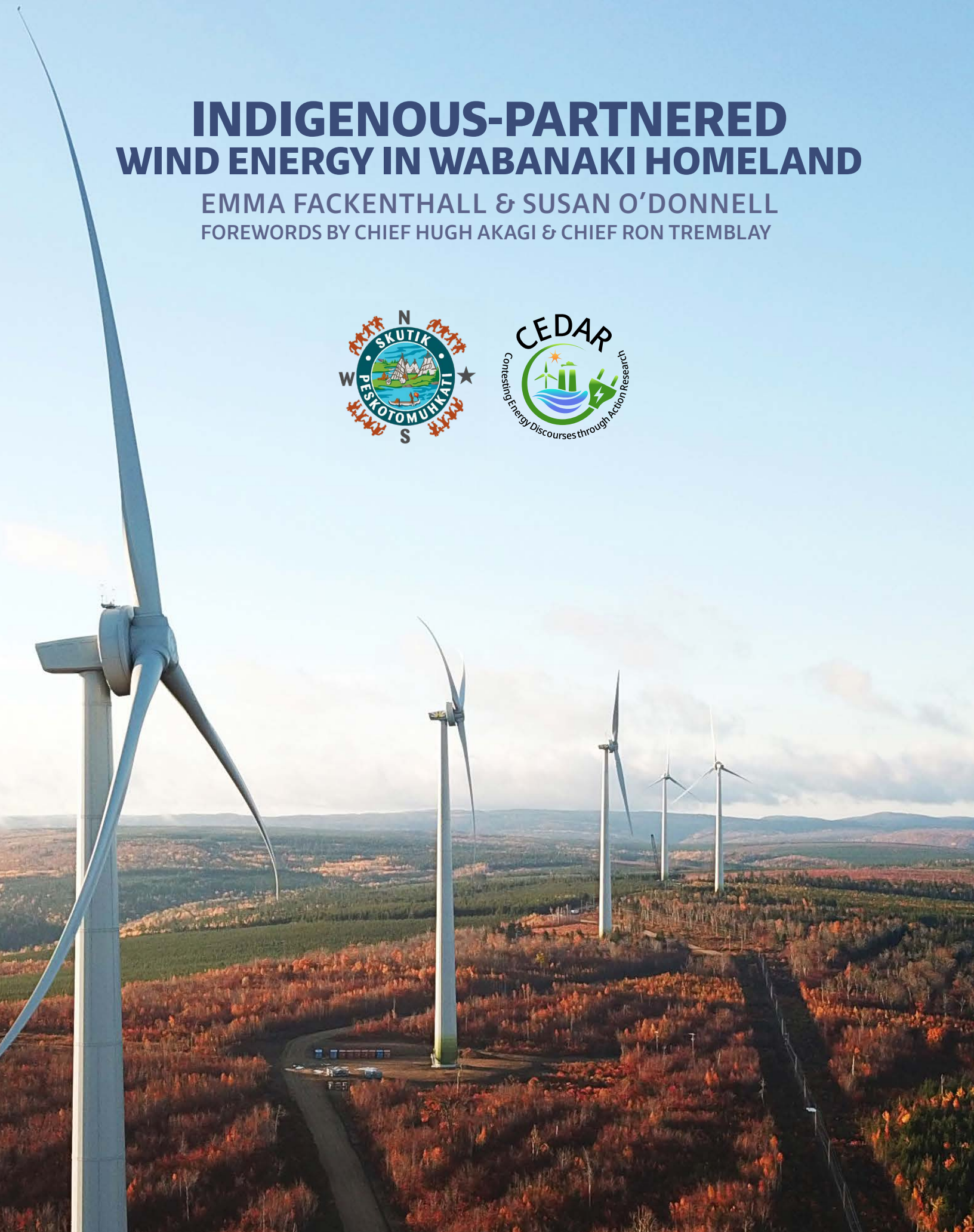
INDIGENOUS-PARTNERED
WIND ENERGY IN WABANAKI HOMELAND

EMMA FACKENTHALL & SUSAN O'DONNELL

FOREWORDS BY CHIEF HUGH AKAGI & CHIEF RON TREMBLAY



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Published by the Passamaquoddy Recognition Group Inc. (PRGI) and The CEDAR Project at St. Thomas University, April 2026.

The Passamaquoddy Recognition Group Inc. (PRGI) represents the Peskotomuhkati Nation in Canada and the interests of rights holders and the Peskotomuhkatik ecosystem. Our duty is to protect our lands, waters, and environment for all present and future generations.

The CEDAR (Contesting Energy Discourses through Action Research) project in the Sustainability and Environmental Studies program at St. Thomas University is funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council Canada.

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REPORT FORWARDS BY CEDAR PROJECT PARTNERS:

Chief Hugh Akagi,
Peskotomuhkati Nation in Canada.

Chief Ron Tremblay,
Wolastoq Grand Council.

COVER PHOTOS:

The Wocawson Energy Project is located in Kings County, New Brunswick approximately 20 kilometers northeast of the Town of Sussex. The site has five turbines with an installed capacity of 20 MW and began operating in 2020. Wocawson is co-owned by Neqotkuk (Tobique Indigenous Community) and Natural Forces. Front cover photo courtesy Natural Forces, back cover photo by Emma Fackenthall.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT:

We acknowledge and thank the members of Indigenous communities working over many decades to develop sustainable energy paths across Turtle Island. We thank the members of Indigenous communities and the wind industry who participated in this research and made their statements and information available to the public, as well as the researchers cited in this report. Any omissions are unintentional.

We thank the renewable energy companies Natural Forces and SWEB Development LP for the photos used in this report.

SUGGESTED CITATION:

Fackenthall, E., and O'Donnell, S. (2026). Indigenous-Partnered Wind Energy in Wabanaki Homeland. Passamaquoddy Recognition Group Inc. and the CEDAR project at St. Thomas University, New Brunswick, April.

This report, as well as our previous report, ***Indigenous Views on Nuclear Energy and Radioactive Waste,*** can be downloaded from this page: https://cedar-project.org/reports/

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LAND ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The authors acknowledge and are grateful to live and work in Peskotomuhkati and Wolastokwiyik unceded and unsurrendered territories – this land was never 'won' by or legally signed away to the British Crown or, later, to the government of Canada.

