

WHERE WE STAND:

Labradorians' views of the Muskrat Falls proposal

Todd Russell, M.P.
March, 2011

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INTRODUCTION

The proposed Muskrat Falls hydro-electric development, announced on November 18, 2010, has generated hope, interest, and concern throughout Labrador.

The dam, generating station, and related transmission lines together would be one of the largest construction projects in Canadian history. The proposed development would also be the latest in a long line of resource mega-projects in Labrador. However, the history of those projects has not always been favourable to the people and communities of Labrador. We have not seen a fair share of the benefits when the natural wealth of the land we call home has been developed.

It was with this history in mind, but also with a view towards the future, that many of us now consider the Muskrat Falls proposal. I found that reaction to the proposal from Labradorians was not always as eager or uncritical as reaction elsewhere in the province or the country. With this observation in mind, I conducted a survey of my constituents across Labrador, as well as a telephone “virtual town hall”, in an effort to fully canvass the diversity of views in Labrador.

This report presents the findings of that public opinion research. I would like to thank the many hundreds of people from throughout Labrador, from every community and every walk of life, who took part in these consultation processes. *This report is your report.*

While not “polling” in the conventional sense, the results of these exercises in grassroots participation are still quite striking.

Labradorians clearly have serious concerns about the proposed project, about its environmental impacts, and about its economic benefits to our region.

These concerns are shared even by supporters of the project.

A resource development such as the Muskrat Falls project can only be done once. It is vital that it be developed right, if it is to be developed at all.

I hope that this report will help to stimulate discussion and inform the debate about the proposed project.

The time to speak up and to speak out is now. Whatever your stand on these important issues, I encourage you to continue to make your own voice heard.



Todd Russell, M.P.
Labrador

METHODOLOGY

Mail-in Survey

Starting December 8th, 2010, mail-in survey forms were made available on the internet at <todd russell.ca>. Surveys were available in all four languages which have significant presence in Labrador: English, French, Labrador Inuttitut and Innu-aimun. Translations from the English original were professionally prepared.

Both traditional news outlets and electronic media were used to promote the survey, with articles appearing in print or on-air during the survey period in *The Labradorian*, *The Northern Pen*, and on CBC Radio's Labrador Morning, and the OKalaKatiget Society. Follow-up news articles appeared in *The Aurora*, *The Telegram*, *The Western Star*, *The Labradorian*, and *The Northern Pen*.

The on-line availability of the survey was also promoted through direct email, listserv messages, and Facebook contacts with constituents.

Starting in the same week, surveys were printed and mailed to every residential address in Labrador. Bilingual English/Inuttitut forms were mailed to the five north coast Nunatsiavut communities, while bilingual English/Innu-aimun forms were mailed to Natuashish and North West River/Sheshatshiu.

Additional forms were available in each Labrador M.P. riding office, located in L'anse au Loup, Labrador City, and Happy Valley-Goose Bay. The forms were also distributed upon request.

The response was immediate: the first surveys were returned electronically and by fax on December 9th. However, owing to weather conditions and holiday-period mail delivery, many communities did not receive the mailed-out version of the survey

until after the New Year. Accordingly, after an appropriate amount of time had passed to allow for surveys to be returned by mail, on January 25th, a deadline date of February 4th was set for the return or postmarking of completed surveys.

A total of 285 completed surveys were returned from respondents who could be validated as residents of Labrador. There were also approximately five surveys from former Labrador residents. A further number of surveys, approximately ten, were submitted without names or addresses. For the purpose of the analysis in this report, only those responses from identified Labrador residents are considered. However, it should be noted that the surveys from "ex-pats" or anonymous respondents generally reflected the same range of opinion as the validated surveys.

Telephone "Virtual Town Hall"

On February 23rd, a "Virtual Town Hall" was held across Labrador. This event was publicized starting a week in advance through traditional media, including articles in *The Labradorian* and *The Aurora*, as well as through website, Facebook, listserv, and direct email messages.

On the day of the Virtual Town Hall, a call-in number was made available to participants. The communications firm which handled the technical aspects also made outbound calls to listed residential phone numbers, inviting the person answering the call to participate. The Town Hall took place on the evening of the 23rd from 7:30 to 9:00 p.m. (8:00 to 9:30 p.m. in the Newfoundland Time Zone).

A total of just over 2100 participants were logged during this event. (This is not necessarily the number of unique participants;

some were counted twice, having dropped the call at some point, only to call back in.)

While not all callers stayed on the line for the entire 90 minutes, attendance reached 400 in the first 15 minutes, and maintained or exceeded that level for the rest of the call. Peak attendance, about 30 minutes into the event, was 560.

Discounting participants who stayed on the line for less than two minutes, the average participant listened in or took part for 37 of the 90 minutes. More than 300 participants remained on the line for an hour or longer.

In addition to asking questions or making comments live to other participants, callers were invited to “vote” in nine touch-tone polling questions throughout the course of the call. The nine questions were identical to nine of the twelve questions in the mail-in survey. (Technical and time constraints limited the number of touch-tone questions to nine.) Total participation in the touch-tone votes ranged from 111 to 306.

By these measures, and as a percentage of households and electors in the federal riding of Labrador, participation in this virtual town hall was considered to be among the highest ever seen by the firm which handled the technical organization of the virtual town hall.

Additional Notes

In this report, the regions “West”, “North”, “Central” and “South” refer to the regions shown in the map opposite. Respondents were assigned a region based on the postal code provided in their survey form, or the postal code assigned to their survey form in the process of coding the results.

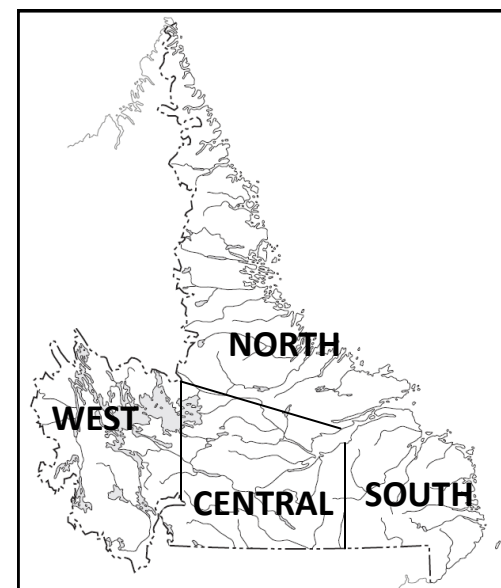
Respondents were asked to voluntarily self-identify as Inuit/Nunatsiavut Beneficiary, Innu, Metis/NunatuKavut Member, or Other Heritage. (Too few respondents self-identified as Innu to draw any reliable inferences.)

Respondents were also asked to voluntarily self-identify by age bracket: Under 18, 18-30, 31-64, and 65 or over. Too few respondents self-identified as being under 18 to draw any reliable inferences. The other age brackets are referred to in this report as “young adults”, “career-age adults” and “seniors and elders” respectively.

Survey respondents were invited to provide additional written comments. Nearly 60% of survey responses chose to do so. Some of these comments, when closely related to a survey question, are reproduced throughout this report, with a selection of others provided in Appendix I.

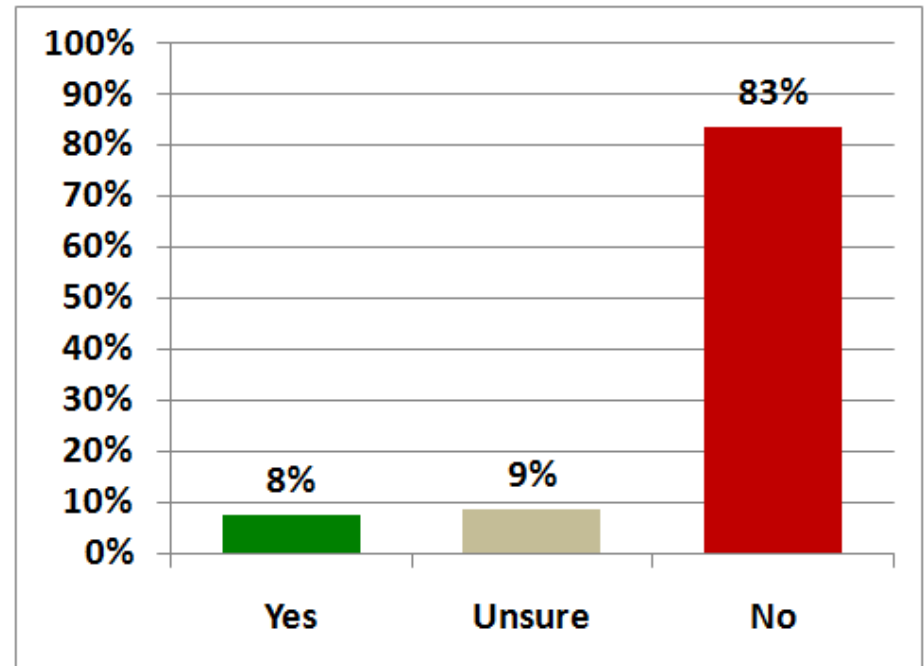
Survey respondents were also offered a copy of the final survey report. More than 80% made such a request, suggesting a very high level of public interest in the issues at hand.

