

The evolving role of trust in Innu-Provincial natural resource relationships

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Abstract

This project investigated the evolution of the relationship between the Innu Nation and the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, specifically regarding natural resource governance. This relationship was explored through the lens of trust and power sharing arrangements, such as co-management and Impact Benefit Agreements (IBAs). Parkins et al.'s (2017) trust framework established four types of trust based on the intersection of general trust and skepticism: critical trust, uncritical trust, distrust, and cynicism. This framework was used to assess the types of trust present between the Innu Nation and the Province through document review. A unique single case study design was used, according to Yin's (2003) methodology, because the Innu Nation has experienced an accelerated process of colonization compared to other Indigenous groups in Canada. Documents were coded in NVivo 12.0, extracting statements that were indicative of one of the four types of trust and sorting them based on voice. Cynicism was found to be the most common form of trust, followed by critical trust, distrust, and uncritical trust. Examples of each type of trust were discussed and implications were drawn for policy, theory, and future research. Theoretical frameworks must be expanded to better consider the impacts of colonial power imbalances on trust-based relationships.

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1.0 Introduction

In Canadian natural resource development, cooperation between Indigenous peoples and settler Canadians is essential; however, conflicts persist among Indigenous peoples, government, and industry. The 1996 Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples called for renewed relationships and building understanding between Indigenous and non-Indigenous parties (McGregor 2011). Improving trust in these relationships is pivotal for achieving equity in natural resource governance and progressing towards reconciliation. The goal of this research is to explore the ongoing relationships between parties involved in resource development in Labrador through the lens of trust and the characteristics of power sharing arrangements, such as co-management or impact benefit agreements (IBAs). This project examines the variety of ways that trust can manifest and investigates which forms of trust characterize the relationship between the Innu Nation and the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador.

1.1 Background on The Innu Nation

The Innu Nation is the organization that formally represents Innu people living in Newfoundland and Labrador. This definition is influenced by colonial boundaries and does not include Innu people living in Quebec. Innu people in Labrador traditionally lived a nomadic way of life, migrating seasonally to follow resources such as fish and caribou for sustenance (Tanner 1999). They were “experts at making skin clothing, stone tools, and wooden utensils of all kinds” (Tanner 1999, para. 4) and had an intimate connection to the land. Despite ongoing pressure from government to assimilate, Innu people have retained their language and “maintained a strong cultural orientation toward traditional homelands, their nomadic roots, and way of life” (Matthews et al. n.d., para. 7). The Innu Nation and the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador had little direct contact with each other until the middle of the 20th century, making

their experience unique from other Indigenous groups in Canada (Higgins 2008). Additionally, the Innu were not included under the provisions of the *Indian Act* until 2002, and the two largest Innu communities of Natuashish and Sheshatshiu (see Figure 1) were recognized as reserve lands in 2003 and 2006, respectively (Higgins 2008). This relatively recent and rapid experience of colonization has led to a complex relationship between the Innu Nation and the provincial government, particularly due to several harmful consequences of colonization for Innu people, including Innu youth developing solvent addictions (Rogan 2001), physical and sexual abuse in schools (Samson 2003), and the loss of their traditional way of life (Burnaby & Philpott 2007), all of which contribute to a lack of trust between the Innu Nation and government.

Pressed by a need to protect their land and culture, in 1973, the Innu people of Labrador organized with other Indigenous groups in the province, specifically the Mi'kmaq and Inuit peoples, under the Native Association of Newfoundland and Labrador (Higgins 2008). Three years later, the Innu people separated from the Mi'kmaq and Inuit peoples to form the Naskapi Montagnais Innu Association. The association was renamed the Innu Nation in 1990 and continues to be the formal political organization representing Innu people in Labrador. The Innu Nation currently represents approximately 2,200 people, most of whom live in Natuashish and Sheshatshiu (Higgins 2008). The Innu Nation elects a board of directors and the communities of Natuashish and Sheshatshiu elect Band Councils, from which the respective chiefs sit as representatives on the Innu Nation's board of directors (Higgins 2008).

The Innu Nation's goal is to provide a unified political voice to protect the interests of the Innu people it represents (Higgins 2008). The political organization has protested against several developments impacting Innu resources, including the Lower Churchill Falls hydroelectric project, clear-cutting operations, low-level flight training, construction of the trans-Labrador

highway, and the Voisey's Bay nickel mine (Higgins 2008). While these protests stem from a historical lack of Innu consultation from government or industry on resource development, these efforts have led to industry and the provincial government taking actions to include the Innu Nation in regional resource development projects, demonstrated by several joint agreements.

The Innu Nation continues to develop land claims and other agreements to gain more control over resource development in their traditional territories (Higgins 2008). In 2008, the Innu Nation and the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador signed the Tshash Petapen Agreement (New Dawn Agreement in English). This agreement addressed key issues straining the relationship between the Innu Nation and the Province, including “the Innu Rights Agreement, the Lower Churchill Impacts and Benefits Agreement (IBA) and Innu redress for the Upper Churchill hydroelectric development” (Innu Nation 2008, para 1). This agreement was ratified by the Innu Nation in 2011 (Newfoundland and Labrador 2011). Even though multiple agreements have been formed and negotiations for others are ongoing, tensions over resource development projects such as the Lower Churchill hydroelectric project continue. Given the Innu Nation’s history of exclusion, opposition, and resultant conflict with the provincial government, as well as the current movement towards increased collaborative engagement, understanding trust as an important bond in evolving relationship building processes may help build understanding of how outcomes can be improved.

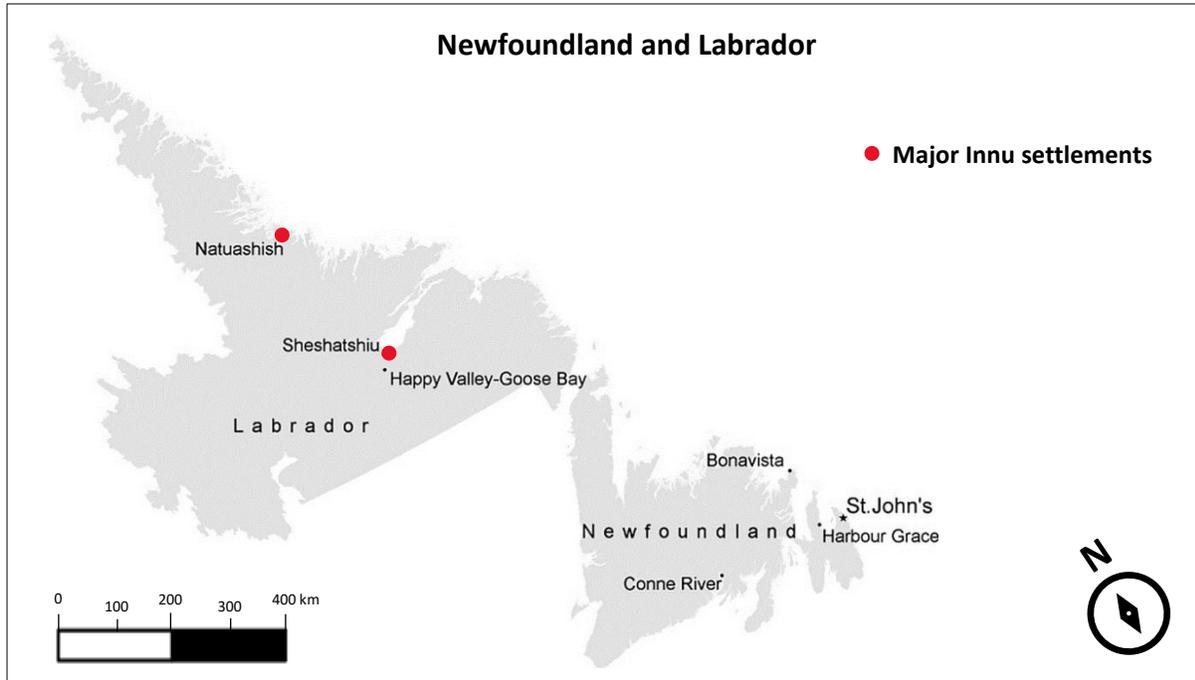


Figure 1: Map of Newfoundland and Labrador, Natuashish and Sheshatshiu marked in red (Goodnough & Galway 2019)

1.2 Rationale for Case Study

The relationship between the Innu Nation and the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador makes for a useful case study because the relationship between these groups has evolved over several decades and has involved both conventional and co-management approaches to resource development. The late inclusion of the Innu Nation into the *Indian Act* also makes it a unique case within Canada. This relationship has encompassed multiple sectors including, but not limited to, energy, forestry, and mining, which demonstrates how experiences of trust or distrust in one sector can shape future relationships and outcomes.

