

## **APPENDIX C**

### **Innu Nation Consultation on Route Selection**

# **Community Consultation Concerning the Proposed Phase Three of the Trans-Labrador Highway**

## **Innu Nation FINAL REPORT – MARCH 2002**

### **Summary**

This report describes the results of Innu community education and consultation during the winter of 2002 concerning Phase Three of the proposed Trans-Labrador Highway (TLH) from Cartwright to Happy Valley-Goose Bay, Labrador. The report has been prepared under the terms of a Process Agreement between the Minister of Works, Services and Transportation and the Innu Nation.

Based on the consultation work, it would appear that the Innu are prepared to accept the TLH through their traditional land use area in the *Akamiuapishku* region, but only under certain conditions. These include the acceptance of the preferred Innu routing option of which option A1 to A5 to A3 is the best approximation (away from major lakes used by the Innu), ironclad guarantees by government to restrict non-Innu access to lands crossed by the road particularly in the *Iatuekupau-shipu* (Eagle River) headwaters, environmental study, and the implementation of workable environmental protection measures. Every possible means must be employed to minimize or eliminate negative impacts on the environment and Innu culture and harvesting activities.

# Community Consultation Concerning the Proposed Phase Three of the Trans-Labrador Highway

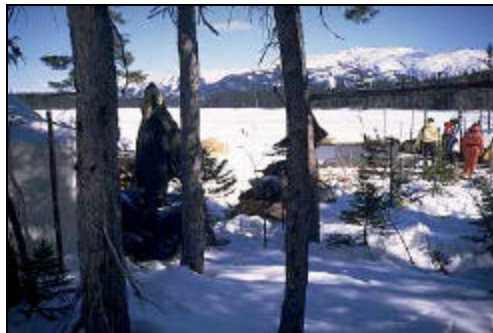
## Innu Nation

### Purpose and mandate

This report describes the results of Innu community education and consultation during the winter of 2002 concerning Phase Three of the proposed Trans-Labrador Highway (TLH) from Cartwright to Happy Valley-Goose Bay, Labrador. The report has been prepared under the terms of a Process Agreement between the Minister of Works, Services and Transportation and the Innu Nation.

### Methods

Work on the TLH consultation commenced in mid-January with briefing meetings between Department of Works, Services and Transportation (DWST) representatives and Innu Nation staff. A project manager and three Innu commissioners were retained to conduct community consultations regarding the proposed highway. Information concerning the various route options and the environmental assessment of the road was shared with the commissioners. Appropriate consultation methods were reviewed with them to ensure that the consultation would be conducted in an unbiased manner.



Innu camp in the Akamiuapishku area (photo Dave Wilson)

Using MAPINFO GIS and a plotter, the project manager prepared laminated base maps of the route options at a scale of approximately 1:150,000. The route options were supplied to the project manager by DWST staff in digital format. The maps were populated with Innu placenames to facilitate navigation during the consultation process (e.g. see Map 1). Following a public meeting on 13 February 2002 hosted by the DWST and the Innu Nation, another route option (referred to as “A5”) was added to the basemap. A senior Innu representative of the families who have traditionally lived in the *Akamiuapishku* (Mealy Mountains) area had recommended a route from just north of *Unikush* directly west across the Kenemu River. DWST could not place the route exactly in this direction due to high elevation along the way. The A5 route is, therefore, a compromise option as close as possible to the route recommended by the senior Innu representative.

As the consultations were getting under way, an information leaflet announcing the consultations and the planned TLH was distributed to 220 households. Meetings were held with Innu Nation and Band Council staff to apprise them of the TLH project and consultations and to invite them to make appointments with the commissioners for individual or family group consultations. The project was also discussed during a presentation to senior students (two of whom are of voting age) at Pinamen McKenzie School in Sheshatshiu. Innu Nation land rights co-negotiator, Penote Michel, recorded an announcement concerning the consultation that was played on the community radio station several mornings and during a couple of radio bingo evenings.

