Fox Lake Cree Nation

Environment Evaluation Report

September 2012

Tansi

On behalf of Fox Lake Cree Nation, the Chief and Council of our community would like to present our *Fox Lake Environmental Evaluation Report* for the Keeyask Generation Project Environmental Impact Statement. This Report is the voice for our people who have and will be directly impacted by hydro development.

As a co-partner in the Keeyask hydroelectric development project, this volume provides an opportunity for Fox Lake Cree Nation to share our perspectives and experiences with the regulators and with a larger audience. Although this has been a challenging process for our community, we remain hopeful that our commitment to this project will assist us attain our vision of mino pimatisiwin. As a community, we remain optimistic that we will benefit from having participated in this project and, as a result, we will become a healthier and more prosperous people.

The very being, and future aspirations of the Fox Lake Inninuwak is defined by our place in this land. Our traditional lands are a fundamental and non-changing part of who the Fox Lake Cree Nation members are and who we always want to be. Therefore, through our participation in the opportunities associated with this project, we look forward to sanctioning that our future generations have a legacy to be proud of so they can be strong and honorable Inninuwak. We owe it to those that have gone before us to attest that we remain responsible partners and continue to work together to ensure that Aski will be respected.

Kinanâskomitin

Walter Spence, Chief
Fox Lake Cree Nation

Andrew Wavey, Councillor
Fox Lake Cree Nation

Lena Spence-Hanson, Councillor
Fox Lake Cree Nation

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Great Spirit, Creator, Grandfathers, Grandmothers, Ancestors. We come to you with humbleness, we pray that you guide us, protect us, give us strength for the road we are to travel. We ask that you great spirit continue to give us the courage to face what is to come. To take our pride and stand up for our land that you gave us to protect. Creator forgive those that continue to take from Mother Earth, that don't understand her strength, her power, guide these people to know respect of the Land, Mother Earth. We ask that you guide our young people , so that they do not have to feel the pain of the Past. Guide and direct our elders to show us the love of life. Bless the land that we so rightly cherish. Creator bless these stories, these truths, so that others can learn from these words, and not let our people carry that pain to our children. Hiy Hiy, ekosi.

She who sits with the Thunder. Hiy hiy.

DEDICATION

To the Kitayatisuk and members who shared their invaluable knowledge, wisdom, and narratives with us throughout the past several years, your guidance in our everyday efforts is truly amazing.

To the youth, children and future generations of Makeso Sakahikan Inninuwak, you are our inspiration!

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Fox Lake Cree Negotiation team would like to thank all the people who have assisted in the preparations, including the materials that supported this document. Your commitment, relentless hard work and strength to foster mino pimatisiwin is appreciated immensely.

Kinanâskomitin

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Hydroelectric power is a magnificent creature that brings not only electricity to homes, business and institutions but it also has significant economic value to Manitoba and Manitobans. It is something that we take for granted in our lives.

The Keeyask Generating Station represents the fourth largest generating station built in our traditional territory[1]*. The people of Fox Lake have lived through unbelievable circumstances that we have yet to put behind us. For the people of Fox Lake, Hydro development has meant extreme hardship. We have experienced immeasurable devastation of our land and ways of life. Our Elders describe our experience as "soul destroying."*

Despite this, the people of Fox Lake are still here and despite our dark history with hydro development we will move forward. We continue to face insurmountable challenges as we work to rebuild our community, our traditions and our pride. However, one thing is certain... we will no longer pay the human price as we have in the past.

The business arrangement and partnership [including] Manitoba Hydro on the Keeyask Generating Station reflects a relationship that is in stark contrast to the past and is one that promises hope and mutual benefits. Fox Lake Cree Nation will endeavor to ensure that this happens and that through this new relationship we can provide an opportunity for the Fox Lake Cree Nation to prosper, to recover and to re-build from the social, cultural and human impacts suffered during an era of insensitive government policy.

I believe partnership with First Nations that have been impacted by hydroelectric development is a positive step forward and I commend the Province and Manitoba Hydro for this. The People of Fox Lake look forward to an ongoing, mutually beneficial relationship with Manitoba, Manitoba Hydro and indeed all Manitobans.

Chief S. Neepin

June 30, 2011

[1] FLCN recognizes that these four generating stations are within the Split Lake Resource Management Area.

INTRODUCTION

As a partner in the proposed Keeyask Generation Project, Fox Lake Cree Nation (FLCN) has developed its own Environmental Evaluation Report to the Keeyask Hydropower Limited Partnership's Environmental Impact Statement, which will be submitted to provincial and federal regulators as part of the environmental licensing process. This volume provides a voice to FLCN and our people who will be directly impacted by hydro development.

The decision to become a partner in the Keeyask Project was a difficult decision and for many members it will be difficult to reconcile being a partner in a process that will forever alter Aski[2]. The challenge for the Partnership is to ensure that it realizes on the opportunities that are presented while simultaneously making every effort to ensure that Aski is protected.

Fox Lake is initiating a strategy that will once again see Members as healthy and prosperous people. Fox Lake has survived tremendous changes and this strategy requires taking control. Taking control includes mapping out short and long term measures that are required to achieve mino pimatisiwin or "living a good life". Fox Lake's participation as a partner in Keeyask is one component of this overall strategy. There are other aspects of this strategy that go beyond the Keeyask Project. This document sets out both the short and long term measures included in this strategy and indicates how Keeyask may contribute to these measures. Fox Lake is cognizant that the regulators may only focus on the short term or immediate measures related to the Keeyask Project. However, Fox Lake does not view projects in isolation and therefore does not view specific measures in isolation. FLCN and the Partnership both recognize that not all of the measures proposed will have the result they hope. Therefore, Fox Lake is very supportive of the "adaptive management" approach utilized by the Partnership in developing the Keeyask Generation Project.

[2] Note on Inninuw terminology – it should be emphasized that there is no standardized spelling formats for Inninuw in English. The spelling of place names in this document has incorporated the Roman Orthography approach in an attempt to duplicate the First Nation verbal pronunciation into an English sounding word. Another point to remember is that there can be additional place names with First Nations with a different spelling. Makeso Sakahikan Ininewak Kitayatisuk, hunters, trappers and fishers, have generally accepted the Inninuw place names noted in this document and its interpretation. For FLCN, the accepted spelling of several Inninuw terms is slightly different than those used on the *Response to the EIS Guidelines* submitted by the Partnership – for example, FLCN spell Ininewak as Inninuwak and Askiy as Aski.

OBJECTIVES OF THIS REPORT

The following objectives of this report reflect the long term goals of FLCN towards living mino pimatisiwin:

- Describe the role of the Keeyask Generation Project in FLCN's overall wellness strategy.
- Define and describe FLCN's human and environmental baseline.
- Describe the known cumulative impacts of successive hydroelectric projects on our people and Aski.
- Describe the predicted impacts of the Keeyask project on our people and Aski.
- Describe the measures necessary to mitigate impacts of the Keeyask project on our people and Aski in keeping with the "adaptive management" approach.
- Describe the measures necessary to monitor impacts of the Keeyask project on our people and Aski in keeping with the "adaptive management" approach.
- Describe the measures necessary to ensure that our people benefit from the Keeyask project and live mino pimatisiwin[3].

Within the framework of mino pimatisiwin or "living a good life".

MINO PIMATISIWIN

Mino pimatisiwin relates to the overall health of our people. Mino pimatisiwin includes the protection of Aski, our health and social wellbeing, socio-economic prosperity, integrity of culture and language, integrity of governance and autonomy, and healthy local ecosystems. Health is more broadly defined to include our physical, social, cultural, and spiritual wellbeing. We know what the environment should be like in order to provide all the things that we require to be healthy. Specifically, our lands and waters should be whole and healthy, both of which are the prerequisites of a peaceful existence. This concept of wholeness is expressed in one simple sentence, "everything is connected." The understanding of the world in terms of the relationships among all things is paramount to the philosophy of mino pimatisiwin, and links our wellbeing to our perception of our environment. The relationship our people have with the land is best understood through the definition of Aski provided by the FLCN Core Kitayatisuk and Harvesters Group as lands, waters, animals, plants, people and all of their interrelationships.

Historically, living mino pimatisiwin has been the ability to use the resources from our lands and waters, guided by our values and beliefs. Prior to the construction of the dams, the Nelson River was a natural system. There were no barriers to the flow of water or to the movement of fish and aquatic animals. Our land was abundant with plants, and animal species that included multiple

[3] The measures outlined in this document are only those Fox Lake anticipates will be necessary at the time of writing. Fox Lake may identify additional measures as the Keeyask project unfolds.

types of berries and other edible and medicinal plants, caribou, moose and other fur-bearing animals, fish such as brook trout, sturgeon, etc., and migratory and other birds. Our people did not have to venture far to obtain vital food sources.

As each successive dam was built, spawning grounds located at the rapids were destroyed, and fish could no longer move freely within their natural habitat. Construction had the effect of destroying essential habitats and endangering others. Fox Lake defines essential habitats as those that are necessary for a population to survive. The historical loss of essential habitats following the construction of the Kettle, Long Spruce, and Limestone dams resulted in drastic declines of these lake sturgeon populations.

The reversal of seasonal river flows and other changes to the natural cycles of Aski has negative effects on the relationship between our people and Aski. No longer able to rely on our Aski Keskentamowin (traditional land and water knowledge), we became increasingly disconnected from our culture and traditional pursuits, which had grave adverse health and social impacts. Hydroelectric development has impacted our language, culture, values and beliefs, relationships, all aspects of mino pimatisiwin. Approximately fifty years after the Kettle Generating Station was constructed near Gillam, FLCN asserts that hydro development has had major, long-term consequences on our people and Aski. Our people do not view future dams in isolation from past projects and see the Keeyask project as an additional hydro development in our already highly disrupted environment.

Despite this tremendous impact, our challenge is to rise out from hydro development and in the instance of Keeyask, utilize its benefits and find a balance between ourselves and Aski and support the future generations of FLCN, to reclaim, sustain and once again live mino pimatisiwin.

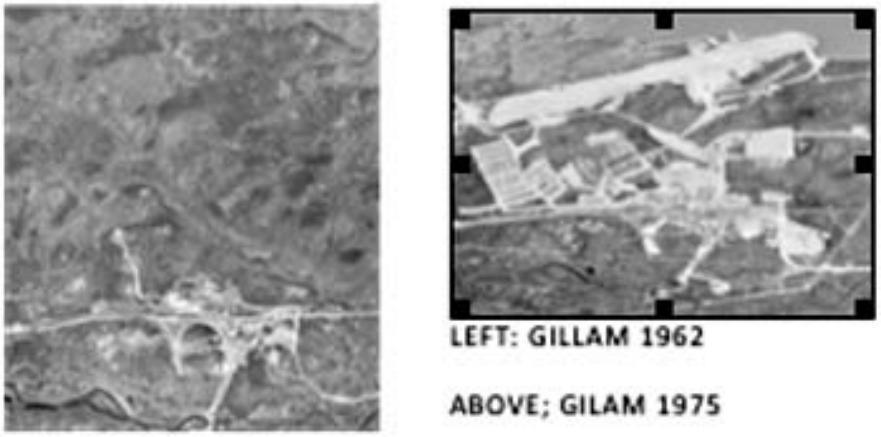
BRIEF HISTORY AND SCOPE OF HYDRO DEVELOPMENT

Hydro development along the lower Nelson River area began in the late 1950s with the construction of the Kelsey Generating Station and continued with the Kettle (1966), Long Spruce (1971), and Limestone Generating Stations (1985). These dams do not operate as independent entities but require supporting infrastructure often located some distance away from the actual source of power generation and from the perspective of our people, have considerable impacts on

the land and waters. To produce and distribute power from the Kelsey, Kettle, Long Spruce, and Limestone dams, Manitoba Hydro constructed the following supporting infrastructure:

- The Churchill River Diversion (CRD) to divert the upstream portion of the Churchill River into the Nelson and Burntwood Rivers;
- The Lake Winnipeg Regulation (LWR) project to convert Lake Winnipeg into a reservoir that regulates flows into the Nelson River according to seasonal power demands; and
- The DC Transmission System, through which Bipoles I and II carry power from the Radisson and Henday Converter Stations to the Dorsey station in southern Manitoba.

The Keeyask Generation Project will add an additional 695 megawatts of power potential to the existing supply. Manitoba Hydro is planning the Conawapa Generation Project, a sixth generating station to be situated along the lower Nelson River. The Bipole III Transmission Reliability Project would transport power from northern Manitoba to southern customers. These projects would function together as part of the integrated power system (IPS), which generates power for customers both inside and outside of the province.



LEFT: GILLAM 1962

ABOVE; GILAM 1975

LIMITATIONS

From the perspective of the Fox Lake Cree worldview, the Keeyask Environmental Assessment process has its obvious limitations. Finding the balance between Indigenous knowledge and "western" science has been a continuing challenge. Fox Lake participated in the Valued Ecosystem (VEC) process but found the process difficult to accept. The VEC approach of identifying and studying key issues of importance operates on the basis of selecting a number of species for study, often determined by their "at-risk" or "endangered" status. When consulting with FLCN Elders and Harvesters about important species and areas, FLCN researchers were reminded that it is problematic to categorize species based on a "western" point of view. A workshop was held among the Partners to discuss important VECs, FLCN participated in this process. By its very nature, the VEC approach tends to ignore the interrelatedness of people, animals, water, landscape and plants,

which are inherent in the way FLCN and our people view and define Aski. Our people do not place greater importance on certain species and all are valued equally. The entire Kischi Sipi including the Inninuwak, fish, bird, plants and wildlife all of who use, inhabit and benefit from the river would constitute a VEC.

FLCN and Manitoba Hydro hold different theories of being that can give rise to different theories of knowledge, values and value judgments, and ultimately truths about the natural environment. Our people define baseline as the condition of the land, waters and people prior to hydroelectric development which began in the early 1960s. This is in contrast to Manitoba Hydro's baseline defined as the existing condition of the terrestrial, aquatic, and socioeconomic environments.

Accepting the baseline as the conditions prior to any hydro development is FLCN's view of how best to understand and assess how our people and our land and waters will be further impacted by the proposed Keeyask project. FLCN believes that it is the most appropriate and accurate way to understand and determine the measures required for our community to reduce the adverse impacts of Keeyask and compensate for those for which mitigation is not possible. FLCN's view of the Keeyask project is informed by past experience with hydro development and its impact on the land, waters and our people.

SUMMARY OF CUMULATIVE IMPACTS ON FOX LAKE'S ASKI

We have experienced hydro development over the past fifty years and have witnessed the following impacts:

- The permanent loss of the natural voice of the Kischi Sipi, that is, the sound of rapids, was silenced at each location in which a dam was built.
- The permanent increase in turbidity of the Kischi Sipi.
- The increase in mercury levels in some fish and aquatic animals.
- The loss of key Inninuwak foods as a consequence of elevated mercury levels in some fish and aquatic animals in the Kischi Sipi for at least one human generation.
- The permanent loss the Kischi Sipi as a source of potable water.
- The permanent and unsightly transformation of shorelines along the Kischi Sipi as a result of flooding, erosion, floating debris, and submerged islands.
- The permanent disappearance of aquatic animals and birds from pristine shoreline areas.
- The permanent reversal of natural seasonal flow cycles so that high flows occur in the winter corresponding with increased power generation.
- The long-term and permanent creation of unnatural and unsightly dykes, diversions, and impoundments.

- The permanent construction of barriers on the Kischi Sipi in the form of dams thus rendering traditional and historic travel and upstream movement of fish impossible.
- The long-term disappearance of lake sturgeon from some areas as essential habitats like spawning, feeding and nursery areas were altered or destroyed.
- The permanent and complete reversal of the Butnau River.
- The decrease of traditional travel especially along impacted tributary streams.
- The permanent loss of burial sites in flooded areas.
- The permanent loss or transformation of biologically unique areas.
- The disruption to our mino pimatisiwin due to the loss and destruction of many areas traditionally used by Members, the foundation of our language, culture, values and beliefs and the basis of Aski Keskentamowin.

FLCN INVOLVEMENT IN THE KEEYASK PROJECT

Our people have been greatly impacted by fifty years of hydro development and the Keeyask project will further disturb, fragment, and destroy lands and waters that have been and continue to be used by our Members. FLCN views all hydro projects, including Keeyask, as one continuous staged process of development with impacts that are cumulative and long-term. While past adversarial approaches to hydro development are no longer as prevalent, there remains considerable work to ensure that our people can overcome the effects of past construction and realize the potential benefits of the Keeyask Generating Station.

Unlike the past, FLCN is a partner with extensive involvement in the Keeyask Generation Project development process. Through this involvement, FLCN hopes to be better prepared to work towards the institutions and processes our people know are needed to mitigate the negative impacts of the project. FLCN intends to take full advantage of any positive opportunities that result from the project.

FLCN POSITION ON THE KEEYASK GENERATING STATION

In the context of further hydro development, FLCN and our people must reclaim and strengthen our connection to our land and waters to attain mino pimatisiwin. We will initiate a strategy for increased wellness, thriving community development and social, cultural, and economic prosperity to address the cumulative impacts of 50 years of past hydro development and the anticipated impacts of the Keeyask Generating Station.

The proposed Keeyask Generation Project will involve permanent and temporary constructions such as the generating station, worker camps, sewage lagoons and waste treatment centres, transmission lines, roads and highways, excavation sites (including rock quarries and wells) and deposit sites (i.e., burrow deposits and quarry stockpiles).

FLCN Elders and Harvesters believe that the environmental impacts will include additional habitat destruction, alteration and fragmentation, loss of Keeyask Rapids and the loss of lake sturgeon spawning and nursery habitats. These will affect animals, like moose, caribou and furbearers, and some fish in the Keeyask area, as well as traditional foods and medicines like berries and Labrador tea.

The impacts from the physical construction include increased accessibility to pristine areas from the construction of roads, transmission lines, and other linear features, which may lead to over-harvesting due to increased population. Based on experiences with previous hydro development, the economic implications of these impacts and compromises to traditional pursuits will be substantial. This will add another challenge to achieving self-determination and the ability to live mino-pimatisiwin. Current access management plans will help minimize some of these concerns.

The impact of hydro development on our people must not be forgotten. The current disconnection between our people and our land and waters has had tremendous effects. The ramifications of identity loss include emotional scarring, social and cultural breakdown, increased violence, alcohol and substance addictions and unacceptable standards of living. The health, social and cultural values are diminished, making it a struggle to regain our identity as Inninuwak.

Collective trauma has been relived with each successive project, and will be relived again with the proposed Keeyask project. Collective trauma is layers of trauma existing within living memory, within the psyches of our people and our people face unresolved trauma generation after generation. The culmination effect exacts a heavy toll on health and wellbeing that must be resolved in order to reclaim wellness. FLCN is in the process of developing and implementing programs from Fox Lake's Keeyask Adverse Effects Agreement and other community initiatives to support community empowerment and self-determination.

FLCN and Manitoba Hydro are working toward a process more considerate and inclusive than in the past. The Adverse Effects Agreement (AEA) that Fox Lake signed with Manitoba Hydro acting on behalf of the Partnership for the Keeyask project can offer a number of insightful lessons for addressing adverse effects. Although efforts are being made to provide programming meant to target aspects of our people's mental, cultural, and environmental health, Manitoba Hydro continues to support FLCN to institute and improve programming and development that will offer longer term support and healing. Enhanced programming is a small part of addressing the needs of our people. With greater involvement in the development of the Keeyask project, FLCN may in a better position to work towards rebuilding a unified community that consists of both Gillam and Fox Lake. The achievement of this goal requires the resources and collaborative efforts of mitigation and enhancement measures.

As noted, for FLCN, the impacts of hydro development reach beyond one specific project such as Keeyask. In order for our people to reclaim and sustain mino pimatisiwin we will continue to pursue the following measures to ensure we maintain and safeguard Aski for the future generations:

- FLCN directed reclamation and ecological restoration of hydro-affected sites within and around its communities in Bird and Gillam, its land selections and within the Fox Lake Resource Management Area;
- FLCN directed environmental and human impact monitoring within and around its communities in Bird and Gillam, its land selections and within the Fox Lake Resource Management Area;
- Closure of recreational fisheries in some areas likely to experience overfishing due to influx of workers, in consultation with appropriate government authorities and other Inninuwak communities;
- Closure of recreational hunting of some species and in some local areas, in consultation with appropriate government authorities and other Inninuwak communities;
- Cooperative plans for sustainability and recovery for sturgeon on the lower Kischi Sipi through the Sturgeon Stewardship Agreement and other initiatives that may be undertaken by Fox Lake for the Fox Lake Resource Management Area;
- Hiring and training of FLCN Conservation Officers in the Fox Lake Resource Management Area;
- Collaboration (as agreed to with FLCN) with the Partnership and with Manitoba Hydro to develop and implement future studies and monitoring; and
- Educational and entrepreneurial programs to support long-term economic and social development.

As a result of the experience gained through negotiating the Joint Keeyask Development Agreement, Fox Lake views this process as the first of many steps in which our First Nation can achieve mino pimatisiwin and a strong and healthy working relationship with Manitoba Hydro. Being able to develop and maintain a respectful relationship is an important part of moving forward.

CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

> *More and more rivers in Canada no longer run, freely or cleanly. And no identifiable group in our society has been more disadvantaged by this transformation than Native people, whose traditional dependence upon the natural water regime is increasingly jeopardized by publicly-supported corporate resources exploitation (Quinn 1991; 138).*

The Keeyask Hydropower Limited Partnership proposes to construct the Keeyask Generation Project at the lower Kischi Sipi (Nelson River) at a place known as the Keeyask, or Gull Rapids, approximately 35 km upstream from the township of Gillam and the A kwis ki makah Indian Reserve in northern Manitoba. If approved, Keeyask will be the fifth hydroelectric generating station to be built on the lower stretch of the river in five decades.

Over the past half century, the Kischi Sipi in northern Manitoba has been transformed by successive hydro development projects. The idea to harness the full hydroelectric potential of the Kischi Sipi system over time and in stages is referred to by FLCN as the Nelson River Project.

Hydro development along the lower Kischi Sipi area began in the late 1950s with the construction of the Kelsey Generating Station and continued with the Kettle (1966), Long Spruce (1971), and Limestone Generating Stations (1985). These dams do not operate as independent entities but require supporting infrastructure. These supporting structures are often located some distance away from the actual source of power generation and have impacts on Aski, especially from the perspective of the our people. To operate and distribute power from the Kelsey, Kettle, Long Spruce, and Limestone dams Manitoba Hydro constructed the following supporting infrastructure:

- The Churchill River Diversion to divert the upstream portion of the Churchill River into the Nelson and Burntwood Rivers;
- The Lake Winnipeg Regulation project to convert Lake Winnipeg into a reservoir that regulates flows into the Kischi Sipi according to seasonal power demands;[4] and
- The DC Transmission System, through which Bipoles I and II carry power from the Radisson and Henday Converter Stations to the Dorsey station in southern Manitoba.

In addition to the Keeyask Generation Project, Manitoba Hydro is considering the Conawapa Generation Project, a sixth generating station to be situated along the lower Kischi Sipi. Finally the Bipole III Transmission Reliability Project is being developed for reliability purposes and will also transport power from northern Manitoba to southern customers.

Hydro development in Manitoba's north has primarily benefited Manitoba citizens residing in the south, industry, the power utility, and consumers of electricity in the province of Manitoba and

[4] The Lake Winnipeg Regulation Project included the construction of the Jenpeg Generation Station, Kiskitto Dam, the Ominawin Bypass Channel, 8-Mile Channel, and 20-Mile Channel.

Ontario and the US state of Minnesota, through the provision of a steady and cost-effective supply of electricity.

Until recently, the multitude of social, cultural, and economic costs borne by Fox Lake people were largely unknown to the general public (Waldram 1988; xi), and unacknowledged by federal and provincial governments, industry, and Manitoba Hydro (ibid). In the past, governments and industry justified the unequal distribution of costs and benefits by arguing that, among other things hydro development constituted a common good, or more specifically that the "regulation of the natural water regime improve[d] its utility to society" (Quinn 1991; 144). Furthermore, developers asserted that "minorities in the way [of development] must be displaced for projects which serve the common good" (Quinn 1991; 143). Beginning in the 1970s, a growing number of academics, First Nations advocates, First Nations people and organizations criticized the use of public good arguments to justify developments by both private and public entities.

Until the early 1990s, mitigation of adverse environmental, social and economic effects was generally not a component of Manitoba Hydro's project planning (Quinn 1991; 143). Furthermore, compensation was an afterthought (ibid; 143) that typically took years to negotiate, and resulted in initially poorly implemented agreements like the Northern Flood Agreement (Waldram 1998).

In 1998, anthropologist James Waldram posed the following rhetorical questions about the manner in which hydro development had, at least until this time, been carried out in northern Manitoba:

> *Surely development projects which cost in the hundreds of millions of dollars would include the provision of mitigation and compensation measures. Surely the people to be affected would receive the benefits of a development designed to benefit all. Surely these [indigenous] people would be better off after construction of the dams than they were before. Unfortunately, such is not the case* (Waldram 1998; xii).

PURPOSE

This document is a component of Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) that will be submitted to provincial and federal regulators as part of the license application process for the Keeyask Generation Project. Both the Canadian Environmental Assessment Act (CEAA) and the Manitoba Environment Act, among other provincial and federal legislation, require an environmental impact assessment (EIA) to be conducted for the proposed Keeyask project.