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada called for the implementation of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), which proclaims that Indigenous peoples have the right to self-determination and to freely pursue economic

development, the right to free, prior, and informed consent, and the right to be protected from or compensated for the dispossession of their lands, territories, or resources (United Nations 2008). The case of the Innu Nation in Labrador is an example of how the standards set by UNDRIP for partnership and mutual respect have historically not been met. This research is important as, in an era of reconciliation in Canada, resource management and the risks and benefits associated with it are, and will continue to be, contentious issues.

1.3 Research Purpose and Objectives

This research has three objectives to better understand how trust shapes Innu-Provincial relationships:

1. Describe the history of trust and distrust in the relationship between the Innu Nation and the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador.
2. Explore how trust and distrust are framed by different parties involved in resource development.
3. Evaluate the effectiveness of Parkins et al.'s (2017) trust framework in analyzing the colonial relationship between the Innu Nation and the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador.

Guided by these objectives, I examined how trust is viewed by different parties and how general trust and skepticism, as defined by Parkins et al. (2017), manifest in these relationships. In the following chapter, a literature review will outline the benefits and challenges of collaborative arrangements such as co-management, as well as introduce the conceptual framework on trust used for this project. The third chapter describes the methodology used, specifically Yin's (2003) approach to unique single case study designs. Results are presented in the fourth chapter, followed by a discussion and conclusions, which are presented in chapter five.

2.0 Literature Review

2.1 Co-management

This research analyzes the history of actions and inactions that have built or damaged trust between the Innu Nation and the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, specifically in the context of resource development. While this includes both conventional and shared management situations, the concept of co-management is critical to this work because it is predicated upon the idea of sharing power, risks, and benefits among all parties with vested interest in a project. The benefits and challenges of co-management arrangements are illustrative of the evolving relationship between the Innu Nation and the Province, as they face many of the same challenges as they find ways to share the risks and benefits of resource development in Labrador. Understanding co-management as a concept aids in comprehending the complex history of Indigenous peoples' involvement in, and exclusion from, resource development in Canada.

2.1.1 Conceptual evolution of co-management

Berkes et al. (1991) define co-management as “the sharing of power and responsibility between government and local resource users” (p. 12). This definition has been adopted by many other scholars (Notzke 1995; Linke & Bruckmeier 2015; Plummer & Armitage 2007), who have added their own insights to build upon pre-existing knowledge. Plummer and Armitage (2007) describe co-management as the “middle course between state-based and community-based management” (p. 834). Notzke (1995) notes that co-management arrangements occur on a spectrum, ranging from tokenistic involvement of local resource users to substantial local self-management power, similar to Arnstein's (1969) ladder of citizen participation, which outlines eight distinct levels of participation organized according to the extent of citizen power. However,

Linke and Bruckmeier (2015) differentiate co-management from community-based resource management, which only occurs on a local level, highlighting co-management's integration of multiple levels of governance.

The use of the concept of co-management dates back to 19th-century Spain, where villages and the state interacted to manage natural resources (Plummer & Armitage 2007). Other early examples of co-management include Norway's Lofoten Islands cod fishery of the 1890's, one of the earliest documented legal co-management arrangements, as well as a 1901 coastal fisheries arrangement in Japan (Plummer & Armitage 2007). Pinkerton (2003) places modern North American co-management as beginning in the 1970's at the time of the Boldt decision, which recognized the collective choice rights of Indigenous people in Washington, U.S.A. (i.e. the right to participate in planning processes and setting harvesting allocations) over fish within the state. This was an expansion from the operational rights (i.e. the right to harvest fish) that were previously held (Pinkerton 2003). Decisions such as this have led to an environment that is more conducive to agreements between the Innu Nation and the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador.

It is important to consider the sectors from which co-management arrangements have emerged, as the resource being governed shapes the appropriate governance model for that sector. In Canada, Indigenous peoples have used opportunities such as the Sparrow decision to increase their involvement in fishery decision-making (Notzke 1995). This way of thinking has also been extended to the forest sector, which is equally connected to Indigenous involvement (Fortier et al. 2013; Griffith et al. 2015; Nelson et al. 2016). Governments in Canada are starting to acknowledge the need to work collaboratively with Indigenous people; however, Griffith et al.

(2015) note that collaborative initiatives involving Indigenous peoples, government, and industry remain underdeveloped in forestry.

Co-management became prevalent in wildlife management as biologists, wildlife managers, and policymakers struggled to respond to declines in animal populations and amidst increasing concerns about the threat of population extinctions. For example, Notzke (1995) draws from the example of the Beverly-Kaminuriak Barren Ground Caribou Management Agreement of 1982, where biologists believed that caribou herds in the Northwest Territories were declining substantially. A committee was formed comprised of representatives from government, communities, the NWT Keewatin Wildlife Federation, and the NWT Dene and Metis Associations (Notzke 1995). The committee was formed because the existing administration realized that they could not effectively manage caribou herds without the involvement of Indigenous user groups (Notzke 1995). This demonstrates that involving people directly impacted by a resource leads to better governance, also known as the principle of subsidiarity.

While core ideas about co-management have remained the same over time, some related concepts have shifted since the 1990's (Berkes 2009). Co-management arrangements have evolved from being issue-specific reactionary approaches to become more encompassing strategies of natural resource management (Linke & Bruckmeier 2015). In the 1980's and 1990's, these processes were defined as simple partnership arrangements, but have since come to be understood as complex and dynamic processes with many "faces" (Berkes 2009, p. 1693). These include the role of co-management in processes such as power-sharing, institution building, trust and social capital, problem solving, and governance.

2.1.2 Benefits and challenges of co-management

Co-management emerged out of a desire to fill the gaps of conventional top-down environmental resource governance models, such as their limited ability to respond to rapid and complex socio-ecological transformations (Armitage et al. 2009; Nadasdy 2007; Plummer & Armitage 2007). The “co” in co-management comes from collaboration and co-operation, which is why co-management is commonly associated with partnership, collaboration, and the need to re-construct socio-ecological boundaries to foster sustainability (Plummer & Armitage 2007); however, co-management also has many negative connotations, including tokenism.

Ideally, co-management is characterized by the equal distribution of decision-making power, risks, and benefits between the parties involved, but historical power imbalances impact how this occurs in practice. Indigenous-settler co-management arrangements are shaped by centuries of colonial policy and require significant effort to successfully build trust and positive relationships. Armitage et al. (2009) argue that local level actors should be the primary decision-makers in co-management, with institutional support as needed from regional and national levels, including from government. In reality, many arrangements simply attempt to integrate Indigenous peoples into the existing system and status quo, while Indigenous scholars point to the need for new relationships and models (McGregor 2011). Brugnach et al. (2014) frequently mention the need to include Indigenous peoples in resource management. The word inclusion, despite its good intentions, still holds the presumption that settler systems of resource management are the norm and that other ways of understanding the world should be hybridized, at most, with a colonial worldview. This is not full participation, but rather a reproduction of colonial ways of knowing in the name of inclusion.

2.1.3 Legitimatization of knowledge in co-management processes

Nadasdy (2007) and Brugnach et al. (2014) discuss traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) in the context of co-management. Brugnach et al. (2014) make the claim that knowledge is not neutral, but rather is embedded within a context-specific understanding of how we relate with each other and with nature. In Canada, the social and political processes that influence the production, dissemination, and legitimization of knowledge systems are situated within a colonial context. As a result, Indigenous ways of knowing about the environment have historically not been taken seriously by colonial resource managers (Brugnach et al. 2014). This has led to a lack of trust on the part of both Indigenous peoples and government, influencing how trust should be understood in the context of Canada's colonial history.

One of the challenges many co-management arrangements seek to address is how to successfully merge TEK and other local forms of knowledge with a Western-scientific understanding of the world (Berkes 2009; Hoverman & Ayre 2012; Leys & Vanclay 2011; McCarthy et al. 2012; Notzke 1995). In some cases, this involves the co-production of knowledge between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people and groups (McCarthy et al. 2012). The use of Indigenous knowledge in co-management can be viewed as empowering for Indigenous peoples and their interests; however, McCarthy et al. (2012) are also critical of these arrangements, arguing that Indigenous peoples who agree to engage with government agree to abide by a set of colonial implicit assumptions about the world, some of which contradict Indigenous beliefs. This critique can be extended to the process by which Indigenous peoples such as the Innu Nation form agreements with various levels of government. McCarthy et al. (2012) go on to make the point that Indigenous knowledge is integrated when it is useful, such as in gathering data about natural resources, and ignored when it is contradictory to prevailing

colonial norms. Co-management practitioners should value all forms of knowledge equally, not just integrate the parts of Indigenous knowledge that fit easily within a colonial structure.