Historically, the community of Sheshatshiu has been structured along three major family groupings (“subethnic” groups).<sup>1</sup> Each grouping is associated with a particular part of the Innu territory in Labrador and Northern Quebec. The *Mashkuanunnuat* are the people associated with the TLH area, however, members of other groups have access to the area by way of kinship, either marriage or some other relevant relation. Based on historical land use in the project area, therefore, members of the *Mashkuanunnuat* group were prioritized during the consultation process.

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<sup>1</sup> See José Mailhot. 1997. *The People of Sheshatshit*. St. John’s: ISER, pp.40-41.

Older people dominated the sample of those consulted due to their authority, knowledge of the area and experience with road impacts elsewhere in Labrador. A questionnaire was used to structure the consultation interviews and to itemize points of information that had to be shared with those consulted (Appendix 1).

Not everyone with a strong interest in the *Akamiauapishku* area could be interviewed during the consultation period. One person refused outright to participate while another could not be reached despite having stated a desire to be consulted and repeated efforts to meet with him.

As mentioned previously, the DWST and the Innu Nation hosted a public meeting at the Labrador Interpretation Centre in North West River on 13 February 2002. Photographs of the construction of the TLH between Red Bay and Cartwright were displayed along with maps of the Phase Three routing options. Eighteen Innu people attended the meeting excluding the commissioners. They discussed project features with DWST representatives and offered comments relating to route selection and other matters. Translation in Innu-aimun was provided by the Innu commissioners.

## **Results**

A great deal of the opinion expressed during the consultation process had coalesced around the expert opinion of an Innu elder well known for his history of land use in the *Akamiauapishku* area and judgment on political matters especially those affecting Innu land and culture.<sup>2</sup>

The dominant view among those people consulted was one of ambivalence. In general, people believe that the Newfoundland government will build the road no matter what the Innu say. Given that stoic conclusion, the vast majority of those consulted say that the best route option is the *Mishtashini-shipiss* crossing of the Churchill River (A1) and a route as straight as possible over the Kenemu River to the north of *Uinikush* and

*Nekanikau*. The A1 to A5 to A3 option offered by DWST best approximates this preferred route.

All Innu consulted believe that the road must be kept as far away as possible from the main lakes used by the Innu for harvesting activities. These lakes include *Unikush*, *Nekanikau*, *Pepuakamau* (Crooks Lake), *Uapinatsheu-nipi*, *Mishtashini*, *Mitshishutshishtun*, *Eshkanat-katshipukutiniht*, and *Mashkunipi*.

Several environmental concerns were identified. Most people had a generalized concern that unless good mitigation measures are implemented, key Innu land use areas in the *Akamiuapishku* area will be invaded by non-Innu harvesters resulting in a serious decline in animal and fish abundance. The headwaters of the Eagle River are well known to the Innu as salmon habitat, and most Innu consulted expressed anxiety about what might happen to the salmon population should easy and uncontrolled access to their habitat be allowed as a result of road construction. One person thought that the bridge crossing of the Kenemu River would lead to problems of over-harvesting of salmon migrating along that river unless restrictions are implemented.

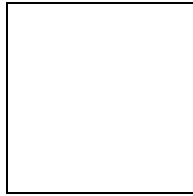
In addition to impacts on animals and fish, some people are concerned that the road would give easy access to important cultural areas especially burial sites (e.g. at *Nekanikau*) and archaeological sites. A few people thought that road construction itself could damage such sites. Thorough environmental assessment must be conducted in advance of road construction to ensure that impacts on historic resources and burial sites can be avoided.

In terms of physical impacts of highway construction and operation, many people believe that dust generated by traffic during the summer months would settle onto water bodies and create a pollution problem. They have witnessed the heavy dust cover on vegetation along the Churchill Road, and believe that animals that consume such vegetation could be

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<sup>2</sup> The process whereby collective opinion crystallizes around the attitudes and judgments of one or more people is referred to in the social science literature as “opinion leadership” ([http://www.ciadvertising.org/studies/student/98\\_spring/theory/opinion.html](http://www.ciadvertising.org/studies/student/98_spring/theory/opinion.html)).

adversely affected. One person thought the dust would muddy the waters in a way analogous to the siltation that occurs during spring runoff, with unknown deleterious effects on aquatic species as a result.



Pre-contact lithic artifacts found by Schwarz et al. in October 1997 at *Mitshishutshishtun* 1 site (FeBu-1) (photo Fred Schwarz).

