITMENT POSTER

Are you interested in taking part in a research study about the development of the Lower Churchill River?

A research study exploring the impact of this development on social relationships and emotional health in NunatuKavut will be conducted in November in Happy Valley-Goose Bay.

If you are:

- Over the age of 18
- Speak English
- Are a member of NunatuKavut
- Interested in sharing your perceptions about the hydroelectric development project

I want to hear from you!

If you are interested, this study involves a confidential one-on-one interview (1-2 hours in length), taking place this Fall (October or November) in Happy Valley-Goose Bay.

For more information, please contact student researcher, Marissa Ley, at marissa.ley@dal.ca or 709-217-0751, or her supervisor, Dr. Debbie Martin at debbie.martin@dal.ca



APPENDIX C: INFORMATION ABOUT PROJECT TO BE GIVEN TO POTENTIAL PARTICIPANTS BY NUNATUKAVUT COMMUNITY COUNCIL REPRESENTATIVES

Are you interested in taking part in a research study looking at how the Hydroelectric development happening along the Lower Churchill River may affect social relationships?

Would you like to participate in an interview as part of a research study looking at perceptions about the development of the Lower Churchill River?

The study being conducted aims to gain a better understanding of how the Lower Churchill development project may influence social relationships and emotional health (in both positive and negative ways) of adult members of NunatuKavut.

If you are:

- Over the age of 18,
- Speak English,
- Are a member of NunatuKavut,
- And want to tell us your thoughts about the development of the Lower Churchill you are able to participate.

This research is being conducted by a Masters of Arts student, Marissa Ley, studying Health Promotion at Dalhousie University under the supervision of Dr. Debbie Martin.

If you decide to be involved with this study, you will be asked to participate in one face-to-face interview with Marissa Ley that will last between one and two hours. This interview can take place whenever is most convenient for you. Marissa will be in Happy Valley-Goose Bay in from November 4-15, 2014, and will schedule interviews within this time.

Please contact Marissa Ley if you would like more information about this research, if you would like to participate, or if you have any questions.

Email: marissa.ley@dal.ca

Phone: (709-217-0751)

APPENDIX D: TELEPHONE SCRIPT

Hello, I am looking to speak with _____, are they available? Hi _____, this is Marissa Ley calling from Dalhousie University. I am calling because you have indicated you are interested in taking part in a research study I am conducting on the hydroelectric development in Labrador and social relationships. Is now a good time to talk?

If no: When might be a better time for me to call back?

If yes: Great! Well first I'm going to give you a brief overview of the study I am conducting, and then I will ask if you have any questions for me, is that ok?

I am a Masters of Arts student at Dalhousie studying Health Promotion, and this research is for my thesis work, under the supervision of Dr. Debbie Martin. I am conducting one-on-one face-to-face interviews in Happy Valley-Goose Bay from November 4-17, 2014 with interested members of NunatuKavut. I am interested in learning about individual perceptions of both the positive and negative impact the hydroelectric dam development may have on social relationships and emotional health. I am recruiting participants who are members of NunatuKavut, over the age of 18, and speak English, and are interested in speaking about their experiences and thoughts on this topic. The interview will take place at the College of the North Atlantic and will last between 1 and 2 hours, depending on the length of the participant's responses, and can be scheduled to be at a time that is most convenient for you. Participation in this study is completely voluntary, and if you do decide to participate you can withdraw this decision before or during the interview, or up to 14 days after the interview has taken place.

I would now like to ask you if you have any questions about this research.

Answer any questions

If you would like to participate I can schedule a time with you now, or you can think about it and contact me at a later date if you decide to participate.

My email is marissa.ley@dal.ca, and my phone number is 709-217-0751

Thank you so much for taking the time to speak with me today, if any questions come up please do not hesitate to contact me!

Have a great day.

End call

APPENDIX E: EMAIL/LETTER TO BE SENT TO POTENTIAL PARTICIPANTS

Dear Potential Participant,

Would you like to participate in an interview as part of a research study looking at perceptions about the development of the Lower Churchill River?