The purpose of this document is to articulate how the FLCN proposes to move into the future as a partner in the Keeyask project. While the primary audience is the federal and provincial regulators, it will also provide a record for our own people about the efforts undertaken by FLCN as part of deciding to become a Keeyask partner.

This document also provides information on how FLCN and our people view the proposed Keeyask Generation Project; more specifically, to broaden the understanding of how our people perceive Keeyask affecting their lives and Aski. This document also identifies the actions that the FLCN sees

as necessary to mitigate the number, magnitude, and duration of the Keeyask Generation Project's adverse effects.

Our peoples' views are largely influenced by their previous experiences with hydroelectric development. The FLCN firmly asserts that the Keeyask project can only be seen within the context of previous and ongoing hydroelectric developments and their cumulative impacts on our people and our way of life.

Our people's philosophy of mino pimatisiwin is the foundation on which this document is developed. Mino pimatisiwin is the practices, social norms, and moral tenets that lend themselves to living a good life. The ability to obtain a variety of traditional foods, the access to lands, waters and animals, and the collective identity of our people which reinforces social cohesion and prompts collective actions and activities, are all aspects of mino pimatisiwin. We are part of the environment and have a responsibility to behave according to our traditional teachings and natural laws. The ability to live according to philosophy of mino pimatisiwin is most often associated with the pre-hydro period, and is reflected in statements like "we were never sick or poor then." Our Kitayatisuk identify the Kettle dam, the first of three hydroelectric generating stations built near Gillam, as the beginning of profound change that deeply challenged how our people lived mino pimatisiwin.

OBJECTIVES OF THIS REPORT

The following objectives of this report reflect the long term goals of FLCN towards living mino pimatisiwin and:

- Describe the role of the Keeyask Generation Project in FLCN's overall wellness strategy.
- Define and describe FLCN's human and environmental baseline.
- Describe the known cumulative impacts of successive hydroelectric projects on our people and our land and waters.
- Describe the predicted impacts of the Keeyask project on our people and our land and waters.
- Describe the measures necessary to mitigate impacts of the Keeyask project on our people and Aski in keeping with the "adaptive management" approach.
- Describe the measures necessary to monitor impacts of the Keeyask project on our people and Aski in keeping with the "adaptive management" approach.
- Describe the measures necessary to ensure that our people benefit from the Keeyask project and live mino pimatisiwin[5].

Within the framework of mino pimatisiwin or "living a good life".

[5] The measures outlined in this document are only those Fox Lake anticipates will be necessary at the time of writing.

METHODS

The preparation of this document involved a literature review, a series of community-based workshops, writing followed by community reviews and revisions. This document drew upon a number of literary sources including journals, documents produced by FLCN based on interviews with our people, and documents produced by Manitoba Hydro and its consultants. Focus group sessions were held to solicit direction on issues the community felt were most pressing in relation to the Keeyask project.

BRIEF HISTORY OF HYDROELECTRIC DEVELOPMENT IN NORTHERN MANITOBA

Many years before Manitoba Hydro's projects, the Government of Canada had identified the hydroelectric power potential of the Kischi Sipi. A study was undertaken in 1913 by the federal government's Department of Mines to investigate the development potential of Manitoba's northern river systems. According to Manitoba Hydro (2009), "The 1913 report formed the basis for further studies, undertaken half a century later that ultimately led to the development of Manitoba's northern water power resources." Over four decades later in 1958, the governments of Manitoba and Canada presented another report that "affirmed that regulation of the lake [Winnipeg] would be advantageous to the development of potential generating sites on the Nelson River" (ibid). Fuelling the desire to tap the power potential of the north were the province's increasing demands for low-cost electricity, and the possibility of selling any unused power to customers in the U.S. and the Province of Ontario. Although the Kischi Sipi was known to have immense hydroelectric potential for many decades, the province and utility could not harvest its potential until the early 1960s, when the technology to transport power over long distances was developed.

In 1957, construction began on the Kelsey Generating Station along the upper Nelson River near its outlet to Split Lake, the first in a series of hydroelectric projects that irrevocably altered the land and lives of the region's Inninuwak communities.

In the early 1960s, Manitoba Hydro investigated a set of rapids our people called the Kischi Askiko Powstik (Big Kettle Rapids), a few kilometres upstream from the Kettle Railway Bridge at the Askiko Sipi (Kettle Rapids), and by 1966 construction of the Kettle Generating Station was well underway. The next step in development was a transmission line built between the Kelsey Generating Station and the site of the future Radisson converter station. The Radisson station was constructed over a three-year period. The transmission line brought power to the construction site at the Kischi Askiko Powstik and also to Gillam, which was undergoing an expansion to

accommodate the infrastructure and people needed to construct and operate the Kettle dam. A new airstrip and a road were constructed. The road connected Gillam with the Kettle Rapids site. At the same time, Manitoba Hydro began constructing a series of transmission lines to carry power to the southern part of the province. Beginning in the winter of 1969, two DC transmission lines, Bipole I and II, were installed to transmit power from the Kettle Generating Station to the Dorsey station northwest of Winnipeg. Seven 138 kilovolt transmission lines were built over the gravesite associated with the old settlement referred to as Kettle Rapids to connect Kettle with the Radisson Converter Station.

In 1966, Manitoba Hydro constructed work camps and a coffer dam to allow for the building of the Kettle Rapids powerhouse and spillway. Numerous borrow pits and quarries were excavated to provide sand and gravel for roads and other infrastructure. As the generating station neared completion, parts of the future Kettle forebay were cleared, and approximately 24 kilometres of dikes were constructed above the dam site to contain flooding once the Kischi Sipi was closed.

Following the closure of the forebay in 1970, the Kischi Sipi was completely dammed at the Kischi Askiko Powstik and a surface area of more than 54,000 acres of land was flooded extending upriver almost to Gull Rapids. This created a large reservoir which the Province and Manitoba Hydro named Stephens Lake. The reservoir was approximately five times the width of the Kischi Sipi and completely flooded our people's traditional area of Mososkot (Moose Nose) (FLCN 2012). Wabuttnakh Sipi (Butnau River), was dammed at its outlet into the Kischi Sipi and diverted into the Kettle River.

The Long Spruce Generating Station was the second in a series of dams after Kettle that was built within and surrounding Fox Lake Cree Nation communities. Construction began in 1971 while activities related to the Kettle project were still in progress. As with the Kettle project, the identification, planning and surveying of a generating station at the Long Spruce rapids started many years earlier. The Long Spruce project led to the building of more infrastructure, the arrival of more outside workers, and the flooding of more land upstream from the powerhouse. In the early 1970s, the construction workforce rose to about 2,800 (FLCN 2012). A permanent administrative and operating staff was established in Gillam and families were moved in.

Built at Kischi Machidow Powstik (Long Spruce Rapids), the Long Spruce Rapids Project began in 1971, with a rail spur from the existing CN line and a 16 kilometre access road. Over the next two years, Manitoba Hydro constructed a work camp, work areas, rail spurs, quarries and a cofferdam. Long Spruce shared many design features with the Kettle project, including a 30 foot high main structure and an eight-mile system of dikes to contain the forebay.

When the Long Spruce forebay was flooded, water levels behind the dam rose approximately 85 feet above the natural level of the Kischi Sipi and flooded over 3,400 acres of land, and the tributaries within the footprint area as well as the estuaries of smaller rivers.

While the Long Spruce project was under construction, and the Limestone Generating Station was in the planning phase, work also began on the Lake Winnipeg Regulation (LWR) and Churchill River Diversion (CRD). The purpose of the LWR project was to regulate the water levels of Lake Winnipeg. In essence, Lake Winnipeg was transformed into an enormous reservoir for projects such as Kelsey, Kettle and Long Spruce and to provide flood control on Lake Winnipeg. The LWR required construction of the Jenpeg dam and control structure, as well as creating two channels to allow water from the lake to be stored in the summer and released in the winter, when electricity needs were greatest. The seasonal flow volumes of the Kischi Sipi were reversed, so that water levels no longer peaked between May and June but rather during the months of November and January.

Both the Lake Winnipeg Regulation (LWR) and Churchill River Diversion (CRD), which involved the diversion of water from the Churchill River into the Nelson through the Rat River-Burntwood River system, increased the flow of the Nelson to allow greater volumes of water to pass through the turbines of the dams.

The construction of the Limestone project began in the late 1970s. The Sundance work camp and related coffer dam, completed in 1978, were built in the initial stages of construction but were put on hold in the late 1970s as a result of lower demands for electricity. In 1985, construction on the Limestone dam was resumed. It became fully operational by 1992.

Adding to the footprint of the Kettle and Long Spruce projects, the Limestone Generating Station caused more environmental changes to the lower Kischi Sipi and the surrounding area. Although the Limestone project raised water levels 110 feet higher than the original level, the river's banks were steep above the dam, which contained surface flooding to approximately 500 acres. The opposite effect occurred directly below the Limestone dam where the drop in water levels caused nearby rivers to lose water volume at their estuaries.

Political circumstances in the 1980s made the Limestone project different from those that preceded it. In the decade following the Kettle and Long Spruce projects environmental awareness increased dramatically, and both the provincial and federal governments enacted stricter laws governing development. As well, in 1982, Canada created its own Constitution, including in it the affirmation and protection of Treaty and Aboriginal rights. In light of these changes, Manitoba Hydro altered its approach to development of the Limestone project and in particular, undertook to assess the impacts of Limestone on the people and the environment.

DESCRIPTION OF THE KEEYASK GENERATION PROJECT

The Keeyask Generation Project will be located approximately 35 kilometres west of Gillam and FLCN's A kwis ki makah reserve, and 80 kilometres west FLCN's Bird reserve. The generating station has been designed to support a capacity of 695 megawatts, which translates into an estimated 4400 gigawatt hours of electricity annually, thus constituting the fourth largest generator of hydroelectric power in the province.

The generating station will be located at the Keeyask Rapids near the outlet of Gull Lake, where the Kischi Sipi flows into Stephens Reservoir. This document refers to Stephens Lake as Stephens Reservoir, to counter the implication of it as a natural lake, and to more accurately reflect Mosokot's transformation.

The site on which the proposed Keeyask Generation Project will be constructed will result in changes to the existing physical environments, of varying durations and magnitudes including permanent changes by the creation of a reservoir extending from the outlet of Clark Lake to the generating station at Gull Rapids. The Keeyask reservoir will extend approximately 42 km from the generating station to the outlet of Clark Lake. Initially, the reservoir area would encompass 93 square kilometres, consisting of approximately 48 square kilometres of existing waterways and 45 square kilometres of newly inundated lands.

Approximately half of the reservoir's total area would involve the flooding of shorelines and inland areas, which would be cleared of trees and other large vegetation prior to flooding. The reservoir would continue to expand over time due to the erosion of peat lands. The reservoir is predicted to expand by approximately 7 to 8 square kilometres during the first 30 years of hydroelectric generation. As the climate changes the melting rate of permafrost may accelerate.

The application for the environmental license for Keeyask restricts the water fluctuation in the forebay to one metre, between a water level of 158.0 and 159.0 metres above sea level. However,

the application does not regulate how frequently nor how quickly fluctuations can occur, and thus water levels could fluctuate within this range in a very short period of time, as they do on Stephens and other reservoirs.

The Keeyask Generation Project also involves constructing a powerhouse across the north side of Gull Rapids, a spillway across the south side of Gull Rapids, three dams spanning the width of Gull Rapids (central, north, and south), dykes along the north and south sides of the reservoir and a transmission tower spur. A south access road consisting of 14 km of new and 20 km of upgraded roads will connect the south side of the Keeyask Generating Station to Gillam via Butnau Road.

Granular and impervious materials required for the project will be accessed from several proposed borrow areas in the vicinity of the Keeyask Generation Project affecting a potential total surface area of approximately 1,300 ha (approximately 3,200 acres).

The infrastructure component of the Keeyask Generation Project (known as the Keeyask Infrastructure Project) includes the structures that are necessary to initiate construction and operation of the generating station (a 100-person temporary start-up camp and a 1,500 person expanded main camp near the north side of Gull Rapids); and a 25 kilometre all-weather gravel road connecting Provincial Road 280 with the north shore of Gull Lake; and a bridge over Looking Back Creek. The Keeyask Infrastructure Project commenced in December 2011 as a separate project from the larger Keeyask Generation Project.

DEFINING THE KEEYASK STUDY AREAS

Based on previously determined criteria, the Keeyask Hydropower Limited Partnership and its consulting team have demarcated three successively larger zones called study areas, based on areas where all or most of the impacts are expected to occur. This is related to the fact that environmental disturbances are likely to affect an area or ecosystem beyond the immediate source of the disturbance.

In many instances, environmental studies to predict how the Keeyask project will likely affect people, ecosystems, and the physical environment occurred in relation to one or more of these study areas, thus necessitating a judgement about the nature and geographical extent of each potential impact and on its corresponding VEC. In a few instances, comparison studies were conducted beyond the relevant zone, as was the case with the archaeological investigations carried out at Fox Lake.

Through FLCN initial assessment of the Keeyask Project, it was clear that our people had dissimilar views about what should be studied and where, and about the nature and extent of a potential impact. As a result, our people identified a number of areas in and outside the local study areas that were likely to be impacted by the Keeyask project, but were not being studied by Manitoba Hydro and its consultants. Many of these criticisms were elevated through the creation of the Environmental Studies Working Group (ESWG) in April 2007.

This working group's primary function is to facilitate FLCN's input into Manitoba Hydro's ongoing studies and to improve understanding between the two parties given their different worldviews. This committee consisted of representatives of Manitoba Hydro, consultants responsible for carrying out the environmental studies, representatives of the FLCN including community members, and the advisors to FLCN.

Subsequent to the ESWG, sub-committees like the Mammals, Aquatics, and Mercury and Health Working Groups were formed to discuss specific issues relating to the environmental assessment, although these were multilateral committees involving Manitoba Hydro and other First Nations partners of Keeyask. FLCN and North/South Consultants have recently made considerable progress through a collaborative process where aquatic biologists consult with active harvesters and Elders from FLCN on the design and implementation of studies so that AK informs the science. FLCN worked very hard to achieve such an active role in the studies and expects this type of involvement to continue in the future.

Through FLCN's Keeyask Traditional Knowledge Program, areas used by some Fox Lake Members were identified, including the Butnau Road, area across the tracks, Keeyasko Powstik, Looking Back Creek, Kischi Askiko Powstik, Kischi Sipi (Dyke 5), Kischi Sipi (Dyke 4), Kischi Sipi (near Ferris Bay), Kischi Sipi (Stephens Reservoir), Keewatin Mosokot Sakahikan, Indian Grave Channel, Cache Lake, Askiko Sipi, Wabuttnakh Sipi, Wabuttnakh Powstik, and Landing Lake. It is important to highlight that although the aforementioned specific sites are listed, our people put forward the importance of all locations, a position that is particularly meaningful when understood in the context of mino pimatisiwin.

LIMITATIONS

Unlike western science, which relies upon the scientific method to create and test the validity of theory, our theory of being is based on living interaction with the environment over the millennia and embodied in traditional and local knowledge (Aski Keskentamowin). Our environmental worldview has been described as knowledge about the natural world, knowledge about navigating and being successful in the natural world, values about the natural world, and the knowledge system itself, which is constantly being tested and adapted.

Our people view themselves as keepers and protectors of Aski, in the past, the present, and into the future. This is one of the values that make Indigenous peoples unique in the world today. The western view is to perceive natural resources as single utilitarian entities, that is, water for hydroelectricity, irrigation, shipping, and so forth.

That our people and Manitoba Hydro hold different theories of being have given rise to different worldviews, theories of knowledge, values and value judgments, and ultimately truths about the natural environment. For example, *Ninan* (draft) (2012) documents how a hunter's future success was dictated by whether or not he took part in appropriate behaviours in relation to his or her prey. This is a truth known to our people precisely because it occurs time and time again over the

generations. However, scientists and other western-trained people are likely to dismiss this as merely an archaic spiritual belief with little value in today's world.

Although the Keeyask EIS includes Aski Keskentamowin in equal weight to western science, in practice this has proved challenging. FLCN argues that scientific certainty can only be improved if it builds upon, and continuously incorporates Aski Keskentamowin. Aski Keskentamowin can profoundly improve the quality and results of environmental studies especially if it is included at the design phase. Aski Keskentamowin can be particularly useful when deciding not only where a study should occur, but also what should be studied. Most importantly, Aski Keskentamowin can accurately predict environmental impacts at the local level, which conventional scientific studies are much less reliable at doing. It is because our people are the most familiar with the local landscape, ecology, and ecosystem that this claim can be made. For true integration to occur, scientists (who generally spend little time in the vicinity relative to our people) will be required to re-evaluate their own research methods, and be open to working collaboratively with our people and sharing credit for research in a manner that fully acknowledges their contribution. In the case of Keeyask, true integration of Aski Keskentamowin and science was not possible but best efforts were made to apply it when it became available.

Clearly, true integration of Aski Keskentamowin (AK) and meaningful involvement of our people in a true Partnership will require commitment from both FLCN and Manitoba Hydro as we move forward with the Keeyask project and with future hydro developments in vicinity of our communities in Gillam and Bird and in the Fox Lake Resource Management Area. Through the hard work of the Fox Lake Kitayasuk, improvements in the integration of AK into aquatic studies have been made, and have set a precedent for moving forward into Keeyask monitoring and future developments. Fox Lake is confident that this new working relationship will improve the predictability and reliability of future and ongoing work. FLCN will also participate in the Monitoring Advisory Committee and will have its own Aski Keskentamowin Monitoring contract to monitor the Project as it unfolds.

CHAPTER 2 – FLCN INNINUWAK MINO PIMATISIWIN

For generations, the Inninuwak (Cree People) have occupied the places that would later be appropriated, flooded, and transformed by the process of hydro development. The Aski Keskentamowin (AK) passed down from our ancestors was disrupted as the natural rhythms of the environment that knowledge was based on, was destroyed. This section presents a summary of the current and historical cultural environment of the FLCN.

IDENTITY

Our collective identity has evolved over time, adapting to the many changes we have witnessed and experienced. Kitayatisuk stated that long ago, before and even after adhesion to Treaties and the arbitrary affiliation of individuals to certain bands, the people continued to self-identify through kinship. Identity was affirmed by our seasonal occupation of sites throughout the region and the view that the land was shared amongst families and groups. We enjoyed close relationships with Inninuwak throughout the Hudson Bay Lowlands, and were keenly aware of how we were related to them. This identity was illustrated by the many recollections from Kitayatisuk that recounted stories of camaraderie with other Inninuwak. This support exemplified the "relationships, responsibility, and connection that Inninuwak had for one another regardless of their territorial origin" (FLCN 2012). However, as stated in *Ninan* (draft), "[over] time, after many people became permanently settled on reserve land, a mind-set took hold among younger generations of Inninuwak who began to associate themselves exclusively with a particular First Nation" (FLCN 2012) and that the identity of belonging to the larger Cree Nation is much less prominent among younger people. Efforts are being taken to increase understanding among FLCN youth about the shared community, genealogy, and history of northern Inninuwak people in Manitoba.

LANGUAGE, CULTURE, VALUES AND BELIEFS

Approximately 15% of the membership residing in Gillam and Bird are fluent in the Cree language. An additional 6% are able to understand Cree at some level. The majority of our people are not able to communicate effectively in the Cree language.

During the process of completing the FLCN Community History Project and the Keeyask Traditional Knowledge Program, our people stressed the importance of and the need to revitalize the Cree language. One important aspect of this is re-dedicating Cree place names that were subsequently replaced with English place names or shortened versions of Inninimowin[6] place names, for example Butnau River is in fact a shortened version of Wabuttnow Sipi.

Quoted in FLCN (2010), Maria and Jonathan Redhead explained how places got their Cree names:

> *"People used to name rivers and lakes by how they seen the scenery like if a person sees an abundance of trees or bushes or the formation of rocks even how the rivers and lakes flowed – Butnau River in Cree it's Wabuttnow Sipi because from a distance the river banks look white".*

The Cree language has three main dialects and many accents within each dialect. The transcription process from Cree to Roman Orthography can be a difficult process. Many of the older Cree speakers speak an older version of Cree that may be difficult for a younger speaker to interpret (FLCN 2010; 8), which can be described as 'High Cree'.

Our people relied on a detailed, extensive, longstanding and adaptive knowledge system in order to maintain an intimate relationship with their surroundings to realize a successful, peaceful and happy existence in an environment that can at times be harsh and unforgiving. This knowledge was passed down from generation to generation orally and through experiential learning, games, art, dancing, music, and the use of atchimowina and atunokawina. Today we still draw upon this knowledge to inform our worldview and to connect safely and appropriately with our surroundings.

Our culture, values and beliefs are not stagnant, but evolve and adapt to deal with changing environments and new realities. However, there are some at the core, which can remain intact for generations. For example, when some of our people began more permanent employment with Canadian National Railway, some "eventually limited their extended travels to seasonal harvesting sites, [but] they continued to hold onto their core values and beliefs. Traditions were woven into the essential fabric of the FLCN community, and people

[6] Inninimowin translates to *the language we speak*

continued to conduct themselves according to the values passed to them by teachings from the 'old people'" (FLCN 2012).

Many of our people participated in the history project and shared stories of past times before hydro development. These narratives "reflect the sense of power that people exercised in their daily lives, as they drew upon knowledge and experience accumulated over countless generations. The stories also evoke a time when land, water, plants and animals shifted and interacted in natural cycles, free from artificial interference and industrial pollution" (FLCN 2012).

There was much turmoil in the many years following initial hydro development, mainly due to the clash of values and belief systems held by our people and the newcomers to the region. As stated in *Ninan* (draft):

> *The widespread environmental damage was in complete opposition to FLCN's traditional values and life ways, and, in particular, to the belief that the land, animals and people should not be mistreated. In the eyes of our people, the government and its provincial crown corporation had broken this rule by allowing the development to lead to such devastating results. The disregard shown by the utility for the projects' inevitable impacts demonstrated a lack of regard for the original inhabitants of the land, their way of life and their belief systems. From the highest level to the lowest, there was most certainly a clash of values between the 'developer' and the people of FLCN* (FLCN 2012).

The impact of hydro development on our people was incredibly widespread, having "altered the social, cultural and natural landscape to such an extent that the people's beliefs, values, ways of life and worldview no longer fit the new environment in which they found themselves."(FLCN 2012). The values, belief system and knowledge that led to mino pimatisiwin was undermined when our people declined, and hard work was impeded by the many limitations placed on them. As stated in the draft *Ninan* (2012),

> *These, and many other overwhelming experiences sent a powerful message to the FLCN people; that their values and ways of life were no longer working. This, in turn, caused individuals to doubt the validity of their beliefs and life knowledge, leaving many with little to help them adapt to the many changes occurring almost simultaneously around them* (162-3).

OOCHINEHWIN

Oochinehwin is the belief that a negative action against an animal, a person or the land could negatively impact the fate of a person, family members, or the next generation. Other behaviours that could result in oochinehwin include being disrespectful, being mean to orphans, and other forms of discrimination. "The knowledge that there are consequences for inappropriate behaviours… was an important part of the people's worldview, and directly influenced the choices they made in their daily lives" (FLCN 2012).

The consequences of these actions varied but often were feared to materialize as unsuccessful hunting, which could mean starvation or loss of social status or personal pride as a skilled hunter and leader (FLCN 2012). These teachings played a "key role in creating a worldview… for maintaining a respect for rules and social order… preserve oral knowledge by ensuring the accuracy of the information [and] was a powerful deterrent against negative behaviours" (ibid; 19).

Within the context of mino pimatisiwin, knowing that there are consequences for inappropriate behaviours, that is, oochinehwin, has long informed our ways of knowing and directly influenced the choices our people made in their daily lives, while at the same time informing our larger understanding of the world.

Although the threat of bad outcomes may not always have been enough to deter inappropriate behaviours, once they experienced oochinehwin, our people connected it to the way they had conducted themselves and learned from the consequences of their acts.

Our people learned that appropriate behaviour should be followed at all times, and that they were responsible for their own actions, even when acting appropriately might be inconvenient or difficult to do.

Because our people depend on practical evidence to inform their behaviour, clearly understanding the relationship between actions and outcomes, oochinehwin played an important role in maintaining appropriate, respectful, and functional relationships. The consequences of breaking the rules were not dependent on whether or not a person was "caught in the act". Our ways of knowing our world were not only embedded in an active relationship with the world around us, but also within ourselves, as "rules" were phrased in terms of "if you do a certain thing, then this will happen". This called for thoughtful decision making and demanded personal responsibility, while outcomes encouraged our people to engage with their decisions and to internalize rules for appropriate conduct.

The consequences of failing to manage behaviour appropriately could be serious, posing a genuine threat to life, including failed hunts and serious illness. Zach Mayham stated:

> *It's true what they said because if you didn't treat game with respect you would suffer for it and it's true. And you could not get better when you were sick because of what you did to an animal. If another old man knew, he was like a medicine man – if he knew, you would get better. They used to talk about that long ago when you would get sick because of that (Personal Interview, 2012).*

Although making poor decisions often rested at the individual level, overcoming the consequences of inappropriate behaviour could require the help of others. Sickness or poor hunting could be reversed with the assistance of a mitew, who had the power to make a person better or to re-establish hunting success. But mitew power was not only or always benign, and as in any other part of life, had to be respected.