Note that the percentages given throughout this report may not total exactly 100%, due to rounding.



Question 1. *Does the proposed Muskrat Falls development provide enough benefit for the people of Labrador?*

- Overall, 83% of survey respondents said no, 8% said yes, and 9% were unsure.
- Regionally, the “no” response was the majority throughout Labrador. It was highest in the South (93%), North (83%) and Central (82%) regions.
- In the West, 64% said no, 29% said yes.
- There was no significant difference between men and women in response to this question: 84% of men and 83% of women responded no.
- There was a significant difference in opinion by age bracket. Young adults (18 to 30) responded 56% no, 19% unsure, 25% yes. Career-age adults (31 to 64) responded 83% no, 10% unsure, 7% yes. Seniors and elders (65 and older) responded 95% no.
- There was a slight variation by ethnic self-identification. “No” was the largest response among self-identified Inuit or Nunatsiavut Beneficiaries (88%), Metis or NunatuKavut members (96%), and respondents of other or unspecified heritage (72%).
- The “no” response was also the largest response (63%) among respondents who indicated, in their response to Question 12, that they somewhat or strongly support the



Muskrat Falls project. 96% of those who were somewhat or strongly opposed to the project answered “no”.

- This question was also asked during the Virtual Town Hall. 73% of respondents said no, 13% said yes, and 14% were unsure.

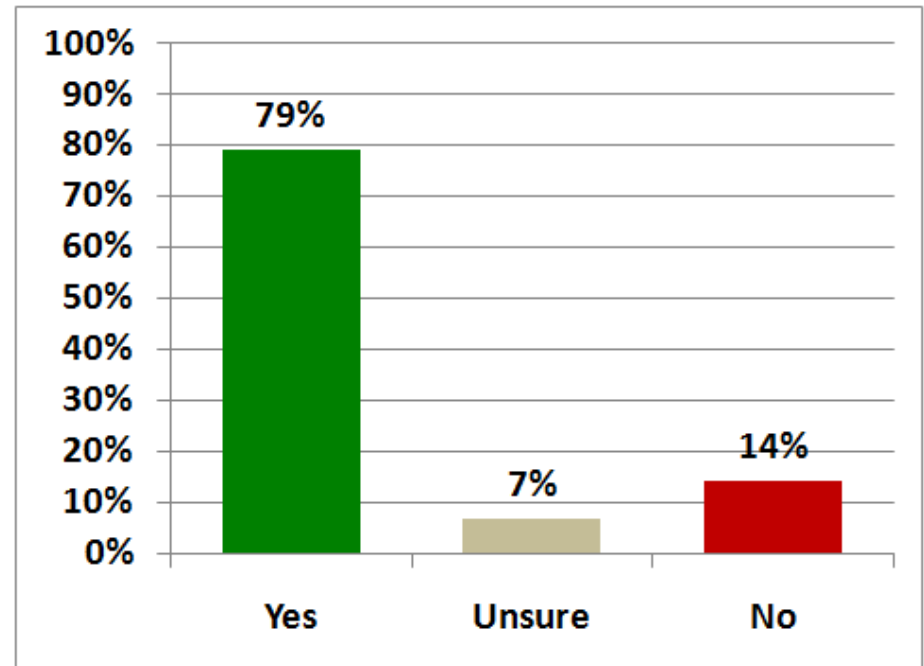
Related survey comments:

“If Muskrat Falls are developed, I feel that Labradorians, Inuit, Innu, Metis and settlers that feel Labrador is their home should benefit first.”

“Labradorians should benefit first and foremost from Labrador Resources.”

Question 2. Are you concerned about the environmental impacts of the proposed Muskrat Falls project?

- Overall, 79% of survey respondents said yes, 14% said no, and 7% were unsure.
- Regionally, the “yes” response was the majority throughout Labrador. It was highest in the South (81%), North (83%) and Central (81%) regions.
- In the West, 61% said yes, 32% said no.
- Women (85%) were somewhat more likely to answer yes to this question than men (75%)
- There was very little variation by age, with 81% of young adults (18-30), 77% of career-age adults (31-64) and 88% of seniors and elders (65+) answering yes. Young adults had the highest “unsure” response, at 13%, and career-age adults had the highest “no” response, at 15%.
- There was a variation by ethnic self-identification: self-identified Inuit or Nunatsiavut Beneficiaries responded 90% yes, 7% no; Metis or NunatuKavut members 86% yes, 5% no; and respondents of other or unspecified heritage were 67% yes, 25% no.
- The “yes” response was also the largest response (59%) even among respondents who indicated, in their response to Question 12, that they somewhat or strongly support the Muskrat Falls project. 35% of project supporters answered “no”. On the other hand, 92% of those who somewhat or strongly oppose the project answered yes to Question 2.
- This question was also asked during the Virtual Town Hall. 58% of respondents said yes, 26% said no, and 16% were unsure.



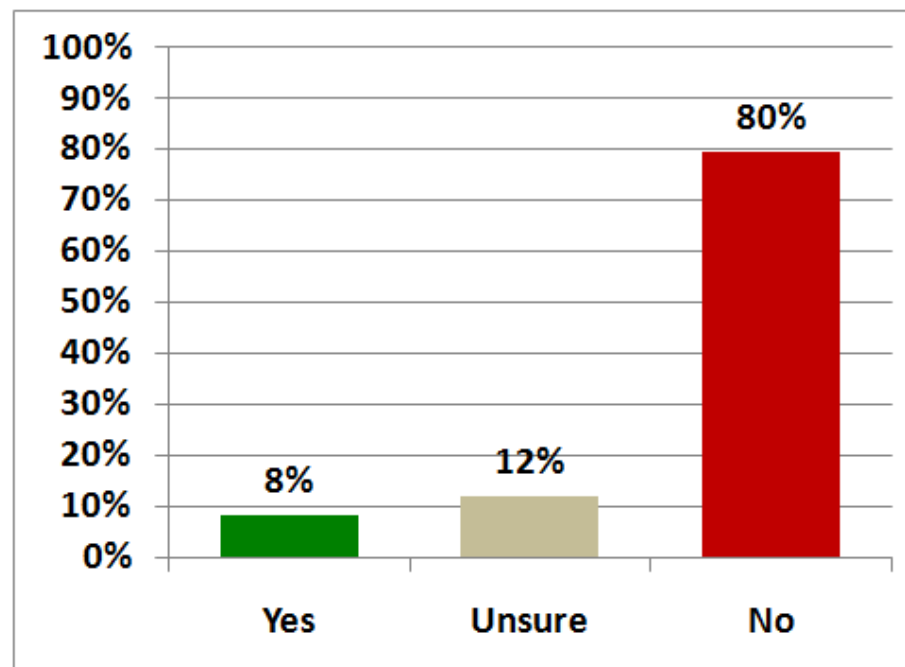
Related survey comments:

“I don’t think the project should go ahead at all because it will ruin the environment and therefore have a detrimental effect on our lives.”

“They want to develop the Lower Churchill on what grounds? Nalcor doesn’t even have an environmental study of the Upper Churchill, on what damage has been done.”

Question 3. *Have Labradorians been properly consulted about the proposed Muskrat Falls project?*

- Overall, 80% of survey respondents said no, 8% said yes, and 12% were unsure.
- Regionally, the “no” response was the majority throughout Labrador. It was highest in the North (94%), and South (86%), but lower in the Central (75%) and West (63%) regions.
- Men (82%) were slightly more likely than women (76%) to answer no to this question.
- There was a significant variation in opinion by age bracket. Young adults (18 to 30) responded 56% no, 19% unsure, 25% yes. Career-age adults (31 to 64) responded 79% no, 14% unsure, 7% yes. Seniors and elders (65 and older) responded 91% no.
- “No” was the largest response among self-identified Inuit or Nunatsiavut Beneficiaries (87%) and Metis or NunatuKavut members (90%). On the other hand, 68% of respondents of other or unspecified heritage responded “no”, 16% said yes, and 17% were unsure.
- The “no” response was also the largest response (53%) among people who indicated in Question 12 that they somewhat or strongly support the Muskrat Falls project. 26% of project supporters answered “yes”, and 21% were unsure. 92% of those who were somewhat or strongly opposed answered “no”.



- This question was not asked during the Virtual Town Hall.