This territory is covered by the Treaties of Peace and Friendship which Peskotomuhkati, Wolastokwiyik and Mi'kmaq Peoples first signed with the British Crown in 1726.

The treaties recognized Peskotomuhkati, Wolastokwiyik and Mi'kmaq titles and established the rules for an ongoing relationship of peace, friendship, and mutual respect between nations for the two very different modes of life and land use. We try to act in ways that reflect and promote understanding of our responsibility to each other and the ecosystem of which we are part.

We strive to be respectful partners as we search for collective healing and true reconciliation. We honour this beautiful territory together.

Lupines on the coast of Campobello Island, Bay of Fundy (Emma Fackenthall)

1. FOREWORD BY CHIEF HUGH AKAGI

The publication of this report comes more than a year after our previous report co-published by PRGI and the CEDAR project at St. Thomas University. That report, "Indigenous Views on Nuclear Energy and Radioactive Waste," has been downloaded across Canada more than 2,200 times, and we have shared printed copies with Indigenous partners across Wabanaki homeland. I am pleased that our effort has raised awareness and shared the views of many Indigenous nations opposed to more nuclear development.

The nuclear industry built a nuclear reactor in our homeland at Point Lepreau on the Bay of Fundy more than 40 years ago. They did this without our consent. The reactor has created hundreds of tons of used nuclear fuel – high level radioactive waste – that will remain toxic to all living things for hundreds of thousands of years. Lepreau continues to operate and adds to the waste stockpiles without our consent. We want the world to get to the root of this problem: stop making radioactive waste and start building energy systems that respect Indigenous values.

Radioactive waste is not the only concern we have with the Point Lepreau reactor. We have many questions and concerns about the negative impacts of the nuclear plant on the Bay of Fundy ecosystem, our family – animals, plants and water.

This new report briefly mentions Indigenous opposition to another form of energy generation, hydroelectricity, and a project we were part of: the removal of the Milltown Dam on the Skutik. The Peskotomuhkati Nation worked with international and community partners, the public utility NB Power and Canada's Department of Fisheries and Oceans to ensure the success of that project. Milltown was one of the first hydroelectric dams in Canada and the first to be removed for fish passage. The Milltown project was an important first step in restoring the passage of alewives and other sea-run fish.

Today I am pleased that our international and community partnership on the Milltown removal project has improved access to 60,000 acres of habitat to alewives and other sea-run fish and could result in the return of 80 million adult spawning alewives.

The success of the Milltown project highlighted three important needs emphasized in this report: the need for Indigenous Nation involvement when developing major projects on Indigenous territories, the need for strategic partnerships on major energy projects, and the need to ensure that the development of new energy systems align with Indigenous values.

I was heartened to learn from this study that Indigenous nations are leading renewable energy developments across Canada. We recognize the potential in harnessing renewable energy to create not only electricity generation but also revenue for our communities.

Experts believe that wind energy is the most sustainable and affordable way to power electricity grids in Wabanaki territory.

This report is not a simple endorsement of wind energy but rather a critical look at how these projects can be truly beneficial. The analysis shows that for wind energy to be environmentally and socially feasible, it must be approached with the same care and respect that we have for our homeland.

We must consider all elements of wind energy development and ensure that we understand the implications of wind development on our Mother Earth, not only humans.

We hope our new report is useful for Indigenous Nations and everyone looking for ways to say yes to sustainable energy development while saying no to energy generation projects that cause long-term harm to Indigenous Nations, all our relations, territory and the future itself.

Chief Hugh Akagi
Peskotomuhkati Nation at Skutik

2. FOREWORD BY CHIEF RON TREMBLAY

My traditional name spasaqsit possesom translates to Morningstar burning. I represent the Crow clan through my Mother's lineage and the Wolf clan through my father's bloodline. I am a citizen of the river we call Wolastoq, Beautiful and Bountiful River that flows through our homeland Wolastokuk.

I wrote a foreword to the previous report co-published by CEDAR and PRGI, documenting the opposition by many Indigenous nations, including Wolastoq Grand Council, to the development of more nuclear reactors and radioactive waste. As I wrote in the last report, we believe that the Earth is our Mother, and that She has been violated, She has been hurt and damaged for far, far too long.

This new report studies wind energy, a renewable form of power generation that holds considerable potential for Wabanaki Homeland. Experts say that Atlantic Canada is one of the best wind energy regions in the world. I am pleased that several of the successful wind projects included in this report are majority owned by my community, Neqotkuk, Tobique Indigenous Community.

I would like to use this opportunity to raise a concern about wind energy, solar energy, electric vehicles and many other technologies and energy systems involved in the energy transition: mining.

The report briefly mentions that mining has an environmental impact related to all energy sources and that in Wabanaki Homeland, Wolastoq Grand Council and many community groups are fighting against the Sisson Mine project north of Fredericton.

The proposed Sisson mine will extract tungsten and molybdenum. Molybdenum is used to create high-strength, lightweight steel alloys and corrosion-resistant components. This kind of steel is used in many kinds of engines and industrial and energy applications, including electric vehicle (EV) batteries and wind turbines.

Although the proposal for the Sisson mine is to use these minerals in the U.S. war industry, the link between wind turbines, molybdenum and the Sisson projects highlights the importance of considering all elements of the wind energy development chain and ensuring that mining is done sustainably and only with the consent of Indigenous Nations.

As I wrote in the previous report, our homeland is covered by the 1725/26 Peace and Friendship Treaties that did not surrender any lands or resources. Our peoples from Wabanaki Confederacy did not surrender one piece of Earth, one drop of Water or one breath of Air.

Our treaties have to be respected and honoured.

Sincerely,
Wolastoqewi Kci-Sakom spasaqsit possesom - Ron Tremblay
(Wolastoq Grand Chief morningstar burning)
Kahkakuhsuwakutom naka Malsomuwakutom (Crow & Wolf Clan)
Wolastoq Nil naka Nil Wolastoq - i am Wolastoq and Wolastoq is me

3. REPORT SUMMARY

Atlantic Canada – Wabanaki homeland – has some of the most powerful winds in the world. Indigenous nations are developing partnerships to build wind projects that use this renewable energy source to generate revenue for their communities and contribute to meeting climate action targets while respecting Indigenous values.