PASTAMOWIN

As with the oochinehwin, the idea of pastamowin places the responsibility for decision making and learning from the consequences of those decisions with the person.

Pastamowin refers to "make[ing] inappropriate, hateful, untrue comments about someone else. And it comes back at you" (FLCN 2012). As with engaging in many prohibited behaviours, the consequence to pastamowin often related to a failed hunt, which was a very serious risk. In fact, "unintentional actions or inactions (perhaps brought about by laziness, complacency or a lack of awareness) or acting with passivity in no way released the hunters from their responsibilities in life" (ibid; 19).

SPIRITUALITY AND RELIGION

Mitewewin is the traditional and spiritual ways of life that were and continue to be practiced by some of our people. A mitew is a person knowledgeable about the mitewewin and its practices such as kosahpahcikkun or shaking tent, and could reverse oochinehwin.

There was much secrecy associated with this practice and many did not speak publicly about its use and locations of kosahpahcikkun. "Although our people were familiar with Christianity as a result of exposure to Christian fur traders, and the coming of Methodist missionaries to northern Manitoba in the 1840s, many continued to practice the mitewewin…" (FLCN 2012). People also secretive because they feared that they would be punished by early Indian Act policies that prohibited Inninuwak to practice time-honoured spiritual ways of life.

Kosahpahchikkun could be used for healing and guidance. Zach Mayham described how Kitayatisuk used the kosahpahchikkun to see truth: *I only heard about the shaking tent too, they used to make those. You sit in there and you can only see, hear and see the truth, you can't hide. The old people used to challenge each other. They used to say it shook and would bend* (Personal Interview, 2004).

Further, Jessie Anderson said: "*other people would challenge them, this is the why they used kosahpahchikkun, to see who was challenging them, and to protect themselves against the challenger*" (Personal Interview, 2009).

Although most of today's Kitayatisuk do not practice kosahpahchikkun, they saw it in use when they were children. The late Dorothy Wavey shared the following story:

> *I heard about mitewewin. It was at York Factory that I heard about it. One night, I couldn't sleep when the mitewak would make their kosahpahchikkun. We heard drumming, and I can't describe the sound, it's like yelling. I would block my ears with my hands. I asked what was happening. I was told that was the mitewak from Shamattawa. They would do this in the summer. I really didn't understand what it was all about, this was in 1940 and I was just fourteen years old (Personal Interview, 2006).*

There are other belief systems that continue to inform the worldview of some of our people. "[Many identify as] Christian, which suggests that [they] found ways to merge the two seemingly

incompatible belief systems [of Christianity and Mino pimatisiwin] in ways that made sense in their lives" (FLCN 2012). During the development of *Ninan* (draft), many shared their experiences with Christianity and related an appreciation for the support and connection offered by the church.

SELF-SUFFICIENCY AND HARD WORK

Traditionally, in order to live and succeed, our people needed to be self-sufficient. "In nearly every aspect of life, from birthing babies and raising them to adulthood, to constructing log cabins, the people continued to maintain a high level of self-sufficiency, including the use of medicines and healing practices" (FLCN 2012). To survive, everyone needed to possess knowledge of survival skills. For example, knowledge of medicine was required for times when immediate access to a mitew or western doctor was not possible.

Our people were proud to be hard workers and many narratives recalled memories of adult males working all day for Canadian National Railway and then returning to practice traditional activities, household duties, or even assist one another in building activities as related by Barbara Kirkness in 2004: "[all] the men would get together and build a house. You know, after work they would build a house" (FLCN 2012). Women, Kitayatisuk and children were all active participants and hard workers in the operation of the home. There was much pride associated with working hard, being a good hunter or worker, and taking care of oneself and contributing to the family and the community. Many of our people continue to exhibit this value in professional and personal lives, contributing to their workplaces and through volunteerism.

SHARING AND CARING

Many of the narratives of times prior to hydro development related there was a great sense of community amongst our people, which extended to the non-Aboriginal residents of Gillam. This connectivity was illustrated through the many ways people shared and cared for one another. An example would be the assistance people received when building their residences:

> *[No] one had to go alone. People helped each other; like when they built houses no one had to build his house alone he always had help from the other people. They helped each other. And children, no one raised or cared for their children alone, everyone watched everyone else's children. They watched them for each other long ago…"* (FLCN 2012).

Another example:

> *When Hydro first moved into town, into Gillam, and redeveloped the whole town around us, I think prior to that, even though I was, you know, even though I was away at school most of the time and when I did come home, I think there was a sense of community amongst the members that lived in the town… But there was always that sense of community, you know… So most of the men worked on CN, but I remember my dad used, coming home after work, you know, did quite a bit, worked from eight to five or something like that, but he'd get home around five o'clock and, you know, while my mom was making supper he'd be outside straightening out nails, cleaning up boards and taking all the nails off. Then after he ate, he'd go over to, in this instance, I remember, late Smith Attley, was building a new house or adding onto his house and all those guys would go over there in the evening after work and help him. So they had this 'building bee' of sorts, I suppose, but it was that kind of thing, I know. I remember the women's [church] auxiliary. I think it was called back then, being held at our house across the tracks. All the women would gather there, and of course I would get in the way, but I don't really know what they were talking about, but I do remember those types of things, you know, women gathering. I remember the community parenting. There is a lot of talk about it now, but I remember the idea where you see posters now where it says it takes a community to raise a child. Well it was somewhat like that. We were community children, and it was community discipline*" (FLCN 2012).

RESPECT

The value of respect and maintaining respectful relationships is one of the core values around which daily life was built. It is a central value within mino pimatisiwin, oochinehwin, and pastamowin and not abiding by these and being disrespectful had harsh and serious consequences. In fact, "the people were taught to treat everyone with respect, even if it was not reciprocal" (FLCN 2012) because it was such an important value and central to our belief system. Being respectful with one another was important.

> *I was told many times not to disrespect and I try not to disrespect anyone no matter how pitiful they look. That was the most important thing to the old men, not to disrespect anybody. If you treat everyone with respect, you'll be well and you will be lucky if you treat people well* (FLCN 2012).

Being respectful also extended to the land and animals and this was relevant in the belief in oochinehwin.

PASSING OF KNOWLEDGE

Knowledge and the passing of it to younger generations is an important act for all societies and cultures. Sometimes it is transmitted passively through example, while other times the effort is more concerted. Our people have retained deeply personal knowledge related to Aski.

Until the mid-1800s when syllabics became more widely used, our people transmitted knowledge through the oral tradition, meaning no system of writing was necessary to transfer information. Alternatively, knowledge was passed down through storytelling, showing, games, art, dancing, music, and other forms of expression (FLCN 2012) which was well suited to our culture, as it didn't require the acquisition of material objects, included an element of recreation and entertainment, could be easily memorized, and could be retained over a long period of time.

All our people held knowledge, therefore there was a collective responsibility in sharing that knowledge to assist their relations and community survive and live successfully (FLCN 2012). However, some members held different levels of responsibility:

> *Kitayatisuk played a key role in the preservation of knowledge. Due to their life experience, Kitayatisuk acquired an in-depth understanding of the world around them that younger, less experienced people typically did not have. Thus, Kitayatisuk bore the greatest responsibility for ensuring that children and grandchildren received all types of knowledge* (FLCN 2012).

Because of their experience and knowledge, Kitayatisuk were highly respected and were extremely important in maintaining the standards of behaviour and were responsible for passing on values, customs, and belief systems onto younger people (FLCN 2012).

Women in the community also shared responsibility in passing on knowledge to younger people. In past times, women's lives generally revolved around the home, children and family. Through activities such as storytelling and teaching children important skills by example, women "transmitted cultural values to their children, and prepared them for their adult roles" (FLCN 2012).

In draft *Ninan* (2012) it is stated that until "very recently, the force keeping the oral tradition alive was the fact that every person's survival depended on the transfer of knowledge held by older people to younger generations" (FLCN 2012). This was very much altered with the introduction of wage economy and permanent workforce as well as the disruption brought forth from hydroelectric development. Fortunately Aski Keskentamowin is characterized as being adaptable, however the intensity of change during a relatively brief period of time and these devastating environmental changes being coupled with social, economic, and cultural upheaval, made this process of adaptation extremely difficult.

> *Although knowledge specific to the people's local environment and social group was retained over generations, their collective body of knowledge also evolved, improved, and adapted as people re-evaluated their world and life circumstances. We were adept observers, and learned to successfully predict outcomes in nature through a process of trial and error, repeated observation and empirical testing. They also adapted their lifestyles to small and large-scale environmental changes on a relatively frequent basis* (FLCN 2012).

Although unilaterally there were many disruptions in the lives of our people, the understanding of mino pimatisiwin and its importance in the daily lives and identity of our people is still retained. As

well, through the Keeyask Traditional Knowledge Program, our people indicated that they wanted to focus on the Cree language, reaffirm Cree place names, and continue sharing Aski Keskentamowin with young people. Through the Youth Wilderness Traditions Program there is intention and reaffirmation in teaching young people traditional activities, through experiential learning while on the land, and by our Kitayatisuk and other mentors. These are all concepts and ways of understanding and passing on mino pimatisiwin that have been implemented by our people since time beyond memory.

ATCHIMOWINA AND ATUNOKAWINA

Many Kitayatisuk are renowned storytellers, sharing teachings in the form of legends or histories that served both practical and recreational purposes. Atchimowina are accounts of past events as remembered by the storyteller and are considered factual. Atunokawina are legends about ancient times including prior to human occupation of the earth. Both introduce life lessons and teach listeners about the origin of our people, cultural history, the value systems and morals, roles in society and the universe, appropriate behaviours, and ways of life (FLCN 2012). Central characters that feature prominently in our legends include Wesakechak, Wehtego and Nochinchawaysoo.

Like all societies, learning was a lifelong activity for our people as older siblings, parents, grandparents, Kitayatisuk, Aski, the work around, all offered and reinforced the knowledge that was living appropriately and well. Within this context, storytelling played a central role in conveying important and often complex ideas and concepts, conveying not only specific knowledge, but the intricate structures that supported knowledge and ways of knowing ourselves, all in memorable and engaging ways.

Under the eyes of families and community, through advice and stories and by experiencing outcomes, our children grew up on Aski to become competent and knowledgeable adults, able to live mino pimatisiwin in healthy and functioning relationships as adults continued to learn and pass along their knowledge to following generations.

ARCHAEOLOGY AND HERITAGE

Our people have always recognized and honoured our ancestors who resided on the land before. They recognize they are linked to their ancestors through their shared connection to the land. Stories of our people tell of locations where archaeological studies have unearthed ancient tools and other artifacts indicating these sites have long been used.

Our ancestors left a legacy of rich information. Unfortunately, sites were destroyed or lost through hydro development, with the massive flooding that created Stephens Reservoir. This would include sites at the confluence of the Nelson and Mosokot Rivers as well as the Nelson and Butnau Rivers.

These represented sites where our people gathered to obtain resources as well as participate in other social, political and cultural activities. Despite the suspected loss of many sites, some remain to provide a link to the ancestors.

During the Keeyask archaeological impact assessment and ground-truthing for the FLCN Keeyask Traditional Knowledge Program, both teams uncovered lithic tools such as arrowheads, scrapers, adze, etc. Oral history indicates several sites were located between Cache Lake and Wabuttnakh Sipi, Farris Bay and other sites remained on Stephens Reservoir. One site is located on Indian Grave Channel and is commonly referred to as the Neckoway site. These sites held hammer stones and stone chips from the creation of tools crafted from chert, a historically valuable rock resource that was recently found to be abundant in the area and could have been the source of much trade given very little of this rock resource is found in Northern Manitoba.

> *The discovery of a large number of chert flakes at Weir River shows that these ancient people made tools from local chert, which today is found in abundance and quality on the ground's surface in FLCN's territory, in particular, near the Conawapa Rapids. Given that chert was a critical resource, yet was relatively rare in northern Manitoba, according to Archaeologist Kevin Brownlee, it is very likely that this locale was, at one time, a centre of trade, interaction, and intermarriage for ancient people* (FLCN 2012).

The archaeological record indicates people resided in the region for a minimum 5,000 years based on the identification of tools and utensils found in the region.

A number of burial sites were lost or desecrated during previous hydro development activities. These were known to cause great discomfort and distress to our people. The FLCN expects these types of incidents will be avoided at all costs in the future.

FLCN began its Gravesite Restoration, protection and Re-consecration Project in 2007 to identify, clearly mark and fence 13 known FLCN gravesites (each with multiple burials) in the Gillam area so that they are visible and protected from future desecration. Twelve of the 13 originally indicated desecrated gravesites were unique to FLCN and are located at the following sites: Limestone, South Switch (two sites), 'adjacent the tracks', 'adjacent the overpass', Gilliam, Bird, Gillam Yard, Landing Lake, Overpass, and Stephens Reservoir (two sites). The last site referred to the Local Gillam District (LGD) cemetery.

There are likely other unknown burial sites within the vicinity, where the knowledge of their locations has gone with our people who have since passed.

CACHE LAKE

The Keeyask Traditional Knowledge Program indicated that Cache Lake was a very important resource use area for our people. Prior to hydroelectric development the area was plentiful in a variety of fish and wildlife species and was a conduit between the Kettle and Butnau Rivers.

Near the south-east side of Cache Lake, and equidistance from the lake to the Kettle River, was a traditional campsite called Istalawn. While some families lived at Istalawn in the winter during the trapping season, others used it only as a stopover when the travelled to the Kischi Sipi from Split Lake, FLCN, or Ilford. To reach the Kischi Sipi from FLCN, people typically traversed a three-mile long portage east to Kettle Lake, and then travelled down the Kettle River to Cache Lake. From Cache Lake, they stayed at Istalawn, and eventually made their way down the Kettle River to the Nelson (FLCN 2012).

We would travel on foot to Cache Lake, then take our boats from there to Wabuttnakh. From there we could see this large island, back in those days. Now there's nothing at all, it's all flooded. This is around the Moose Nose area. We stayed there all the time (FLCN 2012).

A short distance from Gillam was Cache Lake and the Wabuttnakh Sipi. The people named the river Wabuttnakh, because the cliffs of the shoreline were coloured a strikingly white, and could be viewed from a distance, especially as the people traveled downriver towards its junction with the Nelson. The Wabuttnakh was a traditional travel route for people moving between Cache Lake and the Kischi Sipi. Some FLCN families used Cache Lake only in the winter, and maintained cabins along the north and south end of the lake, while others occupied Cache Lake throughout the year (FLCN 2012).

I used to walk there when I was a little kid. I used to walk to Cache Lake... Two or three for sure anyway [cabins]. There's a grave over there just around the side. That's where the graves are... Yeah, about five, five graves I think. About half a mile beside Cache Lake on that ridge, there's a fine ridge in there. That's where they have those graves (FLCN 2012).

Samson Dick described how the people could no longer trap at Cache Lake:

Hauling wood in the wintertime, you would use the dog teams, or going trapping, you would use the dog teams, fishing. 'Cause the river was far before the flooded, way down about six miles maybe more, before they flooded [it] out, the water was just over here, now, that river was down way by the other side. It was a long ways to walk; we had to use the dog team, eh. It's an area of about five or six mile[s], or maybe more than that. Now it's all flooded out, this water come up. Everything, killed. And there used to be nice trapping all around here. You didn't have to go far to trap; there used to be good trapping all around here, eh, this way by the, where 'old Anderson' used to be [near Radisson converter station]. Nice trapping around there and goes to the river here, where the Kettle Station is now. And over here, towards Cache Lake. A lot of people used to trap, eh. Nowadays, you can't do that. Everything's gone. You have to go far, if you want a beaver (FLCN 2012).

Joseph used to have a tent there right at Cache Lake. I remember, 'cause that's where they used to go from there. Cache Lake, before the diversion, and then when that diversion come, '70's sometimes. But I remember there was, I remember houses there in that Mosokostik, where they used to go and fish for sturgeon. I remember houses there. Maybe, I don't remember how many graveyards I seen there. I seen graveyards there. I think that's why Hydro calls it "Indian Grave Channel" now. There was a rapids there before Stephens Lake. Way before the Hydro come here, I used to go there. The sturgeon they used to catch were big, my dad and Talious [Darious Ouskin]… (FLCN 2012).

HUMAN HEALTH AND WELLNESS

The continued connection to the land is critical for our overall wellness. Physical, intellectual, social, spiritual, health and healing benefits are derived from our connection to Aski. Lands and waters are associated with the creation and sustainability of our values, the forging and reinforcing of kinship relations, passing on of place-specific knowledge, and the maintenance of personal and group identity. Wellness is intrinsically connected to the land and the health of its resources. Availability, quality and diversity of natural flora and fauna are of critical importance to human wellness. For instance, included in FLCN Keeyask Traditional Knowledge report the health and social benefits of berries and of the healing potential of a wide assortment of natural medicines.

TRAVEL, INTERCONNECTION AND RELATIONSHIPS

For generations, moving with the natural cycles of the environment, travel determined not only the whereabouts of our people but also formed the timing of when they would gather. In the late fall when the rivers began to freeze our people would travel to their winter campsites. During the winter months, our people would be involved in hunting activities that took place along the north and south sides of Mosokot, as well as Askiko Sipi, Makeso Sakahikan, Kaskattamaw Sipi, Kisahmatawakh, Wapusk Sipisis, and Utikumak Sakuhikun (FLCN 2012).

During the spring and early summer, our people moved to their summer camps to take advantage of the geese and caribou migrations and fish spawning runs. Summer campsites were located along rivers where food resources could be easily accessed within 15 kilometres from the shoreline (FLCN 2012). Summer campsites were selected in areas where enough resources were present to accommodate numerous people and families since this was a social time of year. Summer gatherings provided time to socialize with friends and relations, renew relationships within the community, arrange marriages, hold ceremonies, trade, and deal with political issues (FLCN 2012).

Recreation for our people included swimming, fishing, boating, ice fishing, hunting, trapping, and gathering such as berry picking as well as other activities. These activities resulted in economic or subsistence products such as traditional foods but they are also often recalled by our people as a time to reconnect with family, spend time on the land, and generally there is a feeling communicated that this is a recreational time as well as a time involved in completing necessary activities. Therefore, many areas where traditional activities took place were also considered recreational areas. Our people recall swimming at Landing Lake, the area currently known as Limestone Quarry, and Kettle River near the pump house (FLCN 2012).

One of the reasons spring and summer seasons included more social activities was the ease of travel during these months. The areas travelled by FLCN were expansive and the river systems, particularly the Kischi Sipi, Limestone, Weir, Kettle, Fox, and Butnau, served as the primary travel routes for generations (FLCN 2012).

After the northern extension of the Canadian National Railway (CNR) to Churchill in early to mid-20th century, many Fox Lake men secured full time employment with the CNR. These men along with their families lived up and down the “bay line” but continued to frequent resource-rich area such as those along the Kettle, Butnau, Limestone, and Angling Rivers. Until the dams, Inninuwak continued to travel between York Factory and Split Lake.

Access to Aski, the railway and town stores combined so that we could support ourselves in ways we were comfortable. As late as the 1960s, our diet was almost entirely of traditional food supplemented with a few dry and canned goods like salt, sugar, flour, and milk purchases purchased with wages or traded for with goods from the land.

Prior to the railway, walking and river navigation were the modes of transportation used to access important sites for traditional pursuits. Our people recalled that travel on the rivers provided opportunities to reconnect with other families and communities and fostering economic, diplomatic, and cultural ties (FLCN 2010; 35). Family outings were important, as stated by Lorna Sinclair (2009):

> *We used to be able to drive for miles from the end of the road, there was no pier there or nothing, we used to just be able to drive down there for a long time. Before it was all flooded. We used to come around here all the time, near the end of the Butnau, my dad would just walk around; my mom would make the bannock on the stick and that. Rest of us would be picking berries. It was just a nice family day outing for us all the time, on the weekends with all the grand kids.*

Greater changes to travel followed the completion of the Kettle Generating Station, after which the people could no longer travel upriver by boat (FLCN 2012). Our people responded to shifting economic and environmental factors and engaged in long practiced strategies of relocation and adaptation to continue to live successfully in our changed environment. Despite major disruptions from local and external sources, we continued to strive toward restoring and maintaining balance in our lives, to continue in our relationship with Aski and to live mino pimatisiwin.

FLCN COMMUNITY COHESION

Our people indicated there was a high level of community cohesion prior to hydro development. They recalled feelings of reciprocity, mutual respect, and recognized sharing and caring in their daily lives. There was much discussion of the past as relaxed, peaceful, and calm times and generally there was a feeling of nostalgia for the years spent living amongst one another. This connectivity continued in the years following the establishment of the railway and the more permanent settlement of members in close proximity to Gillam. Illustrating the community connectivity during this time are the proximity of homes and the many pathways that linked them. During this time, people built their homes near family and close friends. Accommodations were often shared, in keeping with traditional values (FLCN 2012).

Our people recollected very clearly the way in which children were raised in the past, which illustrated the high level of community connectivity. The whole community was involved in raising children, including discipline:

[Y]ou know we were raised by everybody. Nowadays here, you do something wrong, right away put in jail. They don't know how to raise a family as a community anymore, we lost that we lost that tight, the family closeness we used to have (FLCN 2012).

Healthy relationships and sense of belonging to a community are elements that enhance the resiliency of individuals to adverse events or negative changes. Those individuals who have these tend to better cope when faced with adversity. Our people relied on these when coping with the many impacts that resulted from hydroelectric development. It is stated in draft *Ninan* that although "there were many hardships, the community's sense of cohesiveness and helping allowed individual members to cope with difficulties if they arose" (FLCN 2012). Through the Keeyask Traditional Knowledge Program, many of our people communicated their desire to come together more often as a community to participate in traditional activities, such as a feast of traditional foods. As well, FLCN included the construction of a Gathering Centre in its Keeyask Adverse Effects Agreement with Manitoba Hydro, illustrating that our people want to maintain and enhance the sense of community and the connection to one another.

The feeling of community included other people who resided in Gillam prior to hydroelectric development and everyone participated in community events and social engagements. The time of peace, social tranquility and positive relationships between our people and other people lasted until the 1960s (FLCN 2012).

> *Everyone got along, and was friendly with each other, even the White people. When they had sports day, we were included or whatever was going on. On Christmas Day, we would attend dances held at the old train station, same as New Year's Day. Everyone went, and there weren't that many people then. Everyone got along* (FLCN 2012).

MINO PIMATISIWIN

Few words can summarize the relation between our people and the land as effectively as mino pimatisiwin. Literally translated it means 'living the good life' but in Inninimowin, the language of our people, the meaning contains values, belief, expectations, relationships and behaviour that culminates in:

> *The practice of daily living and by the balance of human relationships is intrinsic to Cree lifestyles. "Being alive well" means that one is able to hunt, to pursue traditional activities, to eat the right foods, and (not surprisingly) given the harsh northern winters) to keep warm. This is above all a matter of quality of life. That quality of life is linked, in turn, to political and social phenomena that are as much a part of the contemporary Cree world as are the exigencies of "being alive well" (Adelson 2000; 15).*

Mino pimatisiwin draws from and is imbedded in a complex network of activities, attitudes and relationships. In our ways of knowing all things are related, and all things are equal. Everyone and everything exists in relationship. Our important relationship terms include wakohtinwin (kinship), kiwakomakananak (our relations), wakomiwiwin (relationship), and niwakomakanak (my relations).

Relationships with Aski are an integral part of our culture, identity, spirituality, and history. Relationships are based on and grow from aspinimowin (trust) and kistinitamowin (respect) for all of Aski: Ininewak kistentamok kakenow kakona ota Askik. Mino pimatisiwin requires and in turn returns good relationships with human and all living things, and access to our traditional foods and medicines. It encompasses the expectation of a warm and safe place to sleep, and the knowledge that Aski is not harmed. It is related to, and is informed by, the local environment, landscape, and climate. Emphasizing relationships, mino pimatisiwin and striving to live this ideal is associated with our constructs of social, physical, and cultural well-being.

Understanding relationships, striving for balance and living mino pimatisiwin has been the fundamental way we connected, lived and grew with the world around us. At times, this world structured by relationships and navigated through action could be harsh and unforgiving, at times it

could be rich and nurturing, but a direct and dynamic relationship with all of this world has always been central to a belief and value system that is evident in the stories told by Kitayatisuk to this day, a system that has allowed us not only to survive, but to thrive, to maintain our kiskinohamakaywina (teachings), and aniska achimowin (traditions) by pimatisiwin (living them) and teaching our youth and future generations.

At its heart, mino pimatisiwin emphasizes appropriate relationships between our people, the land and waters and all living things. These relationships are essential for our people's health and well being.

Relationships between our people are formed and are expected to be maintained through treating each other well and with respect as explained:

> *The way I understand Mino Pimatisiwin today is how I was taught to live my life. Back then I didn't understand what my parents were talking about when I was told to "mino pimatisi, Jessie." I was playing with my nephew who was younger than I was. I got a little rough with my nephew who I love dearly to this day. That's when my dad told me to "mino pimatisi." I asked him what that meant. He said, don't get rough or mean with your little nephew. Be kind to him because I can tell he loves you and I know you love him. I was taught to respect the land, animals, waters and people and always to lend a helping hand especially to Kitayatisuk and little children, no matter who they are, what they look like, you will never go wrong* (FLCN, 2010).