McCarthy et al. (2012) note that the relationship between TEK and scientific knowledge is crucial for developing community-based land use plans. These conflicting values often come to light during natural resource development, such as in the case of the Innu Nation in Labrador.

2.1.4 Colonial assumptions in co-management

In Canada, the frameworks applied to co-management arrangements cannot be removed from their colonial context. It is critical to assess who sets the frameworks within which co-management operates (Armitage et al. 2009; Nadasdy 2007) and whose values, beliefs, and assumptions are valued and listened to (Medema et al. 2015). Cameron (2012) argues that even work done in response to colonialism (e.g. co-management) risks perpetuating colonial assumptions, knowledges, and practices by attempting to ignore the colonial context it operates within. Cameron (2012) also notes that in much of the co-management literature, colonialism has not been raised as an important concept. In research conducted by settler scholars, colonialism can be overlooked because the colonial systems of knowledge and power (Cameron 2012) that permeate society are considered to be the normal, default way of doing things.

2.2 Trust

“Trust” is often used in conversation surrounding collaboration between Indigenous peoples and government and should be defined to avoid confusion or miscommunication. Parkins (2010) defines trust as “a situation where something of value is held by one person for the benefit of another” (p. 2). In simplest terms, one party trusts another to do what they say they will do (Warren 1999). Rousseau et al. (1998) define trust as “a psychological state comprising the intention to accept vulnerability based upon positive expectations of the intentions or

behaviour of another” (p. 395). This aspect of vulnerability is crucial, especially when one party holds power over another. Vulnerability may be accepted based on genuinely positive expectations of another’s intentions or may be forced by one party having no choice but to rely on the other.

2.2.1 Influences on trust

Hotte et al. (2019) integrate the frameworks of Mayer et al. (1995) and Ostrom and Ahn (2009) to identify the influences on the creation of trust in the context of collaborative forest governance in Haida Gwaii. This integration highlights three categories of influences: individual, interpersonal, and institutional. Individual influences are individual traits that cause individuals to be more or less trusting of people that they do not know, such as previous experiences in trust-related situations (Mayer et al. 1995). Interpersonal influences emerge based on the context of the relationship and the perceived competence, benevolence, and integrity of the parties involved (Mayer et al. (1995). Institutional influences include both formal and informal institutions that establish safe environments where the risk of trusting is reduced, such as through control mechanisms designed to encourage people to behave in a trustworthy manner (Bachmann & Inkpen 2011).

Control mechanisms can include formal legal mechanisms, such as through civil law and common law, which restrict the behaviour of individuals and institutions (Bachmann & Inkpen 2011). Behaviour can also be controlled by collective norms, structures, and procedures which, while less formal, serve to influence behaviour and create situations and relationships where actors are more likely to trust others (Bachmann & Inkpen 2011). This typology of influences on trust is important in understanding how trusting relationships are established or damaged in the context of resource development in Labrador. Hotte et al.’s (2019) influences feed into the

framework proposed by Parkins et al. (2017) by either increasing or decreasing general trust, which affects the types of trust relationships that can be formed.

2.2.2 Trust in natural resource management

Coleman and Stern (2018) explore the function of trust in collaborative natural resource management. They define four different types of trust. Dispositional trust describes the general predisposition of an individual to trust others rather than be skeptical. Rational trust stems from the perceived likelihood of another's actions resulting in positive outcomes. Affinitive trust is based on positive feelings, which develop from shared positive experiences, assumed similar values, membership in common groups, charisma, or responsiveness. Procedural trust emerges from control systems, such as rules, contracts, or other monitoring that encourages trustworthy behaviour. Each form of trust is also complemented by a form of distrust (Coleman & Stern 2018). The authors found that rational, affinitive, and procedural trust contributed to successful collaborative resource governance, each most relevant at different stages of the collaborative process. These types of trust have many similarities to the influences on trust found by Hotte et al. (2019). They also unpack different aspects of the concept of general trust used by Parkins et al. (2017), which grounds the theoretical framework for this project.

2.2.3 Trust framework

While trust is generally considered to be positive and distrust as negative, Parkins (2010) notes that distrust can be equally beneficial to the democratic process. Parkins et al. (2017) adapted a framework from Poortinga and Pidgeon (2003), which is a typology of trust based on two axes (see Figure 2). On one axis is general trust, which is defined as involving “issues of competence, caring, fairness, and openness that are commonly associated with the idea of public trust” (Parkins et al. 2017, p. 935). On the other is skepticism, which “involves issues of

credibility, bias, and vested interest that are commonly associated with public distrust” (p. 935), Parkins et al. (2017) argue that distrust is not inherently bad and that:

General trust is not sufficient on its own to motivate public engagement. Instead, general trust combined with skepticism is more likely to foster public engagement whereby citizens trust the process to be fair, but at the same time they are skeptical of vested interests, concerned about outcomes, and therefore sufficiently motivated to assume the costs of time and resources to get engaged (p. 936).

The authors call this ideal balance of general trust and skepticism “critical trust”, based on Poortinga and Pidgeon’s (2003) description of “a practical form of reliance on a person or institution, combined with some healthy scepticism” (p. 971). Critical trust leads to high public engagement, because, while people believe that decision-makers are competent and fair, they are also willing to critique the intentions and potential biases of those decision-makers.

If high general trust exists without skepticism, there is uncritical trust, which can be harmful to democratic decision-making processes. Poortinga and Pidgeon (2003) call this “uncritical emotional acceptance” (p. 971). Uncritical trust dissuades engagement in decision-making processes, because if individuals are not at all skeptical of an organization’s interests or biases, they accept the organization’s decisions and communications at face-value. Since the organization is trusted to act in the public interest, individuals have no incentive to actively participate in decision-making. Uncritical trust is dangerous because organizations can take advantage of the fact that they are trusted unconditionally, to the detriment of the parties whose trust they hold. It is for this reason that critical trust is preferred.

The concept of critical trust is relevant to the relationship between the Innu Nation and the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, because there is a longstanding history in Canada of distrust between Indigenous peoples and government. When these parties attempt to work together, the presence of general trust is unlikely, but not impossible. Ideally, there would be critical trust, but distrust and cynicism are also likely outcomes. Distrust is characterized by both low general trust and skepticism, whereas cynicism is a situation of low general trust and high skepticism. In the case of cynicism, parties are likely to reject a decision or communication based on the organization it came from, not because of any assessment of the validity of the information (Poortinga & Pidgeon 2003). This framework is beneficial because it recognizes that trust exists on a spectrum and that previous experience, such as the history of colonialism in Canada, can impact willingness to be vulnerable in future trust situations.

<i>General Trust</i>	High	Uncritical Trust	Critical Trust
	Low	Distrust	Cynicism
		Low	High
	<i>Skepticism</i>		

Figure 2: A conceptual typology of trust, adapted from Poortinga and Pidgeon (2003) by Parkins et al. (2017).

3.0 Methods

3.1 Case Study Methods

This project follows a qualitative single case study design (Yin 2003, p. 40). The overall context is the colonial history of the relationship between the Innu Nation and the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador. The case focuses on resource development in Labrador, analyzing documents to better understand perspectives of different groups and looking for evidence of the types of trust described in Parkins et al.'s (2017) framework. A single case design is warranted because of the uniqueness of the relationship between the Innu Nation and the provincial government. Since Provincial-Innu contact did not occur until the mid-20th century (Higgins 2008), the Innu Nation has experienced an accelerated process of colonization compared to other Indigenous groups in Canada.

3.2 Data Collection and Analysis

3.2.1 Document review

The types of documents reviewed included academic articles, reports, news pieces, theses and dissertations, and formal agreements. These documents offered different perspectives on resource development, including those of Innu community members and leaders, government officials, academics, reporters, industry, and settler Canadians. My document analysis demonstrates the complex nature of resource development and how perceptions of the same event can vary based on previous experience with trust-based relationships.