This study aims to gain a better understanding of how the Lower Churchill development project may influence social relationships and emotional health (in both positive and negative ways) of adult members of NunatuKavut.

If you are:

- Over the age of 18,
- Speak English,
- Are a member of NunatuKavut,
- And want to tell us your thoughts about the development of the Lower Churchill you are able to participate.

This research is being conducted by a Masters of Arts student, Marissa Ley, studying Health Promotion at Dalhousie University under the supervision of Dr. Debbie Martin.

As a thank you for your participation, you will be given a small gift as a token of my appreciation. If you choose to participate, you can choose not to answer any questions, or you can stop the interview all together at any point, up to 14 days after the interview has taken place. There will be no consequences of this decision and you will still receive the thank you gift. Your participation is completely voluntary and everything you discuss will be kept confidential.

If you are interested in participating or would like more information, please contact Marissa Ley via email (marissa.ley@dal.ca), or phone (709-217-0751).

Sincerely,

Marissa Ley, B.Sc., MA candidate
Dalhousie University

Project Title: The development of hydroelectric dams along the Lower Churchill River and the perceived influences on social relationships and emotional health of this project on NunatuKavut- an Inuit community in Labrador.

<p>Student Researcher: Marissa Ley School of Health and Human Performance, Dalhousie University, 6230 South St, Halifax, NS B3H 3J5 Phone: 902-209-8492 Local Phone: 709-217-0751 Fax: 902-494-5120 Email: marissa.ley@dal.ca</p>	<p>Academic Supervisor: Dr. Debbie Martin School of Health and Human Performance, Dalhousie University, 6230 South St, Halifax, NS B3H 3J5 Phone: 902-494-7717 Fax: 902-494-5120 Email: dhmartin@dal.ca</p>
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Please contact **Marissa Ley** if you have any questions or concerns about this research.

Introduction:

You are invited to take part in a research study being conducted by Marissa Ley, who is a Master of Arts in Health Promotion student at Dalhousie University. The decision to take part in this study is all yours. You can choose if you want to participate or not. If you do decide to participate, please note that you can change your mind any time and leave the interview with no consequences.

I will now discuss more information related to this study. This includes what you will be asked to do as a participant in the study, what are the risks and benefits, and any possible inconveniences or discomforts of participating. If you have any questions at all, please ask them. I will answer any and all of your questions. If you think of questions later, you can email or phone me to discuss them. This information will be sent to you (either via email or Canada Post), and if you have any questions after this interview has ended, please feel free to contact me.

Purpose of the Study:

The purpose of this study is to understand the perceptions of NunatuKavut adults regarding the development of hydroelectric facilities on the Lower Churchill river and how this development may influence their personal social relationships and emotional health, and the relationships and health of their community. Emotional health is defined as having appropriate emotional reactions to life events.

Who Can Participate?

We are looking for 10-12 adult (18+) members of NunatuKavut, who are interested in sharing their thoughts on the Lower Churchill development project. Participants need to speak English in order to participate.

What you will be asked to do?

In order for us to better understand how the Lower Churchill development may impact social relationships and emotional health, one-on-one interviews will be conducted with participants. With your permission, the interview will be audio-recorded. If you do not wish to be recorded, detailed notes will be taken during your interview. The interview will take approximately 1-2 hours and will take place in a safe and quiet location in the Happy Valley-Goose Bay area, or via telephone. Before the interview begins, you will be asked to give oral consent, to make sure that you are comfortable participating in this study and that you are doing so voluntarily. The interview questions will ask about your thoughts about the current development happening along the Lower Churchill River, as well as some questions about you and your community, and how this may relate to social relationships and emotional health. We may use direct comments or quotes from your interview to help emphasize a particular point or a common theme of the study. This will be done without

using identifying information, and you will not be connected to the quote in any way.