Relationships among our people are constituted in many ways including through the sharing of food which not only encourages reciprocity in other areas of life but ensure vulnerable people are taken care of. Meat, plants, clothes, fur and animal hides are commonly distributed to family members and our people at large. The expectation to provide for one's family and community holds even if individuals are themselves considered disrespectful. Kitayatis Zach Mayham recalled he was required to provide fish to an elderly woman despite her reputation as an intimidating and manipulating mitew.

> *My old grandfather used to tell me not to show disrespect to the old men. I was taught not to show disrespect to anyone. One old woman was strong, powerful mitew and all you can do was what she said. I was warned against that too. That old woman came from here. The fishing for pickerel was very good. I fed that old woman when I was hunting or trapping* (FLCN, 2010).

Acting inappropriately towards other people, by telling lies about another person or being greedy and hindering possibilities for others was considered pastamowin. Kitaytis Mayham explained:

> *If you did too much of something like telling lies, something bad would happen to you. It was the same thing when someone did something wrong or consumed too much of*

> *something, then something bad would happen to them; everything had to be within reason, that's what I used to hear Kitayatisuk say* (FLCN, 2010).

Self control was seen as a measure of for ensuring fair and equitable treatment of others. As well as being necessary for surviving in the bush, social acts of reciprocity are part of forming good relationships between people. Reciprocity features strongly especially when lands and resources are common among families and communities. Mino pimatisiwin emphasizes respect for family hunting and trapping areas and personal items such as cabins, traps, etc. as well as providing food and shelter to travelers and people in need:

> *The notion of exclusive trapping territories ran contrary to how our people viewed Aski and how they negotiated the use of collective resources without creating undue competition or hostility. In 2004, Kitayatis Mary Neepin recalled life in the 1930's and 1940's, when families shared food and living accommodations and a "territorialism" over land and resources in the local and regional areas was considered contrary to mino pimatisiwin.*
>
> *People long ago did not see each other as different, they did things together and they trapped together. No one said "that's my land during trapping. They trapped whatever they can, they did everything together. They are talking about the place, the big building [possibly York Factory] where they were allowed to stay for trapping, sleeping on the floor. They stayed and shared things together. No one complained, even when one did not have food, they took and ate what was there. The food was shared. Not like today, they see you use their stuff; right away they say something* (FLCN, 2010).

Both giving and receiving help especially during times of need is a component of living mino pimatisiwin and lends itself to social cohesiveness.

LAND, SEASONS, CYCLES

> *In essence, the people had incorporated seasonal labour into other seasonal activities as they had in the past while working for CN. Gillam, also known as 'mile 326', would become CN's regional centre and the primary location of our people's residence, precisely because it allowed the people to retain their seasonal lifestyle* (FLCN 2012).
>
> *Many families accompanied their sons, husbands and fathers as they moved from place to place in accordance to the dictates of their work. This practice decreased the amount of time the family was separated from each other and, continued a form of seasonal lifestyle they enjoyed* (FLCN 2012).

FLCN INNINUWAK – ASKI RELATIONSHIPS

The relationship our people have with the land is best understood through the definition of Aski provided by the FLCN Core Kitayatisuk and Harvesters Group as lands, waters, animals, plants, people and all of their interconnections. In contrast to western classification of nature which break down the living world, plants and animals into their constituent parts, Aski is a unified view of

everything tangible. The concept of wholeness can be and often expressed concisely by our people in one sentence: “everything is connected”. In Inninimowin, all things are categorized into two groups: the first includes people, plants, trees, animals, rocks, stars, the sun and the moon, the second includes waters. Appropriately or inappropriately, these groups have been termed animate or inanimate in the English language. The grouping of people, plants, animals, and rocks together attests to a philosophical view of the world that is profoundly different from that of Manitoba Hydro and mainstream society in general.

The geographical space that constitutes FCLN’s Aski shapes our people’s identity, culture, values, beliefs, and livelihood among other things. Places and features within the landscape hold a variety of meanings philosophically and historically and these are communicated at specific places. Our people consider certain geographical places special for a variety of reasons and as a result a special protocol or behaviour may be required there. Protocols can either require certain actions like “providing offerings or prohibit certain behaviours like pointing, looking or building campsites” (FLCN 2012). Demonstrating how history and identity is embedded in the local landscape, Kitayatis Dorothy Wavey describe a place near Kaskataquamak (near Hudson Bay) that was known and avoided by our people because it was inhabited by a Wehtego.

> *We went to Kaskatamahk. I just barely remember this. There’s a hill with trees surrounding it, they said no one ever camps there because there’s a Wehtego in that area. I don’t really know it is but going toward Kaskatamahk, it was raining and thundering and my dad said we have to get off our canoe. It was right where this hill was. There was a big tree there. He didn’t put a tent up; perhaps the Wehtego won’t kill us. We camped there, we sat under the tree. Oh, and here we were told not to be underneath a tree when it’s lightening and thundering. That’s where we sat. Then my dad said there’s a roaring and my late mother got frightened and we went back in the canoe. “Can’t you hear the roaring?” she said. And it was also thundering. No one ever camps here, I don’t know exactly where that was. That’s the other time I can remember, I was so frightened* (FLCN 2012).

Place names describe and communicate how our people experience and relate to their environment but they also express and assert governance (Cruikshank 1990).

FLCN’s relationship with Aski is formed and informed by activities carried out while on the land.

FLCN INNINUWAK – ANIMAL RELATIONSHIPS

The acts of hunting, fishing, trapping and gathering constitute a way of life that is essential to how Kitayatisuk view and practice mino pimatisiwin. Kitayatis Zach Mayham described the way of life:

> *My grandfather made a pair of child's snowshoes for me. This is when the teaching of mino pimatisiwin really began for me. I would go out hunting with Malachi Spence. He would go very far to go hunting for moose and I would be so exhausted. This was my education in the wilderness. This was his way of teaching me how to hunt for moose and how to prepare the meat, how to quarter and cut it up. This is mino pimatisiwin, the teaching of hunting for moose and other animals, the preparing of the meat, pelts and hides. This was the aspect of my grandfather's and other Elders teaching for me* (FLCN 2012).

Similarly, Kitayatis Elizabeth Beardy explained:

> *Mino pimatisiwin is how you look after yourself. We were taught at an early age how to so outside work, everything. We chopped wood and when my father returned from trapping and hunting with the dog team, we hauled the wood. We hauled everything we needed at our campsite while the dogs were home* (FLCN 2010).

Kitayatis Nora Bone shared a similar story about life on the land that, although physically challenging, is also fulfilling and vital to our identity:

> *I was six when I was taught mino pimatisiwin by my mother and grandmother. They taught me how to do beadwork… Then we went to my father's trap line. He taught me how to skin the animals he trapped, beaver, mink, marten, wolverine, fox, otter and lynx, just about all the fur bearing animals. The first animal I learned to skin was a moose yearling, after that it was the adult moose. Then they hung the moose hide on a wooden frame, from there I learn how to scrape the excess meat off the moose hide and then how to shear the hair off it. Next she soaked it in water and hung it back on the frame and freezing the hide overnight then she scraped it again to take off the sinew and fat, thinning the hide. Then we soak it again and we stretched it by pulling it between the two of us... I was happy and comfortable where we were. We would haul snow to make water for washing and tea. Sometimes we hauled ice, too. We'd chop wood and bring it back to our camp. Sometimes I would go alone and bring it back by pulling the wood on a sled... we travelled between Penycuttaway and Sturgeon River all the time. That's how we lived on the trap line. We never ran out of food. We ate traditional/wild foods all the time* (FLCN 2010).

To hunt in a manner that lends itself to mino pimatisiwin, not only requires a person to be skilled and physically able but requires a person to act in a moral and ethical manner. To do so ensure that proper relationships are established and maintained with animals, plants and other things which in turn assures success in the present and in the future. Our relationship with the animals is described as reciprocal because an animal will knowingly give up its life provided a hunter treats the animal well and follows certain protocols of behaviour (Nadasdy 2007; Brightman 1998). Hunters acknowledge the debt they have incurred and their obligation to repay this debt by killing humanely, preparing the animal properly, utilizing all or as much of the animal as possible,

disposing of unusable parts appropriately, avoiding food wastage, and avoiding ananakachihat (playing with animals) (FLCN 2012; Nadasdy 2007; Brightman 1998). Animals are perceived similarly to humans, as conscious, sentient, and intelligent other-than-human persons capable of exercising agency. Given this reality, there is an expectation that animals should be afforded the same level of respect as human persons. Hunting therefore "should not be viewed as a violent process whereby hunters take the lives of animals by force. Rather hunting is more appropriately viewed as a long-term relationship of reciprocal exchange between animals and the humans who hunt them" (Nadasdy 2007; 25).

The consequence of acting inappropriately towards animals, killing unnecessarily or causing them unintentional harm, is oochinehwin. Oochinehwin can manifest as years of poor hunting, sickness, or physical disability, all of which can extend to one's children and family (FLCN 2012). Conversely, to treat animals respectfully not only guards against the risk of oochinehwin, it also ensures positive outcomes in the future. In an interview conducted in 2004 for *Ninan* (draft), Kitayatis Maria Redhead described one way of treating animals respectfully as well as one outcome of failing to do so:

> *[We] only killed enough to eat. They did not hunt too much food, just enough to eat. Not like today, where people kill things and not take everything, that's what they do today. Our grandfather respected everything and everyone. For example, the first kill of the geese [migration] was shared by all so that everybody could have some. They shared equally. And the bones, my grandfather would collect them. Tie them in a bundle and hang them from a tree branch. "Do not leave bones lying around" he said, "if you do that, you will not have enough." That is what they did a long time ago. They did not waste anything. You will suffer. That's what we were also told. If you played with or wasted something, killed off-season and not killed or used properly then you will suffer, it was told"* (FLCN 2012).

Living according to these and other beliefs ensure positive outcomes for our people, including physical health and a good quality of life. Innado mechim is important for physical, emotional, social and cultural wellbeing. Mino pimatisiwin requires access to and consumption of a wide variety of traditional foods, medicines, and water. Innado mechim include berries, fish, caribou, beaver, geese, pemmican, sturgeon and other fish eggs, grease rendered from bears and other furbearers, marrow from caribou and moose, and tea made from weecange (rat root). In an interview conducted in 2004 for *Ninan* (draft), Ms. Neepin described some of the many ways she prepared and enjoyed innado mechim:

> *… caribou were there, always, no wonder we were never short of meat. We were also hunting, preparing meat. And then they would cook it in different ways. And fish, setting nets in the summer, they would dry them and smoke them. After that they would pound it, make dried fish, meat… that's where they got some of their grease. Some used berries in their mixture, they never throw anything away, even the insides, fish guts and then they would make used gooseberries in this mixture. Even the guts they kept, they never throw anything away only parts not needed. And that was a good feeling for the old man when the women did this. The animal part, they would get and they would cut it and hang it up there to dry. The other parts too they would hang. After that then they would boil them*

> *before they would eat. That is how it was done then. They ate everything; nothing was thrown away or wasted* (FLCN 2012).

In 2010, Kitayatis Catherine Beardy described the essential connection between innado mechim and mino pimatisiwin:

> *Our guardians taught us everything we needed to survive in the wilderness… We didn't have store bought food then. No beef, bread, potatoes, eggs, none of these foods were available to us… Rabbits, chickens, moose and fish, everything from the land was eaten and used. That's how we survived. We'd set out on a long journey with my late uncle, he trapped in Ontario and it took us about two weeks to get where we were going. What we took with us were flour, lard, baking powder, tea, sugar and powdered milk and sometimes butter. That's all we took on our journey out on the land. We lived on wild foods… That was how we lived, Inninu pimatisiwin.*

Likewise, Kitayatis Zach Mayham linked health to innado mechim obtained from his hunting and trapping grounds of Mosokot:

> *I would go out with my grandfather to snare rabbits and also to check his nets. After my grandfather checked his nets and rabbit snares then my grandmother would prepare the fish and rabbits. This is how people ate in the past and they were healthy. They stayed healthy not like right now when we eat store bought foods. The foods today are different for us elders, since we were brought up on traditional foods. The diet was very different for us, not like this generation of children, they are used to store bought foods. They eat canned foods but in the past we ate traditional foods, from the land. People stayed healthy then* (Mayham 2010).

Kitayatis Nora Bone stated:

> *We never ran out of food. We ate traditional/wild foods all the time. We ate traditional/wild food all the time…When we arrived here we didn't use store-bought food, we lived the same way we did in the wilderness. We were here in Bird in 1957* (Personal Interview, 2004).

SUMMARY

The health and wellbeing of our people is directly linked to the health and wellbeing of the land, water, plants, and animals. Kitayatisuk clearly articulate the things that constitute health. Among these they include:

- Drinking water that is accessible, clear and unpolluted;
- Plants and medicines that are accessible and unpolluted;

- Fish and other foods that are accessible and of exceptional taste, texture, and smell;
- Wood and other products that are used to build warm and secure homes;
- Natural cycles that are predictable;
- Wilderness that serves as habitat for plants and animals;
- Water bodies that are safe, navigable, and free from barriers;
- Landscape features from which stories and histories are understood and communicated;
- Sounds that are generated from nature such as rapids, trees, and birds; and
- Landscape that is free from the visual signs of industrial development.

Ninan (draft) documented that prior to hydro development virtually all innado mechim needed for health and vitality was easily accessible and often within walking distance. Berries were harvested directly in the Town of Gillam. Drinking water was obtained from the Nelson and Kettle Rivers and a number of springs in and around Gillam. Brook trout and sturgeon were caught in the Askiko, Wabuttnakh and Kischi Sipi. Firewood was gathered from the woods near and around Gillam. Medicines were gathered in and around Mosokot (FLCN 2012).

Generations of living and thriving in the bush informed our people's understanding and expectations about the world. Nature follows certain patterns (dictated by the seasons) that skilled Kitayatisuk can successfully predict for life that is safe, stable, and peaceful. If events in nature do not occur as expected especially if caused by human activities, it signifies a disruption to the human-Aski relationship. As in all aspects of life, there are natural consequences when humans act inappropriately towards the Aski.

Mino pimatisiwin serves as a moral and ethical framework for individual and community health and wellbeing.[7] A self-sufficient, self-governing and healthy community is an outcome of mino pimatisiwin but this is dependent on maintaining appropriate relationships between people, animals, and the land. Mino pimatisiwin is reflected in Kitayatisuk recollections along the themes “we were never poor or hungry”, “we were peaceful then”, and “we were never cold”. For our people “being Inninuwak” is synonymous with mino pimatisiwin.

[7] Mino pimatisiwin is similar to the laws and regulations of a modern nation-state. These systems of governance diverge significantly in that Inninuwak focus primarily on self-control enforced through social norms whereas the settler society focuses primarily on state-enforced laws and regulations.

CHAPTER 3 – HYDRO DEVELOPMENT

This chapter provides context for the FLCN's assessment of the proposed Keeyask project. It describes our people's relationship to the land as well as the state of the environment prior to hydroelectric development, linking a healthy environment to a healthy and vibrant community. This chapter also summarizes some of the immediate and long-term impacts on the lands, waters, and our people that have resulted from nearly 50 years of hydro development within and surrounding Fox Lake communities , drawing primarily from the observations of our people, specific to those areas, animals and traditional pursuits that made mino pimatisiwin.

FLCN defines baseline as the condition of the lands, waters and people prior to hydroelectric development, which began in the early 1960s.

FLCN asserts that accepting the baseline as the conditions of the lands, waters and our people prior to any hydro development is the most appropriate and accurate way to understand and assess how FLCN people and Aski will be further impacted by the proposed Keeyask project. We also believe it is the most appropriate and accurate way to understand and determine the measures required to reduce the adverse impacts of Keeyask and to compensate for those for which mitigation is not possible. Different from past Hydro Projects and studies, the Keeyask EIS acknowledge the reality that our people and our environment are highly impacted by past projects. This is vital to reclaiming FLCN's status as a healthy and vibrant community. FLCN's brings a view of the Keeyask project that is informed by past experience with hydro development and its impact on the lands, waters and our people, as exemplified in the following statement:

> *You can never overlook the silver lining behind any cloud. Certainly, I think that a lot of us are survivors and a lot of us need to deal or need to change, need to address the coping, the way in which we cope with Hydro development which we still use today and we need to be able to change that…*
>
> *People talk about it in broad terms of just healing and not enough to understand what it really means. You know, healing is not about quitting drinking or not doing drugs. Healing needs to deal with the trauma there was that makes us who we are today. And I guess it's the way we cope, that we need to address in this healing. And I've said it many, many times and quitting drinking is not healing, it's certainly one step but quitting drinking hasn't dealt with your inner self.*
>
> *Benefit is such an overused and unappreciated term. Benefit! Will we benefit from hydro development? Materially, probably. Physically or mentally, I don't know. We haven't dealt with the issues of the past. Until you can deal with those, until you can bring back a sense of community… the fight will always, not the fight, but the issue will always boil down to money…in terms of the jobs and those who get them and those who don't… unless you can… get some sense of order, some… acceptance of rules and regulations, whether you call them customs or not, you can accept and abide by agree upon values, I don't see how we can benefit though certainly there will be those that benefit as individuals.*

There's too many unresolved issues, as individuals, as a community …the idea of unity, and unity doesn't mean all of us doing the same thing …but there are ways to work together, to agree to disagree (FLCN 2012).

FLCN LIFE BEFORE HYDRO-ELECTRIC DEVELOPMENT

Prior to hydro development the Kischi Sipi was the centre of social and economic life for the northern Cree. As a key route of travel in the summer and fall the Kischi Sipi and its tributaries such as Askiko Sipi, WaButnau Sipi and Mosokot linked families and communities together throughout the lowlands, between the Hudson Bay coast, Nelson House, Split Lake and Churchill. The river provided access to regions rich with a variety of foods, medicines and sources of potable water. Our people's relationship to the Kischi Sipi and the areas within its watershed was predictable, stable, and sustainable for hundreds of years, even after the arrival of English and French traders and settlers.

Fox Lake's Core *Kitayatisuk* (Elders) and Harvester Group have indicated that Members have used and still use the lands and waters along the *Kischi Sipi* between Gull and Conawapa Rapids, including inland areas along streams and creeks. This local area encompasses the Kettle, Long Spruce and Limestone dams, Stephen Reservoir and Long Spruce and Limestone forebays, all access roads to the area, borrow pits and camp sites from past construction activities. A more regional use area is defined by the FLCN RMA and areas used historically.

Prior to the creation of Stephens Reservoir, our people made heavy use of the Kischi, Askiko, Wabuttnakh and Mosokot Sipi. These waterways provided not only resources but were the main means of travel during open water. The arrival of the railroad was an added route for travel but traditional travel routes by water and overland were still very important.

Primarily, when travelling to the Kischi Sipi our people would travel on foot eastward to access the Askiko Sipi and then travel to the Kischi Sipi. Alternatively, they would travel west to the Wabuttnakh Sipi and then to the Kischi Sipi. From here, they could travel downstream to the Mosokot Sipi or travel upstream to Keeyasko Powistic.

The people used the Kettle River to travel to the Big and Little Kettle Lakes, which were excellent lakes for fishing. The Kasosawapiskak Powstik was located along the Kettle River upstream from Cache Lake. The water at the rapids was exceptionally clear, so much so that fish could be seen from the shoreline. This location served as an important fishery (jackfish, rainbow trout, and suckers) and campsite.

Prior to the dams, the people could travel down the Wabuttnakh Sipi to Cache Lake by boat in the summer, and on-foot or by dog-team in the winter. The Wabuttnakh Powstik were flooded after the diversion of the Butnau River. Prior to this event, the people fished the rapids for jackfish, rainbow trout, suckers, and occasionally sturgeon.

Important places, as indicated through the map biographies collected during the Keeyask Traditional Knowledge Program, were located at the junctions of the Butnau and Kischi Sipi and the Mosokot and Kischi Sipi. At these locations, camps, cabin, and gravesites were established and members participated in fishing, hunting and gathering activities. The long association of our people with these locations indicates they were areas of high biodiversity and high fish and wildlife populations to sustain many families through at minimum the summer months.

Other important locations include large rapids, especially those along the Kischi Sipi between Keeyasko Powistic (Keeyask Rapids) and Askiko Powistic (Kettle River). These would have been important spawning locations for many fish species including sturgeon.

Cabins were constructed near areas where moose, sturgeon, brook trout, pickerel, burbot, berries and medicinal plants were plentiful. Important seasonal camps and permanent cabins were also located at the mouths of Robin Creek, Limestone River, Weir River, and Angling River; other important camp sites were located along the banks of the Weir River, and at Onikuph [Alikochashi Onikaph/Squirrel Portage (portage between Port Nelson and York Factory) (FLCN 2012). During the 1930s and 1940s, five to six winter cabins were located at Moose Nose Lake (FLCN 2012). Fox Lake was an important resource use area and was utilized as a wintering site and. at other times of the year, for trapping and fishing (FLCN 2012).

Cache Lake was an extremely important resource use area for our people as it was the closest portage between the Kettle and Butnau Rivers and could be easily accessed once the railway was constructed. Cache Lake was the site of many traditional activities including hunting, fishing, trapping, and gathering. Since so many traditional activities took place here, some families remained at this location year-round while others stayed only during the winter (FLCN 2012) because of the abundance of food and access to good water, camp sites and firewood. Brook trout, whitefish, pickerel and pike were common in Cache Lake and associated waterways. Moreover, the lower reaches of the original Butnau River was important sturgeon spawning and feeding habitat. Caribou and moose were common and small mammals, birds, berries and medicinal plants were plentiful. The mouth of the Kettle River was well known to harbour large brook trout, weighing several pounds, indicating high water quality in this region prior to hydroelectric development. It was also an important camping area during the summer with permanent cabins and excellent sturgeon fishing.

Near the southeast side of Cache Lake, an equal distance from the lake to the Kettle River, was a traditional campsite called Istalawn. While some families lived at Istalawn in the winter during the trapping season, others used it only as a stop-over when they travelled to the Kischi Sipi from Split Lake, Fox Lake, or Ilford. To reach the Kischi Sipi from Fox Lake, people typically traversed a three-mile long portage east to Kettle Lake, and then travelled down the Kettle River to Cache Lake. From

Cache Lake, they stayed at Istalawn, and eventually made their way down the Kettle River to the Nelson.

Our people fished throughout the Kischi Sipi before Stephens Reservoir was formed, with great intensity just below Gull Rapids and along the south and western shorelines. After the loss of sturgeon due to flooding fishing effort concentrated more on pickerel and today pickerel is sought by most current resource harvesters active in this area, although whitefish are also caught.

Our people continue to follow old riverbeds while completing hunting and fishing activities within Stephens Reservoir. Fishers continue to access the upper reaches of the Mosokot River, even though most of the former watershed was flooded during the Kettle Generating Station impoundment.

The Butnau River was drastically impacted by hydroelectric development and the establishment of a dam and a dyke at the mouth of the river leading into what is now Stephens Reservoir and a diversion at Kettle River effectively reversed the flow of the Butnau River between Cache Lake and the dyke. As a result of this disruption and alteration, the water quality dramatically declined. Our people often use the marina at Butnau Dyke to access Stephens Reservoir and some continue to use the Butnau and Kettle Rivers in traditional pursuits.

FLCN learned that far more of our people are active within the Keeyask study area than expected. Through the Keeyask Traditional Knowledge Program, our people indicated they were often involved in moose hunting and fishing activities throughout Stephens Reservoir, especially in the western and northern reaches. As well, fishers indicated they used the Gull Rapids area and the Kischi Sipi and Mosokot River.

HYDRO DEVELOPMENT AND ASKI

Our people developed and maintained social and economic relationships with many newcomers including employees of the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC), and more recently, the Canadian National Railway (CNR). This was facilitated by establishing a certain level of trust, which allowed for transactions to occur in a manner that was mutually beneficial (although the distribution of benefits was not always equal, and varied throughout history). These relationships were continuously negotiated and re-negotiated, and it is likely that when Manitoba Hydro first arrived in Gillam, our leaders expected that a similar process would occur. It quickly became evident, however, that Manitoba Hydro was not interested in forming such a relationship with our people and other Inninuwak, and, consequently hydroelectric development unfolded in a manner that, among other things, ignored and socially and politically marginalized our people.

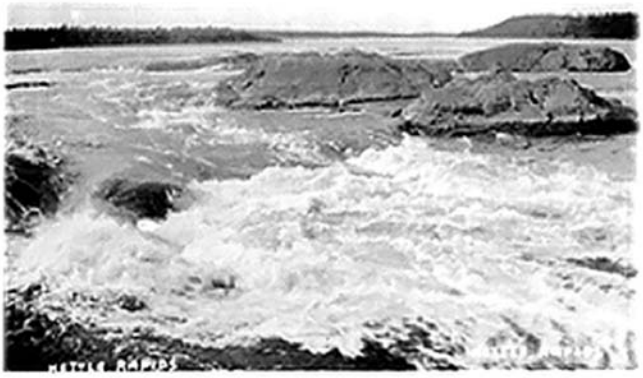
Both the fur trade and the expansion of the railway differed from hydroelectric development in that the latter profoundly altered the social and environmental landscapes, and prevented our people from having lives and livelihoods that were entirely self-determined. And while the fur trade and the railway did result in sometimes large changes to people's livelihoods, our people generally did not perceive these as inconsistent with mino pimatisiwin.