As for minority opinion, one person was strongly opposed to the road being built at all, while another thought it should be built along the south shore of Lake Melville. Yet another person thought it should be built as far south of *Pepuakamau* and *Pishu-nipi* as possible, outside the boundary of the study area for the proposed *Akamiuapishku* National Park.

Many people spoke of their experience with or knowledge of impacts resulting from the construction of the Goose Bay to Churchill Falls road. They noted the large number of traplines that had been established along this road and the preponderance of non-Innu cabins.

Most people thought that the road could be beneficial in the sense that it would facilitate access to the territory by younger generations of Innu people who are heavily dependent upon modern forms of transportation such as skidoos, cars, trucks and aircraft. However, such improved access would be meaningless if non-Innu people are allowed to hunt, trap and fish on either side of the road, and are permitted to build cabins there as well. The Innu would be forced out of the area.

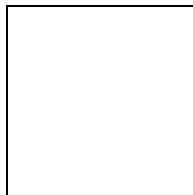
Without specifying what type of mitigation would best reduce highway impacts on the environment and the Innu, almost all of those consulted believe that heavy restrictions must be placed on non-Innu land use on either side of the road. Although the commissioners mentioned the *Akamiuapishku* National Park proposal and land selection as part of land rights negotiations as two possible ways to control non-Innu access to the

*Iatuekupau-shipu* (Eagle River) watershed, all but one of the people consulted did not comment on these matters. The one exception thought that although the road will destroy the area, the establishment of national park would at least provide some form of compensation to the Innu.

Those people consulted who have no history of land use in the *Akamiuapishku* region said they would accept the judgment of the historic land users there with respect to the acceptability of the highway, route options, and mitigation measures.

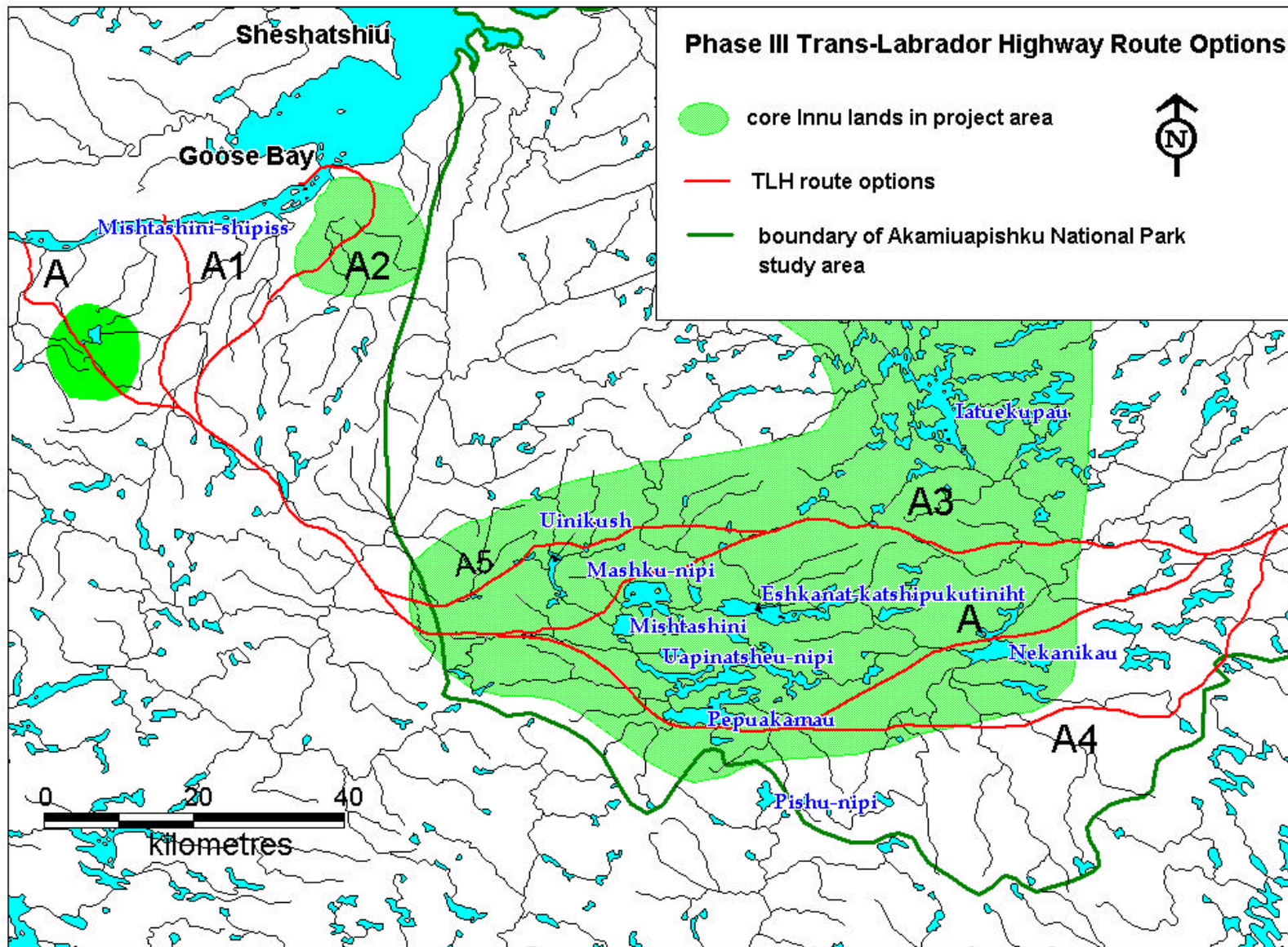
A couple of people said they wish to be kept well informed of developments with respect to the highway, its routing options, and environmental assessment process. They anticipate participating in public meetings that may be held in the context of this process.