Possible risks and discomforts:

There is minimal risk to participating in this research study. Talking about the Muskrat Falls project may be emotional for some participants who have strong feelings about the development. Please keep in mind that you are only asked to answer questions that you feel comfortable with, and that you can stop the interview at any time. All of the information you share will be kept confidential,

Possible benefits:

Taking part in this research study may benefit you by giving you a chance to share your thoughts about the Lower Churchill River development project and have your voice heard. There are also some indirect benefits to participating. The information you share may help provide a better understanding of how this development project may affect the health and well being of members of NunatuKavut.

Compensation:

You will not be compensated for your participation in the study, although we will express our appreciation with a small gift. It is yours even if you choose to end the interview early. If you are completing the interview via telephone, your mailing address will be needed in order to send you this gift.

How your information will be protected:

All the information collected as part of this research study will be kept confidential. After each interview, the audio recordings will be listened to and typed word for word by the interviewer, Marissa Ley, and then the audio recordings will be deleted. Similarly, hand written notes will be typed onto the computer and the originals will be destroyed. The only people that will have access to the transcribed data will be the principal investigator, Marissa Ley and her thesis supervisor, Dr. Debbie Martin. The printed information will be kept in a locked file cabinet in Dr. Martin's office at Dalhousie University for a minimum of 5 years post thesis defense. All electronic information will be stored on a password-protected USB drive that will be locked in a filing cabinet. I (Marissa Ley) will use quotes from what you shared in my thesis or other publications. In order to do so, all personally identifying information will be removed so that the quote cannot be easily identified as yours. There are several circumstances when confidentiality will not be maintained and those cases include information about past or ongoing child abuse or information relating to self-harm or harm of others.

If you decide to stop participating:

You are free to stop participating in the interview at any time. You are always able to skip a question if you want or to stop completely. There will be no consequences for withdrawing during the interview. You will have up to 7 days to let me know if you no longer wish to have your information used in the study. After this period, your responses to interview questions will be analyzed and not able to be separated from the entire data set.

How to obtain results:

At the end of the study, a one to two page summary will be distributed to the NunatuKavut Community Council, and they may post these summaries on their website, and you may request a copy of this summary to be sent to you. You are invited to comment on this summary of themes (estimated time up to one hour). No individual results will be available.

If you have questions/concerns:

If you have any questions at all about this study, please don't hesitate to contact me by email (Marissa Ley) at marissa.ley@dal.ca or by phone (902) 209-8492, or (709)217-0751.

If you have any concerns about this study you may contact the Catherine Connors, the Director of Dalhousie University's Office of Human Research Ethics for assistance by telephone at (902) 494-1462, or via e-mail at ethics@dal.ca. You may also contact the Health Research Ethics Authority with any concerns about this study by telephone at (709) 777-6974, or email at info@hrea.ca

If you feel like you would benefit from speaking with someone due to stress brought on by this interview, there are some local places that may help:

Happy Valley- Goose Bay Mental Health Services Crisis Line: 1-888-737-4668
Labrador-Grenfell Regional Health Authority: (709) 897-2000

Record of Oral Consent
(read and completed by researcher)

Study title: Hydroelectric development along the Lower Churchill River and the perceived influences on social relationships and emotional health of NunatuKavut adults
Name of principal investigator: Marissa Ley

When you verbally consent to this form you are allowing for me to collect information from you and to share information with the other researchers consulting on this study.

Do you understand the information we have just gone over? *(yes / no)*

Have I answered all of the questions that you have at this time? *(yes / no)*

Do you consent to take part in this study (do you consent to taking part in this interview?)
(yes / no)

Do you consent to having your quotes used in publications and/or presentations relating to this study?
(yes/no)

Do you understand that it is your choice to be in this study, and that you may not benefit?
(yes/no)

Do you understand how your privacy is protected and your records kept confidential?
(yes/no)

Do you understand that you are able to leave this interview at any point (up to 14 days after the interview) without consequences? *(yes/no)*

Is it okay if I audio record the interview today? *(yes / no)*

Is it ok if I take hand written notes of our interview today? *(yes/no)*

Do you consent to having your name acknowledged in my thesis and other publications as having contributed to this research? *(yes / no)* *If you say no, you can still take part, but your name will not be associated with the study.*