Prior to the construction of the dams, the Kischi Sipi was a natural river system. There were no barriers, natural or otherwise, to the flow of water or to the movement of fish and aquatic animals. For example, lake sturgeon moved upstream through the Kettle and Keeyask Rapids, which were also spawning areas. In 2007, Donald Anderson described where his father fished before the hydro developments: "Around the Kettle Bridge area, he [my father] would set nets at or near the mouth of the Kettle River or across the Kischi Sipi from there. They [sturgeon] swam upstream as far as Butnau. This is where they would spawn." As each dam was built, essential habitats, such as spawning grounds located at rapids were destroyed and degraded, and fish could no longer move freely within their natural habitat.

Riverbanks and the mouths of the rivers and streams flowing into the larger river systems were especially rich with a variety of resources, including fish, which were caught or trapped with ease, particularly during the spring and late fall spawning periods. One such campsite was located near a set of rapids along the Kettle River, which the people called Kasoskawpiskak because of the many flat rocks that were located at the rapids. According to Jessie Anderson the old people considered it: "a nice place to camp. The people had to portage the rapids there, and there was good fishing. Many kinds of fish brook trout and other trout" (FLCN 2012).

Hydro development began in the early 1960s with the construction of the Kettle Generating Station on the Kettle Rapids. It was this first project that most profoundly impacted our people.

Despite years of study and planning prior to the building of the generating station at Kettle Rapids, our people had very little knowledge of the impending project(s). From the community's perspective, this lack of information, let alone consultation, was viewed as an injustice that remained largely unresolved until ratification of the 2004 Impact Settlement Agreement (ISA).



FLCN asserts that it was only after the first exploration and pre-construction work crews arrived in Gillam in the early 1960s, that our people became aware of Manitoba Hydro's plans to develop the Gillam area for hydroelectric power generation. Community perceptions of these early projects are as a land grab, which Kitayatis Sara Jean Peters described in 2004: "Hydro just came in here and grabbed everything. They didn't even ask when they were going to dam the river. I didn't hear if they spoke to the people first. They started the work." There is also no

evidence that our people understood what the impacts related to the Kettle project would be prior to its construction. Although representatives from the federal or provincial governments or Manitoba Hydro appear to have made a cursory attempt to inform Chief Simeon Beardy about the Kettle project, this proved unsuccessful in large part because representatives could not communicate to Chief Beardy in Cree. It should be noted that although Chief Beardy seemingly "agreed" to something, in actual fact, he had no power to influence whether or not the Kettle generating station would be built, or to affect any other outcome related to the project. As explained by Donald Anderson in a 2004 interview for *Ninan* (draft), the Chief had limited knowledge to what he was apparently agreeing, precisely because of this language barrier:

> *But when the white man [government or Manitoba Hydro representative] came, the old Chief was called Simeon Beardy, he didn't understand anything in English and there was no one [t]here to translate. Although some tried, but they did not really understand either, and this old Chief, also didn't understood when they came to speak about the dams. He didn't understand, and he agreed to let the white man go ahead and dam the river…*

With little or no official information about the impending project at Kettle Rapids and its impacts, our people could only observe and experience events as they unfolded. Tom Nepataypo recalled this in 2004, and also that the consequences of the Kettle project went far beyond what people could have anticipated at the time:

> *We weren't notified; we didn't realize the devastation it was going to cause. Once that dam started closing the river and it was backing up, oh, you should have seen the animals that were being destroyed. One whole island, and rapids went down the drain. There were islands being moved; you know, uprooted. Yeah, we lost a few people because of that; because of not knowing the depth…They were leaving stumps or rocks, and stuff like trees were uprooted.*

Much of the lands and waters that were flooded or otherwise occupied by Manitoba Hydro had been used by generations of our people. One such area lay just upstream from Kettle Rapids, and included Mosokot. Mosokot was completely flooded by the Kettle reservoir, or what Manitoba Hydro named Stephens Lake. In an interview conducted in 2004 for *Ninan* (draft), Kitayatis Zach Mayham described the event of Mosokot's flooding.

> *1957, I arrived here and Hydro wasn't here yet. We fished all around here, the bottom of the lake was good, the fish were excellent. There were rapids before Hydro dammed the waters. We drove to what they call Stephens Lake today; they used to call it Oskotowi Sipi, the river was crooked, that is where people [made] a living back then. They lived there, but when the dam [kipahikan][8] was built, it flooded all over. It was lake all over; where we used to travel, was flooded, everything was flooded, the beaver, the muskrat, everything was flooded. When I saw the flooded land, in its place, the lake, I remembered Noah and the ark he built [laughter]. That's what it looked like, it*

[8] The people differentiate between human-made dams, kipahikan, and those built by beavers, askodim.

> *was flooded all over; underneath were trees, swept up the 'ispatinahk' [hill] and also being swept away by the water. We were sturgeon fishing then; our boat was damaged by the numerous logs in the water.*

Kitayatis Mary Neepin provides a compelling example of changes that have occurred since hydro development and subsequent flooding started:

> *When I was young we mostly stayed at Wabuttnakh Sipi and Moose Nose, upper Nelson. There was a very large island at the Wabuttnakh Sipi. People used to live on this island. Today I hear from others that this island is not there anymore. It was completely flooded over. We would travel on foot to Cache Lake; then take our boats from there to Wabuttnakh. From there we could see this large island, back in those days. Now there's nothing at all, it's all flooded. This is around the Moose Nose area (FLCN 2012).*

Notification about where and when flooding would occur was not effectively communicated to our people, especially to those hunters and trappers who would be most affected by this event. In another interview carried out for *Ninan* (draft) in 2005, Kitayatis Zack Mayham recalled in greater detail what he and the late Norman Nepitabo witnessed while trapping at Mosokot precisely at the time when the forebay was closed. They saw the floodwaters rising and one year later they saw the effects of the flooding when they returned to the site by boat:

> *It was at night when they closed the dam; we didn't know that there would be so much water. Although there must have been some information given out on it, but because we couldn't speak or understand English well; I was with Norman when the water came at night; that was a big rapid, eh. Eh huh. When they closed it, the water had to go somewhere; and it went that way and we saw that…Well, we pulled our boat up on shore, eh; we pulled it way up on shore.*
>
> *Oh, there was a lot of water. When they first flooded the land, everything was there under the water. Like the muskeg. For at least a year, it must have been at least, when we came back and the muskeg was floating on top of the water as we came closer, and we wondered to ourselves where this island came from? We didn't know how much Hydro had destroyed. No one knew how much Hydro had destroyed, and it only became known as time passed, as we travelled around by boat and we saw the extent of the damage. The trees were under the water we travelled over. And we lost our nets, eh; our sturgeon nets that we were using to fish. That man I was with, he was fishing for sturgeon, and we would lose our nets and that was a year later, we were losing our nets. He told the Chief about it, that we were still losing our nets and we were told we would get help from Hydro, because he was the one who destroyed our nets because he was the one who destroyed those trees. They did a lot.*

The Kettle project greatly affected wildlife, and by extension, the hunting and trapping activities of our people. These changes were described by both Kitayatisuk Noah Massan and Samson Dick in 2004 who, along with their parents and other family members, frequented the Kettle River, Cache Lake, and Wabuttnakh Sipi, among other places.

[Mr. Massan] It was Bow Rapids, they called it. We used to tag along when they used to go fishing, like sturgeon. They used to fish for sturgeon, Darius [Ouskan] and my dad [Willam Massan], at what they used to call Mosokostik and Keeyask Rapids; I saw it there too. I was about eleven, twelve, thirteen [years old]. I used to tag along from Cache Lake, and when they went hunting in the spring, I used to go with them there.

Geese! In the spring, yeah, in the spring there was a whole bunch of people from here that used to go… Cache Lake, before the diversion, and then when that diversion come, '70's sometimes… I remember houses there in that Mosokostik, where they used to go and fish for sturgeon. I remember houses there. Maybe, I don't remember how many graveyards I seen there. I seen graveyards there. I think that's why Hydro calls it "Indian Grave Channel" now. There was a rapids there before Stephens Lake. Way before the Hydro come here, I used to go there. The sturgeon they used to catch were big, my dad and Talious [Darious Ouskin]…

Yeah, around there, but I went before it flooded and not after again. That was all before Hydro came. Before Hydro came, yeah, way before Hydro come. The rapids I'm talking about, was very nice there, between Butnau Dyke and Cache Lake. It was a very nice rapids. There were a lot of pickerel caught there, and now there's nothing there…

Like where my dad's trap line [was], just south of here. When I was growing up, I used to see lots of muskrat push-ups at Cache Lake; now, you don't see none. You don't see no muskrats. This was over 30 years ago. I don't see none of that no more. As far as I can remember, I used to wonder why those little things were sticking out in the spring time? Muskrat pushups. And then they had a big burn there, like muskrats aren't doing too bad. I think he's starting to come now because the trees are starting to grow, there was a forest fire there. But my late dad used to say 'cause Hydro caused a lot of problem with that water.

[Mr. Dick] Hauling wood in the wintertime, you would use the dog teams, or going trapping, you would use the dog teams, fishing. 'Cause the river was far before the flooded, way down about six miles maybe more, before they flooded [it] out, the water was just over here, now, that river was down way by the other side. It was a long ways to walk; we had to use the dog team, eh. It's an area of about five or six mile[s], or maybe more than that. Now it's all flooded out, this water come up. Everything, killed. And there used to be nice trapping all around here. You didn't have to go far to trap; there used to be good trapping all around here, eh, this way by the, where 'old Anderson' used to be [near Radisson converter station]. Nice trapping around there and goes to the river here, where the Kettle Station is now. And over here, towards Cache Lake. A lot of people used to trap, eh. Nowadays, you can't do that. Everything's gone. You have to go far, if you want a beaver (FLCN 2012).

IMPACTS ON THE LANDS AND WATERS

How true that we recognize that life on earth, as we understand it, requires water. There was much understanding of this in traditional teachings that instructed the FLCN Inninuwak to act appropriately and respect and protect the water so that they

> *may lead successful, healthy and happy lives. Ignoring these teachings, the Fox Lake Inninuwak could face many hardships. How true, that since hydroelectric development was initiated in the area and the decline of water quality followed, which impacted all things, has the FLCN Inninuwak suffered (FLCN 2012).*

Approximately fifty years after the Kettle dam was constructed near Gillam, hydro development continues to impact our people, fish, and wildlife. As mentioned above, we do not view future hydro development in isolation from past projects. Rather, the Keeyask project is viewed as an additional development on an already highly damaged river.

Prior to hydro development, there were no major barriers, natural or otherwise, to the flow of water or to the movement of people, fish, and aquatic animals. However, as each hydro project was constructed, habitats like spawning grounds, many of which were located at rapids along the lower Kischi Sipi, were destroyed. Our people assert some populations of lake sturgeon were impacted by hydro development to the extent that many former habitats no longer support these populations. Existing dams continue to restrict the upstream movement of fish, and by extension, access to these fisheries by our people.

> *[Today,] the only way for the sturgeon to get here is through the spillways of the dams – before they could just swim. Nobody fishes upriver anymore because of the dams (FLCN 2012).*

Related to population of all fish species on the Kischi Sipi, some of our people indicated they were concerned about the number of fish killed in the turbines of the dams. In 2007, Jack Massan described being alerted to this issue when, on one occasion the spillway of the Limestone dam was opened and water from inside the dam was released. From his boat just downriver of the dam, he saw a great number of seagulls feasting on the carcasses of dead fish. He noted that because the scavenger birds consumed all evidence of the fish, true mortality rates were likely underestimated.

FLCN Kitayatisuk recall the amount of flooding they witnessed during the creation of Kettle, Limestone and Long Spruce forebays. Above each hydro generating station water levels increased, from 85 feet with Long Spruce Generating Station to 110 feet with Limestone Generating Station. The most extensive flooding was associated with Kettle forebay, which resulted in water level rise of 100 feet and flooded a surface area of more than 54,000 acres of land extending upriver as far as Gull Rapids. Stephens Reservoir is approximately five times the width of the previous Kischi Sipi, and completely inundated FLCN traditional land use area of Mososkot.

Below each dam the water levels decreased, causing nearby rivers (including Limestone River and Moondance and Sundance Creeks) to lose water volume, especially at their estuaries. This seriously affected fish and wildlife habitats including the destruction of the sturgeon fishery at the junction of the Nelson and Limestone Rivers (FLCN 2012).

Many impacts are associated with the creation of reservoirs. The flooding caused much shoreline erosion and sedimentation, affecting water quality and introducing methylmercury into the food chain. The furbearer population declined dramatically as the shoreline habitat was completely inundated and the fluctuating water levels caused more damage to these areas. Many medicinal

plants were located along shorelines. Dead and decaying organic matter caused by shoreline flooding introduced debris into the waterways, lowering total dissolved oxygen and made it more difficult for our people and wildlife to access shorelines for safe travel and migration. Flooding created islands while simultaneously destroying existing natural islands.

Shoreline erosion continues at a rate that is considered high by our people. They indicate that islands are still disappearing and new channels are forming in low-lying areas near the shorelines of Stephens Reservoir. The rate of erosion continues 35 years following the official completion of Kettle Generating Station and the creation of Stephens Reservoir. Shoreline erosion was excessive and although the rate of erosion decreased from the 1960s and 1970s, FLCN insists the rate of erosion in 2009 is still high. The Keeyask Traditional Knowledge Program team was able to pinpoint locations of major shoreline erosion that took place within a recent time frame.

The creation of new water bodies leads to other issues such as lowered dissolved oxygen as the flooded vegetation begins to decay. Lowered oxygen, decreased water quality and increased turbidity resulted in the reduction of brook trout and other fish species sensitive to these changes. Brook trout was once plentiful along Kischi Sipi but is now primarily located within its tributaries or other water bodies.

The increased flows from the CRD and LWR projects also caused dramatic changes both above and below the dams. Large amounts of peat, "deadheads," and other debris generated from flooding and increased water volumes were swept into the Kischi Sipi, making navigation and fishing much less predictable and much more hazardous. Zach Mayham described how these impacts have been long-lasting:

> *We cannot fish because of the trees that are coming apart [rotted]. The trees ruin[ed] the nets. The [sturgeon] eggs are getting ruined by the trees. There is still sturgeon but they are not as good as they used to be. They do not taste the same. They are white and hard. They are not the same. They are really hard too. The eggs are getting ruined. I told Norman that the eggs are getting ruined because of the water.*

When the seasonal flow volumes of the Kischi Sipi were reversed, water levels no longer peaked between May and June but instead peaked during the months of November and January. Not only did this reversal of natural cycles impact the safety and freedom of river travel, it made it more difficult to predict the seasonal behaviour of the river year round. The devastating impact of destroying the natural rhythm of the water and environment is mourned to this day.

Prior to hydro development the relatively uninterrupted Kischi Sipi posed numerous natural threats and had a reputation as having a swift current; however, these dangers were familiar to our people and they knew how to avoid them:

> *Before the dams, the river wasn't like that; there was no debris. We knew the river, and people navigated without any trouble (FLCN 2012).*

Following hydro development, they found it more difficult to predict the safest routes, best times to travel, and the location of large rocks which had been dislodged from their known locations, all of which was compounded by the increased turbidity that hindered visibility of hazards.

Even the most experienced of our people found it difficult to predict how the river would behave after the dams. In 2007, Kitayatis Zack Mayham noted:

> *During the day the water was low. Our boat was sitting high on the riverbank; in the evening the river was high. It [was] very dangerous downstream especially when someone [didn't] know about the fluctuation of the river, and the young people also.*

Several tragic accidents have been attributed by FLCN to what was seen as the river's increased unpredictability. In 2004, Tom Nepataypo recounted how some of our people lost their lives after the dams were built:

> *Yeah, when Kettle was being built and they started, my uncle passed away. His name was Luke Peters. He drowned at that river, at Butnau. At the end of Butnau Road, there's a river that [was] going pretty fast, and they were always, that was old Darious Ouskan's trapping area back then where Stephens Lake is all flooded, now covering the whole area.*

During the winter months, travel is particularly unsafe due to water level fluctuations. Some winter trails on the river had to be abandoned partially or entirely by our people.

Fluctuating water levels also affect caribou and beaver during open water. Caribou cannot cross the river safely until the levels are low enough. This may require waiting to do so or could result in drowning should caribou try and cross, as observed along the Kischi Sipi.

Soon after the completion of Kettle Generating Station our people began to observe changes in the clarity and colour of the water. Not only did the water become noticeably more "murky," or turbid, but fishers were required to clean their nets of algae and other debris on a much more frequent basis, which, for many people, had became a daily ritual (Johnny Beardy 2008).

The Kitayatisuk describe the Kischi Sipi before hydro development as clear and clean and our people regularly obtained their drinking water directly from the river. Unlike today, the river bottom could easily be seen from a boat, and as Kitayatis Jessie Anderson described in 2010, "we could see the bottom of the River from the top of the Kettle Bridge."

Hydro development along the lower Kischi Sipi drastically changed this, and ultimately, the river's water became unsuitable for consumption. The Kischi Sipi was a primary source of potable water, well known by our people. FLCN believes the decline in water quality in the Kischi Sipi is an important cumulative impact that first began with the Kelsey Generating Station.

We not only witnessed large water quality changes, but were forced to adapt to these changes by finding new locations for potable water. Many of these alternate sources were also affected by hydro development and we were very limited in where we could access clean water.

> *In the past before the dams were built we used to carry a cup and drink directly from the Kischi Sipi.*
>
> *It is hard to image the importance of water if one has not experienced drinking ice cold water accessed through the ice in winter or during open water dipping water directly from the Kischi Sipi and its estuaries on a hot summer day (FLCN 2012).*

Today, most of our people will only drink directly from the water bodies of the rivers and streams leading into the Kischi Sipi and most drinking water comes from water treatments systems in Gillam or Bird.

As water quality further changed over time our people reported observing increased number and severity of lesions or growths on the bodies of fish caught from affected waters. They indicated they only consumed fish harvested off the Kischi Sipi, stating they were afraid to get sick from eating the fish and feared contamination or pollution. As well, our people indicated that they choose to eat fish harvested during the winter stating that the flesh is of better quality (FLCN 2010; 27). Timing of fish harvesting appears to have become more critical in trying to avoid the observed impacts to fish quality. In 2007, Kitayatis Zack Mayham noted:

> *We know that the sturgeon and other fish are not good to eat from the Kischi Sipi. It's the polluted river that destroys them. The fish were always excellent source of food in the past before the dams. Different kinds of debris float down, trees and other things. I don't think our Kischi Sipi will ever be clear again. Because of the pollution, it will continue to destroy our source of food.*

Some of the terms used by Kitayatisuk to describe the taste and texture of fish include bitter, watery, and soggy. They also noted that if the flesh is darker in colour it should be avoided because it is spoiled, or unsuitable to eat due to pollution or sickness.

Contributing to the perception the environment as spoiled was the release of mercury into the water as a result of flooding and other biophysical processes. This rendered some fish species unsafe for frequent and even infrequent consumption.[9] Upon receiving this information, many of our people responded by reducing their consumption of all aquatic foods (including fish), especially if they originated from the Kischi Sipi. Josh Ouskan discussed this issue in a 2004 interview carried

[9] The term "frequent" is open to interpretation. What may appear like "frequent" consumption to an urban dweller may actually be viewed as "infrequent" consumption to an Inninu person, especially in light of the fact that fish continues to constitute an important component of a Cree diet.

out for *Ninan* (draft) in which he stated, "mostly the fishing was good here, and then Hydro come here, and then it was no good after that. It was from mercury poisoning, or with the dams built."

The perception of a spoiled aquatic environment has persisted despite mercury levels having decreased to levels now considered safe by government officials given adherence to provincial guidelines for weekly and daily consumption. Even today, many community members reject fish that originates from the Kischi Sipi precisely because the fish are deemed to be sick or of inferior quality. In a 2007 personal interview, Kitayatis Jessie Anderson reported that she reluctantly discarded Kischi Sipi sturgeon because it was "too bad to eat when we cook it." She stated that, as a consequence, she and her family only eat fish if it is caught from tributaries flowing *into* the Kischi Sipi like the Angling River.

Water quality was also affected in places other than the Kischi Sipi. In a personal interview in 2009, Kitayatis Jessie Anderson explained that Askiko Sipi was drastically affected by the reversal of the Butnau River, and that her parents Ruby and Elijah Anderson noticed almost immediate changes in the quality of the fish, which were particularly noticeable in the summer. Today, she and her partner limit their fishing in the Kettle to winter or spring when the water is much colder, and the fish taste better.

Our people's ability to get clean water was further impacted by Gillam's expansion in the mid-1960s. It destroyed or rendered inaccessible many of the local springs that we used on a daily basis. In an interview for *Ninan* (draft), Nancy Beardy remembered one source that was situated close to her family's home:

> *You can't even find the spring water that used to be there. It used to be nice and cold. We were just talking about that the other day, my uncle and I. The ones way back there, they're still there, but not one close by here (FLCN 2012).*

Prior to hydro development in the local area, there were many sites abundant in a variety of berries. Berries patches were in close proximity to Gillam and other important traditional sites. For example, niskeminah, anouskanuk and odahihminah were located at Landing Lake and the area surrounding the Radisson Converter Station.

Since development of the area, berry patches were lost and most were not re-established causing our people to travel much farther to access harvest berries. Berry patches were lost through inundation of islands and shoreline areas, the extensive expansion of Gillam and its related infrastructure, and hydro development related infrastructure including converter stations, transmission lines, camps, borrow areas, and roads. Further to this, areas surrounding development where berry patches might still exist may be contaminated through vehicle exhaust or use of herbicides and pesticides. The fear of contamination further reduces the number of our people able to participate in this traditional activity to reap its many benefits.

> *I've only gone across the Kettle River once to pick berries. But that's why I was saying a long time ago that we could just leave your house for a little walk, pick lots of berries and fill up a bucket and come right back. Now you have to go so far, use a vehicle!* (FLCN 2010; 20).

> *I left [Gillam] when I got married, I left for a long time, we went to live in Churchill and we survived. When I came back to Gillam in 1990 everything looked different. It's no longer there where we picked berries they destroyed everything there. Where all those houses are located in Gillam that's where we used to pick berries* (FLCN 2012).
>
> *[In Gillam prior to the mid-1960s] there used to be berries growing here long ago, blueberries and those other kinds, raspberries. [Now] there's not one kind. It used to be beautiful here with lots of berries... Yesterday we went for a walk... there was not one berry to be seen* (FLCN 2012).

Historically, caribou were abundant in the local area, and were harvested year round. Indeed, they were the primary source of red meat, and moose were considered rare and a delicacy. Today, the reverse is true. Construction, noise, outside hunting pressure, flooding of traditional migration routes and generating station operations created unsafe ice conditions for caribou have contributed to its decline in the local area. The loss of local habitat in areas of dam construction/operation has resulted in the fragmentation of local forest and bog areas.

Hydro development in general greatly impacted our people's ability to obtain traditional foods, or innado mechim. Traditional foods are a fundamental aspect of mino pimatisiwin because they provide excellent nutrition and our cultural identity is also closely linked to the pursuit, use, and consumption of our traditional foods. Given that traditional foods, which also include water, are paramount to our constructs of health and well-being, the loss of innado mechim (for example, as a result of mercury contamination and habitat loss due to flooding thus affecting an individual's ability to obtain for themselves innado mechim) have a large impact on both the material and perceived wellbeing of our people.

It is clear that the Kitayatisuk hold a particular view of what the environment should be like in order to provide all the things that are required to be healthy. Specifically, the land and waters should be whole and unspoiled, both of which are the prerequisites of a peaceful existence. This wholeness is referred to over and over by Kitayatisuk, and is often expressed as, "everything is connected." The understanding of the world in terms of connectivity is paramount to the philosophy of mino pimatisiwin, and links wellbeing to Cree foods and environment as well as a particular perception of nature.

> *They took our land, and put alien things in it. I used to like the way we lived a long time ago. We used to trap. People always had food to eat. I still remember those days, and wish I could live like that again, as I'm getting older. I still think about, and wish I could go back to, that life again. But that's not possible. Everything has been destroyed here in Gillam (FLCN 2012).*

The lives and livelihoods that were enjoyed by our people prior to hydro development are clearly viewed as consistent with mino pimatisiwin. It is also clear that hydroelectric development has impacted the land, water, animals and people to such an extent that mino pimatisiwin is much harder to sustain.

IMPACTS ON HUMAN HEALTH AND WELLNESS

Following the influx of workers related to hydroelectric development, the social dynamic was changed. FLCN was no longer involved in decision making within Gillam. Family homes were moved, damaged or destroyed, often without notice, which alienated our people from each other as well as from others in the Town of Gillam. A social divide grew, which has lessened but still exists within the town.

Our people recalled much social tension within the town. Many reported incidences of racism and discrimination in their work, school and community lives, including involvement with the RCMP. There were incidences of violence and crimes including rapes and sexual assaults. Our people typically list the impact of the influx of workers, and the resulting toxic social environment in the Town of Gillam, as the main socio-economic impact resulting from hydroelectric development.

With the signing of the Harmonized Gillam Development Agreement (2007), FLCN and Manitoba Hydro agreed to work collectively in the planning and development of Gillam and the surrounding area. This relationship is ongoing.