**Based on the consultation work, it would appear that the Innu are prepared to accept the TLH through their traditional land use area in the *Akamiuapishku* region, but only under certain conditions. These include the acceptance of the preferred Innu routing option of which option A1 to A5 to A3 is the best approximation (away from major lakes used by the Innu), ironclad guarantees by government to restrict non-Innu access to lands crossed by the road particularly in the *Iatuekupau-shipu* (Eagle River) headwaters, environmental study, and the implementation of workable environmental protection measures. Every possible means must be employed to minimize or eliminate negative impacts on the environment and Innu culture and harvesting activities**



Innu rest-stop on the portage to *Pishu-nipi*, *Akamiuapishku* area (photo William Brooks Cabot, 1920).





## Appendix 1. Questionnaire on Trans-Labrador Highway

Date \_\_\_\_\_ Community \_\_\_\_\_

Name of people consulted \_\_\_\_\_

### Background

Provide update on the highway project:

- Newfoundland government wants to build a road from Cartwright to Goose Bay.
- They have several route options which take the road through important Innu lands in the *Akamiuapishku* area. They have ruled out the northern *Iatuekupau* route, as well as the southernly route from Goose Bay to Red Bay. The preferred routes are in the *Pepuakamau, Nekanikau & Mishtashini* area. *Show them the routes on the map.*
- Discuss when the highway will be built (once Newfoundland gets the money from the Canadian government, and after an environmental assessment has been done).
- Describe the possible ways that highway impacts might be made less bad (e.g. if it goes through a national park, or if Innu land are selected in the area as part of the land rights negotiations).
- Discuss studies that are planned to look at the possible impacts of the highway and routing options (small game and big game, fish in particular salmon, archaeology, economic and cultural impacts including land use, waterfowl).
- A public workshop will be held with Department of Transport officials in Sheshatshiu on February 13th to talk more about the highway proposal.

### Questions

1. Given our explanation of the highway proposal, do you have any questions?
2. What do you think the potential impacts of the highway are? What are the possible bad impacts and what are the possible good impacts of the highway?
3. Do you have a preference for a highway route option assuming the road will be built with or without Innu approval?
4. Do you have a preference for a highway route option, if the road goes ahead? If so, please indicate (check box):

Route A – through Nekanikau

Route A3 – North of Mashku-nipi (aka Kamishikamat)

Route A4 – South of Pepuakamau

Muskrat crossing – muskrat A,

Mishtashini-shipiss (Black Rock) crossing - A1  
Tshenuamiu-shipu (Kenemu River) crossing - A2  
no preference

5. If the person said they were NOT supportive of the highway, ask them if they would be more supportive if protection for the environment and Innu culture could be achieved through a national park or Innu land selection.