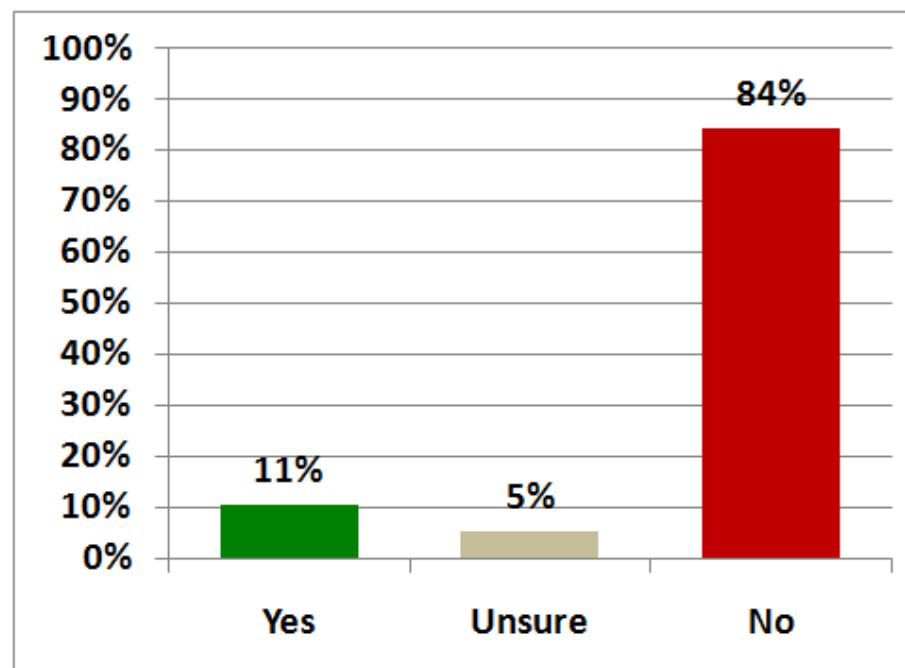
Related survey comments:

“I do not support the Muskrat Falls project at all, without the consent of all Labradorians who have been briefed in all areas and understand every aspect of this deal.”

“Rigolet should be consulted, as we will be greatly impacted by the proposed hydro-electric dam – including our traditional lifestyle.”

Question 4. *Do you feel that you have enough information about the proposed Muskrat Falls project?*

- Overall, 84% of survey respondents said no, 11% said yes, and 5% were unsure.
- Regionally, the “no” response was the majority throughout Labrador. It varied from 97% in the North and 90% in the South to 81% in Central and 68% in the West.
- Women and men both responded 84% no to this question.
- There was no significant variation in opinion by age bracket. Young adults (18 to 30) responded 81% no, 13% yes. Career-age adults (31 to 64) responded 83% no, 11% yes. Seniors and elders (65 and older) responded 90% no, 9% yes.
- “No” was the largest response among self-identified Inuit or Nunatsiavut Beneficiaries (93%) and Metis or NunatuKavut members (91%), while 74% of respondents of other or unspecified heritage responded “no”, and 19% said “yes”.
- The “no” response was also the largest response (66%) among people who indicated in Question 12 that they somewhat or strongly support the Muskrat Falls project. 24% of project supporters answered “yes”. 91% of project opponents, and 100% of those who are unsure whether they support the project, answered “no” to Question 4.
- This question was not asked during the Virtual Town Hall.



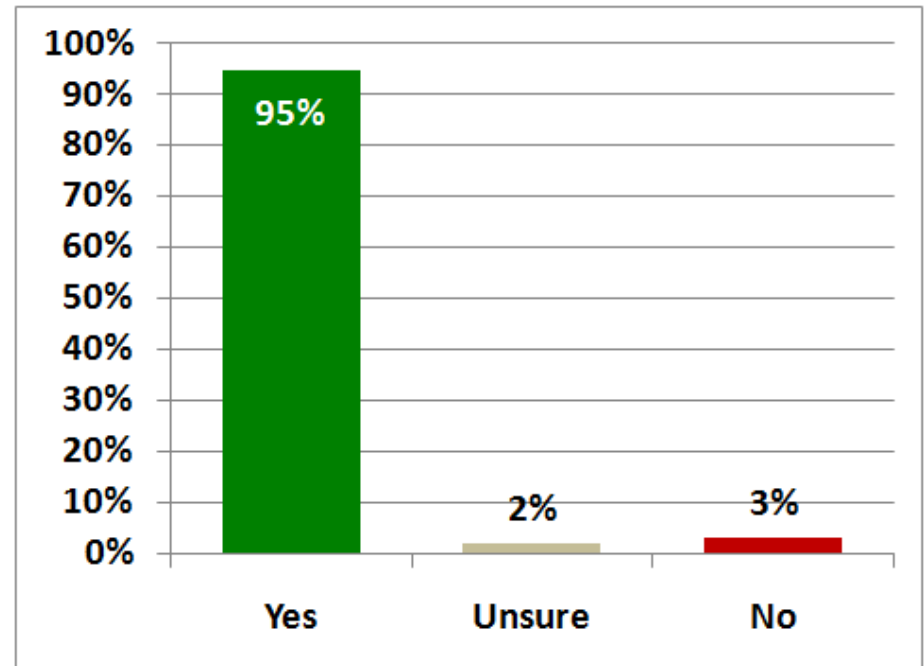
Related survey comments:

“There isn’t enough information about this project. The people of Labrador should be informed on what’s going on. Too much GIVE-aways by the Newfoundland government. We will be all left in the dark once again.”

“Labradorians should be given more information and more benefits as pertaining to the Hydro that will be going from our land. I like to see more in the long term. The jobs that will help but that’s only short term.”

Question 5. *Should Muskrat Falls power be available in Labrador for residential and commercial customers?*

- Overall, 95% of survey respondents said yes, 3% said no, and 2% were unsure.
- Regionally, the “yes” response was the overwhelming majority throughout Labrador.
- Only in the North (89%) did the “yes” response drop below 90%.
- There was no significant variation between the opinions of men (94% “yes”) and women (95%) on this question.
- There was virtually no variation by age, with 100% of young adults (18-30), 96% of career-age adults (31-64) and 91% of seniors and elders (65+) answering yes.
- Support cut across all ethnic lines, with self-identified Inuit or Nunatsiavut Beneficiaries (96%), Metis or NunatuKavut members (96%) and respondents of other or unspecified heritage (93%) all answering overwhelmingly yes to this question.
- The “yes” response was also the overwhelming response regardless of respondents’ stance on the project overall. 97% of those who somewhat or strongly support the project, said “yes”, compared to 95% of those who somewhat or strongly oppose.



- This question was not asked during the Virtual Town Hall.

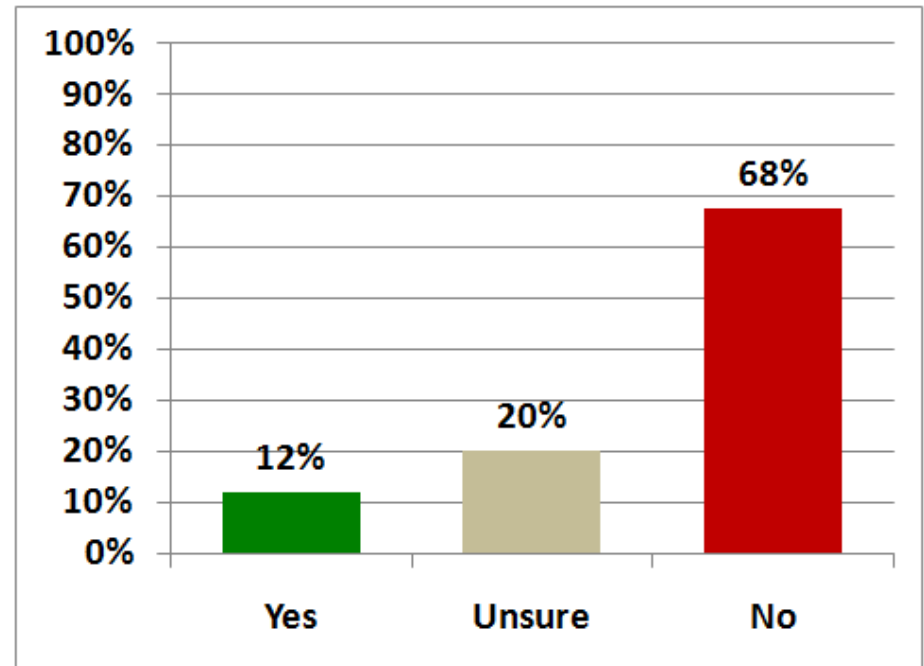
Related survey comments:

“Very concerned that power will be unavailable to us on all of the Labrador Coast. Everyone should get power from this project. If it costs more, then it costs more. The power should not go out of Labrador until there is power lines from Nain to L’Anse au Clair. I feel Labradorians should be the primary beneficiaries of this project, that includes electrical distribution. ”

“We should be using Labrador power to refine Labrador minerals, energize Labrador industry and supply power to the Labrador Coast.”

Question 6. Does the proposed agreement respect the Aboriginal rights of Innu, Inuit, and Metis in Labrador?

- Overall, 68% of survey respondents said no, 12% said yes, and 20% were unsure — one of only two questions where the “unsure” response reached 20%.
- Regionally, the “no” response was the majority in the South (79%) North (71%) and Central (70%) regions. In the West, 39% answered “yes”, 39% were unsure, and 21% answered “no”.
- There was very little variation between men and women in response to this question: 69% of men and 66% of women responded no. Women were slightly more likely to respond “unsure” (25% vs. 17% for men).
- There was a significant difference in opinion by age bracket. Young adults (18 to 30) responded 50% no, 31% yes. Career-age adults (31 to 64) responded 66% no, 12% yes. Seniors and elders (65 and older) responded 79% no, 5% yes.
- There was a significant variation according to ethnic self-identification. 79% of Inuit and Nunatsiavut Beneficiaries, and 91% of Metis or NunatuKavut Members, responded “no”. Opinion among respondents of other or unspecified heritage was split, with 44% answering no, 24% yes, and 32% unsure.
- Opinion was also divided among supporters of the project, 36% of whom answered no to this question, 35% yes, and 28% unsure. Among project opponents, the response was 86% no and 12% unsure. Among those who are unsure whether or not they support the project, the response to this question was 57% no, 43% unsure.