As result of our inter-relationships and reliance on the lands and waters, the destructive impact of hydro development on Aski equally impacts on the health and wellness of our people.

In the past, the physical activity of living on the land, a healthy diet of traditional foods and living mino pimatisiwin ensured the overall health of our people. In cases of illness, many plants such as “wee-cesh”, sap from spruce trees and ka-kik-ka-paskwah from muskeg were used for medicine.

The plants kept the people healthy. Our people believe that the land provided many gifts for health and wellness and that the destruction of many plants as a result of hydro development as having a direct impact on our health.

Our people further believe that the change in traditional life style (physical activity, stress free life style and lean traditional diet) as a result of hydro development had negative impact on the overall health and wellness of our people.

INNADO MECHIM

Historically, innado mechim provided all the nourishment for our people. In any discussion with the Kitayatisuk the importance of traditional foods is raised and they conclude that the relationship between our people and traditional foods has changed in recent history. Some of this is due to changes in Canadian diets as whole and some is tied to the decline in readily accessible resources in the local area due to impacts of hydro development. The decline in access to traditional foods has been most difficult for the Kitayatisuk.

> *Fish was the main source of diet in the past. This was the way the Kitayatisuk lived. Any kind of fish was used by the people. Store bought food was hardly ever used. In the past people lived off the land, and water and fresh fish and wild food. Nowadays, we buy and eat food from the stores. About the Kischi Sipi, we lived at Wabuttnakh and Moose Nose areas. We travelled to these areas. People set nets all the time. The fish*

> *were in excellent condition to consume. Today the fish is not good to eat; the polluted water does this, destroys the fish. The sturgeon nets are different too. The [sturgeon] nets are bigger than [regular] fishnets. These too, we won't be able to eat them. Any source of food such as ducks, are not good to consume. This is because of the polluted Kischi Sipi (FLCN 2012).*

Fish was and still is an important component of the diet and important species include lake sturgeon, brook trout, pickerel, whitefish, burbot, suckers, cisco, and perch. Some of these fish occur seasonally, some are present year round and most fish are readily caught with gillnets and hook and line. Sturgeon was an especially important food source and due to its size provided enough protein to feed several families. Other important diet items included birds such as ducks, geese, spruce grouse, and seagulls, larger game such as moose and caribou, and furbearers including rabbits, beaver, otter and muskrat.

Our people gathered a variety of berries, which were abundant and easily accessible. These included niskeminah (blueberries), wesahkeminah (cranberries), anouskanuk (raspberries), odahihminah (strawberries), ostikonihminah (cloudberries), oskisihkhominah (logan berries) and osapominah (gooseberries). Other plants were also harvested and included wild ginger and a variety of teas.

During the 1960s our people's diet still consisted mainly of wild food with only a few dry and canned goods were bought with wages or traded (FLCN 2012), as confirmed:

> *I remember in the springtime when fowl and other birds flew in from the south, my father would cook seagulls. This was before, when they ate anything up north. They tasted delicious. People just about consumed anything from the land, rabbits, chickens [ptarmigan or spruce grouse]. That's how we lived and survived. The only store bought staples were flour, tea, sugar, lard, baking powder (FLCN 2012).*

Game was plentiful and close at hand and members reminisce about the time before this, when members were free to access Cree food, such as the following provided by Ivan Moose:

> *[Growing] up, I remember was very nice here I, it was very, I don't know, it's hard to explain, I guess, because as opposed to today, everything was there for us, we were able to do what we wanted, shoot any time we wanted. When we did go hunting, we didn't have to go very far to hunt*.
>
> *Little did we know that they were here to pretty well uproot our lives. So when Hydro, I guess, basically first came up here that's when everything was different, everything changed. Like I said when we were living without hydro here, I don't remember ever being hungry. We always had everything we needed. Like Franklin [Arthurson, co-interviewer] said, it was there for us: rabbits, moose – whatever – geese, and ducks; even the snowbirds. Everything was there. We could go out anytime we wanted, not worry about having guns taken away or people telling us you can't do this, you can't do that. So there was never that kind of memory of being hungry when I was growing up. I don't think, but like I said, when hydro started here back in the 60's, everything changed* (FLCN 2012).

Preparation of Cree foods had many positive and happy memories and these traditions continue today. One of the pivotal values of our people was to not be wasteful. As such, there are many examples relating to the utilization of all parts of the animals harvested:

> *[O]ur grandfather rather did, and he made a big barrel where they made a fire. Warming up for cooking, cooking meat and they do something else in there, those bones they get from the moose, they gather them, smash them then boil them and that is where they got grease from. And that is where it hung making dried strips, and then they would pound it, my grandmother. And then there was the broth, it was there and we would drink it. It was never thrown out in the dump; we drank it* (FLCN 2012).

> *Then my mother dried and smoked the meat. She fixed the kidneys and heart and everything. Nothing was thrown away. Everything of the moose was used. Mom would clean the intestines and put meat into it. She'd made sausages out of it. She'd do the same with caribou* (FLCN 2012).

> *When a moose was fat, they made lard out of it and they would use everything including the bones. He would make dried meat or pemmican. He would dry the meat and he used to put lard in it. They used to make lot of this, and that fire to dry the strips of meat. They all used to do this and we used to take it with us when we travelled* (FLCN 2012).

Pemmican was a staple Cree food of our people for many years. It was made from a number of protein sources including moose, caribou, and fish. It could last a number of years and was highly portable, therefore was consumed while travelling, participating in traditional activities and on the trap line.

Mino pimatisiwin includes activities relating to fishing, hunting, trapping and gathering of innado mechim. These are discussed in the following sections as subsistence activities as well as commercial activities, such as commercial trapping and fishing.

FISHING

Fish have been a very important resource for our people who have regulated their lives partially around the harvest of fish and chose their camp and cabin sites to coincide with key fish harvesting locations. With a long lived-experience catching and observing fish along the Kischi Sipi and its tributaries, and without much pre-Kettle Generating Station western scientific study, FLCN, and other local Cree Nations, serve as the best and most complete historical source for information related to fish within the region. Their distant past provides information related to the health of the fisheries and provides an intimate and emotional account of the devastating impacts to fish as hydro development took place.

The Kischi Sipi, its tributaries, and the fisheries they contained were used heavily. Fishing occurred year round and there were specific times to fish. For example, traders described “Muskego Inninuwak”, as moving to sturgeon camps in the late spring and early summer to coincide with the spawning season which occurred in late May to early July.

The following were well-known fishing campsites, some of which continue to be used: Roblin Creek, Limestone River, Weir River (at the mouth and the old CN camp), Kettle River, Fox River, Butnau River, Angling River, and the portage between Port Nelson and York Factory. In addition, Fox Lake was a notable wintering site for fishing various species including sturgeon. Other notable sturgeon-fishing locations included Muhtehtoo Powistic, Askiko Powistic, and Oskadagow Powistic. Some of these rivers and water bodies have been drastically impacted by hydro development. A good example is the Limestone River which is practically non-navigable by motor powered boats due to low water levels during the operation of Limestone Generating Station.

According to our people, sturgeon fishing used spears, nets and weirs. They harvested sturgeon with homemade nets made using string, sahpohnehkehnahtik (net-making needle) and a pimmidtenagunatik (square piece used to maintain a consistent eyelet size). Boonnakissan (hook lines) would be used in the winter. Some tied up the live fish, allowing them to continue swimming and these could be kept until needed by the people for nourishment.

Sturgeon is culturally important to our people. It has been harvested as an important food source, for medicinal purposes, as well as use for both creative expression and resource for tools and creating other products such as glues, sealants, decorative clothing, and containers. Prior to hydro development in the area sturgeon had many spawning sites and were plentiful and large. Sturgeon can live in excess of 100 years of age, growing to a length of two meters and weighing over 150 kilograms or 330 pounds. There were many accounts by our people of catching sturgeon in excess of 80 pounds; however it is now extremely rare to find older sturgeon or ones that weigh more than 50 kilograms (110 pounds).

Our people knew both Kettle and Gull Rapids were important spawning locations along the Kischi Sipi. Prior to hydro development, sturgeon and other fish species could travel up and down the Kischi Sipi to and from key spawning and other important areas but with each consecutive generating station these essential sturgeon habitats were destroyed or seriously degraded.

Our people have witnessed a marked decline of sturgeon within their lifetimes. Previous to hydroelectric development, sturgeon comprised a large component of our people's diets and this consumption was sustained over a number of generations through time honoured Inninuwak values of only taking what you need. FLCN Kitayatisuk and harvesters have shared that the value of not wasting or overharvesting is an important Inninuwak value.

The past commercial fishery also contributed to the decline of sturgeon populations along the Kischi Sipi. A commercial fishery operated on the upper reaches of the Nelson River primarily at Sipiwisk Lake. At its height, it ran between 1901 and 1946 but experienced numerous closures during this time and throughout the 20th century. Commercial fishing licenses were issued until 1992 but they became increasingly restricted in terms of number of licenses and harvestable amounts. Catch data specific to the lower reaches of the Nelson are scant; however, a small entrepreneurial fishery was tied to the Hudson Bay post when it was active.

Whitefish is another important fish species to our people. Whitefish spawning locations include Gull Rapids, North and South Mosokot and Looking Back Creek during the fall. Our people catch whitefish in Stephens Reservoir, however many still prefer to eat fish caught off the Kischi Sipi. Fishing locations include Fox and Angling Lakes, Looking Back Creek, below Keeyask Rapids and at Ferris Bay (FLCN 2010; 22-3).

Pickerel spawn right after the thaw in the spring if conditions are conducive to spawning. If not, pickerel may hold its eggs and spawn during the fall. Pickerel spawning locations include North and South Mosokot and Looking Back Creek. Kanepisewasik Sipi (Landing River) is a spawning ground for pickerel as well as other fish species (FLCN 2012).

After the Kettle dam, Stephens Reservoir, Looking Back Creek, and Farris Bay became important harvesting locations for pickerel. Kitayatisuk indicated that prior to Kettle Generating Station, Gull Rapids was a location where they caught pickerel, whitefish and lake sturgeon.

> *Before Hydro came, yeah, way before Hydro come. The rapids I'm talking about, was very nice there, between Butnau Dyke and Cache Lake. It was a very nice rapids; there were a lot of pickerel caught there, and now there's nothing there (FLCN 2012).*

The Kettle River was an ideal habitat for brook trout that produced eight to ten pound fish harvested at the mouth of the river. An important site along this river was Kasoskapiskak, which was characterized by flat rocks and a set of rapids where both brook and rainbow trout were harvested. Another important harvesting location was the mouth of the Wabuttnakh Sipi and Kischi Sipi prior to the Kettle Generating Station (FLCN 2010; 23-4).

Sucker spawning locations include North and South Mosokot and Looking Back Creek and there were an abundance of suckers at North Mosokot, South Mosokot, and the Kettle River (FLCN 2010; 24).

Jackfish spawning locations include North and South Mosokot and Looking Back Creek. Large jackfish were obtained from the Nelson and Kettle Rivers prior to hydroelectric development.

Barbara Massan recalled that our people in Gillam were a short distance away from these rivers and obtained larger fish:

> *Just down by the River, the Nelson. That's where we would catch pickerel and jackfish. Really big ones like five pounds. Everybody used to [wait] for the snow to melt in May to try and beat everybody out there to catch the big fish (FLCN 2012).*

The Kettle River and Stephens Reservoir (during the spring) were important harvesting locations for jackfish. Our people caught Jackfish at the mouth of Wabuttnakh Sipi and Cache Lake and continue to do so (FLCN 2010; 24-5).

HUNTING

Hunting was and still is an important activity for our people as it provides an important food source and contributes to good health with the provision of typically low-fat protein sources. Hunting also is way to teach mino pimatisiwin to younger generations and continued traditional education, which is often focused on learning through observation and experiential learning or learning by doing. Some of our people view time spent hunting as recreational or leisure time (FLCN 2010; 18) because it provides opportunities to spend time on the land while bonding with family or other community members.

CARIBOU

Caribou are important for nourishment and cultural permanence for our people. As such, the preservation and sustainable management of all caribou herds present is important.

Historically caribou was an important diet item and eaten fresh meat and stored frozen, dried and smoked. Our people hunt caribou from late fall to early winter. Although the migratory woodland ecotype is present in the area year-round, our people typically only hunt during the late fall when the meat is considered of higher quality. Our people indicated that primarily males are hunted in efforts to maintain the overall caribou population (FLCN 2012).

Caribou diet includes grasses, mosses, willows, flowers and ground and tree lichen. During ground-truthing activities associated with the Keeyask Traditional Knowledge Program, team members confirmed these plants are abundantly available on many of the islands located in Stephens Reservoir. Our people indicated that caribou seek refuge from wolves in swampy areas and dense bogs, as well as island habitats during calving and calf rearing periods. They indicated caribou currently utilize the Stephens Reservoir islands during calving.

Aski Keskentamowin shows that there are at least three subspecies of caribou in the local area. Table 2 lists the three herds and the associated Cree names, ranges and descriptions.

TABLE 1: CARIBOU FOUND IN THE AREA

Herd; English	Cree; English translation	Range	Description
	mistikoskaw utikuk; or in English caribou of a wooded area.	Resident in the area throughout the year. Occasional late autumn convergence into one herd along with Pen Island caribou.	Relatively larger in size from other herds; oval and pointed hoof print; darker hide and more hair.
	puskwaw utikosisak; or in English small caribou of a barren land, or alternatively, askimao utikosisak; or in English the small caribou of an Eskimo land.	Early winter migration into the area. Resident on north side of the Kischi Sipi.	Sweeter meat; rounded hoof print.
	namowin atikok, or in English the caribou from the north east.	Early winter migration into the area. Resident on south side of the Kischi Sipi. Occasional late autumn convergence into one herd along with Barren Land caribou.	Small in size; lighter in colour; white fur around their collar.
This information is derived from FLCN led research with elders and harvesters. More specifically, the FLCN Keeyask Traditional Knowledge Report (2010)			

Our people prefer the migratory woodland ecotype due to their larger size and better taste and can easily distinguish them based on their size and hoof shape. The Pen Island and Barren Land caribou migrate to the areas south and north of the Kischi Sipi (respectively) with the river serving as their upper and lower territorial boundaries. During the late autumn, Pen Island and Migratory woodland ecotype occupy the same territory and are known to converge into one herd.

The identification of caribou is based on our people's long history of harvesting caribou, namely behaviour and appearance. The local population of migratory woodland ecotype uses the forests and bogs of the area, and may be made up of a migratory woodland ecotype and what is defined as a southerly/westerly ranging boreal migratory woodland ecotype. An extension of this boreal caribou range into the FLCN's prime resource use area would be well beyond the accepted distribution reported by the federal and provincial governments. It is likely that some woodland have interbred with Pen Island caribou thus constituting a hybrid variety within the overall woodland population. The migratory woodland ecotype continues to live in the local area including at Angling River and Hayes River.

Our people indicated migratory woodland ecotype is located in the Gillam area year-round. The program team observed caribou during ground-truthing activities associated with the Keeyask

Traditional Knowledge Program at Fox Lake, Fox River, Raven Lake, and Angling Lake. Caribou have also been observed at Kischi Sipi, Stephens Reservoir, and historically within the Gilliam area.

An example of the size of the caribou herds in the past is illustrated below:

> *And there was a lot of caribou... One time there was so many caribou, boy, you see that large space there. It was just full of caribou... I couldn't even hang up my washing because there was too many caribou! I think they were just going by. You know, after a while, they weren't that many. Just that one time. Three times, I know there were lots of caribou just going through… It was in the fall… Yes, it was in the fall… I mean, that was in '49 or '50 (FLCN 2012).*

Weather patterns play an important role in caribou movements, for example deep snow in a particular year can limit the migration path of caribou. However, when adverse weather conditions are combined with generating station operations, the latter of which sometimes create unsafe ice conditions, subsistence hunting can be drastically affected. This applies to all caribou types.

Kitayatis Zach Mayham provided context for both migratory and population changes when he described the spring and fall migrations during the 1940s and 1950s:

> *There were many. Split [Lake], around the bend, they literally filled the lake, the herd. The caribou would stand out in the lake because of the wolves, they would stand way out in the lake watching out for the wolves… Then they go south in the spring [Pen Island], the caribou are on the run, going home. They were numerous. Some never came back, perhaps drowning in the bay [Kettle forebay], that's what they say. They go far. There are other caribou, namowin [coming from the north-east, probably Pen Island] caribou, those are the ones that come here, they are larger… North, they go north. They are numerous. The ones from namowin [did] not return; they went into the water [drowned]* (FLCN 2012).

The migratory patterns of the Pen Island and Barren Land herds have changed in that they are less likely to migrate through the region. Kitayatis Tommy Nepitabo suggested that the observed migratory changes of the now rare Qamanirijuaq herd were due to hydro development:

> *[The hydroelectric generating stations] changed the caribou migration sites… The Qamanirjuaq used to be the bigger ones that came down. You don't see them very much anymore, they use to block the train for hours sometimes, and you don't see that anymore either (FLCN 2010; 16).*

The Keeyask Traditional Knowledge Study indicated that the stretch of Kischi Sipi near Gillam, which is now the Stephen Reservoir was comprised of several smaller channels rather than one major channel. Smaller river channels are easier to access and cross and create much more shoreline habitat than one large channel. Our people indicated this portion of the river system used to be a main corridor for caribou, and other wildlife crossings because this portion of the river would have likely been of a lower velocity in comparison to other stretches of the Kischi Sipi. When the area was inundated during the creation of Stephens Reservoir, this environment was greatly reduced to a portion of the river between Clark Lake and Gull Rapids.

Our people have recognized the declining population of all caribou types over the past 50 years. At present there are sufficient numbers of caribou to support a subsistence harvest by FLCN, but these populations are threatened by outside hunting pressure, current and future disturbances associated with construction and human activities, and further fragmentation of the local environment (e.g., transmission lines, access and other roads, cutlines, and snow machine and other trails).

MOOSE

> *And when he killed a moose, when he would track a moose he would show me how to follow the trail. You could see where the moose stopped and rested had sat down and suddenly he was standing there, the moose, and he shot it. It's as you said. He said, "Make a fire." We made a fire, and I made tea. He took the moose bones and he hung them up very respectfully. He said, "When you kill something you don't throw it away." He hung it up. "Have you ever heard of the moose 'great book'? The moose has a great book here inside. Can you see the book?" He said, as he cut the moose. He used to tell me everything. When we went home he took [care of] everything properly (FLCN 2012).*

Within the Keeyask study area, our people hunt moose at the shorelines of Stephens Reservoir, north of the proposed south access road, South Moosokot, Wabuttnakh Sipi, Kettle River, and Cache Lake. These areas were and continue to be important moose hunting areas. Our people begin hunting moose during the fall.

Historically, moose were much less abundant in the local area**.** Today moose are found in much greater numbers, and are hunted extensively by both our people and others.

> *Because caribou were plentiful we were used to eating the meat. Moose was more like a delicacy. Moose was killed once in a while. But in the late 1940s and early 1950s we didn't see caribou for a while until 1953 or 1954. My father harvested moose more during that time. But today moose is eaten more (FLCN 2012).*

A positive impact of previous hydroelectric development projects was the "creation of moose habitat along the Butnau Road, which, prior to the dams, was not considered a prime hunting location" (FLCN 2012).

Moose hide from predators inland. Harvester Raymond Anderson indicated that in the winter they travel deep into the bush where wolves cannot get to them. The islands on Stephens Reservoir are locations where cows give birth to their calves and seek refuge from wolves. Anderson describes the islands as having an abundance of food for moose:

> *There's a lot to eat in this area here. There is a lot of willow in here. Not, only on the islands but over here too. Like, oh man, there's moose everywhere! Especially in these areas here; in South Mosokot here* (personal interview, March 2009).

Our people indicated through the Keeyask Traditional Knowledge Study that moose vacated the region and sought refuge inland from the flooding following the development of Kettle Generating Station. They stated their concern that future development may result in another population

decline as moose seek more appropriate habitat elsewhere and wonder how long this impact will last.

Moose are impacted by disturbances and hunting pressure. During 2008, our people witnessed disturbances to moose caused by helicopter flights over the Conawapa study area. Our people indicated moose are susceptible to noise impacts caused by construction and helicopters. The recent moose protocol between Manitoba Hydro and FLCN is an effort to reduce these problems and in general appears to be working.

BIRDS

Birds such as geese, ducks, spruce grouse, and seagulls, are an important food and are hunted primarily in the spring and fall. After hydro flooding and the loss of stable shorelines the number of nesting waterfowl declined. There are number of important waterfowl harvesting locations, prior to and after the Kettle Generating Station including Cache Lake, Wabuttnakh Sipi, Kettle River and Stephens Reservoir (dyke 5 and pond 13) (FLCN 2010; 167).

The spring goose hunt is a considered an important event, both for the food harvested and as a tradition that welcomes and celebrates the spring season. Our people prefer to harvest geese in the spring after they have been consuming grains in the south.

TRAPPING

Trapping and snaring was, and is, an important activity in the area as it provides a small but sustainable income and also provides a source of food. Furbearers were once plentiful within areas traditionally used by Members. The main furbearers include marten, muskrat, beaver, rabbit, lynx and fisher. Prior to construction of the Kettle Generating Station the environment within the region was ideal for various furbearers, with shorelines providing appropriate habitat.

Today, the Butnau River is an important habitat for muskrat and beaver. The Keeyask Traditional Knowledge Program team verified that there is an abundance of both muskrat and beaver lodges along this river system (FLCN 2010; 30). Cache Lake is an important habitat area for muskrat and beaver and has been a trapping location for many years. Muskrat and beaver diets include vegetation found in water bodies, such as water lilies and cattails.

Kitayatis Noah Massan, who maintains a trap line located within the area that will soon become the South Access Road, reported a decline in the fisher population.

According to Keeyask Traditional Knowledge Program team ground-truthing activities there is an abundance of rabbits at Cache Lake. Our people indicated that prior to hydro development there was an abundance of lynx in the Cache Lake area where the people resided and trapped.

The lynx population located southwest of Stephens Reservoir appears to be rebounding from the impacts resulting from the Kettle Generating Station although the species is known to have periodic natural cycles of abundance.

> *You are starting to see some game there like before. They used to say there was a lot of lynx. They are slowly coming back because last year I saw tracks, but I didn't try to catch them… Before there were coyotes, but now I don't even see them. The last coyote I caught was in 1975, I think. I caught right at Cache Lake* (FLCN 2012).

GATHERING

Gathering of firewood, food, medicines and water is valued as an act of mino pimatisiwin.

Harvesting gull eggs was a traditional activity in the late spring early summer and was predictable source of high quality food. We recall eating duck eggs in the spring and collecting gull eggs at Fox Lake. Although women and children often undertook gathering activities for berries and eggs, men were also involved in gathering including the heavy task of collecting firewood.

Many men were involved in gathering firewood although all members of the family were involved in this task. Youth were involved to instill the values of hard work and contributing to family and community. Women would also participate, especially during times when the men were away.

Our people would harvest firewood in late summer and early fall in preparation for winter and trapping season (FLCN 2012). Many would harvest firewood from the areas surrounding camp, cabin sites or their own homes. Narratives collected through *Ninan* (draft) indicated that men would use dog teams to haul wood (FLCN 2012), some would also drag or carry the wood when necessary.

The gathering of firewood also provided another economic stream into the home. Our people would trade firewood, providing a service and labour in exchange for food, other items, and store credit (FLCN 2012). The store, CN, or others would employ our people to complete this work.

Firewood was necessary for cooking and heating of homes. Many of the homes our people built were furnished with wood burning stoves. However, when they moved into modernized housing the need to participate in this activity was greatly reduced:

> *The "modernized" housing that replaced our people's homes also increased isolation from traditional activities. No longer needing to glean such items as firewood and water from the local environment, they found their lives had become devoid of tasks that traditionally consumed a significant part of daily life and instilled, especially in the children, the sense of pride and accomplishment that came from contributing to the family's well-being (FLCN 2012).*

Harvesting berries was an essential activity and berries provided vital nutrients. Moreover it was and still is a social and recreational activity. Berry picking is a physical activity, provided opportunities for women and children to bond, educate, and continue cultural ties but men also berry picked and continue to do so today. Berry picking is remembered as a social bonding activity that was fun but it also requires manual dexterity, stamina, and patience. Our people would harvest some berries in the summer, such as blueberries, while others were harvested during the late fall, such as cranberries. However, "frozen berries could be harvested throughout the winter, and kept frozen until spring, but [this] required specialized knowledge to recognize non-poisonous plants without their summer foliage"(FLCN 2012). Our people harvested berries throughout the Keeyask study area including, within the current boundaries of the town of Gillam, especially at the current location of the hospital, as well as Landing Lake, Radisson Converter Station surrounding area, East of Gull Rapids, and Kettle River.

The use of medicinal plants was an important component of the traditional spiritual practices of mino pimatisiwin. Medicinal plants are used for healing the physical body as well as the spiritual, such as reversing oochinehwin and pastamowin. A Mitew is a person who is extremely knowledgeable in traditional and spiritual ways of life, and therefore would have had an extensive knowledge of a wide range of plant life and its medicinal qualities. Most community members would have been involved in gathering more common medicinal plants.