6. Other comments?

## Appendix 2. Selected comments on the TLH Phase 3

### Consultation 1

- He seemed to agree that a road might be good because young people can't travel these days without skidoos and planes.
- We talked about the impacts of the road – he is concerned about the wildlife and fish habitat in the proposed area. Salmon rivers could be a tremendous impact – water might not be that clean because of dust from the roads.
- Concerned about hunting – would lots of non-Native people hunt and trap in the area? Innu people think it's important to protect their hunting areas here.
- National park area discussed as well – maybe the national park area should have very strict rules re. non-native people building cabins, etc. They think the place will be overrun by non-Innu people, and that Innu people will no longer have a place to hunt.
- He considered a route – the route between *Iatuekupau* (Park Lake) and *Mashkunipi* – option A3. It's the one that other people have suggested. It's further away from the main lakes, therefore, no easy way for non-natives to get to the lakes where they might build cabins. Important to protect the lakes from non-natives building cabins. He likes A5 approximation.
- Re. Churchill River crossing, he preferred A1 – *Mishtashini-shipiss* – below Muskrat Falls.
- More in favour of the highway – because young people not used to traveling without mechanized means. It would be easier for them to get to the country. Young people can go to these places if the highway is built.
- Thinking about old people as well – they could get there by car with the road.
- Not sure about the impacts on fish would be if the road is built. Lots of fish there. If fish impacted, the animals that feed upon fish would also be affected. This a major concern for him.
- In our explanation, we told them that the road would be built with or without Innu permission. They therefore felt they were being pushed to make comments they felt uncomfortable making. In the past, there used to be no consultation. Government trying to meet them half-way to get their comments that might be helpful to the government. At least they are trying to get some feedback.

### Consultation 2

- He is involved with the discussions and is quite aware of what is happening to the area. He participates in land rights negotiations. [a commissioner says it sounded like people were giving up. Sad. They've been through a lot over the last 20 years].
- Also concerned about the proximity of the original route proposal to *Mashkunipi* and *Mishtashini*. *Mashkunipi* is also known as *Kamishikamat* [topomap database is correct]. They changed the name to the latter in the 1960s. The late Shinipesht Pokue told them it is called *Mashkunipi*. Wanted it moved away from the lakes,

- further up in the hills. He didn't know about the A5 option at the time. Wanted straight line from *Mashkunipi* across *Uinikush* to the Kenemu.
- They are not against the road at all. They seem quite supportive of it because it would be easier for them to get to the country by road.
  - The government should have to guarantee the agreement re. the route – live up to commitments made with the Innu Nation with respect to the route.
  - Worried about what happened in the past – government might tell us one thing and then do something else.
  - How would people be affected by the national park in the area, because the government is going to be controlling the national park. Will it be okay for them to go hunting there without being bothered by the game wardens?
  - If the road is going to be built here, government should commit to there being no non-native cabins built in the area. Has seen all the cabins that have been built along the Churchill Road.
  - Preferred the *Mishatashini-shipiss* crossing of the Churchill River – option A1.
  - Concerned about logging companies getting access to the area.
  - Worried about road construction near burial sites, e.g. the fishing camp at *Nekanikau*. Road might damage or disturb the burial.
  - Didn't say very much, because he knows these things already. The negotiating team already agreed to certain things like the TLH and National Park.

### Consultation 3

- Worried about non-native cabins being built along the road and thereby forcing Innu people out of the area. Government should make a strong commitment to prevent non-natives from building cabins in this area, National Park area, except the Innu. This agreement should be established before the government goes any further with the road.
- If Innu want to build their own cabins, would they have the same problems as on Grand Lake where there's a guy building a cabin where a lot of Innu used to camp. When Innu try to camp there now, the white people tell them not to do that. 3-4 cabins in this portion of the Grand Lake Road area, and Innu are being forced out.
- Told him what other people said in answer to question from him. He supported A3 and A5 and A1 – *Mashkunipi*, *Uinikush* route with crossing at *Mishtashini-shipiss*.
- Not very outspoken on such issues. Seemed keen on talking more.
- Born at English River, spent a lot of time in the *Akamiuapishku* area when he was growing up.
- Didn't seem to oppose the road.