- This question was also asked during the Virtual Town Hall. 61% of respondents said no, 7% said yes, and 31% were unsure.

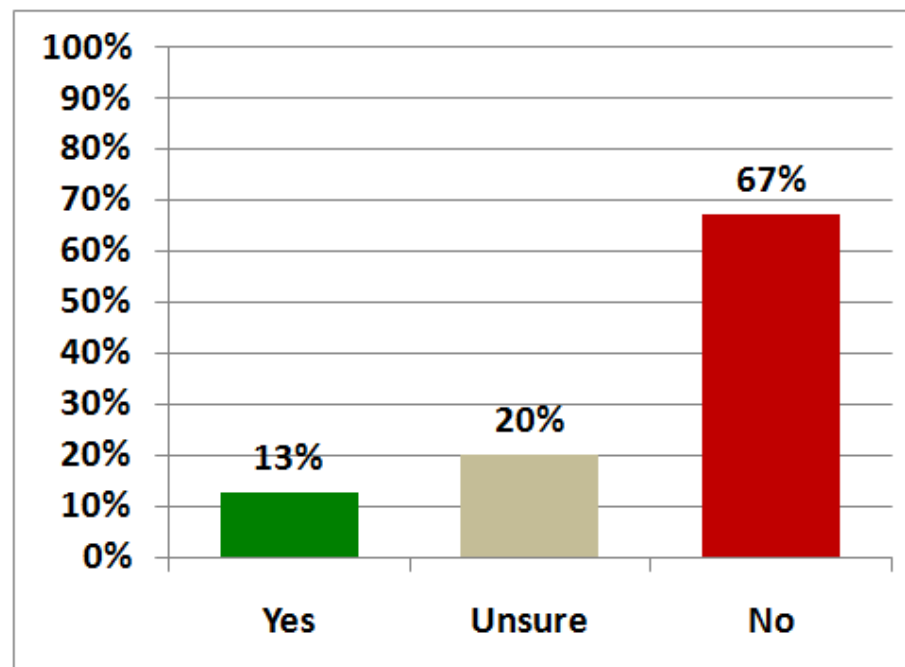
Related survey comments:

“I would like to see all Aboriginal people and settlers and also new residents of Labrador receive full benefits from this project, if government can’t provide this, the project should be terminated.”

“It has to include Metis rights and land claim. We lived on this land longer than anyone, now its time for us and our children to have our rights of being here.”

Question 7. Are you satisfied with the proposed employment benefits for Labrador residents?

- Overall, 67% of survey respondents said no, 13% said yes, and 20% were unsure — one of only two questions where the “unsure” response reached 20%.
- Regionally, the “no” response was the majority in the South (77%) North (69%) and Central (67%) regions. In the West, a plurality of 41% said no, 33% yes. “Unsure” responses ranged from 26% in the West and North to 15% in the South.
- There was no variation between men and women on this question, with both genders’ responses being within 1% of the overall result.
- There was a significant variation in opinion by age bracket. While all ages were mostly of the “no” opinion (63% among young adults, 66% among career-age adults, and 72% among seniors and elders), young adults had a much higher “yes” response rate, at 31%.
- There was a variation according to ethnic self-identification. 76% of Inuit and Nunatsiavut Beneficiaries, and 76% of Metis or NunatuKavut Members responded “no”. Opinion among people of other or unspecified heritage was more divided, with 55% answering no, 21% yes, and 23% unsure.
- Opinion also varied between supporters and opponents of the project. Among opponents, 80% answered no, and only 3% answered yes. Among supporters, 43% answered no, 36% yes, and 21% were unsure.



- This question was also asked during the Virtual Town Hall. 64% of respondents said no, 10% said yes, and 26% were unsure.

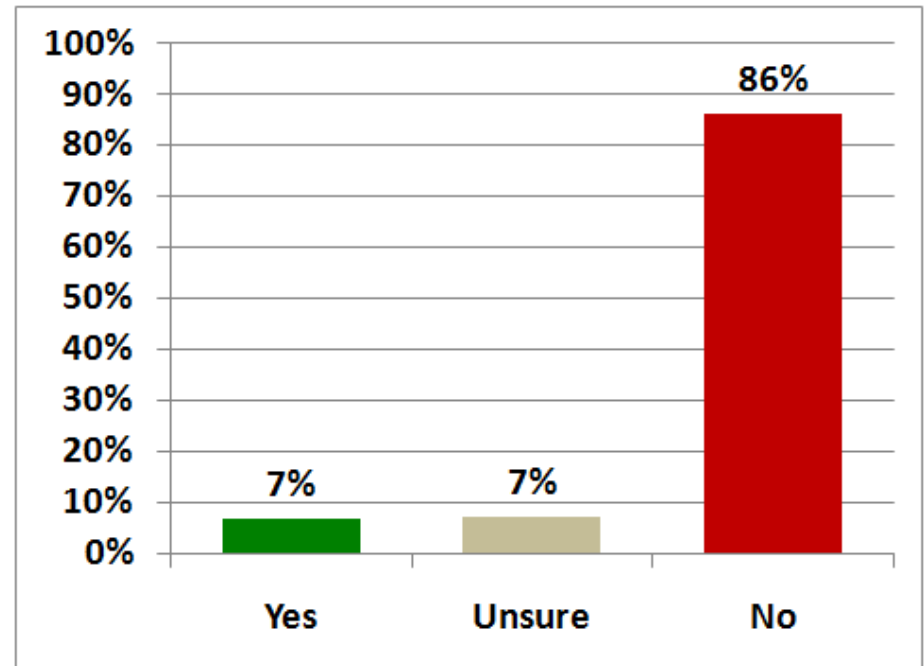
Related survey comments:

“Would like to see jobs provided for Labradorians if it goes through.”

“Treat all people in Labrador fairly when it comes to jobs and any monies that the Lower Churchill receives. All should stay in Labrador first, otherwise leave the Muskrat Falls as they are.”

Question 8. *Do you believe that Labrador will receive a fair share of revenues from Muskrat Falls power sales?*

- Overall, 86% of survey respondents said no, 7% said yes, and 7% were unsure.
- Regionally, the “no” response was the majority all across Labrador, ranging from 94% in the North and 89% in the South to 86% in Central and 67% in the West. The West was the only region where the “yes” response reached double-digits (26%).
- There was no difference between men (87% no) and women (86%) on this question.
- There was only a very slight variation by age bracket, with all age groupings overwhelmingly responding “no”: 81% of young adults, 85% of career-age adults, and 93% of seniors and elders.
- There was slight variation according to ethnic self-identification. Among both Inuit or Nunatsiavut Beneficiaries, and Metis or NunatuKavut Members, the response was 94% no. Among those of other or unspecified heritage, that figure drops to 76%.
- Even the majority (65%) of project supporters answered “no”, compared to 95% of those who are opposed to the project and 97% of those who are unsure whether they support or oppose the project.



- This question was also asked during the Virtual Town Hall. 83% of respondents said no, 8% said yes, and 9% were unsure.

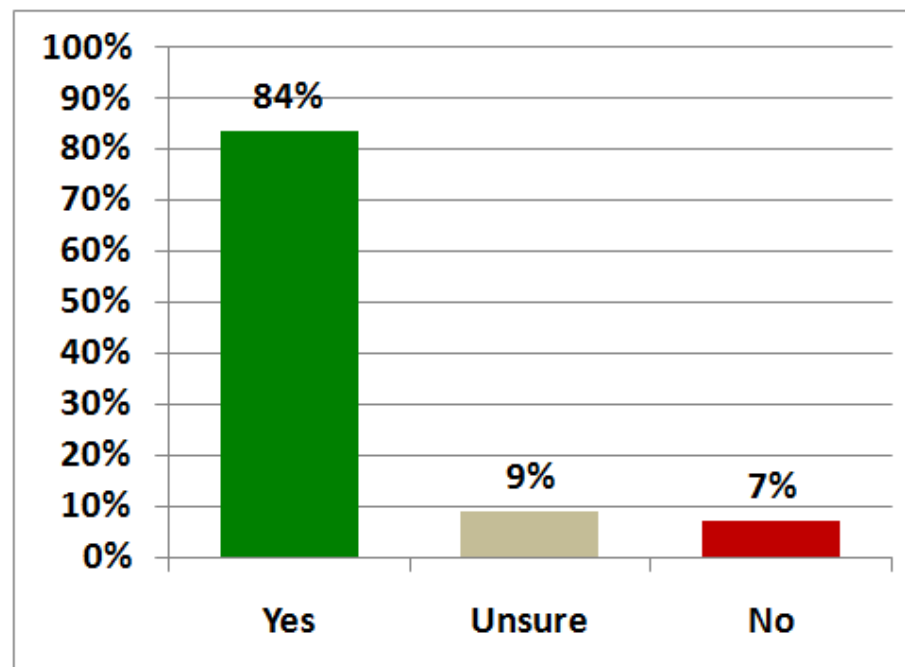
Related survey comments:

“If Labrador is not going to get the benefit of power to its people, then I think the project should be stopped.”