3.2.2 Search strategy

The search strategy for this project was structured around finding documents related to resource management that had some mention of trust between the Innu Nation and the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador. I consulted with The University of Winnipeg's

Science Librarian to construct a search string that would target this information. That search string is as follows:

Labrador AND ("co-management" OR "impact benefit agreement") AND (Innu OR Naskapi) AND government AND (forest* OR wildlife OR "Muskrat Falls") AND trust

Three databases were used: EBSCO Academic Search Premier, Web of Science, and ProQuest Central. Through this process I collected 82 documents. Topics included education, the relocation of Innu peoples to villages, Innu youth with solvent addictions, the Voisey's Bay nickel mine, and low-level flight training in Labrador. The range of issues illustrates the cross-cutting and variable effects of cross-cultural natural resource development.

A substantial resource development project that was not addressed by this literature was the Muskrat Falls hydroelectric project, which continues to be contentious. Despite Muskrat Falls being a specific term in my search string, it did not appear in conjunction with other terms used, which suggests that there is no mention of either trust or collaborative arrangements, such as co-management, in the academic or grey literature on the Muskrat Falls project. As a result, I collected further documents based on the recommendations of the Program Coordinator at the Labrador Institute of Memorial University of Newfoundland.¹ By including the suggested documents and conducting a web search for news pieces, I added 40 documents, for a total of 122 documents. These Muskrat Falls documents focused on methylmercury pollution, because it is an ongoing issue that reflects the current state of trust and relations between the Innu Nation and the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador.

¹ Morgon Mills, personal communication, Feb. 10, 2020

3.2.3 Data analysis

Documents were uploaded into NVivo 12.0 into folders based on the type of source material. Documents were then coded using parent codes developed for the four types of trust in Parkins et al.'s (2017) framework. Codes were assigned by considering the concepts of general trust and skepticism while reviewing documented statements. General trust was evaluated based on words or actions that indicated a willingness to work together or trust decision-making processes, such as positive statements made about other parties. Skepticism was evaluated based on statements or actions that critiqued the intentions of other parties. If general trust was present, the presence or absence of skepticism meant a phrase was coded into either critical or uncritical trust, respectively. If general trust was absent, the presence or absence of skepticism meant a phrase was coded into either cynicism or distrust. Next, I reviewed the coded phrases and assigned them sub-codes based on whose perspective the statement was coming from. This approach allows for comparisons in how trust is being framed by different actors.

3.2.4 Limitations

This project comes with a few limitations. First, and perhaps most importantly, being a settler scholar from Manitoba investigating issues that affect the Innu Nation introduces researcher bias. By not having lived experience of being harmed by colonialism, I am likely to miss the nuances of certain perspectives on resource development. Secondly, there may be bias on the part of the source materials. While the voices of Innu community members and leaders are present in these documents, the documents were often prepared by others. Colonial worldviews can still impact whether these voices get published and how their perspectives are framed. Further research could compare the results of this study to the content of interviews with people directly impacted by resource development in Labrador. Since the evaluation of general trust and

skepticism is somewhat subjective, another limitation is that it may be challenging to replicate the coding process of this thesis. Additionally, Parkins et al.'s (2017) framework may be limited by the fact that it is not based in the context of colonial relationships. Another notable limitation is that my results mention youth several times; however, youth perspectives are often missing from public engagement processes. Lastly, since the relationship between the Innu Nation and the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador is unique, the results of this study may not be generalizable to other resource development contexts.

4.0 Results

This chapter presents the findings from my analysis of how different actors express various forms of trust (i.e. critical trust, uncritical trust, distrust, and cynicism) in state-Innu natural resource development relations. Results highlight several different positions based on the many actors involved in framing natural resource developments and related positive and negative effects, namely, Innu leaders, Innu community members, government officials, academics, reporters, industry representatives, and settler Canadians. Each of these perspectives, where applicable, for each of the four types of trust, is outlined in turn below.

4.1 Critical Trust

Critical trust is what Parkins et al. (2017) positioned as the ideal type of trust, a balance between general trust and skepticism, which promotes engagement in decision-making processes. To evaluate critical trust in the documents collected, general trust was assessed based on apparent willingness to cooperate and positive statements about the intentions of other parties. Conversely, skepticism was assessed based on statements that appeared to critique, either through words or actions, the motivations of other parties. When general trust and skepticism were both present, this was taken to mean that some degree of critical trust existed between the parties involved.

4.1.1 Critical trust among Innu leadership

The perspective of Innu leadership includes statements made by people who represent the Innu Nation as an organization, specifically both current and former chiefs. It became apparent that these perspectives should be separated from Innu community members because, in some cases, leaders' descriptions of events differed from those of individual community members. The

two primary events where Innu leaders made statements indicative of critical trust were regarding the Tshash Petapen Agreement and the Muskrat Falls hydroelectric development.

The Innu Nation published a press release following the signing of the Tshash Petapen Agreement, describing the agreement as “a new beginning for the Innu of Labrador and their relationship with the Province” (Innu Nation 2008, para. 1). The agreement addressed several issues related to resource development, including providing compensation for the Upper Churchill hydroelectric development, which in 1974 flooded nearly 170,000 square kilometres of Innu land without prior consultation or consent (Samson 2017). In the Innu Nation (2008) press release, Grand Chief Nui noted the importance of this agreement because it would allow for the completion and ratification of three other agreements, creating “the foundations of our future as Innu and as Labradorians” (para. 4). Innu leaders were also quoted in a press release from the Province following the ratification of Tshash Petapen in 2011, responding in an equally positive fashion. Mushuau Innu Deputy Chief Simon Pokue stated that, with these agreements, “we can see a future now where Innu once again will control our lives and our communities. The benefits of these agreements will be felt in our communities for literally hundreds of years” (Newfoundland and Labrador 2011, para. 8). These statements are illustrative of critical trust among leaders of the Innu community because the Tshash Petapen Agreement was formed through years of negotiations, which required the Innu Nation and the Province to actively work together to craft an agreement that satisfied the needs of both parties.

As for the Muskrat Falls hydroelectric development, also called the Lower Churchill hydroelectric development, Innu leaders repeatedly describe how the Innu Nation was actively engaged in consultation from the Province. Grand Chief Gregory Rich and Deputy Chief Etienne Rich signed a letter stating the Innu Nation’s support for the project following “extensively

negotiated arrangements concluded under the IBA” (Barker 2018, para. 13), adding that the Innu Nation was “probed as deeply as any of the other parties into the potential environmental impacts of the project” (para. 14). Prote Poker, former Grand Chief of the Innu Nation, noted that the Innu Nation “participated extensively in the joint federal/provincial environmental assessment of the Lower Churchill project” (Poker 2018, p. 3). The Province and Nalcor Energy, the company managing the Lower Churchill project, took Innu concerns seriously, according to Poker (2018). When the Innu Nation was concerned about potential impacts on Manitutu-utshu, a rock knoll of great cultural importance, Innu participation in the assessment process led to appropriate mitigation measures being put in place (Poker 2018). Poker (2018) also stated that the Innu Nation made clear to the Province that the Lower Churchill project would not proceed without compensation for the damages of the existing Upper Churchill project. The provincial government addressed this concern through the Tshash Petapen Agreement, which led to the development of critical trust between the Innu Nation and the Province.

Other instances of critical trust include the development of a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) over the Voisey’s Bay nickel mine and the removal of children from Innu communities for addiction treatment. In 1999, Paul Rich, then Chief of Sheshatshiu, worked with the Province to send Innu youth with solvent addictions to a treatment centre in Goose Bay (Rogan 2001). Rich explained that the majority of parents were in full support of the decision (Rogan 2001), illustrating that despite the Innu Nation’s history of colonial violence, parents were willing to trust the centre with their children. In the case of Voisey’s Bay, the 1999 MOU recognized that the Innu Nation never lost title to their traditional territories and must be involved in the mining assessment process. A panel including Innu members approved the

project, pending the implementation of 106 recommendations (New Internationalist 1999). Innu Nation president David Nuke explained (New Internationalist 1999) that:

The full involvement of the Innu Nation in developing the process and appointing the Panel made a real difference in how this process was perceived in our communities. The Innu people are very pleased that the Panel not only listened to us, but heard what we had to say (para. 2).

These quotes indicate that there is existing critical trust between Innu Nation leaders and the Province, which can be built upon to produce successful resource development projects in the future.