This report is a snapshot in time, marking a period of high interest and intense activity in the wind energy sector in the region. Nowhere is that more evident than in New Brunswick, where a decade ago only one wind farm was operating in the province. By 2019, five wind farms, including two with Indigenous community partners, were operating and selling power to an electrical grid. Now, in 2026, five additional

wind farms are operating in New Brunswick with Indigenous partners, and another five Indigenous-partnered wind projects are in development.

Overall, our report identified 32 Indigenous-partnered wind energy projects in Wabanaki homeland – 12 operating and 20 in development, in New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Quebec, Newfoundland and Labrador, and Prince Edward Island.

Road sign in Neweg Project, Kings County, New Brunswick (Emma Fackenthall)

For our study, we focused on the 12 operational projects, gathering all the information available about them online, and verifying technical information from the industry partners. We spoke off-record with Indigenous leaders involved in two wind energy projects and secured formal interviews with two industry partners involved in multiple Indigenous-partnered wind projects.

Our analysis of the wind projects was guided by seven key themes identified through a literature review on renewable energy projects with Indigenous partners. Themes included project size and location, ownership and capital flows, partnerships, skills development and others.

Indigenous nations understand that wind energy is a significant new source of revenue much needed in their communities.

Our analysis of the wind projects follows an early chapter reviewing the long history of energy project development in Canada rooted in exploitation, environmental racism and injustice. The articles published as part of this study suggest that wind energy projects are a potential move toward reconciliation.

Our analysis highlighted several opportunities and challenges. The fact that wind projects are sited strategically to optimize wind flows means that most wind farms are located away from the Indigenous community partners, some more than a two-hour drive. The separation of the projects from the communities has several implications related to skills development and local community benefits. Clearly the primary benefit of the projects is generating revenues for the partners.

One opportunity largely unrealized is project promotion. Aside from several well-known projects, the Indigenous-partnered wind farms are largely invisible in the media and online. Even the fact that the wind energy has Indigenous partners would be unknown by the general public passing the installations where the signage does not include this information. This is a missed opportunity to highlight the significant contribution of Indigenous nations to the energy transition effort.

The report includes three articles published by the NB Media Co-op as part of this study. Appendices include an annotated bibliography and lists of all 12 wind projects in operation and the 20 wind projects in development.

We situate this study against our earlier report about Indigenous views on nuclear energy and radioactive waste, which found that Indigenous nations and communities in the three provinces with experience of nuclear power – New Brunswick, Quebec and Ontario – are overall opposed to more nuclear development and the production and transportation of radioactive waste.

We trust that our report will answer the question that sparked this study: Given that Indigenous nations are opposed to the production and storage of radioactive waste on their homelands, what clean energy systems are Indigenous nations developing? Clearly the answer in Wabanaki homeland is wind power.

4. INTRODUCTION

Wabanaki homeland includes territories of the Peskotomuhkati, Wolastokwiyik, Mi'kmaq, Penobscot and Abenaki nations. The territory covers all of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island and regions of Quebec, Maine and Newfoundland and Labrador.

This study of wind energy in Wabanaki homeland is conducted during a planetary crisis exacerbated by burning fossil fuels. Climate scientists are urging us to stop building new fossil fuel infrastructure and to rapidly reduce our fossil fuel use. In Wabanaki homeland, power utilities continue to burn coal, fuel oil and gas and plan to add more fossil gas plants to their electrical grids. In New Brunswick, more nuclear reactors are also planned, delaying the transition off fossil fuels.

Atlantic Canada has some of the strongest wind resources in the world, both offshore and onshore (Marine Renewables Canada, 2025). In recognition of this potential, in late 2024 the federal government announced up to $1 billion for Indigenous-led wind projects in New Brunswick that could add 670 megawatts (MW) of new power to the province (Walton, 2024).

Some of these new wind projects are currently in development, and many more will be developed in future. All these projects will require partnerships with industry and governments. How these projects are developed will determine if they reproduce relationships of colonization or forge new relationships based on autonomy and control over energy access and end social and environmental injustices related to energy production and consumption.

The development of wind energy in Wabanaki homeland must be understood in a wider historical context. Indigenous peoples have occupied Turtle Island since time immemorial. More than 400 years ago, Europeans arrived in Wabanaki homeland. Despite the Peace and Friendship Treaties, colonialism, wanton extraction and destruction of lands and related settler activities continued. However Wabanaki nations have persevered.

Settler colonial actions to deprive Wabanaki communities of economic and social stability have been met with resistance, resilience, and a strong desire to reclaim their rightful place in their homelands. Involvement in wind energy projects is one way that Wabanaki nations are developing sustainable economies and contributing to sustainable energy systems for everyone in their territory.

The CEDAR project (Contesting Energy Discourses through Action Research) based at St. Thomas University in Fredericton is studying all these developments.

This report is the second one co-published by CEDAR and the Passamaquoddy Recognition Group Inc. (PRGI) representing the Peskotomuhkati Nation in Canada. Our first report, "Indigenous Views on Nuclear Energy and Radioactive Waste," reviewed statements published and documents filed with regulators by Indigenous nations in the three provinces with experience of nuclear power – Ontario, Quebec, and New Brunswick. Our analysis found that Indigenous nations in these three provinces oppose more nuclear development or the transport and storage of radioactive waste on their homelands because of nuclear energy's toxic radioactive legacy.

In the year following publication, that first report was downloaded more than 2,200 times from the CEDAR website. Given the high interest in the report about Indigenous opposition to nuclear power's toxic legacy, this second report was sparked by a question: What clean energy systems are Indigenous nations developing?

To understand the scope of Indigenous development of clean energy systems, we compiled a list of all the clean energy projects we could find with an Indigenous owner or partner in Canada. We found 172 renewable energy projects: wind, solar, hydropower, geothermal, bioenergy and

Neweg Project turbine tower construction, Kings County, New Brunswick (Natural Forces)

also transmission lines and battery storage.