“If it is of no benefit to Labrador, then leave it undeveloped. In all things, there has to be a balance. We will possibly have our environment destroyed, flora and fauna; without any benefit or compensation. “

Question 9. *Should a dedicated Labrador development fund be a condition of a proposed Muskrat Falls project?*

- Overall, 84% of survey respondents said yes, 7% said no, and 9% were unsure.
- Regionally, the “yes” response was the majority throughout Labrador. It ranged from 93% in the South and 83% in the Central regions to 77% in the North and 71% in the West.
- There was no meaningful variation between women (82% yes) and men (85%) on this question.
- There was no meaningful variation among the age cohorts, with 88% of young adults and seniors, and 85% of career-aged adults, being in favour.
- There was some small variation by ethnic self-identification on this question. 82% of Inuit or Nunatsiavut Beneficiaries, 94% of Metis or NunatuKavut Members, and 78% of respondents of other or unspecified heritage being in favour.
- “Yes” support for this question also cut across lines of support or opposition for the project overall. 76% of project supporters responded “yes” to this question, compared to 88% of those who are project opponents.
- This question was also asked during the Virtual Town Hall. 62% of respondents said yes, 8% said no, and 31% were unsure.



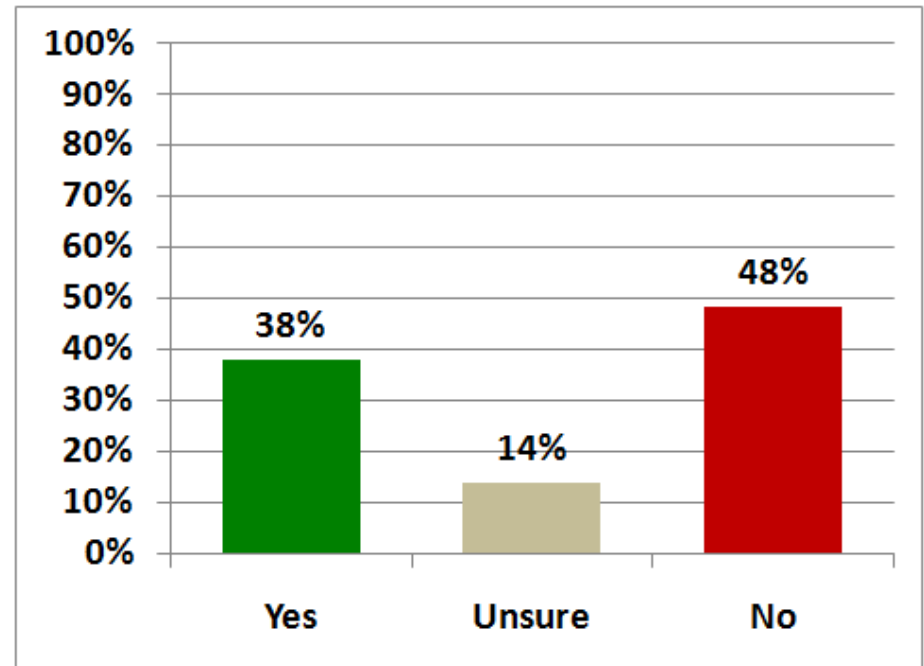
Related survey comments:

“Absolutely necessary is a heritage fund or Labrador agreement type fund.”

“A development fund would be a good idea as long as it does not cater to special interest groups, it must provide benefits for all.”

Question 10. *Do you support federal funding for transmission lines to Newfoundland or Nova Scotia?*

- Overall, 48% of survey respondents said no, 38% said yes, and 14% were unsure. This question therefore had the most “mixed” response of the twelve survey questions.
- Regionally, the “no” response was the majority throughout in the North and South (both 56%), and a plurality in Central (46%). The “yes” response had a majority (64%) in the West, and ranged from 24% in the North to 38% in Central.
- Women (50% no, 33% yes) were somewhat more opposed than men (47% no, 41% yes).
- Young adults were in favour (56% yes, 44% no); career-age adults were evenly split (42% no, 40% yes); and seniors and elders were significantly opposed (66% no, 29% yes.)
- A plurality of Inuit or Nunatsiavut Beneficiaries were opposed (48% no, 32% yes). A majority of Metis or NunatuKavut Members were opposed (65% no, 26% yes). Half of respondents of other or unspecified heritage were in favour (50% yes, 37% no.)
- Support for this question was strongly associated with support for the project overall. Among project supporters, 76% support federal funding for transmission lines, with only 11% opposed. Among project opponents, 67% oppose such funding, while 21% are in favour.
- A large number of respondents made hand-written comments to the effect that they support federal funding for transmission lines to Newfoundland or Nova Scotia, if there is similar funding for transmission within Labrador.



- This question was also asked during the Virtual Town Hall. 49% of respondents said no, 29% said yes, and 21% were unsure.

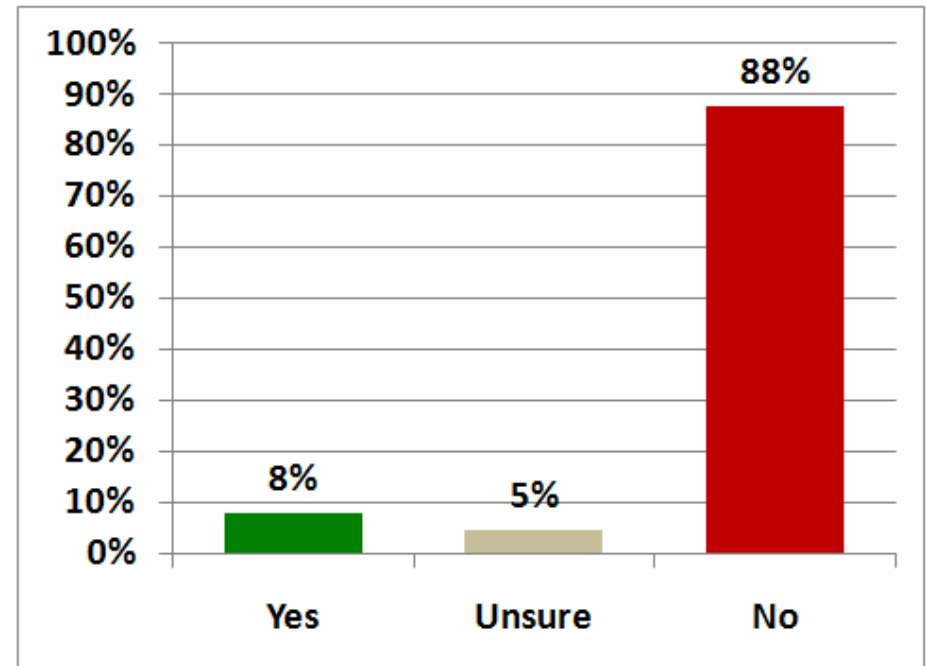
Related survey comments:

“There is no benefit to Labrador, because transmission lines is going to bypass all the communities of Labrador.”

“Seems like our energy is being taken from Labrador to help western Newfoundland, Nova Scotia and USA.”

Question 11. *Do you feel that Labradorians will be the “primary beneficiaries” of the proposed Muskrat Falls project?*

- Overall, 88% of survey respondents said no, 8% said yes, and 5% were unsure.
- Regionally, the “no” response was the majority throughout Labrador. It was highest in the South (90%), Central (89%), and North (85%) regions, and somewhat lower in the West (73%).
- Men and women were equally likely to answer “no” to this question.
- There was no significant variation in opinion by age bracket. Young adults (18 to 30) responded 94% no, career-age adults (31 to 64) responded 87% no, and seniors and elders (65 and older) responded 93% no.
- The response cut across ethnic lines as well. 95% of Inuit or Nunatsiavut Beneficiaries, 94% of Metis or NunatuKavut Members, and 78% of respondents of other or unspecified heritage, responded “no” on this question.
- The “no” response was also the response of the majority (74%) among people who indicated in Question 12 that they somewhat or strongly support the Muskrat Falls project. 93% of those who were somewhat or strongly opposed, and 93% of those who are unsure whether they support or oppose the project, responded “no” to Question 11.
- This question was also asked during the Virtual Town Hall. 88% of respondents said no, 4% said yes, and 8% were unsure.