4.1.2 Critical trust among Innu community members

There are fewer examples of critical trust from Innu community members than there are from Innu leadership, because Innu leaders were quoted more frequently than community members. One example of critical trust between the Province and the Innu community is the Agreement in Principle that was signed by the Innu Nation and the Province on November 24, 1999. This agreement stated that the Province would transfer the land occupied by the communities of Sheshatshiu and Natuashish to federal jurisdiction in anticipation of a land claims settlement between the Innu Nation and Canada (Black 2000). It also stipulates that the provincial and federal governments will work with the Innu Nation to transfer control of education and policing back to the community (Black 2000). Simeon Tshakapesh, then a community policeman, commented that the agreement is “probably the best thing that ever happened to us now. The Province of Newfoundland has recognized our proposals – the Province used to ignore us” (Black 2000, para. 8). Tshakapesh added that control over education and policing “is self-government to us” (para. 12) and attributes the Province’s willingness to

participate in part to the media pressure resulting from a substantial number of Innu suicides in the community. This combination of working with and putting pressure on government demonstrates that critical trust led to positive outcomes in this situation. Another example of this is the behaviour of protestors occupying the Muskrat Falls work site. In 2016, protestors occupied the site to ensure their concerns were heard but left the site when substantial progress was made in negotiations between the Innu Nation and the Province (Barry 2016; CBC News 2017). This demonstrates that Innu community members, while skeptical of the government's intentions, trust the process that the leadership of the Innu Nation is undertaking.

4.1.3 Critical trust among government officials

While much of this thesis deals with the Innu Nation's ability to trust government, this relationship goes both ways. Government officials expressed critical trust towards the Innu Nation, as well as across party lines. In the case of Muskrat Falls specifically, opposition members unsurprisingly raised concerns about the provincial government's decisions. Opposition officials often spoke on behalf of Innu people, though it is unclear if these statements are in line with actual Innu concerns. For example, when opposition leader Ches Crosbie called on the Auditor General to investigate the government's missed deadline to mitigate methylmercury risks, he said that "there has been a rupture in relations with Indigenous communities as a result of the government's failure to adhere to the agreement they made with them to do the wetland capping" (CBC News 2019, Aug. 20, para. 2). Lela Evans, member of the official opposition, also criticized the government's assessment process, citing that the full effects of the bioaccumulation of methylmercury will not be visible for years to come (CBC News 2019, Jul. 23). Skeptical comments such as these can be used by opposition members to

erode public trust in government. These government officials exhibited critical trust by critiquing the government while simultaneously working within that system.

As to be expected, messaging coming from the government differs from that of the opposition. According to Premier Dwight Ball, the consultation process on Muskrat Falls was driven by Indigenous groups and the communities involved (CBC News 2019, Jun. 11). Aubrey Gover, Minister of Indigenous Affairs, used the analogy of luxury versus economy cars, saying that “all groups received a ‘Cadillac’ level of consultation” (CBC News 2018, Oct. 4, para. 13). Gover also noted that, due to the Tshash Petapen Agreement, the Innu Nation was permitted to appoint a representative to the joint review panel, while groups without claims could only nominate a representative (Roberts 2018). Regarding the existing Upper Churchill development, the government’s position is “that is all behind us ... and we now wish to negotiate partnerships with the Innu to preserve new business opportunities” (Lutterman 2000, para. 10), signaling a willingness to work together, but also ignoring that it might be more difficult for the Innu Nation to put behind them the damages caused by the Upper Churchill hydroelectric development.

The Government of Newfoundland and Labrador published its own press release on the Tshash Petapen Agreement and is also quoted in the Innu Nation press release (Innu Nation 2008) making positive statements about the current state of Innu-Provincial relations. Speaking for the Innu Nation again, the provincial press release notes that the agreement holds the potential to “profoundly and positively impact the future of the Innu of Labrador and the Lower Churchill Project” (Newfoundland and Labrador 2011, para. 1). The choice of government quotes in the Innu Nation press release supports this sentiment. Then Premier Danny Williams is quoted saying that the agreement will “bring tremendous new benefits and opportunities to the Innu people of Labrador, and signals a new era of partnership and cooperation between their

people and our government” (Innu Nation 2008, para. 3). Then Minister of Aboriginal Affairs, Patty Pottle was also quoted saying that “this fair and equitable agreement between the Provincial Government and Innu Nation balances the interests of all the people of Labrador” (Innu Nation 2008, para. 6). The consistency between the responses of the Innu Nation and the Province suggests that both parties are happy with the agreement, which was formed through a process of critical trust.

4.1.4 Critical trust among academics

In many cases, the information I examined on the relationship between the Innu Nation and the Province was presented by an academic author. While academics strive to be objective observers in their work, this is impossible to achieve completely or all the time. Therefore, the conclusions made by academics about situations that appear to be critical trust should be reviewed critically, considering the potential for bias, knowingly or unknowingly, on the part of the author. The examples of critical trust coming from an academic perspective are on a wide range of topics. Some academics attempt to describe the opinion of members of the Innu Nation on a given event or experience. Based on interviews with children, their families, and teachers, Burnaby and Philpott (2007) state that while Innu people have ongoing concerns about the quality of education their children receive and the effect of Eurocentric education on their culture, they continue to take a positive attitude towards the value of formal schooling. Similarly, based on interviews with Innu leaders and community members, Alcantara (2007) explains how some members of the Innu Nation view the comprehensive land claims process as the solution to their problems. Presuming these statements accurately reflect the perspectives of members of the Innu Nation, these are examples of critical trust because people are actively engaging with government despite their skepticism.

Other examples are more descriptive in nature. Rogan (2001) describes the agreement that was formed to help Innu children with solvent addictions in Davis Inlet. The children were allowed to be removed from the community in exchange for the Province building a detox centre in Labrador, closer to home than the facility in St. John's (Rogan 2001). Alcantara (2007) notes that in the past two decades, negotiations have become the main tactic of choice for the Innu in expressing their concerns over resource development. Some academics even attempt to advocate for the Innu Nation, such as an archeologist from Memorial University of Newfoundland who called on government to better preserve the cultural history of the area to be flooded by the Muskrat Falls hydroelectric project (Rumbolt 2016). While these examples are eclectic, they all display some degree of trust in a system or another party for assistance achieving a goal.

4.1.5 Critical trust among reporters

Reporters, similar to academics, are often assumed to present the facts in an unbiased way, though they also contribute to framings of multiparty issues. Their bias can come through in how events are described, how quotes are used, and what information is presented (Marotta et al. 2019), so the statements of reporters should be given the same critical consideration as those of academics. Most of the statements coded as critical trust are related to the Muskrat Falls hydroelectric development and are descriptive rather than inferring any opinion on behalf of the Innu Nation. Brake (2017, Jun. 3) made note of the 2011 IBA ratified by the Innu Nation that resulted in financial compensation, jobs on the project, and a share of profits for the Innu Nation from energy generated. In 2016, after protests concerning methylmercury pollution, an Independent Expert Advisory Committee was established, which included members of the Innu Nation and recommended wetland capping as a mitigation method (CBC News 2019, Jul. 22; Maher 2019; McCabe 2019). After Environment Minister Andrew Parsons failed to give the

directive to have the wetlands capped, the Province instead offered each of the three affected Indigenous groups ten million dollars, of which the Innu Nation has accepted their share (Maher 2019; White 2019; CBC News 2019, Jul. 23; CBC News 2019, Aug. 20). Other examples of critical trust found in newspaper accounts include the Innu Nation's insistence on a full environmental assessment before work could proceed at the Voisey's Bay nickel mine (Schofield & Evans 1997), as well as Black's (2000) comment after the signing of the Agreement in Principle that "Aboriginal inhabitants of Labrador have a reason to believe the latter-day governments are taking them seriously" (para. 1). These statements and descriptions indicate a long-term process of engagement between the Innu Nation and the Province, a process that involved much criticism and skepticism but ultimately arrived at conclusions found acceptable by all parties involved.

4.1.6 Critical trust among industry representatives

Very few comments in the documents reviewed came directly from industry representatives. In the case of industry statements reflecting critical trust, there is only one example. In the Innu Nation (2008) press release on the Tshash Petapen Agreement, then President and CEO of Newfoundland and Labrador Hydro Ed Martin was quoted saying:

This significant progress toward the conclusion of the IBA with Innu Nation is a major milestone for the Lower Churchill Project ... We look forward to continuing to work with Innu Nation to finalize the IBA. More importantly, we look forward to a productive and long term relationship with our new partners (para. 9).

This positive feedback from an industry representative is indicative of trusting relationships being formed by all parties involved in resource development in Labrador. While these

relationships are far from perfect, this section demonstrated that there is potential for critical trust to exist and be further developed between the Innu Nation and the Province.