#### Consultation 4

- preferred the Muskrat Falls crossing of the Churchill. Option A.
- he does not support the hydro project even though he thinks this is the best crossing place.
- Very fast discussion because he had to go to a training course.
- He is not against the road, he supports it.
- Concerned about the forestry companies having roads built out there and getting at the timber in the Mud Lake and Kenemu River areas and north of *Nekanikau* on route A3 (lots of timber in these areas).

#### Consultation 5

- Better to build the road south of *Pepuakamau*. If road goes too close to this lake, it will be too easy for non-Innu to hunt and build cabins there.
- He didn't have a chance to see the new A5 option.
- *Pepuakamau* is one of his hunting areas.
- Thought animals might be affected, fish, because of the road. The dust from the highway might go in the rivers. If the fish are effected, the animals that eat them would be affected as well. The entire ecosystem would be affected, the food chain of the animals would be affected as well.
- Worried about garbage disposed by the outfitters in the area. See garbage dumped near the outfitter sites. Some animals dig up the garbage.
- Without restrictions, you'd see trap boxes every 2 miles as is the case along the Churchill road. Would there be more fishing camps in the area as well?
- Wants the road to be kept away from *Nekanikau* as well. A zigzag route around the bottom of *Pepuakamau* then to the west of *Nekanaikau* and north to option A3.
- Young people are not capable of living in the country now. They should be prepared to accept these things. People don't travel by canoe, they use trucks and skidoos. They would find it hard to survival in the country with the access provided by these vehicles.

#### Consultation 6

- Concerning about increase in hunting by non-Innu in the area and non-Innu building cabins.
- Once the route is built there, the Innu will be pushed away. They won't be allowed to hunt or fish.
- He used to travel from *Nekanikau* to Sheshatshiu.
- Undecided about the road. Preference not to build it, but "do I have a choice?" If built anyway, whether I like it or not, it should be kept away from major lakes where Innu hunt. Preferred option A1 for crossing the Churchill at *Mishashini-shipiss*, as well A3 and A5.

## Consultation 7

- Thought the routing should go along the southern shore of Lake Melville
- His only comment – took off.

## Consultation 8

- Worried about impacts on animals and fish, trout and salmon in the area of the proposed highway. There will be a lot of traffic coming through, which would cause a lot of dust on the roads. Some of the rivers could be contaminated with the dust which might have effects on the fish that are feeding there. In the spring, the rivers almost get muddy. Maybe the road dust would make the rivers dusty as well. The fish's gills might get clogged up by the dust.
- They are not against the road. Supportive of the road. Looks at the young people – they are losing the old ways of life. They are dependent on roads in order to go in the country. The way of life of the younger people is different than our own. They could use the road to hunt. There are no longer older people who can walk very far and who could teach the younger people how to live on the land.
- Even the animals are changing. E.g. the black bear used to be very wild and afraid of humans, but now we see them at the dump – they are tame. They are not healthy animals because of what they eat.
- He was employed on the drilling work at the Muskrat Fall site re. engineering feasibility work...[in the 1970s].
- He favoured *Mishtashini-shipiss* (A1) for the Churchill crossing, and then A3 and A5 options.
- They should not do more things that are going to bring more changes to the Innu. There will be more changes if the road to Cartwright is built. They're even talking about bringing the wolverine back.

## Consultation 9

- The impacts of the proposed highway will be great
- The government never takes responsibility for the changes that have occurred over the years.
- We may not feel the impacts immediately, we'll feel them later on.
- There would be a lot of traplines laid out in the area by non-Innu. Innu people would not be able to trap there due to an invasion by non-Innu trappers.
- Not against the road but concerned about the cabins being built by non-Innu. Would be pleased if the government would prevent the non-Innu from building cabins along the road. In fact, he is very supportive of the road being built.
- People from Goose Bay and Cartwright might build cabins along the road, from both ends – his main concern.
- Churchill Road, Orma Road – every five miles you see a trap set by the non-native people. There might be traps all over the place with the new route.