Kitayatisuk indicated prior to Kettle there were many areas to pick medicines. For example, Kitayatis Mary Neepin stated the following:

> *When all around you there were roots. They would pull them out boil them and use them for drink as medicine food. They hardly ever got sick. These same wild herbs are still used today in a good way. When someone is coughing they would drink this. We were still using it when we were at [mile] 412 [Herchmer], we did and used them roots and herbs that were known. Tea, well prepared, is where it's boiled and called "wekas abou" [wild ginger tea]. The user loses their illness. And that root is called wekas [wild ginger], it is not very big, but it is very good medicine. They crush it to powder and*

> *whoever has a headache wears it or it can be drunk too. It was used for everything that root, it helped them too* (FLCN 2012).

Some of our people in the community were very well educated in traditional medicine, all members were required to hold some basic knowledge for survival while completing traditional activities on their own or within smaller groups far from both traditional and western medicine. Our people continue to harvest medicinal plants.

CHAPTER 4 – MOVING FORWARD

FLCN's relationship with Manitoba Hydro, and by extension Manitoba and Canada, is complex. Our people have experienced a myriad of socio-economic impacts as a result of past hydroelectric developments, and there is no denying that past hydroelectric development has profoundly shaped and will likely continue to shape our lives and livelihoods.

Since becoming aware of Manitoba Hydro's plan to develop the Kettle Rapids and Gillam area for hydroelectricity in the 1960s, FLCN has argued for the protection of rights and livelihoods in the unfolding process of development. FLCN remained invisible during the 1970s even as First Nations such as Tataskweyak and York Factory were negotiating compensation agreements with Manitoba Hydro, the Province of Manitoba, and Canada on the impacts of hydroelectric developments along the Nelson and Churchill Rivers and the LWR (INAC 2011).

FLCN was also not a signatory to the 1977 Manitoba Northern Flood Agreement (NFA) between Manitoba Hydro, Manitoba, Canada, and the Northern Flood Committee. [1] (FLCN 2012).

The Limestone project represented the first time FLCN was included in any discussions with Manitoba Hydro about its activities. However, it was only after Bird was designated as a reserve in the mid 1980s that FLCN was recognized as an interested party in the ongoing development that had begun years earlier. In the meantime, the construction of the Kettle, Long Spruce and Limestone, as well as the LWR and CRD projects resulted in profound environmental changes to our lands and waters. While environmental transformations can be quantified in essays, surveys, and censuses, our people experienced the human cost of these changes at a deeply personal level.

Beginning in 1996, FLCN embarked on negotiations with Manitoba Hydro about the nature and level of compensation for past impacts,[2] leading to the 2004 Impact Settlement Agreement. In 2001, discussions began on the distribution of benefits accruing from the proposed Keeyask project, and the mitigation of adverse effects due to Keeyask.

The negotiations resulted in the ratification of the 2009 Joint Keeyask Development Agreement (JKDA). As a result of the JKDA, FLCN is a partner in the building of the Keeyask dam along with York Factory First Nation, Tataskweyak Cree Nation, and War Lake First Nation. If the Keeyask dam is built FLCN will have an opportunity to purchase up to 5% of the project's equity and to receive a comparable share of the profits generated by the station.

The relationship between Manitoba Hydro and FLCN has evolved significantly since FLCN began its negotiations in 1998 and FLCN representatives now sit at various negotiating tables.

FLCN welcomes the potential economic benefits from Keeyask, although the need to protect our culture, needs and aspirations in the face of continuing hydro development remains.

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[1] The Northern Flood Committee negotiated on behalf of member First Nations Pimicikamak Cree Nation, York Factory First Nation, Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation, Norway House Cree Nation, and Tataskweyak Cree Nation.

[2] See 2004 Impact Settlement Agreement.

FLCN – MANITOBA HYDRO AGREEMENTS

Since the early 2000s, FLCN and Manitoba Hydro have worked towards reaching a common understanding and establishing a mutually beneficial relationship. The following summarizes the agreements negotiated between the FLCN and Manitoba Hydro about the Keeyask project.

FLCN – MANITOBA HYDRO IMPACT SETTLEMENT AGREEMENT

The December 6, 2004 Impact Settlement Agreement (ISA) provided resolution for adverse effects and infringements of Treaty rights resulting from past hydroelectric developments occurring on the Churchill, Nelson, Rat and Burntwood River Systems and the LWR System north of the 53rd parallel, up until the date of the agreement. These included all activities and structures related to the development and operation of the Kelsey, Kettle, Long Spruce, and Limestone Generating Stations as well as the CRD and the Grand Rapids and Laurie River Generating Stations. The ISA included the access road and physical construction completed for Conawapa Generation Station on or before the date of the agreement.

In summary, the ISA provided FLCN with financial compensation amounting to $18.9 million ($3.7 million from the Province of Manitoba paid over 3 years and $15.2 million from Manitoba Hydro paid over 15 years); the transfer of 2,169 hectares (5,360 acres) of Crown land to the FLCN; the transfer of the Kettle River Site to FLCN (subject to project easement); transfer of the Angling Lake site to Land Corporation; transfer of mines and minerals and residual Crown (Manitoba) interests within the Kettle Crescent Site to Canada; transfer of Sundance Site to the Land Corporation; withholding of the Limestone Construction Camp from disposition to any third party for a specified period of time; feasibility study for an urban reserve in Gillam; Resource Management Area within FLCN traditional territory that includes operation of the FLCN Resource Management Board and strategic planning related to Resource Management Area activities.

The ratification of the ISA means that Manitoba Hydro is no longer legally responsible for past, present, and future loss or damage suffered by FLCN and its band members due to the pre-ISA projects, the creation, redevelopment and expansion of Gillam. The ISA legally addresses the infringement of Treaty rights that occurred as a result of pre-ISA projects. It does not provide restitution for human disabilities, illness, or death resulting from the ingestion of methylmercury; personal injury or death of an individual caused by or attributed to pre-ISA projects; and any loss or damage or any interference with the exercise of any Aboriginal or Treaty rights, resulting from adverse effects of past projects which were unknown and/or unanticipated and were not discernible with the ordinary exercise of due diligence at the time of ratification. Compensation for these, if demonstrated, can still be made.

Funds secured through the ISA are administered through a trust fund, Nikanihk Itapowin (Future Vision), used to improve the social and economic wellbeing of our people.

The ratification of the ISA December 6, 2004 set the stage for FLCN and Manitoba Hydro to enter into discussions, agreements and relationships related to future hydro developments.

JOINT KEEYASK DEVELOPMENT AGREEMENT

Prior to the ratification of the JKDA on May 29, 2009, FLCN established an investment entity under which negotiations occurred regarding FLCN's involvement in the assessment, design and implementation of the Keeyask project and general terms of the JKDA. Tataskweyak Cree Nation, War Lake First Nation, and York Factory Cree Nation established limited partnerships to facilitate their participation in the proposed Keeyask project.[1] These Cree Nations also participated in environmental planning for the Keeyask Project including the preparation of the EIS.

Manitoba Hydro and the General Partner will own at least 75 percent of the equity of the Keeyask Hydropower Limited Partnership. In total, the aforementioned Cree First Nations have negotiated the opportunity to purchase up to the remaining 25% of the equity. Manitoba Hydro will provide all administrative and management services for the Keeyask Project, act as project manager, and will operate and maintain the Keeyask Project and Keeyask Generating Station. Among other things the JKDA also provides the Cree Nations and other First Nations people with construction employment opportunities, and business opportunities during the construction phase.

Each Cree Nation negotiated its individual adverse effects agreement with Manitoba Hydro acting on behalf of the Partnership to address its own unique impacts and mitigation strategies. These Cree Nations also participated in environmental planning for the Keeyask Project including the preparation of the EIS. On May 28, 2009, FLCN became signatory to its Adverse Effects Agreement (AEA). This Agreement "address[es] and resolve[s] all past, present, and future Keeyask Adverse Effects on FLCN, all impacts of the Keeyask Project on the collective rights and interests of FLCN and Citizens, and all impacts of the Keeyask Project in the exercise of Aboriginal and Treaty rights by FLCN and its Citizens.

The AEA requires the Partnership to first take measures to prevent or avoid foreseeable adverse effects, and if not possible to lessen or reduce adverse effects. Appropriate replacements, substitutions, or opportunities are outlined to offset and compensate losses or damages as a result of adverse effects. The following offsetting measures were established to lessen adverse effects, all of which are either fully or partially funded by the Partnership:

- A gathering centre as a statement of FLCN's permanent presence in Gillam ($3,000,000);
- A Youth Wilderness Traditions Program to facilitate our youth in their learning of Cree ways ($1,640,000 from 2010 to 2025);
- A Cree Language Program to facilitate the learning of our language ($200,000);
- A Gravesite Restoration Program to restore, re-consecrate, and protect community gravesites in and around Gillam, Manitoba ($1,305,000 from 2010 to 2021);

[1] The JKDA collectively refers to FLCN, Tataskweyak Cree Nation, War Lake First Nation, and York Factory Cree Nation as the "Keeyask Cree Nations." However, it is important to highlight that their redefining in terms of hydroelectric development fails to recognize that the relationships between the Cree Nations do not exist solely on the basis of their respective partnerships with Manitoba Hydro. These relationships predate hydro development, Treaties, and the reserve system, and were formed on other factors such as trade, kinship groups, etc.

- An Alternative Justice Program for developing a model for an alternative justice program ($100,000);
- A Crisis Centre and Wellness Counselling Program to implement a wellness counselling program and to establish a crisis centre for our people ($1,200,000 from 2011 to 2022);
- Lateral Violence and "Where Do We Go From Here" Programs to assist our people, through counselling, education, and other supports, to prepare to participate in the proposed Keeyask Project ($2,700,000 from 2009 to 2018); and
- An Alternative Resource Use Program to facilitate access to alternate resource areas within FLCN's Resource Management Area (RMA) ($300,000 from 2012 to 2015).

A five-member Program Planning Committee with representation from FLCN and Manitoba Hydro reviews and provides non-binding recommendations on the planning and implementation of these offsetting programs.

The JKDA recognises that there are residual effects, that is, effects not addressed by offsetting programs for which a $1,581,100 settlement was made. Legally, this constitutes full compensation for all residual effects.

OTHER INITIATIVES

HARMONIZED GILLAM DEVELOPMENT

Harmonized Gillam Development (HGD) is a conceptual framework for dealing with urban planning and development in Gillam in a collaborative and cooperative manner. It primarily involves FLCN and Manitoba Hydro but the Province and the Town of Gillam also participate in discussions. HGD acknowledges the political marginalization of our people in Gillam especially during the building of the Kettle, Long Spruce and Limestone dams. It acknowledges the unique history and nature of each party, which at times gives rise to different and potentially conflicting urban planning perspectives and goals. HGD is a collaborative process for reviewing and evaluating proposed activities and initiatives in the Gillam area including future hydroelectric development, and focuses on strengthening the relationships between Manitoba Hydro and FLCN. In February 2008, Manitoba Hydro and FLCN agreed upon a number of guiding principles for HGD that included:

- A clarification and sharing of the long-term goals and objectives of FLCN, Manitoba Hydro, the Town of Gillam, and where applicable, Manitoba in the Gillam area.
- Identification of challenges and issues which have arisen in the past and with future developments, and opportunities to implement planning and development activities for mutual gain.
- A regular process of interaction to discuss issues of mutual interest (HGD Joint Statement 2007).

A committee consisting of representatives from FLCN, Manitoba Hydro and when applicable the Town of Gillam, was established to evaluate and monitor the progress of activities, identify overlapping activities, identify issues potentially impeding the implementation of the joint statement, and proposing or evaluating projects developed specifically to advance HGD. A FLCN Community Liaison Officer position was created to facilitate any conflicts that our people may have, including employment with Manitoba Hydro in Gillam.

COMMUNITY ASSESSMENTS

The FLCN has completed several socio-cultural assessments on impacts of past and future developments including Keeyask. These include the FLCN History Document, Video, and Archiving Project began in 2004, followed by the Keeyask Traditional Knowledge Program, the Preliminary Traditional Knowledge Study on Sturgeon, and the Keewatinoow Bipole III Traditional Knowledge Study. These assessments informed this FLCN Environment Evaluation Report, and the overall environmental impact statement.

COMMUNITY HISTORY PROJECT

Ninan, The Story of the FLCN Cree (draft) is a compilation of oral histories as told by our people about a variety of topics including legends, stories about times past, livelihoods and family life, values, norms, and institutions, residential schools, and hydro development. Approximately 80 interviews were conducted with our people between 2004 and 2009. They were conducted in both Cree and English and transcribed into English text. These transcriptions formed the basis of an unpublished document. The stories span the storytellers' living memory which extends as far back as the 1930s.

Although this work was originally intended for a FLCN audience, over time it became clear that it could contribute to a small but growing body of work produced by and about Indigenous peoples. Among other things it serves a decolonizing purpose by producing counter-narratives of the past and present, in contrast to the characterization of hydro development as progressive, modern, and beneficial to all of society, as asserted by federal and provincial governments and Manitoba Hydro during the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s (Kulchyski et al. 2006; 1). Very clearly, these assertions neglected the environmental costs of hydroelectric development in Manitoba's north, not to mention the profoundly negative social and cultural impacts.

Ninan (draft) was born from the desire to challenge the dominant narrative of hydro development as devoid of social and environmental consequences, and represented an important opportunity for our people to tell a different story about hydroelectric development. Mino pimatisiwin is a constant theme throughout the book.

HISTORICAL USE OF SIGAHIGUN NAMAO (LAKE STURGEON) ON THE KISCHI SIPI

This study collected and recorded the local knowledge of our people about the sturgeon along the lower Kischi Sipi and its tributaries. Kitayatisuk residing in Bird, Gillam, and Thompson were interviewed about their historic use of sturgeon, and the impacts of hydroelectric development on

the sturgeon and our people who regularly consumed it. In July 2007, a group of individuals including FLCN staff members, Kitayatisuk and youth, and FLCN's aquatics advisor ground-truthed places of historical and present use over a five-day period. Global Positioning System (GPS) points were taken of each site, which were used to create a series of maps depicting campsites, fishing sites, etc. This study was important for establishing baseline conditions for Kischi Sipi sturgeon prior to hydroelectric development. This initial study demonstrated that our people viewed the environment and their place in it holistically. Although the group focused on lake sturgeon, much more information was gleaned, for example, about brook trout, burbot, caribou, and moose, and the extent to which our people used the Kischi Sipi prior to hydro development.

KEEYASK TRADITIONAL KNOWLEDGE PROGRAM

In 2009, FLCN documented the local and historical knowledge of our people on Aski to be impacted by the Keeyask project; Stephens Reservoir, Butnau River, and the South Access Road. The Keeyask Traditional Knowledge Program also documented our people's historical information on fish, wildlife, land, and waters prior to hydroelectric development.

Thirty-five map biography interviews were conducted with our people in Bird, Gillam, Winnipeg, and Thompson. The map biographies were digitized to produce map composites for community use. Audio recordings were also produced for each interview. Ground-truthing documented place-specific information.[1]

The study identified areas of historic and contemporary significance including Cache Lake, Fox Lake, Butnau River, Four-Mile Portage, Butnau Lake, Gillam, Kettle River, Kettle Lake, Sky Pilot Creek, Landing Lake, Leslie Creek, Mile 304, Seven-Mile Swamp, and Wilson Lake.

[1] Although place-specific information is documented in map biographies, due to many issues including that maps are only a rough estimations of reality (regardless of their scale), this method may not document the level of detail that can be obtained through ground-truthing. On the other hand, ground-truthing is limited in that it may not be possible to "truth" all areas used by the community given budgetary and time constraints. And thus both methods were used to document as comprehensively as possible the relationship between the Inninuwak and the land, waters, and wildlife that are likely to be affected by this project.

KEEYASK GENERATION PROJECT

Previous hydroelectric development has had a grave impact on the FLCN and our people because we were not prepared. However, after three successive hydroelectric developments within a 50-kilometre radius of Gillam, personal experience and observation have made our people well aware of the impacts that will accompany new development. Our people know what the concerns are and are determined to be prepared as individuals, as families and as a nation.

We are resolved to no longer pay the human price for hydroelectric development and we will continue to work towards reclaiming mino pimatisiwin. Through our involvement in the Keeyask Generation Project, the FLCN and our people are working towards the institutions and processes necessary to mitigate the negative impacts and to take advantage of any opportunities that result from the project. We have established offsetting programs through the JKDA as a part of that process.

MOVING FORWARD

The Keeyask Adverse Effects Agreement was signed on May 28, 2009 by Manitoba Hydro and FLCN. The various community assessments and initiatives continue to reveal the enormity of the work that is required in order for FLCN to fully realize the scope of the impacts of past hydro development and those of the proposed Keeyask Generation Project. However, through initiatives such as the Keeyask Traditional Knowledge Program, History Project, and other studies, we have a better understanding of the continued measures FLCN will require to support our goal to attain mino pimatisiwn. Fox Lake views the JKDA, along with the signing of the 2004 Impact Settlement Agreement, as first steps towards recovering and rebuilding a prosperous, healthy, and vibrant community.

MITIGATION AND ENHANCEMENT MEASURES

In partnership with Manitoba Hydro, the FLCN will take the opportunity to recover, to prosper and to rebuild from the social, cultural, economic and human impacts of past hydro development projects. This new relationship promises hope and mutual benefit and FLCN sets out the following mitigation and enhancement measures that apply not only to the Keeyask Generation Project but to future projects.

- The inclusion of Aski Keskentamowin into all natural resource and environmental management plans related to our lands and waters.
- The inclusion of Aski Keskentamowin as part of the environmental impact statements and the continued involvement of all members of the community, including the Kitayatisuk and youth.
- The ongoing establishment and ongoing support of monitoring programs that will identify impacts to Aski as a result of the Keeyask project.

The following sections outline the ongoing effects and the mitigation and enhancement measures that are in place and those that are still required as we go forward.

LANGUAGE, CULTURE, VALUES AND BELIEFS

Language contains within it the identity, culture, values and belief system of our people. The loss of language, culture, values and beliefs as a result of hydro development has had a corresponding loss of the ability to live mino pimatisiwin. FLCN intends to live mino pimatisiwin and prevent further erosion of our language, culture, values and beliefs as a result of the Keeyask Generation Project. The Youth Wilderness Traditions Program that is intended to facilitate youth learning of Cree ways and the Cree Language Program will facilitate the learning of our language.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HERITAGE SITES

Heritage sites may be impacted through construction of roads, camps, and borrow areas, flooding associated with the creation of Keeyask reservoir, and erosion of the reservoir especially that resulting from fluctuating water levels. For identified archaeological sites within the project's zone of influence, the artifacts collected since 2001 will remain as the tangible evidence of these areas and the time periods they represent

Identified heritage sites are located near the areas that will be flooded as a result of the Keeyask project. The heritage sites most closely connected to the community are those in the Cache Lake and South Access Road areas, two sites of significance for our people.

Manitoba Hydro and the Partnership have established a protocol that if key archaeological or burial sites are unearthed, construction will halt until project archaeologist examines the site and proper authorities such as the Historic resource branch have been notified.

HUMAN HEALTH AND WELLNESS

Within FLCN, there are many issues including alcoholism, drug abuse, violence, and child apprehensions that must be addressed in order for people to fully benefit from hydroelectric development. Kai Erickson, sociologist and author, defines collective trauma as a "blow to the basic tissues of social life that damages the bonds attaching people together and impairs the prevailing

sense of community" (as quoted in de Young 2005; 33). Collective trauma poses a direct assault on the continuity and integrity of the cultural system. Sometimes, however, the destruction is so unexpected as to have been entirely unforeseen (de Young 2005; 400).

The symptoms described in FLCN led research are indicative of a manifestation or expression of the experience of trauma. Though other colonial and marginalizing events had occurred in FLCN, none had the *total* impact on the people (their way of life, meaning, purpose, value frameworks) as did the arrival of Manitoba Hydro. Hydro development was, in and of itself, an event powerful enough to fray the community fabric. The connection and responsibility of people to one another and to the land was destroyed. The resulting chaos unravelled community cohesion which had remained intact until the mid-1960s.

Hydro development in the past has caused many social problems, many of these problems are associated with a large influx of workers; strained community services and infrastructure; marginalization and structural inequalities; disruption of the community structure and cohesiveness; and discrimination and racism. FLCN anticipates that the mitigation planned by the Limited Partnership will work towards alleviating the problems associated with the influx of migrant workers to the region, including strict enforcement of disciplinary actions to those who disrupt the peace within the FLCN community and Gillam.

Hydro construction continues to cause a cumulative collective trauma to FLCN. Writing on the topic, de Young (2005) whose work is derived from studying collective trauma on a global scale writes:

> *Every culture provides its members with a stock of knowledge about the way it works and a set of meanings that makes sense of that work. At times, a collective traumatic event is so overpowering, so shattering, that it tests that stock of knowledge and if that cultural system can offer no real explanation for the event or its aftermath, the members of the culture are left epistemologically disempowered, that is, they are at a loss to explain what happened and why, and to derive any meaning from their own suffering.*

The continued connection to our lands and waters is critical for our overall wellness. Physical, intellectual, social, spiritual, health and healing benefits are derived from the connection to our lands and waters. Lands and waters are associated with the creation and sustainability of our values, the forging and reinforcing of kinship relations, passing on of place-specific knowledge, and the maintenance of personal and group identity. Mino pimatisiwin is intrinsically connected to the health of the lands and waters.

For generations, moving with the natural cycles of the environment determined not only the whereabouts of our people but also formed the timing of when we would gather. Water and trail based travel during construction and operation of the Keeyask project will be further impacted. The open water and winter conditions will further impact the safety of our people. FLCN is anticipating that the mitigation measures negotiated will address this.

Housing shortages have also had social and health implications. Currently in Gillam there is a housing construction boom with housing being erected to accommodate the incoming workers and

their families. However, the lack of housing available for our people has grave implications for wellness and a fear among our people that the Keeyask project will not improve the community's access to housing.

The health of our people is already compromised by past hydroelectric developments. The FLCN is concerned about the cumulative effects of hydro development on overall health and wellness.

The influx of workers raises the risk that alcohol and drugs will become more accessible. Increased violence can be a consequence of more alcohol and drug use. Our people have expressed concern about the safety of our youth in particular.

FLCN intends to develop a community wellness strategy to raise the level of health to one that is equitable with the overall Manitoban and Canadian populations. The strategy will consider the FLCN health profile prior to implementation of the proposed Keeyask project. The wellness strategy requires active and complete community engagement to address the events that have led to dissension in our community. This includes the devastating effects of hydro development and the residential schools system which both removed people from Aski. This strategy goes beyond Keeyask, but is starting to be implemented with programs outlined in Fox Lake's Keeyask Adverse Effects Agreement (FLAEA). Programs in the FLAEA include: Establishment of a Crisis Centre and Wellness Counselling Program, Alternative Justice Program, Lateral Violence and "Where Do We Go From Here" programs.

ECONOMY

The JKDA provides for an implementation framework by which Manitoba Hydro will make business opportunities available to the KCN. These opportunities are intended to expand the number, capacity, diversity and viability of KCN Businesses. Fox Lake has made tremendous efforts to take advantage of the Direct Negotiated Contract (DNC) section of the Agreement.

In partnership with YFFN, FLCN has been negotiating the Keeyask Employment Retention contract, which consists of three phases:

1) To provide Counselling services to assist employees, including Aboriginal (First Nation, non- status, Métis and Inuit) employees, on a 24 hour basis
2) Implementation of Cultural workshops for all workers at the Keeyask site
3) Conducting Inninuwak ceremonies honouring Aski and the gifts Aski provides

The other two DNC's in which FLCN is involved include:

FLCN, YFFN and Sodexo Joint Venture - Housekeeping and Catering Contract and the Security Contract. In addition to employment, FLCN will also share in the profit of these contracts.

Although these DNC's are viewed as opportunities, there remain many factors to be addressed to ensure successful employment and worker retention. Some of these factors include:

- Type of employment

- Job security
- Respectful relations between employer and employee
- Respectful relations between employees

From a community perspective, other factors must also be considered when engaging in the DNC's and they include:

- Relationship between "cash economy" and "subsistence/Aski based economy"
- Impacts of employment on family relations
- Connection between employment and community socio-economic development

The provisions in the JKDA do not allow FLCN to bid on other open tender contracts at Keeyask, but FLCN members will have numerous opportunities for employment and training with other contractors on site.

EMPLOYMENT

Comparative data for the Gillam and FLCN First Nation (Bird Reserve) region (2001 and 2006) reveals a massive discrepancy between the populations. For instance, the unemployment rate for the Gillam total population was 7.3% in 2001. For the Aboriginal population in Gillam, it was 14.9% in 2006 and for the FLCN Cree Nation specifically it was 22.2%.

Employment and material wealth are not determinants of mino pimatisiwin and greater material wealth has not translated into better living conditions for our people. Our people are connected to the land and a subsistence way of life, and balancing development and mino pimatisiwin will always be a challenge.

INCOME

Approximately one third of FLCN households reported not having money to pay for food at least a few times per year. More than 35% said the food they bought sometimes just didn't last and they didn't have the money to buy more and that they couldn't afford to eat balanced meals. Approximately 16% said that couldn't feed their children a balanced meal because they couldn't afford it. Fifteen percent FLCN participants said that a lack of food caused them to go to bed hungry (FLCN 2012).