4.2 Uncritical Trust

While trust is generally considered to be desirable, and distrust undesirable, Parkins et al. (2017) argue that some forms of trust can be harmful. Uncritical trust is defined by high general trust in combination with low skepticism. This kind of trust can be detrimental by allowing decisions to be made unchallenged. In the case of the relationship between the Innu Nation and the provincial government, there are very few examples of situations that could be described using uncritical trust, likely as a result of historical colonial violence.

4.2.1 Uncritical trust among Innu community members

The sole example of uncritical trust from the perspective of Innu community members comes from an article on Elizabeth Penashue, author and respected Innu Elder who has protested against many developments on Innu lands. Penashue describes the way life changed for Innu people in the 1950's, when government pressured them to settle down in communities instead of continuing their traditional semi-nomadic way of life (Wayne 1996). The example of uncritical trust comes when she describes her mother's reaction to the resettlement. In Wayne (1996), Penashue says:

The Government moved our people into houses. When I was young there were no schools, no hospitals, no houses. When we got our first house my mom said: "Oh, we gonna have water, we gonna have washing and a bath". She was happy. She didn't understand that was part of what the Government was doing to change the Innu (para. 7).

Elizabeth Penashue's mother was exhibiting uncritical trust because she believed that the government was acting in her best interest and did not question what other motives the Province might have had for their decision. These were the early days of Innu-Provincial relations.

4.2.2 Uncritical trust among academics

There is only one example of uncritical trust described by academics, as well. Samson (2016) discusses comprehensive land claims and how consent to the Innu Nation's Agreement in Principle with the Province was obtained. Samson notes that the length of the document and the complexity of how the agreement is worded and organized discouraged Innu community members from being able to understand the agreement. The fact that the agreement was written only in English with "the most mind-numbingly perplexing clauses, sub-clauses, and qualifications" (Samson 2016, p. 92) also made it hard for Innu community members to evaluate the document. Despite these barriers, information meetings were sparsely attended (Samson 2016) and 70% of the eligible Innu electorate voted in 2011, 88% of which in favour of the agreement (First Nations Drum 2011). This demonstrates that Innu community members may have had uncritical trust that their leaders understood the document and that the agreement was in the community's best interest. Samson (2016) notes that Innu leadership took steps to improve the chance of the agreement getting passed, including lowering the voting age to 16 and issuing a \$5,000 payment to every adult in the community at the time of the vote. These factors may have contributed to the community's uncritical trust of the process. As my analysis shows, it is otherwise apparent that uncritical trust is highly uncommon in the relationship between the Innu Nation and the Province.

4.3 Distrust

Distrust, according to Parkins et al. (2017), is characterized by both low general trust and low skepticism. Distrust was the most challenging type of trust to define and find in the literature, because the decision to be distrustful is not based on the organization the decision or action came from, such as it is with cynicism (Poortinga & Pidgeon 2003). Rather, distrust is more like apathy, as individuals do not engage with decision-makers because they do not believe things can change. Like with uncritical trust, few examples of distrust could be found in the documents reviewed.

4.3.1 Distrust among Innu community members

Two examples of distrust were found coming from the perspective of a community member. In Rogan (2001), Innu children with solvent addictions described the violence in their daily lives, specifically witnessing suicides and friends accidentally getting set on fire from the gasoline. Their perspective was that this would not change, which seemed to have little to do with distrust in any particular organization. Cox and Mills (2015) discuss women's employment in the Voisey's Bay nickel mine. Innu employees felt that job training had been culturally inadequate and that women were being looked over for promotion (Cox & Mills 2015). While this experience is very different than the previous example, it is similar in that the Innu employee's comments were not directed towards any particular actor, but rather a general statement of disappointment in the situation, without placing blame on any specific party. In this way distrust relates to hopelessness and nihilism at the nexus of low general trust and, in turn, low skepticism (i.e. an attitude that all is lost, or nothing matters).

4.3.2 Distrust among academics

An additional example of distrust from an academic perspective is Burnaby and Philpott's (2007) assessment of school attendance in Innu communities. They reported that attendance at the Sheshatshiu and Natuashish schools had been at a "shocking 40% for at least a decade" (p. 281), when no other school in the province had ever dipped below 80%. This statement signals distrust because the lack of attendance was not likely due to the children being cynical of the motives of their teachers, but rather that the Eurocentric model of education was perceived to have had nothing to offer them. The children were not critical of any party in particular, but simply had no reason to have general trust in the colonial school system.

4.3.3 Distrust among reporters

The sole example of distrust from a reporter's perspective is also about addictions treatment for Innu children. Demont (2000) described how the provincial court authorized the removal of 19 children from the community, to be taken by social workers to a treatment centre for their solvent addictions. However, before they could depart, several of the youth had disappeared from where the group had gathered (Demont 2000). This was considered distrust, rather than cynicism, because the children had no reason to specifically distrust the social workers, who had promised them a pizza party in Goose Bay. The children simply had no interest in participating and no reason to have general trust in people they had just met. Distrust was challenging to evaluate in these documents and is not highly prevalent in the relationship between the Innu Nation and the Province.

4.4. Cynicism

Cynicism is characterized by low general trust and high skepticism (Parkins et al. 2017) and is a type of distrust that is based on an inherent mistrust of an organization (Poortinga &

Pidgeon 2003). Cynicism was the most prevalent of Parkins et al.'s (2017) four types of trust in the documents reviewed and can be described as the least trusting of the four. This is indicative that low general trust and high skepticism characterize the majority of interactions between the Innu Nation and the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador.

4.4.1 Cynicism among Innu leadership

Throughout the years, leaders of the Innu Nation have been skeptical of their relationship with the provincial government on many occasions. This low-trust relationship can be summarized by how some Innu leaders have joked that the comprehensive land claim process should be called “the Canada claim”, rather than the Innu claim, as government calls it, due to the unequal distribution of benefits and risks (Samson 1999). Calls for Innu sovereignty have grown and declined over the years, with an unnamed former Davis Inlet chief remarking “how are we going to manage the land if the government can still overturn Innu Government decisions?” (Alcantara 2007, p. 196). Innu leaders have shared their skepticism of the Canadian government globally, publishing an article in a Botswanan newspaper warning the government there to stop trying to assimilate Indigenous peoples and to learn from Canada’s mistakes (Anonymous 2002). These statements demonstrate that Innu leaders often question and critique the government’s intentions.

One way that cynicism can manifest into action is through protest. In the words of the Innu Nation’s Davis Inlet Inquiry Commission, “protests are a good way to get our voices heard” (Alcantara 2007, p. 196) and Innu people should speak out against unwanted developments and in support of their rights. The Voisey’s Bay nickel mine was protested heavily by Innu leadership and community members. Paul Rich, then Chief of Sheshatshiu, was participating in these protests and told reporters that without an IBA or land claim in place, the Innu Nation would not

allow the project to proceed (Schofield 1997). Rich also told reporters, “We are tired of being treated like garbage ... This resource is taken from our own backyards. We want to make sure we get as much benefit as we can – not just for us, but for future generations” (Schofield 1997, para. 10). The Muskrat Falls hydroelectric development is another resource development project protested by the Innu Nation (Poker 2018; Alcantara 2007). Poker (2018) notes that it took a long history of protest for the Innu Nation to eventually be consulted on the project, which indicates that without the protesting and cynicism, more meaningful engagement may not have occurred.

The risk of methylmercury pollution due to the Muskrat Falls project remains an ongoing concern for not just the Innu Nation, but all Indigenous groups in Labrador. While both the Nunatsiavut and NunatuKavut leaders support the mitigation measure of soil removal proposed by the Independent Expert Advisory Committee, Innu leadership is more skeptical of its benefits, calling it a “risky experiment” (CBC News 2018, May 7; MacEachern 2018). Innu Nation Grand Chief Gregory Rich told media that they are standing by the science and that four out of six scientists on an expert committee were not in favour of soil removal (Samson 2019). The cynicism of Innu leaders extended beyond critiquing government to also questioning the motives of Nunatsiavut and NunatuKavut leaders. Peter Penashue, who was an Innu representative on the Independent Expert Advisory Committee, accused the other leaders of agreeing to soil clearing for political reasons, to help expedite their respective land claims and Impact Benefit Agreements (White 2018). Based on these examples, it is evident that many Innu leaders approach their interactions with other organizations through the lens of cynicism.