This high number of Indigenous owned or partnered projects is a clear indication that Indigenous nations are deeply involved in renewable energy development. We also learned more about national organizations such as Indigenous Climate Action and Indigenous Clean Energy that are supporting these efforts.

Given the high number and breadth of these projects, and our available research capacity, we needed to narrow our scope. This study is focused on Wabanaki territory, the area of most interest to the CEDAR project, the homeland of project partners PRGI and Wolastoq Grand Council, and wind energy, in which this territory excels.

We compiled a list of all the Indigenous-partnered wind energy projects in Wabanaki homeland, totalling 32 operational or in development as of July 2025. In the months since, up to the date of this report publication, even more projects have been announced.

During our literature review, we found many researchers have been studying Indigenous community involvement with renewable energy projects. We selected 18 articles, included in this report's annotated bibliography (Appendix 2), that offer critical analysis of Indigenous-partnered renewable energy projects. These publications raised important questions and identified the seven key themes we used to frame our analysis of the Indigenous-partnered wind projects in our study.

We hope our report will be useful for Indigenous nations developing renewable energy projects, and policy makers, funders and researchers supporting this development. Our findings point to issues and raise questions about how these projects can provide the most benefit for future generations.

5. BACKGROUND

5.1 ENVIRONMENTAL INJUSTICE AND INDIGENOUS RESISTANCE IN THE ENERGY SECTOR

Canada's energy industries have shaped the nation, providing economic growth and social and political stability for the country as a whole. Energy-related industries and activities have also greatly enriched a small number of people while harming many Indigenous communities through extensive extractivism on their lands without free, prior, and informed consent.

The Canadian government has adopted the framework of the United Nations' Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UN General Assembly, 2007) in its law, the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Act (Government of Canada, 2021).

The Canadian law defines the collective and individual rights of Indigenous peoples within the Canadian legal framework. It affirms that Indigenous people have the right to self-determination and to freely pursue economic development, and that "states shall consult and cooperate in good faith with the Indigenous peoples concerned" to "obtain their free, prior, and informed consent before adopting and implementing legislative or administrative measures that may affect them."

Whenever the Canadian government and energy industries do not uphold the values of the UN Declaration in their consultations with Indigenous peoples in Canada, their behaviour and activities can be termed environmental injustice or environmental racism.

In her book, There's Something in the Water, Ingrid Waldron defines environmental racism as a system of "environmental policies, practices, or directives that disproportionately disadvantage individuals, groups, or communities (intentionally or unintentionally) based on race or color" (Waldron, p. 25).

Canada was built on these unjust practices and, indeed, governments and industry continue to inflict environmental injustice on Indigenous communities in Canada to this day. As an example, consider "Chemical Valley" in Sarnia, Ontario - the petro-chemical hub where 40 percent of Canada's chemicals are manufactured, mostly using petroleum and creating toxic emissions in dangerous proximity to the Aamjiwnaang First Nation (O'Toole & Kestler-D'Amours, 2021).

Canadian energy and mining projects overall have a history of both disproportionate harm to Indigenous peoples and resistance by Indigenous peoples.

The Idle No More movement sprang up in 2012 in response to the proposed Bill C-45 by the Harper government, which sought to diminish environmental and waterway protections - leading to more exploitation of Indigenous lands and resistance by Indigenous rights-holders. Bill C-5 by the current Carney government is experiencing similar Indigenous resistance (Chiefs of Ontario, 2025) and opposition including by the co-publisher of this report, PRGI (Peskotomuhkati Nation at Skutik, 2025).

The Stop Alton Gas movement, led by Mi'kmaq grandmothers and water protectors, defended the Shubenacadie River from pollution by the proposed Alton Gas fossil gas storage project (Stop Alton Gas, n.d.). After years of resistance, this movement was successful and eventually led to the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia determining in 2020 that the province "did not adequately consult with Sipekne'katik First Nation" and that this project would "violate the Fisheries Act and infringe on treaty rights" (Tress, 2020).

Another example is the fight against shale gas exploration in New Brunswick in 2013 after the province gave a license to the U.S. company Southwestern Energy to seek out fossil gas for future fracking operations. Elsipogtog First Nation led the resistance to the gas exploration over concerns about groundwater pollution. The efforts by Indigenous

Elsipogtog First Nation leads the fight against shale gas exploration (Dallas McQuarrie, NB Media Co-op)

leaders and their allies to protect their land was met with "a heavily militarized intervention" where "Elders were pepper-sprayed" by the RCMP (NB Media Co-op, 2023). The community outcry and police brutality gained international attention, eventually leading to the project's abandonment.

Nevertheless, while some protests and Indigenous activism have yielded positive results, industries and governments continue to develop energy projects that overstep and bring harm, in particular fossil fuel pipelines. In the U.S. for example, after years of activist presence, the Dakota Access Pipeline project to transport shale oil from the Bakken oil fields in North Dakota to an oil terminal in Illinois was completed in 2017, bringing with it more risks of environmental contamination and injustice (Hersher, 2017). Anishinaabe/Métis author and activist Carole Lindstrom depicts the fight against the Dakota Access Pipeline as one for cultural and environmental self-sovereignty in her children's book, We are Water Protectors (Lindstrom 2020; Egan, 2020).

Janzwood (2025) researched campaign coalitions formed to support Indigenous nations opposing two mega pipeline projects in Canada: the expansion of Trans Mountain, which was ultimately completed in 2024; and Northern Gateway, which was never built. Opposition to these projects came from a broad coalition of Indigenous nations and communities, civil society groups and municipal governments. Their concerns included risks related to oil spills and endangered species as well as harm to livelihoods and legal rights. "At the centre of opposition [to fossil fuel pipelines] lie questions about land and colonial extractivism, consent, consultation and accommodation with Indigenous peoples, how planned costs and benefits are distributed, how risks and conflicting interests are weighed, and how these matters are ultimately decided" (Janzwood, 2025, p. 4).