Signature of investigator
Day

Name printed

Year Month

Telephone number: _____

APPENDIX G: TCPS 2 CORE CERTIFICATE

PANEL ON
RESEARCH ETHICS

Navigating the ethics of human research

TCPS 2: CORE



Certificate of Completion

This document certifies that

Marissa Ley

*has completed the Tri-Council Policy Statement:
Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans
Course on Research Ethics (TCPS 2: CORE)*

Date of Issue: 25 February, 2012

APPENDIX H: INTERVIEW GUIDE

Introduction

Thanks so much for coming here today to speak with me. This interview will take approximately 1-2 hours. Now that I've gone through the consent process with you, are there any questions you would like to ask me before we begin? (*Pause*) I'll start the recording now, if that is ok? Please let me know during the interview if there are questions you would prefer not to answer, if you would like me to stop recording and just take some notes, or if you would like to end the interview. (*Start audio recording*)

Introduction Questions

(I will introduce myself to the participant briefly- who I am, where I am from, my program of study, and what I am doing here).

- 1) I would like to know a bit about who you are. Can you share with me a bit about yourself?
 - a. Have you lived in Labrador all of your life?
 - b. Do you have close family and friends who live in this area? Is this important to you?
 - c. What type of work do your friends and family do? Are any of them working at Muskrat Falls and has this been a positive or negative experience for them? Do any of them work some distance away from the community (e.g. offshore oil or in Alberta)? Have any of them taken employment at Muskrat Falls to be able to live and work in Labrador?
 - d. (If participant discusses family moving away for work): Can you give me an example of how this has affected you, or your relationship to this person/these people?

- 2) I am interested in learning more about this area of Labrador, in particular the importance of the Lower Churchill River for you and for other members of NunatuKavut. Can you share with me to what extent (or if) the land and waters of this area are important to you?
 - a. Does your family have a historical relationship to this land? (I.e., was the River and the land surrounding it important to your family in the past? Why was it so important?)
 - b. Can you tell me a little bit about what your relationship to this River is like today (i.e., do you or your family members use this River and the area around it for hunting, fishing, trapping, berry-picking, etc)?
 - c. Can you give me an example of a time when you or your family used the river that tells me a bit about its importance for you?

- 3) How do you think the development of the Lower Churchill might affect (if at all) your historical connections to these lands and water? In what ways might these changes positively and negatively influence your relationship to this River and the land surrounding it?

- a. From your perspective, are there any tensions in the community related to this project? For example, between those who might want to see the project go ahead and those who don't? (If yes, there are tensions) How do you think these tensions affect social relationships in the community?; How might the influx of new workers in the area influence the community (both positively and negatively)?
- b. Do you think it will lead to better or worse social relationships within the community? In relation to the influx of new workers? In relation to your friends and family being able to stay in Labrador to live and work? Can you tell me about this?

This project is looking specifically at what some of the influences the development of the Lower Churchill River may be on social relationships and emotional health.

- 1) Can you tell me a little bit about what you think about when you think about positive social relationships? What do they involve?
 - a. Do you think that there is a connection between the health of NunatuKavut people and the health of the lands and waters? If so, can you tell me a little bit about why you think the two are connected?
 - b. What kinds of things do people do in the community to relax if they are stressed or sad? Do these activities ever involve doing activities that involve the use of the LCR and/or the land surrounding it? If so, are there alternative places that you could do these same activities? Can you tell me about why these alternative places may or may not be a good location for doing these activities?
 - c. In what other ways might the development of the Lower Churchill affect social relationships (i.e. what kinds of leisure and recreational opportunities are there for people working on the LCP)?

Economic Questions

How do you think that this development is going to affect the region economically (if yes: How might this economic change affect the social relationships in the community)?

- a. How might this economic development impact NunatuKavut in the future (in both positive and negative ways)?
- 1) Can you tell me what you think of the Lower Churchill project and the development process over the last few years?
 - a. Can you think of any benefits that might come from this project?
 - b. Can you think of any concerns people may have about this project?