4.4.2 Cynicism among Innu community members

Innu community members have also expressed cynicism towards government. For example, Samson (2003) interviewed Innu people who were anxious about formal education and skeptical of its ability to help Innu children. This is because of both historic physical and sexual abuse and how schools have ignored Innu history and culture (Samson 2003). Similarly, in Cherney (2002), residents of Natuashish were skeptical that moving there from Davis Inlet would end cycles of poverty and addiction. This cynicism can be extended towards Innu leaders as well. In Rogan (2001), Davis Inlet community members accused then-chief Tshakapesh of using Innu children experiencing addiction as a bargaining chip to have larger Innu Nation demands met by government, such as requesting more money for social services. Money is often a contentious issue, such as when the federal government instated third-party management and took control of the Innu Nation's finances (Taillon 2001). Multiple Innu community members spoke out, calling this a government tactic to make the community look incompetent and to delay implementing commitments made to the Innu Nation (Taillon 2001). These examples display cynicism because the community is highly critical of the government's intentions.

Protesting natural resource development projects is also a form of cynicism. Elizabeth Penashue, Innu Elder, protested with others for over a decade against low-level military flight training in Innu territory, which frightened wildlife and threatened the Innu Nation's traditional way of life (Wayne 1996). She was arrested several times, yet persisted, remarking that the stakes were too high to give up (Wayne 1996). Innu community members also protested when government delayed acting on their commitment to clear the Muskrat Falls reservoir area of vegetation prior to flooding and to lower water levels in the reservoir (CBC News 2017, Jun. 21). This pressure led to government lowering water levels (CBC News 2017, Jun. 21), which

demonstrates that cynicism can lead to positive outcomes for the protection of land. As an alternative to protest, this same desire to protect the land leads some Innu community members to participate in conservation organizations. Willow (2016) interviewed Indigenous members of the Boreal Leadership Council (BLC), including Innu people, who expressed that they participate to support treaty rights, cultural preservation, and land-based subsistence. Engagement in conservation alliances such as the BLC, which specifically excludes government representatives (Willow 2016), indicates that Innu communities are cynical that government will provide these protections.

4.4.3 Cynicism among government officials

Cynicism can go both ways and government officials have repeatedly expressed cynicism towards both the Innu Nation and each other. Provincial opposition members have often critiqued the government's response to concerns over Muskrat Falls, even going so far as to accuse the Province of deliberate inaction on methylmercury mitigation (McCabe 2019). Government cynicism towards the Innu Nation has often been about money. When asked why the federal government imposed third-party management over Innu Nation finances, rather than a less imposing form of intervention, the government's response was "we believed in our judgement this was the best approach to take" (Taillon 2001, para. 21). In 2017, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau reinforced this patriarchal stance by suggesting that the federal government has not increased spending for on-reserve children's social services because many communities are not prepared for the money (Brake 2017, Jun. 3). Trudeau said "We're ready to invest in you. You just need to tell us how you need it spent, where you're going to spend it and how you can best help" (Brake 2017, Jun. 3, para. 16), implying that the federal government does not trust Indigenous people to spend their money in the way it is most needed. In Natuashish, some

politicians and non-Innu community officials suggest that the problems facing the Innu Nation stem from dependence on government funds (Cherney 2002). These paternalistic attitudes manifest in comments such as Progressive Conservative MHA Keith Russel dismissing Innu concerns of Muskrat Falls development disrupting sacred ground as “mumbo jumbo” (Brake 2014, para. 12), though he later apologized, and former Premier Brian Peckford condescendingly telling Innu participants “I’m not sure you’re being as smart as you think you’re being” (Alcantara 2007, p. 199) at the 1987 First Ministers Constitutional Conference on Aboriginal Rights. When these kinds of cynical comments and attitudes come from provincial and federal leaders, it makes settler Canadians believe it is acceptable to act similarly and fuels mutual cynicism, which is destructive to relationship-building.

4.4.4 Cynicism among academics

In the literature many examples of cynicism were described in the words of academics, rather than in the words of people directly involved. Many of these examples were about protests, which can be described as cynicism in action. While most of these examples simply described events, the way they are described can indicate what details the author deemed important. McKinley (2008) took a balanced perspective to discussing the Voisey’s Bay protests. Instead of only describing the inconvenience to industry caused by the protests, McKinley (2008) used language such as “Inco’s insistence that it had the right to build exploration infrastructure caused the Innu/Inuit to undertake another protest” (p. 97), giving credibility to the Innu Nation’s reason for protesting. McKinley (2008) also noted that the Innu Nation described Inco’s decision to develop infrastructure without consent as a “major breach of trust” (p. 99) and acknowledged that this damaged relationship led to further conflict.

The discourse used and whose story is prioritized greatly impacts the message conveyed. Multiple authors highlight the unequal distribution of risks and benefits between the Innu Nation and the Province, ranging from employment to environmental and social impacts (Lutterman 2000; Samson 2017; Samson 2016). Others emphasize the arrests made at protests against developments such as Muskrat Falls and NATO low-level flight training (Samson 2017; Morden 2015). Some academics have taken a more hands-on approach, directly advocating for the Innu Nation over Muskrat Falls methylmercury concerns (CBC News 2018, Aug. 2). A group of over 200 Canadian and American academics signed a letter sent to Justin Trudeau, calling on the government to temporarily halt the project over ecological and consultation concerns (CBC News 2018, Aug. 2). This demonstrates that many academics are skeptical of the government's intentions for the project. Not all advocacy is helpful; however, and in this case was critiqued by the Innu Nation, whose leaders called the letter "offensive and factually incorrect" (Barker 2018, para. 1) and were disappointed that the academics had visited Innu territory, met with Nalcor and other Indigenous groups, and published this letter, all without consulting the Innu Nation. While it is important that academics be critical of the world around them, consultation and partnership are necessary for this cynicism to benefit the people directly impacted by development.

4.4.5 Cynicism among reporters

Reporters, similar to academics, can have an important role in framing the relationship between the Innu Nation and the provincial government. The Innu Nation protesting government action or inaction is the most common theme discussed by reporters. Most of the statements from reporters are descriptive, as reporters are understood to be objective observers, but in some cases the language used indicates the reporter's perception of the relationship in question. This can be classified into reports that characterize the Innu Nation as the aggressor, the victim, or neutral.

While the majority of reporters use neutral language in their descriptions, multiple authors described Innu protestors as “fighting” or “fighters” (Schofield 1997; Johnson 2017; Brake 2017, Jul. 2) which is not inherently negative but could give readers the impression of aggression on the part of the Innu Nation. Brake (2017, Jul. 5) described a vigil and blockade of the Labrador Affairs office, noting that for twelve consecutive business days the protestors “prevented government employees from working out of their offices” (para. 67), though the protestors “maintain their protest is in response to what they say is [Premier] Ball’s broken promise” (para. 68). This kind of language is not used to describe any other party in the article and frames the statements to suggest that the government employees are the victims and that the protestors may not be telling the truth.

Alternatively, some reporters act excessively perhaps to show support for the Innu Nation. One reporter highlighted the link between protest and future engagement in resource development, noting that “weeks of passionate protests in 2016 ... led to the establishment of an independent advisory committee to look at the threat of methylmercury poisoning” (CBC News 2018, May 7, para. 20) at Muskrat Falls. It is worth noting that this is the only statement from a reporter coded for cynicism that used the word poisoning rather than pollution or contamination. Nikiforuk (2019) is especially cynical of the government’s response to protest, comparing the 1989 Innu protests against low-level military flight training and subsequent arrests to the Oka Crisis, citing both as examples of “how the state responds to First Nations defending intrusions on their land” (para. 23). Some reporters are even more outspoken. Matthew Behrens, reporter and organizer of a Muskrat Falls panel discussion, commented on Nalcor’s plan to issue warnings about eating traditional foods if methylmercury levels increase. Behrens said, “Would you feel it’s acceptable to introduce methylmercury into the Toronto water supply and just advise

people to monitor the levels when they want to drink some water?” (Johnson 2017, para. 15).

While the public may often consider reporters to be neutral, the words they use in their reports contribute to framings that can stick in public memory.

4.4.6 Cynicism among settler Canadians and the church

Many settler Canadians knowingly or unknowingly hold biased beliefs about Indigenous peoples. The case of the Innu Nation in Labrador is no different. For example, a construction worker performing electrical work in Natuashish claimed that his equipment was vandalized by community members on a daily basis, while other construction workers said that his claims were exaggerated (Hutchinson 2003). Settler Canadians have also been cynical of Innu people in the workplace. At the Voisey’s Bay nickel mine, non-Innu employees said that Innu people were only hired to fill a quota mandated in the Impact Benefit Agreement, not for their skills, and expressed these opinions to their Innu co-workers (Cox & Mills 2015). Similarly, some members of the church are dismissive of the problems facing the Innu community. A Catholic priest from Natuashish remarked that “nobody here takes responsibility” (Cherney 2002, para. 10) and that Innu community members tend to blame the government, church, and school system for their problems. Maxwell (2011) found that some health workers also use discourse that blames the individual for their struggles. This cynicism demonstrates a lack of understanding about how colonial systems have historically contributed to challenges experienced by the Innu Nation. Cynicism was the most prevalent type of trust found in the documents reviewed. While some forms of cynicism can damage relationships, other forms have led to actions and concessions that can help to build general trust for future interactions.