Indigenous protesters and supporters fought in solidarity with the Wet'suwet'en and Gitxsan nations opposing the Coastal GasLink fossil gas pipeline the province of British Columbia was building on their traditional territory (BBC, 2020). Opposition

to the project across the country included solidarity protests in Wabanaki homeland. One outside the Royal Bank branch in downtown Fredericton protested the bank's funding of the project and decried the RCMP's inhumane treatment of the Wet'suwet'en land defenders (He, 2021).

The Coastal Gas pipeline was completed but discontent among the Wet'suwet'en is still strong. Yintah, the 2025 Canadian Screen Award winner for Best Feature Length Documentary, recounts the near decade long resistance of the Wet'suwet'en land defenders and paints a stark picture on the realities of police brutality towards Indigenous people and the environmental and cultural destruction wrought by energy projects (Bellrichard, 2024).

Many other examples of Indigenous resistance to energy projects and support by allies can be found in Canada. A 2021 report found that Indigenous resistance has stopped or delayed greenhouse gas pollution equivalent to at least one-quarter of annual U.S. and Canadian emissions (Indigenous Environmental Network et al., 2021).

Indigenous communities have also strongly opposed the construction of nuclear energy plants and radioactive waste repositories. Many of these efforts are documented through written and oral submissions during public comment periods to the Canadian Nuclear Safety Commission and the Impact Assessment Agency of Canada (Bartlett et al., 2024).

The 2024 report, Indigenous Views on Nuclear Energy and Radioactive Waste, highlighted that the UN Declaration principle of free, prior, and informed consent is not being respected by governments and industry, and the expansion of nuclear technologies poses the possibility of furthering nuclear colonialism (Bartlett et al., 2024, Dressler, 2024).

In Quebec, Kebaowek First Nation is actively opposing the construction of a Near Surface Disposal Facility to store radioactive waste next to the Canadian Nuclear Laboratories research facility at Chalk River on the Kichi Sibi upstream from Ottawa (APTN National

Protest in Fredericton, New Brunswick in 2021 outside of the Royal Bank (RBC) building in solidarity with the Wet'suwet'en Nation land defenders (Robert Sheidow, NB Media Co-op)

Protest at St. Thomas University in Fredericton in solidarity with the Wet'suwet'en Nation land defenders (Hannah Moore, NB Media Co-op)

News, 2025). In New Brunswick, the Wolastoq Grand Council (2021) issued a declaration against nuclear energy development.

The Peskotomukati Nation never consented to the installation and ongoing operation of the NB Power Point Lepreau Nuclear Generating Station on their traditional territory. The reactor has created hundreds of tons of high-level radioactive waste currently stored in aging concrete silos near the Bay of Fundy (Dressler, 2022, NB Media Co-op, 2025).

The Passamaquoddy Recognition Group Inc. (PRGI), representing the Peskotomuhkati Nation in Canada and co-publisher of this report, has worked tirelessly on the nuclear file, attempting to address the lack of consent and environmental protection from the Point Lepreau nuclear reactor. PRGI is allied with multiple other nuclearized nations fighting nuclear plants and waste repositories infringing on Indigenous lands and ways of life across Canada and the United States (Passamaquoddy Recognition Group & CEDAR, 2024).

Hydropower has also caused widespread devastation and disruption of life for many Indigenous communities across Canada and around the world. A Harvard study found that more than 90 percent of proposed hydroelectric projects in Canada will likely increase exposure of the neurotoxin methylmercury to food webs near Indigenous communities (Burrows, 2016).

The destructive nature of new hydropower developments came into national consciousness in the 1970s. A small group of James Bay Cree members used the courts to force the Quebec government to interrupt construction of hydroelectric dams at James Bay, and to negotiate the first modern Treaty, the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement (Desrosiers, 2019). Many other examples exist of Indigenous opposition to hydropower development in Canada.

To end this section on a positive note, the Peskotomuhkati Nation was a leading partner in the international and community effort to remove the Milltown Dam on the Skutik (St. Croix River). Milltown was one of the oldest hydroelectric dams in Canada and its removal has contributed to giving a second chance at life to the alewife and other sea-run fish important to the Peskotomuhkati (Donovan, 2024; NOAA Fisheries, 2024; Reeder, 2019).

5.2 RESOURCING INDIGENOUS NATIONS TO PARTICIPATE IN ENERGY PROJECTS

Understanding the complex relationship between Indigenous peoples, energy industries, and the government departments and agencies supporting industrial development, is vital as we navigate our energy futures as societies and treaty partners.

A tension exists between prosperous industries and their government partners on one side, and Indigenous peoples and their allies on the other. These tensions have persisted due to years of exploitation and deceit under the guise of economic prosperity for Canada's First Peoples.

The federal government, to comply with Supreme Court decisions, has encouraged or required companies to include Indigenous partners when developing major projects, and in many cases, provides significant funding for Indigenous partners to participate in these projects. Consequently energy companies have sought business agreements with Indigenous communities. These agreements can bring economic prosperity but can also cause conflict among different Indigenous communities and within the communities themselves.

For example, journalists have described conflicts between Indigenous nations over plans to build a pipeline in British Columbia (Simmons & Waters, 2025), and the push by both the federal and provincial governments to develop Small Modular Nuclear Reactors (SMRs) in New Brunswick (Poitras, 2023). In both these cases, the conflict is between nations and Indigenous organizations opposing the projects and the Indigenous organizations wanting to partner with government and industry as a means of economic development.

The literature on economic reconciliation highlights that renewable energy projects may be more acceptable to a broad spectrum of Indigenous perspectives: "if focused on advancing sovereignty and self-determination, renewable energy development could alleviate harm from ongoing processes of settler colonialism," suggesting that "some Indigenous communities equate equity ownership with reconciliation" (Grosse & Mark, 2023, p. 1; Hoicka et al., 2021, p. 7).

However, Mang-Benza (2021) notes that there is the potential for the energy transition "to reproduce the socio-economic inequalities of the fossil fuel era" (Mang-Benza, 2021, p.1). It is thus crucial that these projects are planned with utmost consideration for the history of energy project exploitation and pollution of Indigenous lands and offer substantive and crucial benefits to the communities that own or are partnered on these projects.