Political Questions

- 1) In the media there has been criticisms raised about the Lower Churchill development and the lack of input from NunatuKavut members. How do you feel about this?
 - a. Do you think that the development of the Lower Churchill River is a good or bad thing for the community?

- 2) Can you tell me about the protests that have been happening about the Lower Churchill development?
 - a. What do you think about these protests? Do you agree with the protests?
 - b. What is your understanding of why these protests are happening?
 - c. Is this issue something that is important to you?
 - d. Do you think that these protests are impacting social relationships in NunatuKavut? How might this affect emotional health?

Environment Questions

- 1) I would like to know more about you and your community's relationship with the land. Can you tell me about the kinds of traditional activities that go on in the area?
 - a. Are these activities important to you? (Probe: hunting, fishing, trapping, berry-picking, camping, canoeing). Can you tell me about this? Who do you like to do these activities with?
 - b. What other environmental concerns might result from the development of the Lower Churchill (i.e. drinking water quality, flooding, fish and wildlife habitat)? Are these issues of concern or a source of stress for people in your community?

- 2) Can you tell me if/how you think that the development of the Lower Churchill River may affect how people of NunatuKavut use the environment?
 - a. How might this development affect your relationship with the land and waters in the area?
 - b. How might this development affect the community of NunatuKavut's relationship with the land?
 - c. Where do you think the balance should be in terms of economic development and environmental impact?
 - d. Are you aware of any concerns raised about how this project may affect the water? Is this a concern of yours?
 - e. Do have any stories to share with me about similar projects that have happened in this area in the past? How did these projects affect you or the community?

Conclusion

- 1) Is there anything else you would like to add that I might not have covered? That's all of the questions I have, is there anything else you would like to ask or add before we conclude the interview?

Thank you for taking the time to speak with me today. (*Stop recording*)

APPENDIX I: POST-INTERVIEW CONTACT

If you would like to be contacted post-study with the general themes that have emerged from these interviews, please fill out the form below. You are invited to comment on this summary of themes and this process may take up to an hour, depending on the level of detail of your responses. If you sign up to receive a summary of themes you are not obligated to send comments on them.

Name: _____

Email or Address: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

APPENDIX J: SUMMARY OF THEMES

February 17, 2015

To: All research participants

Re: Preliminary summary of research findings regarding the research project, *'Hydroelectric development along the Lower Churchill River and the perceived influences on social relationships and emotional health of NunatuKavut adults'*



Preliminary summary of findings for participant review

In November/December 2014 you participated in the above-named research study. I would like to thank you for taking the time to share your important insights with me. At the time of the interview, you indicated that you would like to see a copy of the preliminary findings for this study. The following two-page document presents a draft of the key findings for your review. Your thoughts and feedback on this summary are encouraged and will help to ensure I am interpreting the information I have received accurately before completing the study. Please keep in mind that the summary below includes the perspectives of all research participants – *your individual perspective should be represented here, but it is not highlighted specifically*. Should you wish to provide me with feedback (which might include corrections or further clarification on anything you read here), I have provided my contact information at the end of this two-page summary. I would like to receive your feedback by **Friday, March 6, 2015**.

The purpose of this research study is to understand the perspectives of NunatuKavut people regarding how the development of hydroelectric dams along the Lower Churchill River may influence their social relationships and emotional health. For this study, 10 interviews were conducted with members of NunatuKavut. The interviews are currently being analyzed. Two preliminary themes are emerging: 1. There are strong social and emotional ties that the people of NunatuKavut have with one another and with the other two Aboriginal groups in Labrador, but these relationships are being challenged by the Lower Churchill development. 2. The Lower Churchill development is also creating social and emotional tensions (what I have termed 'an emotional battle'), which are influencing individual, family and community relationships.

Research participants have provided a meaningful definition of emotional health, which was defined as *being happy, being able to support yourself and your family, and to be free of stress. Being on the land, and engaging in traditional activities was viewed as an essential component to realizing emotional health*.