- National Park explained to him – responded that the non-Natives would set lots of traps along the road outside of the park. It would be great if they could be prevented from setting traps anywhere along the road because otherwise, Innu trappers would be forced out.
- If the government builds the road against the wishes of the Innu, the government should at least compromise by seeing that the non-Innu people don't build cabins along the road. Wants this in an agreement between the Innu and government.
- The government should respect our way of thinking and what we say.
- Some people in the community don't blame the government for what it has done, that's why the government might get the idea that people are not opposed and can do what it wants. Hydro, road building, etc. are happening because of the government. I blame the government for these and the problems that come with them.
- We don't feel the impacts of the road yet, but as soon as it's built, there will be impacts which will multiply as the years go by.
- There might be some pollution on the rivers. Now we don't see it. We'll see those impacts once it's built. Ecosystem would be affected in the area.

### Consultation 10

- It is important for the government to follow through with the environmental impact assessment.
- Important to protect hunting and trapping areas of the Innu people.
- Need to understand the culture of the Innu in the area – the archaeology. There will be a lot of damage to the ground, excavation. Need historic resource assessment.
- Opposed at first but later changed her mind when she thought more about the fact that young people are dependent on modern transportation technology to get into the country.
- Preferred the *Mishtashini-shipiss* (A1) crossing of the Churchill River, A3 and A5 option.

### Consultation 11

- Talked about wildlife, plants and habitat. Concerned about pollution that may affect these as a result of the road and the changes it will bring.
- Fish important here – could be impacts on the salmon.
- Supportive of the road if routed from *Mishtashini-shipiss* (A1) to A3 and A5, and is away from the lakes and hunting areas.
- Future use of the area by younger generations of Innu who could use these areas and get access by the road. Still belongs to the Innu people, so cabins cannot be built there.
- Worried about traplines set up by non-Innu. Therefore need the road built away from trapping and hunting areas – keep the non-Innu away from the Innu areas.



- The road could be used to get Innu to mobile treatment programmes in the area (e.g. the one at Lobstick Lake).
- The Innu have lost so much because of being stuck in the community, the road could give them better access to the country...

## Consultation 12

- Not very pleased about the route because of Innu history in the area. Innu have hunted and trapped in the area for a long time. Newfoundland government doesn't own the land there.
- Very concerned about environmental impacts – wildlife.
- If it had to be built, then his preferred routes are A3, A5, and A1 (*Mishtashini-shipiss*)
- He is strongly opposed to the road because of the non-Innu sports hunting that might be created in the area.
- It is important to look at the environmental impacts on the land, animals and fish habitat. The government should look at these.

## Consultation 13

- The route should be at *Utshashumeku-shipiss* (A5), A3 and A1 (*Mishtashini-shipiss*) below Muskrat Falls. Except that he wanted the A5 to go straight west. Highways department gave us an option that turns south because of terrain issues and the crossing of the Kenemu and other rivers.
- His intent is to get the road away from the Innu hunting areas and major lakes as possible.
- Concerns about pollution that come along with the road.
- She is concerned about forest cutting. Doesn't want the TLH to be built in the Mud Lake area because forest access roads might be built there and non-Innu would then invade.
- *Mushu-nipi* is a good fishing location for the Innu. Good trout. A reason for concern about the location of the TLH through here to Muskrat Falls. Innu might not go there now because George Morris (a cab driver) built a cabin here about 4 years ago. He might not let the Innu go there. Morris uses it for hunting and fishing. When did Morris get an occupation permit from the government to build a cabin there? Non-Innu probably have traplines into this area as well, hence easier access.
- They are moderately opposed. Even if they say no to the road, it will go ahead anyway.
- The timber areas should be safeguarded for future Innu use once land claims have been finalized.
- The Kenemu River is a travel route for salmon. There could be a problem if non-Innu start fishing salmon in the bridge crossing area. Could lead to a decline in salmon populations. Same potential problem along the Eagle River area – possible decline in salmon population due to harvesting by non-Innu. Salmon travel all the

way to *Iatuekupau*. If non-Innu harvest the salmon on the way up there could be a dramatic effect on the salmon runs. Not much salmon available these days, but the extra harvesting by non-Innu could have a bad impact.