View from Elsipogtog First Nation (Emma Fackenthall)

The sole turbine making up Pabineau First Nation's Oinpegitjoig Project in Richibucto, New Brunswick (Emma Fackenthall)

5.3 CONSIDERING ENVIRONMENTAL, SOCIAL, AND FINANCIAL IMPACTS

All energy technologies have an environmental and social footprint - no "net-zero" solution exists for the transition away from fossil fuels. However, some energy generation methods have heavier environmental, social, and economic impacts than others.

Extracting and burning fossil fuels has radically disrupted the planet's atmosphere and caused millions of deaths from air pollution. Nuclear energy requires extensive uranium mining that leaves long-lived toxic radioactive tailings, and nuclear reactors generate highly radioactive wastes that need to be isolated from living things forever, because radioactivity can damage cells and cause cancer.

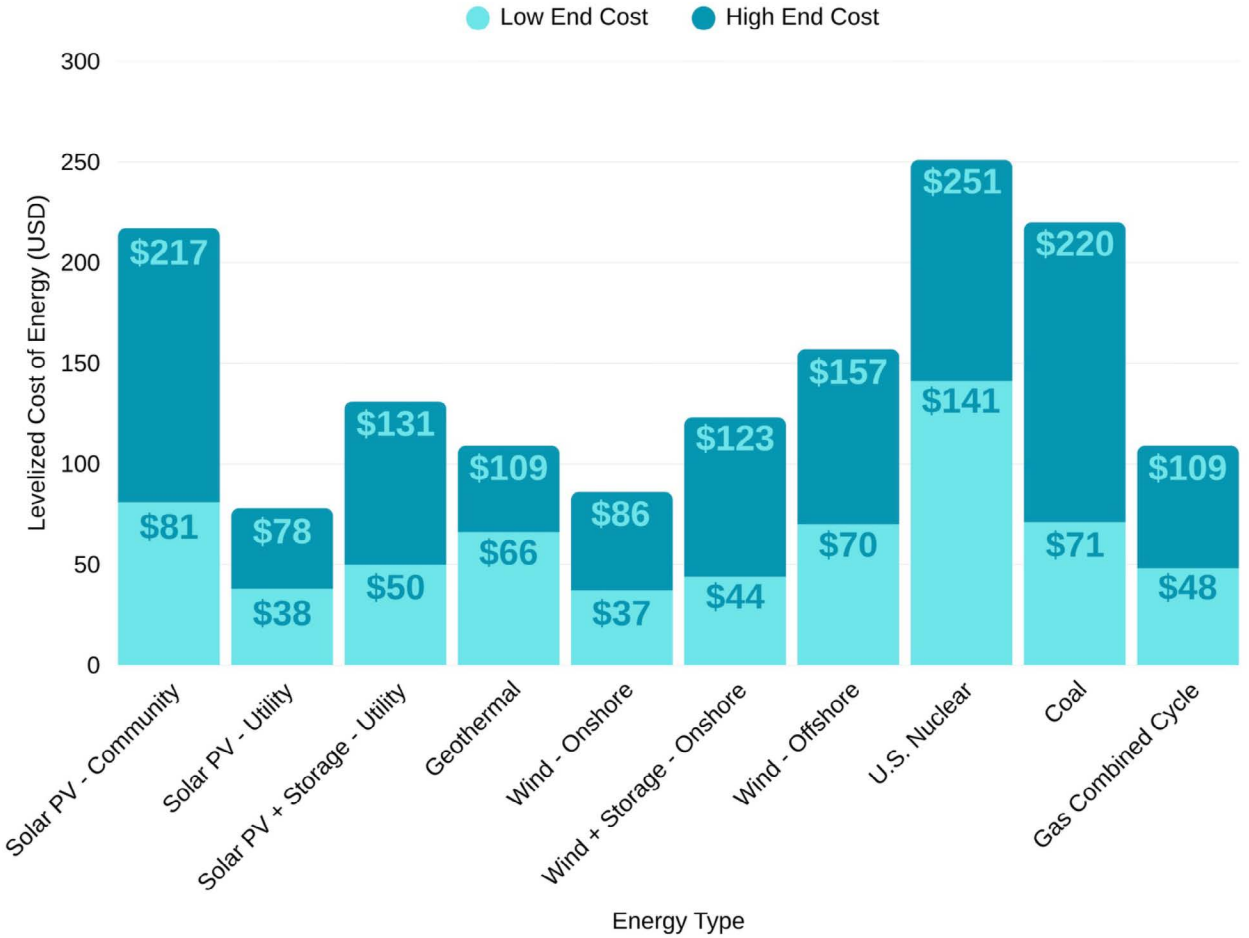
Renewable energy does not require extensive mining for fuel; however, renewables still have an environmental and societal footprint. Solar panels and wind turbines require extractive mineral mining and solar panels and turbine blades at end of life cannot yet be adequately recycled. Nevertheless, these renewable energy technologies do not leave a radioactive legacy for millennia (Ramana, 2018; Morozovska et al, 2024; U.S. Energy Information Administration, 2022).

Thus, when planning our energy future, we must consider the consequences of all facets of the energy cycle, from mining, to waste, to decommissioning, and how they will impact environments and communities as well as our pockets.

Unlike nuclear and fossil fuel plants – large and centrally concentrated – wind and solar installations tend to be smaller and decentralized over a wider regional area, offering more potential for community ownership and participation. Local communities can have more of an impact and leadership in these projects.

The Lazard Levelized Cost of Energy (LCOE) Report is the most authoritative and highly cited reference source on energy costs. LCOE refers to the entire monetary cost of the energy system including the initial build and installation and the fuel required. Figure 1, below, compares the costs in USD for different energy systems to produce one megawatt hour of electricity.

FIGURE 1: LEVELIZED COST OF ENERGY COMPARISON



Note: Adapted from Lazard's 2025 (p. 8) Levelized Cost of Energy Report.

According to the 2025 Lazard report, solar and storage and wind and storage are the most economical choices at their low-end cost (Figure 1, above). At their high-end costs, geothermal and gas combined cycle are the least expensive energy technologies and only slightly more expensive is onshore wind with storage and utility solar PV with storage. The most expensive are coal and nuclear energy.