Theme 1: Strong social and emotional ties important to Aboriginal people are being challenged.

- Aboriginal peoples of Labrador share many things, including a respect for the natural world, and a shared history that is deeply connected to the natural world – and this has created strong social and emotional ties both within NunatuKavut and among NunatuKavut members and those who identify with other Aboriginal groups in Labrador (i.e., Nunatsiavut and the Innu), even though there exist language and cultural differences across these diverse groups.
- The uniqueness of having three distinct Aboriginal groups with their own cultures living in such close proximity to one another was discussed, but in many cases, the similarities between these groups were emphasized: use of land for traditional activities; shared/related experiences with past development projects in Labrador; the consumption of traditional, culturally relevant foods; and having a deep connection to the lands and waters of Labrador.
- Members of NunatuKavut and other Aboriginal groups in Labrador also share a colonial history, having all similarly experienced the social, economic and political changes that have happened since the first non-Aboriginal people arrived in Labrador. Many participants in this study expressed the feeling that this project is yet another example of this shared colonial history – where the people will not benefit, and yet be the ones who are most affected - and that the historical, social, and emotional

February 17, 2015

ties that were so important are now being threatened. An example of this is the impact the dams will have on the physical environment and how this affects the traditional activities that take place on the land such as hunting and fishing that are considered essential for emotional health.

- Despite having similarities with other Aboriginal groups, participants noted ‘NunatuKavut-specific’ struggles relating to the Lower Churchill Development, such as having an unsettled land claim and how this has affected the consultation process, as well as a sense of frustration that this development will affect lands that are included in NunatuKavut’s land claim, yet its residents will not see any economic benefit from it. These frustrations and struggles were understood as having an influence on emotional health.
- A number of participants discussed a sense of hopelessness – like nothing they can do will really change the hydroelectric development, and despite their best efforts to oppose it; their voices are not being heard. It was felt by many that since the other Aboriginal groups in Labrador were able to share their concerns about the development but NunatuKavut was not able to do so, the collective voice of *all* concerned Aboriginal peoples is thus weakened. For example, since they all share many similar concerns, it was felt that these concerns would more likely to have been heard if it were possible to present a united, collective voice from all Aboriginal groups in Labrador.

Theme 2: The emotional battle between the environment and economics

- Each participant spoke of both positive and negative tensions they experience regarding the Lower Churchill Development: Many talked about the internal struggle between being morally opposed to the project, but needing employment and the money to support one’s family. At both a personal and community level, participants also described a struggle relating to balancing one’s Aboriginal identity while at the same time, needing to rely on a source of income that challenges the very nature of that identity.
- According to the participants, the main positive thing coming from the development were the economic benefits to the community; yet even when participants discussed these benefits, there was also a discussion about the higher costs of living resulting from the development, how this has led to more homelessness and housing insecurity, and how these changes are affecting the entire community.
- Many participants were concerned about what happens when the jobs related to the initial development end, and about people who may have to move away due to the increased cost of living.
- One of the ways participants described this project as negatively impacting the community is by the increased number of people in the area who are not from Labrador coming in and taking jobs at the development that could and should have been filled by qualified Labradorians.
- All participants discussed NunatuKavut’s protests in relation to the Lower Churchill Development, and there was a range of feelings towards the protests. Some participants felt that the protests were not enough, and worry about who will speak out against these kinds of developments in the future; still others who were/are involved with the protests spoke about feeling isolated from the community at times, due to their beliefs and their outspokenness- even if others might have agreed with what they were doing, they were fearful of showing outward support for the protesters out of concern for losing business or losing their jobs. Overall, however, most agreed that these protests were incredibly successful at bringing community members together for a common goal and raising awareness about a collective concern, and this was considered to be a very positive thing for emotional health.