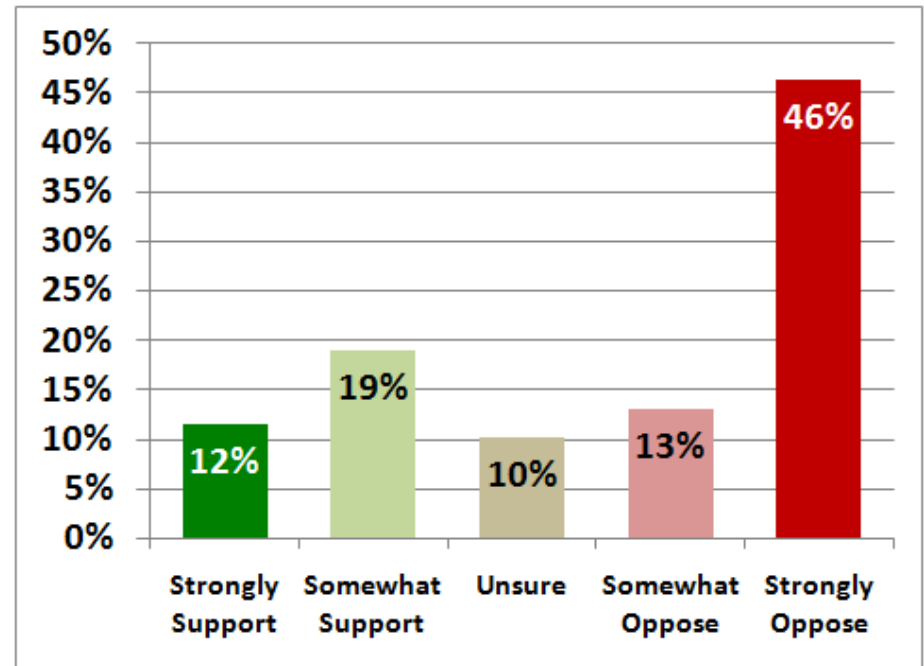
Related survey comments:

“I strongly feel that Newfoundland will be the only beneficiaries in this project, the same as our nickel and our power in CFLCo. and iron ore. Labrador should be a very rich part of the province not St. John’s.”

“My husband and I strongly believe that Labrador should get the most benefits from the Muskrat Falls project. Because it belongs to Labrador they took everything else from us like Voisey’s Bay and now we should be the first to get power if it goes through, if not it should stay like it is.”

Question 12. *Do you support or oppose the proposed Muskrat Falls agreement?*

- In order to reduce survey bias, approximately half the survey forms had responses in order from “Strongly Support” to “Strongly Oppose”; the other half were in reverse order.
- A majority (59%) of respondents were either strongly (46%) or somewhat (13%) opposed to the Muskrat Falls agreement. Less than a third (31%) were either strongly (12%) or somewhat (19%) in support. The other 10% of respondents were unsure.
- Regionally, opposition is highest in the South (67% opposed, 26% support); Central (62% opposed, 30% support); and North (57% opposed, 23% support). In the West, 57% support and 25% oppose. The “unsure” response was highest in the North (20%) and West (18%).
- Women are slightly more likely to oppose (50% strongly oppose, 14% somewhat) than men (44% strongly oppose, 12% somewhat). 26% of women and 34% of men were strongly or somewhat in support.
- By age bracket, 56% of young adults strongly or somewhat support the project, and 44% are strongly or somewhat opposed. By contrast, 58% of career-aged adults, and 67% of seniors and elders, are strongly or somewhat opposed.
- There is an appreciable variation along ethnic lines, with 61% of Inuit or Nunatsiavut Beneficiaries, and 71% of Metis or NunatuKavut Members opposed. Among respondents of other or unspecified heritage, opinion is more mixed: 50% are strongly or somewhat opposed, and 40% strongly or somewhat support. About 10% of respondents of all ethnic identification were unsure.



- This question was also asked during the Virtual Town Hall. Again, a majority were strongly (44%) or somewhat (16%) opposed. A total of 30% were strongly (12%) or somewhat (18%) in favour. The other 10% were unsure.

Related survey comments:

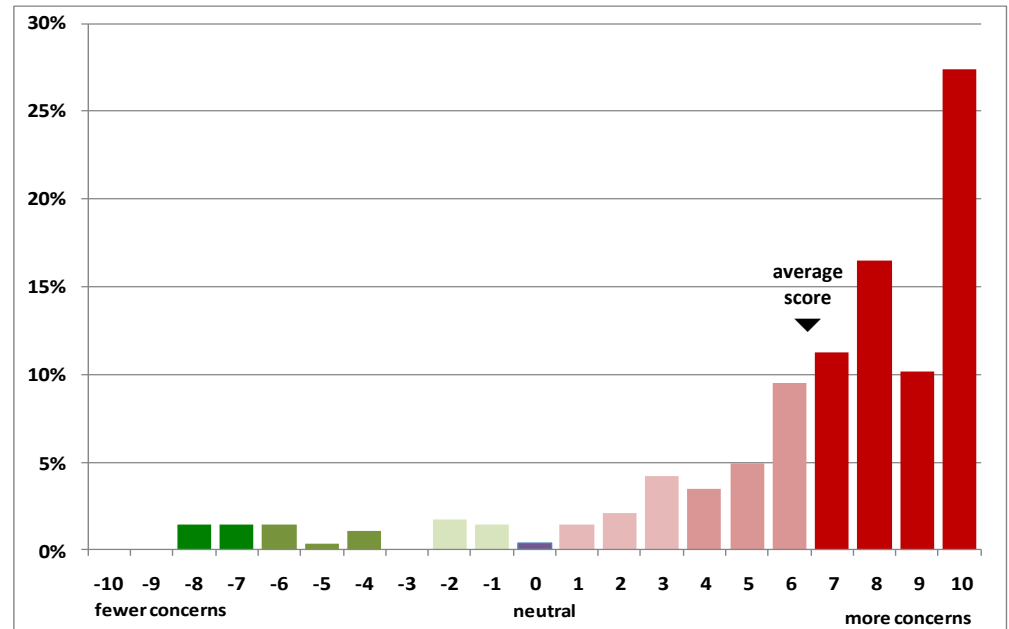
“I am definitely in favor of this project.”

“I support the agreement if it creates employment but not if it does not help the people with the South and North coasts (generator power)”

“It is a raw deal. I am opposed to the deal. There may be short term gains but I know that the people of Labrador will not benefit from the development of Muskrat Falls.”

“Thermometer score” of concerns

- By assigning a numerical score to the responses in the survey, it is possible to gauge, in an approximate way, how concerned respondents are about the proposed Muskrat Falls project.
- For questions 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, and 11, a “no” response was counted as 1, and a “yes” response as –1. Conversely, for questions 2, 5, and 9, a “yes” response was counted as 1, and a “no” response as –1. Any other response, or non-response, counted as 0. (Questions 10 and 12 are not scored.)
- The sum of these counts for any given respondent is the “thermometer score” of how many concerns they have about the Muskrat Falls project, where +10 is “most concerned”, and –10 is “least concerned.”
- Overall, 65% of survey respondents had a thermometer score of +7 or higher. In fact, 27% had a score of +10, the maximum possible. The average thermometer score of all respondents was +6.5.
- Only 9% of respondents had a score of 0 (neutral) or in the negative (fewer concerns) end of the scale.
- The average score was higher in the North (+7.5) and South (+7.5), and lower in the West (+2.8). In Central Labrador it was +6.4. Women (+6.7) and men (+6.4) had virtually identical average scores.



- There was a clear trend by age bracket, with young adults (18 to 30) having an average score of +4.9, career-age adults (31 to 64) +6.4, and seniors and elders (65+) +7.6.
- Self-identified Inuit or Nunatsiavut Beneficiaries had an average score of +7.5, and Metis or NunatuKavut Members, +8.2. Respondents of other or unspecified heritage had an average score of +4.6
- The thermometer score bears a close correlation to the respondent's support or opposition to the Muskrat Falls project. Respondents who were strongly opposed had an average score of +8.6, and those who are somewhat opposed, +7.3. Those who are unsure had an average score of +7.1, while even those who are somewhat in support scored +5.4. Those who strongly support the project were the only set of respondents to have an average score of less than zero, –1.6.

APPENDIX I: Additional comments

The following statements are a selection from the nearly 170 additional comments provided by survey respondents. In order to avoid a selection bias, the selection was made entirely at random from among the surveys which had comments attached.

Comments have been edited for brevity and clarity, or selected from much longer written remarks attached to the survey form. In a few cases, details which might identify a respondent have been edited out.

"When the Upper Churchill project went ahead, my grandfather lost his trapping grounds and tilts. He never saw any benefit from that. I feel this will be like that was."

"My main concern is that those with Aboriginal status will get first priority on jobs over other Labradorians. It should be EQUAL! Having status should not give you the priority over others in getting a job. And I say this as someone with Inuit status."

"I think Labrador has been left on the back burner once again by the Newfoundland government. This is our resources but at the same time we are not included. I think it's time the Newfoundland government has to remember there is such a place called Labrador. What about us?"

"From limited information that I have read on the Muskrat development, I have concluded that maybe Joey Smallwood did make a better deal with Quebec Hydro than Danny Williams is proposing with Muskrat Falls"

"I don't know enough about the deal to have an opinion. I can say that I would be in favour if it meant cheaper electricity rates for Labradorians. We should eventually get rid of diesel generated electricity."

"I strongly feel that Muskrat Falls or any other part of the Churchill River be left just as it is. The Newfoundland government got no business taking anything else from our Labrador. We love our land and river just the way they are. So please just drop it. To hell with Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, develop their own resources."

"The Newfoundland government just takes and takes our resources, do what they want with them and forget where those resources came from. It's time we let it be known that we deserve better. What I find most

disturbing is that Labradorians will have to pay higher hydro rates. Does not make any sense to me whatsoever. Shouldn't this be the opposite?"

"I feel lines should be made available to the coast, especially Goose Bay south once this is built. Industry/expansion will not go to coast where it is diesel generation - not enough capacity."

"I believe that the island of Newfoundland will benefit more from the Lower Churchill deal than Labrador. Again companies from outside Labrador will benefit more from the current agreement."