5.0 Discussion and Conclusions

Contention over natural resource development is an ongoing issue in Canada and around the world. Trust is frequently used to describe how different parties involved in natural resource development relate to each other. This research used a single case study of the relationship between the Innu Nation and the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador to explore trust through the lens of Parkins et al.'s (2017) framework. Documents were analyzed for four types of trust: critical trust, uncritical trust, distrust, and cynicism. Cynicism was found to be the most common, followed by critical trust, distrust, and uncritical trust. The following section discusses the implications of these results for policy, theory, relationship-building, and the nature of trust.

5.1 Critical Trust and Relationship-building

While the presence of critical trust is generally positive, the formation and breaking of critical trust is a vital indicator of the strength of future relationships. The relationship between the Innu Nation and the Province has demonstrated that the strength of trust-based relationships is predicated upon whether the parties involved have previously acted in a trustworthy manner. This is the essence of the concept of general trust (Parkins et al. 2017), more specifically how previous experience and current events can act as a feedback loop to build or damage a trust relationship. An individual's previous experience of trust-based relationships impacts how they perceive the intentions of others in future relationships, either with the same party or a different party. In turn, how that party acts either reinforces or challenges the individual's experience. In the language of Mayer et al. (1995), individual influences on trust shape perceptions of interpersonal influences, which can alter individual influences moving forward. Coleman and Stern (2018) would describe this phenomenon in terms of dispositional and affinitive trust influencing rational trust and vice versa.

In the case of the relationship between Innu Nation and the Province, this trust feedback loop has been historically negative. The impacts of colonialism have led to low general trust, which severely impacts the ability to form critical trust relationships. However, government actions can interrupt this loop and challenge perceptions of untrustworthiness. Government taking Innu concerns seriously (Poker 2018), allowing the Innu Nation to control their own affairs such as education and policing (Black 2000), and making amends for past mistakes through compensation for the Upper Churchill hydroelectric development (Innu Nation 2008) are all examples of government proving itself to be more trustworthy, which improves the likelihood of critical trust existing in future interactions. The fact that trust relationships can always be improved is an important implication for policy decisions in Labrador. Since there has been a long history of actions detracting from general trust, it could take a substantial amount of work to make critical trust the norm in Innu-Provincial relations.

5.2 Lack of Uncritical Trust and Distrust

Uncritical trust and distrust were both difficult to find in the documents reviewed. This could be due to the history of colonial violence the Innu Nation has faced at the hands of various levels of government. The lack of uncritical trust was not surprising. The example of Elizabeth Penashue's mother's excitement over their new house (Wayne 1996) came from the early days of the Innu-Provincial relationship, before any explicit betrayals of trust had occurred. Once trust has been broken, it is very difficult, perhaps impossible, to have uncritical trust because of the negative history between the parties involved. Similarly, distrust is difficult to account for because it exists without skepticism. Most of the examples of distrust were focused on children, which makes sense because young children may not have yet developed the ability to be skeptical. In the case of the Innu Nation and the Province, trust relationships are defined by

skepticism due to previous experiences of broken trust. Since every new interaction builds upon historic relations, it is improbable for trust without skepticism to exist in a relationship with a history of trust being breached. This is an important implication for policymakers to consider when dealing with contention over natural resource development and its related community issues. The goal should not be to reduce or eliminate the Innu Nation's skepticism, but rather to use that skepticism to foster engagement in decision-making processes.

5.3 Prevalence of Cynicism

Cynicism is the least desirable of the four types of trust yet is the most prevalent in Innu-Provincial relations. Most documented examples of cynicism come from the Innu Nation and are directed towards government. The Innu Nation has good reason to be cynical of government's intentions, based on a long history of colonial violence, aggressive reactions to protests (Nikiforuk 2019), and ongoing paternal comments and actions (Taillon 2001; Alcantara 2007; Brake 2017, Jun. 3). This attitude that "government knows best" and the prevalence of prejudiced and ignorant opinions among government officials and settler Canadians is what has led to the many breaches of trust contributing to the Innu Nation's present-day cynicism towards government.

An implication for theory that arose from this project is the observation that protest is cynicism in action. Protesting is a public way of displaying that one party does not have confidence that another party will act in their best interest, in this case the Innu Nation and the provincial government, respectively. This lack of trust can ultimately lead to positive outcomes, such as actions to create more equal distribution of risks and benefits and increased protections for both the land and people impacted by natural resource development. Another important consideration is the differences in opinion across the three Indigenous groups impacted by the

Muskrat Falls hydroelectric development. While the Nunatsiavut and NunatuKavut leaders were in favour of soil removal to mitigate methylmercury pollution, the Innu Nation did not agree, which became a contentious issue since the Innu Nation has a land claim agreement for the area in question (Samson 2019). It is crucial to never assume that all Indigenous groups in an area will be homogeneous in their perspectives on natural resource development, because every community, whether Indigenous or settler, has differing opinions, priorities, and concerns.

5.4 Limitations of the Theoretical Framework

Parkins et al.'s (2017) framework and its four types of trust provided the structure for this project. Comparing general trust and skepticism made for straightforward analysis; however, some aspects of the relationship between the Innu Nation and the provincial government do not fit neatly into one of four boxes. This is because the framework does not explicitly take colonialism or power imbalances into account. In a cross-cultural situation where one party holds power over another, such as in Innu-Provincial relations, trust relationships become more complex. I evaluated critical trust based on a willingness to work together while still critiquing the actions of another party, but in the case of Indigenous-state relations it is unclear if this is done out of trust or necessity. There were a small number of statements in the reviewed documents that explained how what appeared to be critical trust may actually be based in self-preservation. Alcantara (2007) noted that a key incentive for the Innu Nation to negotiate an Agreement in Principle with the Province was that development would still occur in absence of a settlement, and so Innu Nation leaders faced pressure to ensure a share of the benefits for their communities. This could explain why the agreement was passed with little skepticism from community members, not because of critical or uncritical trust, but because it was deemed the only option for the Innu Nation to benefit from future developments. Innu protestors also told

Schofield (1997) that they believed the Voisey's Bay nickel mine was impossible to stop but were fighting to benefit from the project. Rousseau et al.'s (1998) definition of trust centered around the intention to accept vulnerability based upon positive expectations of another party. In the case of Indigenous-state relations, this acceptance of vulnerability is not a free choice, but rather a means of survival and a way of ensuring that groups such as the Innu Nation are not overlooked and that the risks and benefits of development are distributed more equitably. The theoretical framework as it stands does not have room for the nuance of why vulnerability is accepted and how historical power relations can leave one party with no choice but to rely on another.

5.5 Recommendations for Future Research

This project assessed the evolving role of trust in Innu-Provincial relations for natural resource development through document review, which is only one of many research tools. Document review is limited because the information collected represents only soundbites of a bigger picture. The opinions of those directly impacted by development can be lost or misinterpreted in the publication process and then again can be misconstrued by the researcher. Future research aimed at improving our understanding of trust in settler-Indigenous relations could compare the results of this study to data collected from interviews to determine if primary data tell a similar story about the relationship between the Innu Nation and the Province. Other methods that could access first-hand perspectives include focus groups and workshops, as well as more creative participatory methods involving art or oral history. Another gap that future research could address is the role of youth in environmental decision-making. Public engagement processes often do not consider the opinions of children and youth, which can lead to low general trust. Future research could investigate if there is a connection between trust among Innu

youth and the degree to which they are involved in environmental decision-making. On a theoretical level, future research could also build upon the Parkins et al. (2017) framework to find a way to distinguish between willfully accepting vulnerability and cooperating to avoid being left behind in relationships shaped by colonialism. This distinction is critical for understanding trust-based relationships, particularly those that are characterized by unequal power dynamics. In the case of the Innu Nation and the Province, the role of trust in their relationship has changed rapidly over the past seventy years and will continue to evolve. Further insight into the nature and role of trust, particularly through collaboration with affected communities, has the potential to significantly contribute to the equitable distribution of power, risks, and benefits in natural resource development in Labrador.

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