Please contact me with feedback on these themes via email: marissa.ley@dal.ca or by mail: School of Health and Human Performance, Dalhousie University, 6230 South St, Halifax, NS, B3H 3J5. If you have any questions about this research project, please send me an email or phone at (709) 701-1318. Thank you for your continued support with this project,

Marissa Ley

APPENDIX K: CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT FOR MEMBERS OF RESEARCH COMMITTEE

Marissa Ley’s Research for Masters of Arts in Health Promotion
The development of hydroelectric dams along the Lower Churchill River and the perceived influences on social relationships and emotional health of this project on NunatuKavut- an Inuit community in Labrador.

By signing this document, I agree to keep all information regarding the participants of this study private and confidential

Examples of such information:

Who the participants are that involved in this research study
Information they provide if they have not consent to have this information attributed to them

Name: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

APPENDIX L: LABRADORIAN NEWSPAPER ARTICLE ON MY RESEARCH

12/4/2014

Talking mega project - Local - The Labradorian



The Labradorian > News > Local

Talking mega project

[Bonnie Learning](#)

Published on November 10, 2014

Researcher wants to know social impact of Lower Churchill development

With every big mega project comes impacts, including the obvious environmental and financial footprints.



*© Photo by Bonnie Learning/The Labradorian
Marissa Ley — a master's student at Dalhousie University — is looking for a few more participants to speak to her about the social impacts the Lower Churchill project is having on NunatuKavut members. She is in Happy Valley-Goose Bay until Nov. 14.*

But what about the social impacts of large scale development?

That's one area that Marissa Ley, a master's student from Dalhousie University, wants to find out about the Lower Churchill project.

Ley is in Happy Valley-Goose Bay until Nov. 14, conducting interviews with local NunatuKavut members who have something to say about the way the project impacts them — both good and bad.

Ley's research is focusing on the impact Muskrat Falls has on social relationships and emotional health within the NunatuKavut population.

"I am looking at everything from individual employment, to personal relationships within families, and groups of people, tensions in the community about the project, influx of workers,

money coming into the area...it's a very open-ended (research) project," said Ley.

"I want to hear what people are talking about and I am interested in hearing what they have to say."

Ley said her master's thesis supervisor suggested the Lower Churchill project as an option

<http://www.thelabradorian.ca/News/Local/2014-11-10/article-3935605/Researcher-looking-for-information-on-social-impacts-of-Muskrat-Falls-project/1>

1/2

for her thesis.

“I was interested in doing something related to Aboriginal people and had an interest in the environmental side of (the Lower Churchill) so I did some research on it.

“I approached NunatuKavut in February to talk about (my) research project, and they seemed really receptive to it.”

Ley said the initial scope of her project was large, so it had to be scaled down, which is why she chose to focus on the social impacts within a specific group of people.

She has conducted a few interviews, but hopes to get a total of 10-12 individuals before her research wraps up.

“The interviews take about an hour, but could be longer depending on how much the person is willing to talk,” said Ley, noting the interviews are just oral interviews, akin to a chat around a table.

Once her research is complete, Ley said she will compile the information into her thesis and also hopes to get the findings published in academic journals.

A summary of the findings will also be provided to NunatuKavut, and participants if desired, she said.

“The more research I did on this, the more interested I got,” she said, noting the large amount of media coverage the Lower Churchill project has garnered thus far.

Oddly enough, noted Ley, there is very little coverage in her home province of Nova Scotia.

“In Nova Scotia, the Lower Churchill project is not talked about much, even though the lines will be going through there,” she said.

“The people I have been talking to for my research are kind of surprised.”

If you are member of NunatuKavut over the age of 18 and would like to be a part of Ley's research, she can be reached at marissa.ley@dal.ca or call 709-217-0751 until Nov. 14.

bonnie.learning@tc.tc

APPENDIX M: LETTER OF APPROVAL FROM NUNATUKAVUT COMMUNITY COUNCIL RESEARCH ADVISORY COMMITTEE



P. O. Box 460, Station C
Happy Valley-Goose Bay, NL
A0P 1C0
Phone: 1-709-896-0592, Ext. 238
Fax: 1-709-896-0594
Email: dwall@nunatukavut.ca
Website: www.nunatukavut.ca

September 8, 2014

Marissa Ley
School of Health and Human Performance
Dalhousie University
6230 South Street, P. O. Box 1500
Halifax, NS B3H 3J5

Dear Marissa:

RE: NunatuKavut Research Review Application

NunatuKavut Community Council Inc. (known as NunatuKavut) Research Review Advisory Committee has reviewed your application for the research project, "*The development of hydroelectric dams along the Lower Churchill River and the perceived influences on social relationships and emotional health of NunatuKavut adults*". Your submitted application has been reviewed and receives our recommendation to proceed.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank you for submitting your application to the NunatuKavut Research Review Committee and look forward to working with you and to learning about your findings.