"The proposed agreement to develop the Lower Churchill must not go ahead until all of Labrador is going to receive royalties or become First Beneficiaries of this resource."

"I do not support the Muskrat Falls project at all, without the consent of all Labradorians who have been briefed in all areas and understand every aspect of this deal. I would support this if Labrador had the first chance at benefits in all areas and all other Labradorians agreed also, after being briefed and understood the deal."

"I want the transmission lines to go to the north coast if there is enough power to do that. I want there to be minimal damage to the environment. I want a well paid job on this development."

"If the Inuit and Metis could negotiate business contracts for member businesses (as have the Innu) then all will work! (My Inuit company is currently ineligible to bid on these projects)"

"Our resources taken again with no benefit to Labradorian. Voisey's Bay Strike is a perfect example. It's time to bring together NunatuKavut, Nunatsiavut, Innu to have one voice to fight for our resources, fight against a power increase for Labrador, fight against giveaways and against the Newfoundland government (St. John's)"

"The last Premier of Newfoundland and Labrador, Danny Williams, and his government had no right to go ahead with the Muskrat Falls Agreement without consulting the people of Labrador. Most of coastal Labrador has no hydro. How does it justify taking hydro to Nova Scotia, while Labradorians are deprived of it?"

"We have to develop our resources if we want our children to make a decent living and live in Labrador."

"This is what you call a (rotten) deal all the way around"

"At the very least this development should ensure the cow path between Red Bay and Lab City is upgraded and Blanc-Sablon to Red Bay road is re-paved!"

"I think having a deal with Quebec to be able to sell the power would be more reasonable however if that cannot be done, our aim should be to have Labrador benefit the most."

"Thank you for this survey but what good will this do for us Labradorians? We need to fight this and get full benefit."

"The fundamental issue here with the announcement of this project, is the fact that Labradorians (all aboriginal groups first) were never properly consulted or informed about this. All aboriginal groups within Labrador need to be asked about such a development that is to take place on their homeland, this is an injustice to the true people of Labrador. This issue needs national attention. It will never carry any weight just being talked about in this province, where dictatorship is present."

"It is time Labrador took a stand and say enough is enough. Outsiders come and take our resources and it is time the Labrador people got something out it"

"The present MOU between the government of Newfoundland-Labrador, Nova Scotia doesn't contain anything to address the present and future hydro needs of Labrador residents, particularly coastal Labrador. If the agreement can't or won't address Labrador residents' hydro needs, it shouldn't go ahead at this time."

"My personal opinion on the proposed Muskrat Falls Development is that it should stay as one of Labrador's beautiful wonders and if developed should be only for the benefit of Labradorians. We have given away enough already."

"I see a parallel with who will benefit in the end, from the Upper and Lower Churchill developments. We are supposed to be angry with Quebec because we are not getting our full entitlement to the benefits of the Upper Churchill development. Why be angry with Quebec? Our own provincial leaders are creating this benefit inequity, between its Aboriginal, coastal and inland residents, within our own province."

"For too many years, Labrador's resources have been carried off to benefit the 'whole province' – but the benefit usually goes where the votes are, and that is not Labrador. For once in our history, we must benefit, if this project proceeds. It is my personal opinion that the project should

never proceed at any cost. There is too much environmental destruction. It will sink the province and Labrador into debt almost half again as much as we already owe."

"I am grieving for Labrador. It seems the Big Land will go on as the Big Land, but Labrador as a united and distinct, but diversified group of people seems to be fading. The 'divide and conquer' strategy of the Nfld. Government seems to be near completion. If there was ever a time for the people of Labrador to unite it would seem to be now."

"I can hear our ancestors calling us to all rally together to save this great wonder. This is our river, a very sacred place. It is partially destroyed. Please leave the remainder in its natural state for us to enjoy and take care of for future generations."

"I believe there should be a fund that benefits all residents of Labrador instead of pitting the Innu, Inuit, Metis, and white against each other. All people that chose to make Labrador their home should be treated equally."

"I know people who are second and now third generation Labradorians, are they going to benefit from the Lower Churchill? No, only if they work to get anything from it. Here in Lab West there are lots of big projects started, there are next to no local people working on them, almost all are from outside of Labrador."

"Overall, I am optimistic about the future of this project. My main concern would be fair and equitable employment for all Labradorians."

"I'm not for sale to the highest bidder, and we deserve to benefit from the resources around us or else development should not take place."

"It may not mean much, but I will express my concern: This is a bad deal and should not go ahead because Labrador residents should receive power at no cost to the customer and everyone in Labrador should be connected to the power."

"I think Labradorians feel a great animosity once again as the province is going to ship a great natural resource from Labrador with little primary benefit to Labradorians as a whole. It really irritates people in the area to have Newfoundlanders comment about how this resource should be used. I have a better idea. Why don't we dam the Humber River and pump the power up to Labrador so we can get rid of the dirty diesel on the Labrador coast and have power for future industrial development."

APPENDIX II: Press releases

RUSSELL TO SURVEY LABRADOR RESIDENTS ON PROPOSED MUSKRAT FALLS PROJECT

LABRADOR, December 8, 2010 — Labrador M.P. Todd Russell today announced that he is conducting an opinion survey throughout Labrador, in order to gauge Labradorians' opinion of the proposed Muskrat Falls hydro project, recently announced by the provincial government and Nalcor.

"The proposed Muskrat Falls project has been planned for decades," Russell said. "This important Labrador resource can only be developed once. If it is to be developed at all, it has to be done right. This survey is intended to give Labradorians a collective voice before final decisions are made that will impact generations to come."

The survey consists of twelve simple questions on various aspects of the proposed Muskrat Falls project. Survey forms have been distributed by mail to every residential address in Labrador. In certain communities, the survey forms will be distributed in bilingual Innu-aimun/English or Inuktitut/English formats.

"I appreciate that this proposed project is of great interest to people in other parts of the province and the country," Russell said, "and I thank them for their interest."

"As Member of Parliament for Labrador, I need a clear picture of where my constituents stand on this issue. Only those responses from people who live in Labrador, or who are eligible to vote in Labrador, will count towards the final results."

In order to be included in the tabulation, contact information will be required. Additional demographic information may also be provided by survey respondents if they choose to do so.

Russell assured all participants in this survey that their personal information and individual responses to survey questions will be kept strictly confidential.

Additional survey forms, in English, Inuktitut, Innu-aimun, or French, can be obtained in any of the following ways:

On line at www.toddrussell.ca

By email request to Russell.T@parl.gc.ca

By phone request, toll-free, at 1 (888) 817-2483

In person at Todd Russell's Labrador riding offices. These are located at:

118 Humphrey Road, Labrador City
Main Highway, L'anse au Loup
169 Hamilton River Road, Happy Valley-Goose Bay.

Completed forms can be returned in person to any of the three riding offices, or by mail (no stamp required) to:

Todd Russell, M.P.
118 Justice Building
House of Commons
Ottawa, ON K1A 0A6

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RUSSELL SETS FEBRUARY 4th DEADLINE FOR MUSKRAT FALLS SURVEY

LABRADOR, January 25, 2011 — Labrador M.P. Todd Russell has set Friday, February 4th, as the deadline for participation in his riding-wide survey on the proposed Muskrat Falls hydro-electric development.

"The response so far has been considerable, from every corner of Labrador," Russell said. "I look forward to sharing the results of this survey in the very near future."

APPENDIX II: Press releases

The Labrador M.P. mailed out survey response forms to every household in Labrador in late December. The survey asks twelve questions related to the proposed Muskrat Falls development, including a question on support or opposition to the project.

Russell says that survey sheets that are mailed back, must be postmarked no later than Friday, February 4th in order to be guaranteed inclusion in the final tally of results.

Surveys can also be delivered by email or fax, or dropped off at any of his three local offices in L'anse au Loup, Labrador City, or Happy Valley-Goose Bay.

Additional survey forms, and contact information for the return of completed forms, are available on-line at www.toddrussell.ca

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RUSSELL RELEASES PRELIMINARY RESULTS OF MUSKRAT FALLS SURVEY

OTTAWA, February 9, 2011 — Labrador M.P. Todd Russell today released some preliminary figures from his Labrador-wide opinion survey on the proposed Muskrat Falls project. The survey began on December 8th, 2010, with surveys made available to all Labrador residents by direct mail and on-line.

The overall response rate is higher than similar mail-back surveys conducted by Members of Parliament. While not a random sample, the size of the response is as large or larger than the number of Labrador residents interviewed during province-wide public opinion surveys.

More than 200 submitted surveys have been data-entered so far. The conversion of the survey responses into digital format will allow for more detailed analysis and cross-tabulations.

Detailed results will be made public in the near future, once all survey forms have been received and processed and the full results are analyzed.

Results for those surveys processed as of February 8th are as follows:

On the main question, “Do you support or oppose the proposed Muskrat Falls agreement?”,

- 45% of respondents strongly oppose and 13% somewhat oppose;
- 12% strongly support and 20% somewhat support;
- 10% are not sure.

Results from other questions reveal public concerns about the economic, environmental, and other aspects of the proposed project:

Q1. Does the proposed Muskrat Falls development provide enough benefit for the people of Labrador? — 83% NO.