The cost of living is higher in the north, and the increased population due to hydro development is expected to increase pressures on the community that could drive up the cost of living. FLCN intends to take advantage of business opportunities to counter the effect that rising cost of living will have on our ability to provide for our families.

TRAINING

Manitoba Hydro is completing one new generating station (GS), the Wuskwatim GS in partnership with Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation, and has plans to potentially build two additional hydroelectric generating stations (GS) in Northern Manitoba, the Keeyask GS and the Conawapa GS. These projects have the potential to provide direct/indirect employment in northern First Nation, non-Status, Inuit and Métis peoples and for other economic spin-offs.

The purpose of the Hydro Northern Training and Employment Initiative (HNTEI) was to:

1) Prepare northern Aboriginal people (First Nation, non-Status, Inuit, and Métis peoples) with the knowledge and skill needed for employment on the construction projects planned in northern Manitoba and on other major Manitoba construction projects
2) Lever opportunities on hydroelectric projects for long term community development
3) Support the development of northern businesses and community ventures by providing products and services to the hydroelectric projects

The Hydro Northern Training Initiative was the first large scale Aboriginal human resource strategy in the northern Manitoba. Being involved with the Hydro Northern Training Initiative (2001-2010) has allowed many FLCN members to obtain training and employment in their respective fields.

INNADO MECHIM

As a result of Keeyask, fish will be affected by habitat alteration. Permanent habitat loss includes the loss of Gull Rapids, which represents important spawning habitat for sturgeon, pickerel, whitefish, and smelt. River habitat up to Birthday Rapids, including the rapids and the tributaries, will be lost or altered by the creation of the reservoir for the Keeyask Generating Station. The flooding and water fluctuation that occur during operation create impacts on the diverse habitats in tributaries that support a variety of fish species and other animals. Stephens Reservoir will be impacted by the loss of Gull Rapids and a change in flow in the main stem or river section. Through FLCN led Aski research, alternative spawning habitat in Stephens Reservoir was identified and it is anticipated that whitefish will continue to spawn in Stephens Reservoir once the Project is built. This will be monitored throughout the duration of the Project.

Development of the Keeyask Generation Project will increase access to lands and waters within the local area for use by other people. This may impact on the abundance of traditional foods available for our people. The population of Gillam will increase as a result of the construction and operation

of the Keeyask Generating Station, leading to a potential increase in the recreational harvesting of fish.

Cabin and campsites were often located near mouths of rivers and tributaries for the purpose of pursuing a variety of traditional activities. Direct effects of the Keeyask Generation Project on accessibility include the flooding of shoreline, increasing debris, and creating safety risks for travel, which impact the ability of the our people to access cabins and campsites. For example, Ray Anderson camps at the junction of Looking Back Creek and Stephens Reservoir. He is very concerned about blasting activities and that these types of construction activities will undermine his hunting success in the area and affect his ability to access his own camp.

The creation of Keeyask reservoir will increase our people's concerns about declining fish quality because of the past negative impacts hydro development has had on traditional foods.

Mercury concentrations in fish will increase in both Keeyask and Stephens Reservoirs. The ability to procure fish will be greatly hindered. FLCN Fishers will require the use of measuring sticks developed by the Mercury and Human Health Working Group through the Partnership to ensure safe fish consumption. Measuring sticks assist a fisher to select a size of a fish that is most likely to be safe to consume based on typical meal size by fishers and people from the KCN. Our people have been concerned about the presence of mercury in their traditional foods since hydro development first began in the area. The impact of mercury on wildlife and human health has a negative effect on mino pimatisiwin.

Fish and aquatic furbearers will be exposed to and accumulate methylmercury following the creation of the Keeyask reservoir. Mercury levels of fish in Gull Lake, especially pickerel and jackfish, will increase substantially. Mercury concentrations in large pickerel and jackfish in the Keeyask forebay and Stephens Reservoir will be elevated and may exceed the safe consumption limits set out by Health Canada for at least 20 to 30 years following initial flooding. Knowing this will increase our people's concern about the safety and security of traditional foods. Efforts are planned to educate all KCNs members about what they need to consider when choosing fish for consumption so that Members can continue to incorporate healthy, traditional foods into their diets.

Migratory birds consume food from a number of sources throughout the year. Waterfowl stage at Gull Lake for four weeks annually and therefore have less exposure to mercury that makes them unsafe to eat.

In order to ensure the safety of our people, the level of mercury in the food chain must be carefully monitored on an ongoing basis. Our people and others who live in the area will be informed about the effects of mercury on human beings and will be informed of the mercury levels on a regular basis. Testing will be needed to ensure offset areas do not also have fish species with elevated mercury levels.

TRADITIONAL PURSUITS

FISHING

Our people will face further impacts on fishing with the development of the Keeyask Generation Project. Mercury concentrations in large pickerel and jackfish in the Keeyask forebay and Stephens Reservoir will be elevated and may exceed the safe consumption limits set out by Health Canada. There has been debate on safe fish consumption levels; Wheatley (1979) states that the 0.2 ppm threshold (parts per million) is instituted as a "safe consumption limit" for people eating "large quantities of fish" and is still unofficially considered by Canada. Mean mercury concentrations in large pickerel and jackfish from the Keeyask reservoir are expected to exceed the 0.5 ppm guideline set for commercial fishing by Health Canada. FLCN members will continue to be informed about safe fish consumption choices so that traditional activities and the incorporation of Inninuwak foods in our diet can be maintained.

Sturgeon is a culturally important species for our people and there is a concern among Members that another population decline may be observed with further hydro development. Concerns are linked to the impacts of the Project on water quality, habitat (including spawning habitat), and movement changes with the introduction of another major barrier. Some of the Partnership mitigation efforts include the development of a mechanism to implement fish passage through a 'trap and truck' mechanism, the development of a spawning structure downstream of the generating station and the stocking of lake sturgeon.

Fox Lake has identified a number of critical issues related to the Keeyask project:

- The loss of Gull Rapids. The location for the Keeyask dam provides habitat for a variety of species including caribou and sturgeon. It is an important place that our people have accessed for generations and for a variety of reasons.
- The loss of moose hunting at Gull Rapids and other affected locations
- The loss of caribou calving areas and increased disturbances to caribou in general near and around the hydroelectric project activities
- The additional loss of time-honoured access to the Kischi Sipi and its tributaries due to processes like peat land disintegration, which greatly hinder safe travel and access to the river.

With respect to the Keeyask project, we trust that our concerns will be addressed through the following Project mitigation measures and adaptive management approach utilized by the Partnership:

- Creation of spawning reefs in Gull Lake/Keeyask reservoir and a spawning structure downstream of tailrace suitable for pickerel, whitefish and lake sturgeon is required.
- FLCN involvement in monitoring activities through the Partnership Monitoring Advisory Committee, Aski Keskentamowin programs and the activities of the Lower Nelson River

Sturgeon Stewardship Committee, which is in the process of being established. FLCN has been spearheading Aski Keskentamowin projects since 2007 and with our expertise, will contribute to monitoring activities for Keeyask

- Ongoing participation in discussions with the Department of Fisheries and Oceans related to fish passage. Also, fish passage via truck and trap is now part of the project design.

FLCN may also pursue other measures within the Fox Lake Resource Management Area to address impacts to our people and Aski as a result of this and other developments.

HUNTING

CARIBOU

The migratory woodland ecotype caribou population is very low, estimated between 40 to 50 animals. FLCN expects that any negative impacts on migratory woodland ecotype may have serious consequences. With further hydro development, there may be a high chance this species could be pushed out of the region. Based on past experience, the Fox Lake Core Kitayatisuk and Harvesters Group expects a decline in local caribou that will result in more effort (time and cost) to obtain this important food source.

There will be a direct loss of winter habitat due to infrastructure, flooding, changes in habitat composition and diversity. There will be an indirect loss of winter forest habitat from sensory disturbances such as noise produced during construction activities. Affected habitat include those areas surrounding the future Keeyask Generation Station site and related infrastructure, construction campsites, and along roadways. Habitat will be more fragmented as new roadways and transmission lines to power the construction of the project are established. Caribou calving grounds may be present near the jack pine esker/ridge habitat, which will be negatively impacted by the construction and use of the North Access Road. The parties are currently undertaking planning and implementation of Aski Keskentamowin monitoring.

The islands located in Gull Lake are essential calving and calf rearing habitat. Due to flooding scheduled for this area, these habitats will be greatly affected while some will be lost entirely.

Fox Lake Members believe that changes in ice conditions on Gull Lake will affect the ability of caribou to travel across the Kischi Sipi to access island habitat or areas beyond the northern shoreline during winter months. During other times of the year, the potential for increased debris in the water in Gull Lake may also affect the ability of caribou to access island habitat or areas beyond the northern shoreline by swimming across the Kischi Sipi. FLCN hopes that the Forebay Clearing Plan and ongoing Waterways Management Plan will mitigate this possible effect by limiting the amount of debris in the water. FLCN members who harvest within the vicinity will continue to be careful when travelling on the river.

FLCN expects debris to be a short to medium-term impact, with extensive clearing scheduled prior to creation of the Keeyask reservoir to help avoid the impacts experienced on Stephens Reservoir.

Changes in ice conditions represent a long-term impact and will require long-term monitoring to determine the extent of influence this impact has on all caribou populations in the region.

Winter habitat for the migratory woodland ecotype extends along the south shore of Gull Lake to south of the railway, and will be bisected by a power line to support construction.

Losses of critical calving and calf-rearing habitats for migratory woodland ecotype caribou are anticipated. Manitoba Hydro stated that flooding might create new calving islands in the Keeyask reservoir. However, these new islands may not provide the habitat characteristics and quality required for migratory woodland ecotype calving or calf rearing habitat.

One of the primary determinants of caribou population stability is the change in wolf population. Changes in movement and behaviour of the wolf population are expected with the Keeyask Project as they access new corridors along trails, roadways, and other related infrastructure. Caribou will be more vulnerable to wolf populations in these areas and our people expect an associated increase in caribou mortality.

FLCN resource users are concerned about the potential negative impacts posed by the Keeyask Project on the caribou fall rut and breeding, due to increased human activity and noise. Also hunting access to procure migratory woodland ecotype caribou will increase with the Keeyask Project, the Keewatinoow Converter Station and Bipole III transmission line. These could lead to a reduced population of the migratory woodland ecotype caribou or cause them to leave the region during construction.

The southward migration of the Qamanirjaq caribou will be negatively impacted by increased traffic along highway 280. This southerly migration is inconsistent, and does not extend as far south as the Gillam area during most years. FLCN is concerned that construction activities will make it too difficult for these animals to return to this region and the subspecies will leave this area.

FLCN Elders and harvesters, based on their lived experience feel that the linear corridors that will cross landforms and features, and shoreline erosion that make crossings or accessing water bodies more difficult will impact caribou movement. Manitoba Hydro indicated there would be enhanced Keeyask forebay crossing during the winter for caribou as ice processes result in a smoother ice cover. However, our people caution that water level fluctuations during the winter cause water levels to fall below the ice cover and increase the likelihood of caribou falling through the ice.

Our people indicated that debris and shoreline erosion make it difficult for caribou crossings along the shores of Stephens Reservoir. Similar impacts are expected on caribou movement along the Keeyask reservoir shorelines.

MOOSE

There will be a loss of moose feeding areas with the creation of Keeyask reservoir. The willow, alder and hazel shrubs that grow along the shores of Gull Lake represent very good habitat and feeding grounds for moose. Loss of summer forest and peatland habitats, increased edge habitat and changes to calving island habitat are risks to the moose population.

Avoidance of the area is expected due to sensory impacts, especially those related to noise created by construction activities and increased traffic. The areas accessed by our people that may be impacted include the northwestern shores of Stephens Reservoir, Looking Back Creek, and Mosokot Creek. As a result, our people may face difficulties hunting in these areas in the future.

Increased population with the influx of workers has the potential to increase hunting pressure and lead to reductions in the moose population. For this reason, FLCN is supportive of the Access Management Plan and the plan to restrict firearms at the Keeyask site during construction. These measures should ensure that migrant workers are not hunting while working at the Keeyask construction site.

Increased human activity and construction noise could negatively affect the success of the fall moose rut and breeding during construction and impoundment. This could lead to fewer successful births and less moose in the region.

Moose might experience increased mortality related to increased traffic and vehicle collisions.

The Kitayatisuk witnessed the moose population move inland following the initial flooding caused by the Kettle Generating Station. Moose returned to the Stephens Reservoir area only after a number of years. Kitayatisuk are concerned about the length of time it will take for animals, including moose, to return to the area after Keeyask Generating Station is constructed, certain that animals will leave the region during construction and for some time after. As a result our people will have to travel greater distances to hunt moose.

BIRDS

Waterfowl and other birds are culturally important to the community. Our people are concerned about an increase in hunting pressure on geese, ducks, grouse, and ptarmigan related to the influx of workers at the Keeyask Generating Station, but anticipates that the Access Management Plan will help to alleviate this concern.

TRAPPING

Kitayatisuk expressed concern for the furbearers and aquatic animals when considering the Keeyask project. They expressed that negative impacts to aquatic animals stem from hydroelectric development. They were also concerned for the impacts to furbearers in relation to flooding, with Kitayatis Zach Mayham stating, "I seen what happened in the past to the aquatic animals. I seen Rabbit and Otter floating dead in the water. This is when Kettle dam opened" (FLCN 2010; 32).

FLCN acknowledges that over time and as a result of past hydro development trapping is more difficult to engage in due to the population levels of furbearers, as described in draft *Ninan*:

> *[The] once plentiful populations of beavers, muskrats and other furbearers that inhabited the banks of the Kischi Sipi prior to the mid-1960s collapsed, in part, because of the continuous inundation of their riverside habitats. To this day, trapping along the Kischi Sipi remains economically in-viable since few furbearers can be found (FLCN 2012).*

There will be a loss and change in quality of aquatic and riparian habitat from infrastructure in the Gull Lake area. Our people expect the numbers of furbearers will decrease if the Keeyask Project is approved and constructed. This will impact those currently engaged in trapping and the likelihood of further population decline will affect the viability of trapping in the future.

Our people expect that increased human activity, particularly along the South Access Road, could affect the commercial trapping in the area. There will be increased mortality from easier trapping access, increased predation along roads and trails, forebay flooding, and removing beaver dams along roads.

GATHERING

There are concerns about the loss of berries within the Keeyask study area through erosion. During Keeyask Traditional Knowledge Program ground-truthing activities, the program team observed cranberries and blueberries. Many Kitayatisuk and Harvesters feel that the Keeyask project will negatively impact important food sources for both humans and animals based on FLCN past experiences with hydro development.

WATERS

Our people have endured hardship as a result of the many negative impacts on Kischi Sipi and its tributaries following Kettle, Limestone, and Long Spruce Generating Stations. They have many concerns and issues related to the additional negative impacts anticipated to result from the Keeyask Generation Project.

The Keeyask Generation Project will negatively impact water quality within the flooded areas. Flooding during the creation of the reservoir, water velocity changes, shoreline erosion, the release of peat and sediment, and decaying organic matter will affect aquatic environment.

The Keeyask Generating Station will alter water velocity. Along the main river channel, there will be fewer observable water quality impacts as the larger flow will dilute most water quality effects. In the sheltered, often shallow, off-current waters along the shorelines of the reservoir more water quality impacts will be visible. Immediately following creation of the reservoir, vegetation will be flooded and sediment, peat and organic matter will be released into the water. Manitoba Hydro projects the greatest rates of erosion will occur in the years following flooding and will reduce over 15 to 20 years. However, our people indicated that a high rate of shoreline erosion is still being observed on Stephens Reservoir more than 35 years after its creation. FLCN asserts the scale and timeline associated with shoreline erosion impacts caused by the Keeyask Generation project are too conservative.

The Keeyask reservoir is expected to cover a total surface area of 93 square kilometres. Creeks that flow into Gull Lake such as Portage and Two Goose Creeks will experience varying levels of flooding. Water levels will increase on Gull Lake and reduce upstream. Birthday Rapids will be nearly submerged but flooding will not extend to Clark or Split Lakes during open water conditions. Our people expect that water level fluctuation will negatively impact wildlife based on observations following previous hydro development in the area.

The FLCN and our people continue to be concerned with travel safety over ice cover since hydroelectric development began in areas traditionally used by our Members. The ice is no longer safe due to the fluctuating water levels and our people report more incidents of members and wildlife falling through the ice. FLCN expects these unsafe ice travel conditions will be exacerbated by the Keeyask project.

LANDS

The location for the North Access Road would bisect jack pine esker or ridge habitat. A ridge composed of sand and gravel, this is a rare ecosystem for the region. Efforts were made by the Partnership to route the road to minimize impacts to this ecosystem and it is not anticipated that there will be a loss to biodiversity.

Some islands in Gull Lake will be completely submerged through the creation of the Keeyask reservoir. Others may be reduced in size due to the flooding. The suitability of these islands as migratory woodland ecotype calving habitat is unknown given a raised water table. The islands may erode over time and therefore become less favourable. New islands may be created but it is unknown if the habitat on these created islands will be conducive to calving and calf-rearing activities. Our people indicate that although caribou access islands created or altered in Stephens Reservoir, this did not occur until many years after the initial flooding.

There are many variables and potential impacts with the destruction, alteration and creation of island habitats on Gull Lake. A monitoring program for island habitat on Gull Lake using aerial

surveys and photographs in order to determine the impact to migratory woodland ecotype both during and post construction is being developed though the Monitoring Advisory Committee. Aerial photos and surveys were completed in 2010, and will assist in documenting caribou activity.

The Gull Lake shoreline is characterized by shrubs such as willow, alder, and hazel. These shrubs are good moose feeding areas, which will flood with the creation of the Keeyask reservoir. Changes in habitats will impact wildlife and will force our people to travel greater distances to hunt or trap.

There are a number of wetland habitat types along the shoreline of Gull Lake. Many of these, especially those along the northeast and southeast boundaries of the lake, will be flooded during the creation of Keeyask reservoir.

After a period of time following the creation of the Keeyask reservoir, peatland areas along the shores of Gull Lake will thaw as a result of the flooding and creation of shallow waters and disintegrate. This will result in the formation of floating and sinking islands of peat, release of mercury and increased turbidity within the Keeyask reservoir. FLCN believes these impacts to the aquatic environment will not be contained within the Keeyask reservoir but will add to pre-existing effects incurred through previous hydro development projects.

The breeding and nesting islands in the Gull Rapids are home to thousands of gulls and terns. These island and rapid areas will be completely flooded and lost. The habitat at Gull Rapids is considered rare along the Kischi Sipi due to the development of past rapid areas. With the loss of Gull Rapids, it is unknown what alternative areas these species might access. FLCN anticipates that the proposed mitigation plan of building floating islands and enhancing nesting areas will alleviate this concern.

Hawks and owls are recorded along the proposed North Access Road. Our People anticipate that the level of noise and human presence during construction will temporarily displace these species up to 25 years. During and following previous hydro development projects on the Kischi Sipi there was a positive impact on the eagle population in the area. The number of eagle nests increased downstream from hydro development. The large number of fish at these locations presumably led to the increase in eagle nests. An increase of eagle nests just downstream of the Keeyask Generating Station and along the shores of Stephens Reservoir may occur.

SUMMARY OF IMPACTS AND MITIGATION

Our people have a long memory. Many have witnessed a series of life changing events including hydro development which has severely impacted people's ability to achieve mino pimatisiwin including:

- The natural voice of the Kischi Sipi was silenced wherever a dam was constructed.
- The natural seasonal rhythms/cycles were reversed.
- Destruction of the landscape with no rehabilitation.
- Unnatural and unsightly dykes, diversions and impoundments were created.
- Loss of freedom to travel due to barriers in the form of dams and dykes.
- Reversed flows in winter made ice conditions unpredictable and unsafe for travel.
- Water quality changed. Color and smell, increased turbidity, murkiness and mercury levels.
- Loss of clean drinking water.
- Shorelines of the Kischi Sipi became unsightly with flooding, erosion, floating debris and submerged islands.
- Many aquatic animals and birds disappeared from pristine shoreline habitat.
- Dams have prevented the movement of several fish species, leading to changes in species composition.
- A decline in lake sturgeon as spawning sites; feeding and nursery areas were destroyed or altered.
- Decline in other fish populations.
- A decline in the quality of food, including an increase in mercury in fish, changes in the taste and texture of fish.
- Loss of traditional use areas for harvesting plants and berries.
- Decline in big game and furbearers in the local area.
- Increase in access by other people to traditional use areas and resources.

Through the Keeyask environmental assessment process, FLCN practices due diligence in both multilateral and bilateral tables concerning the protection of Aski. Fox Lake asserts that they will not be taken advantage of nor will allow the ghosts of prior dam building to be repeated. These tables include: the Environmental Studies Working Group, the Mammals Working Group, Aquatics Working Group, Mercury and Human Health and various aquatic and mammals subgroups with the other Keeyask partners. Items discussed at these tables include:

ASKI

- Development of a comprehensive rehabilitation and recovery plan for borrow pits and damaged areas. Included in this plan is to preserve and salvage key plants and medicines.
- Dykes are to be strategically placed to reduce peatland disintegration.
- Wetland mitigation includes: develop new wetlands, develop new wetlands in borrow areas, and enhancing reservoir shorelines.
- Restricting extraction of materials in rare habitats. An example of this is the avoidance of extracting material in forested areas north of Keeyask Powistik where White Birch and Poplar trees flourish.

FISH

- Sturgeon and brook trout, and all other traditionally used fish species, are to be protected from overuse by people outside the community. The Partnership is developing an access management plan that strictly monitors site visitors on site; migrant workers will have access to transportation to Thompson off duty. There have been discussions about limiting the amount of fishing licenses during construction, as sturgeon and brook trout populations in the Keeyask study area are sensitive. This plan aims to alleviate overharvest by migrant workers.
- Each of the Keeyask Cree Nations will develop monitoring plans based on Inninuwak Aski Keskentamowin, or Aboriginal Traditional Knowledge (ATK). FLCN will continue to heed the advice and expertise of the Core Kitayatisuk and Harvester group, as they are the people who hold the historical record on the aquatic environment along the Kischi Sipi.
- Many people are concerned about how to safely consume fish now and following the development of Keeyask. The Partnership has developed products to help alleviate this concern. These products include: a fish measuring stick as a reference tool to inform the harvester what size of fish (pickerel and jackfish) is safe to consume. These sticks help fishers select jackfish and pickerel that are likely to have mercury concentrations that are safe to consume with a portion size fishers and other FLCN members are accustomed to. Table placemats were also developed to illustrate the importance of fish in diets, size of fish for safe consumption, and locations.
- Fox Lake and the other KCNs are currently in a process with Manitoba Hydro to develop a Lower Nelson River Lake Sturgeon Stewardship Agreement. The goal is to conserve, enhance, and better understand lake sturgeon populations in the lower Kischi Sipi.
- Mitigation discussions including the development of fish passage structures at Keeyask.
- Spawning reefs will be constructed to enhance whitefish spawning at Keeyask Powistik.
- Lower Nelson River mitigation discussions include sturgeon stocking including a hatchery.

- Potential creation of spawning areas at Birthday Rapids upstream of Keeyask Powistik
- Educating the larger public about the importance of Sturgeon and other fish species to Inninuwak.

MAMMALS

- The development of Aski Keskentamowin (AK) monitoring studies related to large mammals, such as caribou and moose. FLCN is in the process of negotiating an Aski Keskentatmowin monitoring plan for Keeyask.
- Caribou and moose will be monitored, through aerial surveys, photos, and through the incorporation Inninuwak Aski Keskentamowin. Kitayatisuk and harvesters will be directly involved with the design of the studies and most if not all studies will include ground truthing.
- Monitoring discussions have included, the ongoing study of all caribou species including migratory woodland ecotype, as well as their existing and created habitat. Monitoring discussions thus far include ongoing study of calving and calf-rearing habitats. Critical areas will be monitored during the fall and early winter months to verify that caribou are in the area.
- Many FLCN Kitayatisuk and Harvesters are worried about overharvesting. The Keeyask Partnership has indicated that firearms are prohibited at the Keeyask construction site. Migrant workers may be terminated if firearms are brought into the worksite. The prohibition of firearms to the worksite aims to alleviate mammal overharvest by migrant workers.
- Affected beaver lodges are to be relocated or trapped.

BIRDS

- The Partnership will erect tern, gull and eagle nesting platforms in select areas, such as enhanced wetlands and other marsh sites within the Kischi Sipi and other affected sites
- Predator fencing will be utilized to enhance nesting habitat for colonial birds such as gulls and terms.

CONCLUSION

FLCN will continue to struggle with utilizing hydro development to assist in the goal of again living mino pimatisiwin. FLCN recognizes that the Keeyask project will forever change the landscape even further and will have further impacts on our people.

The anticipation of hydro development alone raises fear in the hearts and minds of those that have experienced hydro development. However, it is this same fear that drives FLCN and our people into working to ensure there is no repeat of the past and that there is maximum opportunity for our people to become proud and healthy people.

The principles of mino pimatisiwin remain and despite dramatic impacts to Aski, a balance/harmony needs to be found between our people and Aski. Keeyask represents the first stage in finding that balance; it has to be for our future generations; the hearts and hope of the Kitayatisuk are counting on it. In spite of all that has happened, our connection to Aski and our way of life remains strong.

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