As the Lazard report demonstrates, the cost of onshore wind is competing with gas combined cycle. Additionally, the price of fossil fuels is prone to significant changes. The Lazard report predicts a cost adjustment of plus or minus 25 percent for fossil fuel technologies. On the other hand, the cost of wind energy does not fluctuate as much, since wind turbines do not need fuel to operate, they convert wind power into electricity (Lazard, 2025, p. 10).

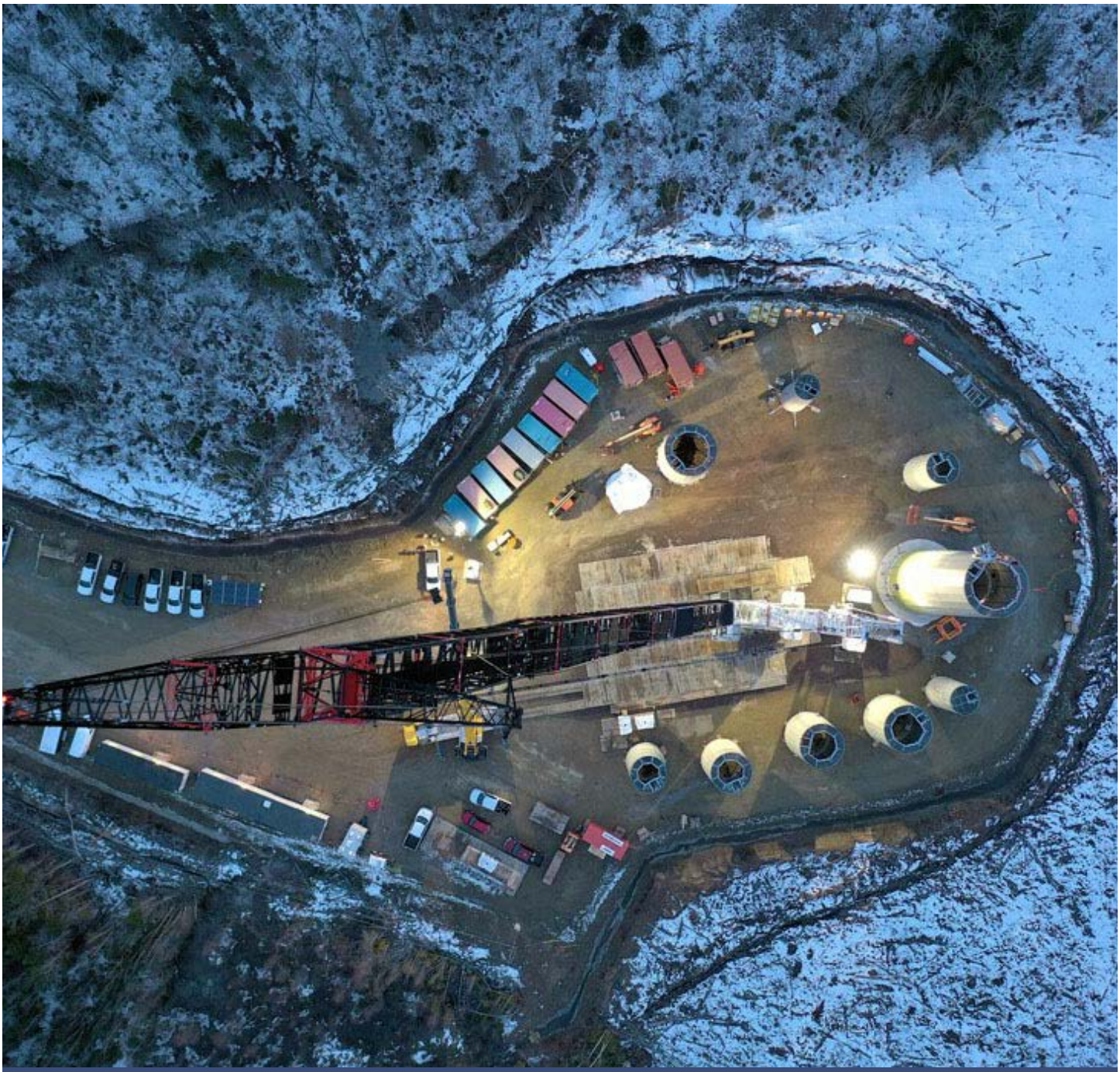
In summary, wind and solar energy systems compete with fossil gas plants on price but are less expensive than other fossil fuel and nuclear energy systems.

Solar and wind energies offer a potential avenue for advantageous collaboration between industry and Indigenous nations — with economic opportunity, inclusion at the decision-making table, active participation, and no dangerous emissions and wastes that will contaminate their homeland.

At the same time, mining has an environmental impact related to all energy sources – oil, gas, coal, uranium and the many critical minerals needed for wind turbines and solar panels. A manifesto from

a coalition of groups and Indigenous communities in the global South has criticized how the energy transition in the global North has put even more pressure on communities in the global South to expand mining operations, often causing significant environmental and social damage in those countries (Pacto Ecosocial e Intercultural del Sur, 2023).

In Wabanaki homeland, the Wolastoq Grand Council and many community groups are fighting against the Sisson Mine project north of Fredericton. The proposed mine will extract tungsten and molybdenum. Molybdenum is critical for creating high-strength, lightweight steel alloys and corrosion-resistant components, particularly in engines, exhaust systems, and electric vehicle (EV) batteries as well as wind turbines. This highlights the importance of considering all elements of the wind energy development chain and ensuring that mining is done sustainably and only with the consent of Indigenous nations (Koch, 2025).



Aerial view of Oinpegitjoig (Richibucto) Project in construction, New Brunswick (Natural Forces)

6. STUDY FOCUS & METHODOLOGY

As noted earlier, this study began with a question which arose following the publication of our project's report on Indigenous views of nuclear energy and radioactive waste: Given that Indigenous communities are overwhelmingly opposed to radioactive waste production and storage on their territories, what energy systems are Indigenous communities developing?

Our initial review of background information, discussed in the report section above, pointed to wind and solar energies because they offer potentially the best opportunities for financial return and active participation.