Q2. Are you concerned about the environmental impacts of the proposed Muskrat Falls project? — 78% YES.

Q3. Have Labradorians been properly consulted about the proposed Muskrat Falls project? — 78% NO.

Q4. Do you feel that you have enough information about the proposed Muskrat Falls project? — 83% NO.

Q5. Should Muskrat Falls power be available in Labrador for residential and commercial customers? — 95% YES.

Q6. Does the proposed agreement respect the Aboriginal rights of Innu, Inuit, and Metis in Labrador? — 67% NO.

Q7. Are you satisfied with the proposed employment benefits for Labrador residents? — 66% NO.

APPENDIX II: Press releases

Q8. Do you believe that Labrador will receive a fair share of revenues from Muskrat Falls power sales? — 86% NO.

Q9. Should a dedicated Labrador development fund be a condition of a proposed Muskrat Falls project? — 83% YES.

Q10. Do you support federal funding for transmission lines to Newfoundland or Nova Scotia? — 46% NO, 40% YES. (This was the only question on which opinion is “split”.)

Q11. Do you feel that Labradorians will be the “primary beneficiaries” of the proposed Muskrat Falls project? — 87% NO.

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RUSSELL ANNOUNCES LABRADOR “TOWN HALL” MEETING ON MUSKRAT FALLS

LABRADOR, February 16, 2011 — Labrador MP Todd Russell will hold a telephone “virtual town hall” next Wednesday, February 23, to get further input from Labradorians concerning the proposed Muskrat Falls hydro-electric project.

“Throughout Labrador, I find that people still have many questions and concerns about this proposed development,” Russell said. “This virtual town hall meeting will provide another forum for people to make their views known and their voices heard.”

The virtual town hall will be carried out by phone from 7:30 to 9:00 p.m. (8:00 to 9:30 p.m. south of Black Tickle). Labrador residents will receive a telephone message at home, shortly before the start of the town-hall session, inviting them to participate. Those who miss or do not receive an invitation message will also be able to call in toll-free. The toll-free number will be provided to the public next week.

Participants will be able to make comments or ask questions in a format similar to open-line radio call-in programs. The virtual town hall will also include push-button survey questions so that participants can provide instant feedback on a number of specific questions.

This is believed to be the first time in Canada that a sitting federal Member of Parliament has used such a virtual town hall to gain feedback from their entire riding.

The virtual town-hall meeting follows on Russell’s recent mail-in survey on the proposed Muskrat Falls project. The results of the mail-in survey will be released when the final tabulation is completed.

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RUSSELL RELEASES VIRTUAL TOWN HALL RESULTS

LABRADOR, March 2, 2011 — Labrador M.P. Todd Russell today announced the results of the “virtual town hall” meeting on the proposed Muskrat Falls project, which he conducted by phone throughout his riding last Wednesday night.

“The sheer volume of participation was astounding,” Russell said. “It resulted in a large amount of data which took several days to fully process.”

Over 2100 callers participated in the virtual town hall, either by listening in to some or all of the 90-minute phone-in, going live with their comments and questions, leaving voice messages, or “voting” in touch-tone polling questions.

This means that about 20% of all households in Labrador took part in last Wednesday’s event.

“I thank everyone who took part in this process,” Russell said, “and I regret that the sheer volume of calls meant that not everyone who wanted to could come ‘on the air’ with their comments.”

APPENDIX II: Press releases

Russell says that the touch-tone phone survey results are in close agreement with what his earlier mail-in survey revealed about public opinion in Labrador.

The nine touch-tone questions were taken directly from among the twelve asked in the mail-in survey. A total of 530 virtual town hall participants answered one or more of the nine questions asked over the course of the evening.

On the main question, “Do you support or oppose the proposed Muskrat Falls agreement?”,

- 44% of virtual town hall respondents strongly oppose and 16% somewhat oppose;
- 12% strongly support and 18% somewhat support;
- 10% are not sure

These results are almost identical to the results of the preliminary results of the mail-in survey, which were:

- 45% of survey respondents strongly oppose and 13% somewhat oppose;
- 12% strongly support and 20% somewhat support;
- 10% are not sure.

Results of the other eight questions asked during the virtual town hall were also very similar to the feedback from the mail-in survey:

Does the proposed Muskrat Falls development provide enough benefit for the people of Labrador? — 73% NO, 13% yes, 14% unsure. (Mail-in survey: 83% no)

Are you concerned about the environmental impacts of the proposed Muskrat Falls project? — 58% YES, 26% no, 16% unsure. (Mail-in survey: 78% yes)

Are you satisfied with the proposed employment benefits for Labrador residents? — 64% NO, 26% unsure, 10% yes. (Mail-in survey: 66% no)

Do you believe that Labrador will receive a fair share of revenues from Muskrat Falls power sales? — 83% NO, 9% unsure, 8% yes. (Mail-in survey: 86% no)

Should a dedicated Labrador development fund be a condition of a proposed Muskrat Falls project? — 62% YES, 31% unsure, 8% no. (Mail-in survey: 83% yes)

Do you support federal funding for transmission lines to Newfoundland or Nova Scotia? — 49% NO, 29% yes, 21% unsure. (Mail-in survey: 46% no)

Do you feel that Labradorians will be the primary beneficiaries of the proposed Muskrat Falls project? — 88% NO, 8% unsure, 4% yes. (Mail-in survey: 87% no)

Does the proposed agreement respect the Aboriginal rights of Innu, Inuit, and Metis in Labrador? — 61% NO, 31% unsure, 7% yes. (Mail-in survey: 67% no)

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APPENDIX III: Sample survey form (English-language version)



On November 18th, 2010, Nalcor and the provincial government announced the terms of a proposed agreement to build a hydro-electric dam at Muskrat Falls. The proposed agreement also calls for the construction of transmission lines from Labrador to Newfoundland and Nova Scotia.

I am conducting this survey in order to find out how people in our region feel about this proposed development of an important Labrador resource. Please take the time to complete and return this survey.

Extra surveys for other members of your household are available from my offices in **Happy Valley-Goose Bay, L'Anse au Loup, or Labrador City**. The street addresses are on the next page.

You can also request a survey by emailing Russell.T@parl.gc.ca or by phone (toll-free) at 1 (888) 817-2483.

Copies are also available on the internet for you to download and print on my website: www.todd russell.ca

Be assured that your responses and personal information will be kept strictly confidential.

Todd Russell, M.P.
Labrador

1. Does the proposed Muskrat Falls development provide enough benefit for the people of Labrador? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Not sure	7. Are you satisfied with the proposed employment benefits for Labrador residents? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Not sure
2. Are you concerned about the environmental impacts of the proposed Muskrat Falls project? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Not sure	8. Do you believe that Labrador will receive a fair share of revenues from Muskrat Falls power sales? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Not sure
3. Have Labradorians been properly consulted about the proposed Muskrat Falls project? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Not sure	9. Should a dedicated Labrador development fund be a condition of a proposed Muskrat Falls project? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Not sure
4. Do you feel that you have enough information about the proposed Muskrat Falls project? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Not sure	10. Do you support federal funding for transmission lines to Newfoundland or Nova Scotia? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Not sure
5. Should Muskrat Falls power be available in Labrador for residential and commercial customers? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Not sure	11. Do you feel that Labradorians will be the "primary beneficiaries" of the proposed Muskrat Falls project? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Not sure
6. Does the proposed agreement respect the Aboriginal rights of Innu, Inuit, and Metis in Labrador? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Not sure	12. Do you support or oppose the proposed Muskrat Falls agreement? <input type="checkbox"/> Strongly support <input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat support <input type="checkbox"/> Not sure <input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat oppose <input type="checkbox"/> Strongly oppose

PART A: Please provide your contact information. This information will remain strictly confidential and will not be disclosed to anyone else. Please print clearly.

NAME:

ADDRESS:

COMMUNITY:

POSTAL CODE:

EMAIL ADDRESS (optional):

Would you like to receive a copy of the final survey results? ☐

PART B: You may also choose to provide the following **optional** information about yourself. This information will remain strictly confidential and will not be disclosed to anyone else.

I am (check one):

- ☐ under 18 years old
☐ 18 to 30 years old
☐ 31 to 64 years old
☐ 65 years old or older

I am (check any that apply to you):

- ☐ Inuit/Nunatsiavut Beneficiary
☐ Innu
☐ Métis/Nunatakavut Member
☐ other heritage

Or ☐ I prefer not to disclose this information.

PART C: Provide any additional comments. Use extra pages if required.

Please return this completed survey by mail, or in person to one of my Labrador offices listed below.

OTTAWA Phone: (613) 996-4630 Fax: (613) 996-7132 Email: Russell.T@parl.gc.ca Mailing Address: 118 Justice Building, House of Commons, Ottawa, ON K1A 0A6 (postage free—no stamp required)		
LABRADOR STRAITS Phone: (709) 927-5210 Fax: (709) 927-5830 Main Highway, L'Anse au Loup	LABRADOR CITY/WABUSH Phone: (709) 944-2146 Fax: (709) 944-7260 118 Humphrey Road	HAPPY VALLEY-GOOSE BAY Phone: (709) 896-2483 Fax: (709) 896-9425 169 Hamilton River Road