- Re. protecting land through a national park or with land selection. He said he doesn't know if it's true that land can be protected, because when he first attended meetings on the national park idea, he was told that no road would go through the park. He thought that everything in the park would be protected from development, but now he learns that a road could be built there. He can't really trust what the government says it will or will not do.
- Will there be public hearings on the TLH road? He wants more information on what's going to happen with the road. He can add more information and give additional comments at a future date when public hearings are held.
- It's not just today's generation who will be affected, all future generations of Innu will be affected.

#### **Consultation 14**

- The road will be dusty in the summer. He noted lots of dust on the bushes on the Churchill Road and on the road to Goose Bay from Sheshatshiu/North West River when it was first built. The animals are eating the bushes and ingesting the dust. They would be affected by this. Porcupine might also be affected. Their eating habits could be changed.
- Used to see lots of partridge on the road, but don't see many anymore because of so much traffic along there – ref. to Churchill Road.
- Would like to see the road kept away from *Mishtashini* and *Mashkunipi*. He prefers A3 and A5 option. Wants the government to look seriously at this option.
- Re. fish habitat, he's looking at the ecosystem of the environment, and how it might be affected by the road. The animals might not be as plentiful along the road area due to hunting by non-Innu people.
- He is not against the road because of the way the Innu are living these days. We don't hunt the way we used to. Young people will use the road to get access to *nutshimit*. We use planes to go to the country.
- Concerned about impacts on historic resources and burial sites. What can be done to protect these?
- The road will be no different than the Churchill road. There's so much traffic there – all the plants along the road are destroyed because of the dust. The habitat of the animals along the road is changing.
- The animals don't taste the same way they used to because their feeding habits have changed. They are not as healthy as they used to – they don't eat the same kind of habitat that they are used to. The food chain of the animals has changed.
- Cabins are a major issue – loss of hunting and trapping areas to non-Innu.

### **Consultation 15**

- They don't know the area very well. They never hunted there. They are willing to accept what the Innu say – those who are affected by the project, like the Pokues and Penashues who are associated with the area. They would share the concerns of those who use this area. They expressed views on such matters during the meeting at the Innu Nation office in January.

### **Consultation 16**

- Innu Nation should never have agreed to any environmental studies on Innu lands without land claims having been settled first. We give up our power over everything when we allow mineral exploration or studies.
- We should definitely push for a national park. The road will destroy the area, the establishment of national park would at least provide some form of compensation to the Innu.
- Development is going too fast for the Innu people. We start getting nervous when the pressure is on and we agreed too quickly to things.
- Cannot agree with the central route option (A3 to A5). Prefer a route that goes as far south of *Nekanikau* and *Pepuakamau* as possible because it would leave more Innu territory undisturbed where the Innu can hunt.
- I'm worried that poachers will use the middle route and go off in all directions.
- More roads would be built off the main highway eventually. If the road is built along the central route, the secondary roads would penetrate more Innu territory than if the road was built south of *Nekanikau* and *Pepuakamau*.

### **Consultation 17**

- He is not necessarily against the road but he is very concerned about that impacts that will come with it – cabins, fish camps, mineral exploration, and logging.
- Innu need to control both sides of the road.
- The TLH from Goose Bay to Labrador City has lots of cabins.
- Many Innu are interested in this, but Innu need 100% say in development on either side of the road.
- What are the economic spin-offs for the Innu?
- What about following the Gull Island transmission line route rather than those shown on the maps?
- Will the National Park be roadless?
- Is there any information on active mineral claims in the area?

### **Consultation 18**

- Whether they like it or not, it's going ahead anyways, and whether they are involved or not.
- At least they can have a say about where and how the road would be built.

- Everyone is worried about potential impacts on wildlife and the environment and an invasion of white people with cabins and hunting. This is what happened with the Churchill Road. E.g. Innu used to go to Edward's Brook, but now there's a lot of cabins. Innu don't feel comfortable going there any more. When a cabin is built, it's like a white person owns the land there. The white person is blocking Innu access to hunting and fishing once he builds a cabin in a area.