Sincerely,

Darlene Wall
Social Sector Manager
Chairperson - NunatuKavut Research Review Committee

APPENDIX N: DALHOUSIE RESEARCH ETHICS LETTER OF APPROVAL

9/29/2014

REB # 2014-3358 Letter of Approval - Marissa Ley

REB # 2014-3358 Letter of Approval

sharon.gomes@dal.ca

Mon 9/29/2014 4:00 PM

Inbox

To: Marissa Ley <Marissa.Ley@Dal.Ca>;

Cc: Debbie Martin <Debbie.Martin@Dal.Ca>; Sharon Gomes <Sharon.Gomes@Dal.Ca>;



Health Sciences Research Ethics Board Letter of Approval

September 29, 2014

Ms Marissa Ley
Health Professions\Health & Human Performance

Dear Marissa,

REB #: 2014-3358
Project Title: Hydroelectric Development Along the Lower Churchill River and the Perceived Influences on Social Relationships and Emotional Health of NunatuKavut Adults

Effective Date: September 29, 2014
Expiry Date: September 29, 2015

The Health Sciences Research Ethics Board has reviewed your application for research involving humans and found the proposed research to be in accordance with the Tri-Council Policy Statement on *Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans*. This approval will be in effect for 12 months as indicated above. This approval is subject to the conditions listed below which constitute your on-going responsibilities with respect to the ethical conduct of this research.

Sincerely,

Dr. Brenda Beagan, Chair

Post REB Approval: On-going Responsibilities of Researchers

After receiving ethical approval for the conduct of research involving humans, there are several ongoing responsibilities that researchers must meet to remain in compliance with University and Tri-Council policies.

<https://outlook.office365.com/owa/projection.aspx>

1/3

APPENDIX O: NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR HEALTH RESEARCH ETHICS BOARD APPROVAL LETTER



Ethics Office
Suite 200, Eastern Trust Building
95 Bonaventure Avenue
St. John's, NL
A1B 2X5

October 2, 2014

Ms Marissa Ley
School of Health and Human Performance
Dalhousie University
6230 South St. Halifax, NS
B3H 3J5

Dear Ms Ley:

Reference #14.178

RE: Hydroelectric development along the Lower Churchill River and the perceived influences on social relationships and emotional health of NunatuKavut adults

This will acknowledge receipt of your correspondence.

This correspondence has been reviewed by the Chair under the direction of the Board. **Full board approval** of this research study is granted for one year effective **September 18, 2014**.

This is to confirm that the Health Research Ethics Board reviewed and approved or acknowledged the following documents (as indicated):

- Application, approved
- Revised recruitment poster, approved
- Revised letter of information, approved
- Revised email, approved
- Letter of approval from NunatuKavut, acknowledged
- Telephone script, approved
- Oral consent form, dated Fall 2014, approved
- Interview questions, approved
- Interview contact sheet, approved
- Budget, acknowledged

MARK THE DATE

This approval will lapse on September 18, 2015. **It is your responsibility to ensure that the Ethics Renewal form is forwarded to the HREB office prior to the renewal date; you may not receive a reminder, therefore the ultimate responsibility is with you as the Principle Investigator.** *The information provided in this form must be current to the time of submission and submitted to HREB not less than 30 nor more than 45 days of the anniversary of your approval date.* The Ethics Renewal form can be downloaded from the HREB website <http://www.hrea.ca>.

email: info@hrea.ca

Phone: 777-6974

FAX: 777-8776