However, potentially significant challenges were also raised in our initial literature review. Our research focused on understanding both the benefits and challenges of renewable energy projects partnered with Indigenous communities.

For the study, we gathered data in a literature review and through desk research that included reviewing project webpages, news coverage, webpages from Indigenous communities and their industry partners, and university or government databases. This information was augmented by formal interviews with representatives from wind energy companies and off-record conversations with Indigenous community members whose Nations are partnered in wind developments in New Brunswick.

As mentioned in the report introduction, we began by scoping all renewable energy projects in Canada with an Indigenous owner or partner. We developed a spreadsheet to log the project name, map coordinates, province, energy type, if it was part of a grid, the Indigenous entity owner, the percentage of Indigenous entity ownership, the industry owner, percentage of industry ownership, government owner, percentage of government ownership, ownership type, funders, funding to date, project status, generating capacity in megawatts (MW), year built, year operating, and planned year of decommission.

The CEDAR project partners include leaders from Wabanaki territory that extends across the U.S. border. At this point we decided to add projects in the U.S. state of Maine to include all Wabanaki territory. The final spreadsheet included 172 renewable energy projects in Canada and Maine either fully owned or in partnership with Indigenous communities.

These projects included wind (69), hydroelectric (43), solar (46), biomass and bioenergy (8), transmission lines (3), battery storage (2), geothermal (2). One project being a combined solar and hydroelectric microgrid.

These projects are located in Ontario (46), British Columbia (27), Quebec (22), Alberta (23), Nova Scotia (17), New Brunswick (12), Saskatchewan (6), Yukon (5), Maine (4), Northwest Territories (4), Manitoba (3), Newfoundland and Labrador (3), and Prince Edward Island (1). One project being in both Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

The project capacity ranged from 0.36 to 695 megawatts. Most projects (110) are operational, with 62 in development. Project start dates ranged from 1963 to 2029.

Due to the surprisingly vast number of projects and amount of information available, we decided to focus our study only on wind energy projects. In consultation with the CEDAR project partners, we focused our work on projects in Wabanaki territory, which comprises part of eastern Quebec, all of Atlantic Canada, and the state of Maine.

We could not identify any wind energy projects in the state of Maine partnered with Indigenous communities and so our report is focused on wind energy in Wabanaki territory in Canada. Appendices 3 and 4 list all 32 projects that met our criteria.

We then consulted with academics in the field and developed an initial bibliography of literature, which was reduced to the sources listed in the annotated bibliography (Appendix

Oinpegitjoig (Richibucto) Project signage, New Brunswick (Emma Fackenthall)

2). The analysis of these literature sources helped us to develop a framework of seven key issues discussed in the literature review chapter.

After collecting data on all wind projects in Wabanaki territory, we separated the analysis into the projects that were operational (12) and in development (20) at the time of the study. We collected basic information on all 32 projects, included in Appendices 3 and 4. For the 12 projects operating, we then conducted a comprehensive search for all the information available online. An Appendix 3 Supplementary file is available for download with the report that includes all the information gathered for the 12 projects.

For the 12 operating projects, we found 96 data sources: Burchill (17), Nicolas-Riou (12), Whynotts (12), Millbrook (10), Truro Heights (10), Oinpegitjoig (9), Amherst Community (6), Mesgi'g Ugju's'n (6), Wiskolamson (6), Wocawson (6), and Pictou Landing (2). The Appendix 3 Supplementary file includes screenshots of notable elements of these sources.

Although the 96 data points provided considerable information for our analysis, we secured institutional research ethics board approval of our project and reached out to Indigenous and industry project partners for interviews. We spoke off-record with Indigenous leaders involved in two wind energy projects and secured formal interviews with two industry partners involved in multiple Indigenous-partnered wind projects.

Finally, we visited in person the Burchill, Oinpegitjoig, Neweg, Wocawson, and Amherst Community Projects to take pictures, observe signage, geographic location, and accessibility. We also attempted to visit the Millbrook, Truro Heights, and Wisokolamson projects, but did not reach the destinations due to poor road conditions.

7. CHALLENGES & OPPORTUNITIES:
KEY THEMES FROM THE LITERATURE

As noted in the report introduction, our search for literature on Indigenous involvement in renewable energy projects revealed a surprisingly high number of publications, revealing how long this topic has been a focus for academic study. We selected 18 publications that offered the most relevant information for our study. Almost all focused on wind projects and several focused on solar projects or all renewables with analysis that could apply to wind energy. A review of this literature (Appendix 2) highlighted seven themes of interest to our analysis.

Wisokolamson Project construction, near the Village of Riverside-Albert, New Brunswick (SWEB)

Project Size and Location

The size and placement of Indigenous-partnered renewable energy projects reflect the specific needs and circumstances of the communities involved. For example, the Kumeyaay I wind farm in the U.S. operates as a large utility-scale facility on tribal territory (Maruca, 2019) while Canada has some smaller renewable energy microgrids to supply power to remote off-grid areas that previously depended on diesel (Karanasios & Parker, 2018; Tamasiga et al., 2024; Yalamala et al., 2023).

Project siting is often on reserve land, either within the main community or outside of it, as seen with the M'Chigeeng First Nation in Ontario (Hoicka et al., 2021; Mang-Benza & Baxter, 2021). Furthermore, the location of a wind farm relative to a community is linked to social acceptance, with concerns about noise and visual impacts potentially leading to opposition (Rand, 2017).

Brady & Monani (2012) point out that very large wind farms require substantial financing and thus large corporate partners who will want to own a greater share of the project. Wind farms on a smaller scale have more opportunity for local communities to own and manage more of the project. In their study of all renewable energy projects, Hoicka et al. (2021) identified different categories of project size, from projects below 10 KW to above 100 MW, with the largest group of projects from 10 to 100 MW. Projects above 100 MW would not be considered community scale (Hoicka et al., 2021, p. 9.).

Lowan-Trudeau (2017, p. 609) highlighted that deciding on the size of the project is a key decision for the communities. The larger-scale projects potentially have negative impacts on surrounding human communities and ecosystems. However, a literature review by Rand (2017) found some European studies showed that the size of a wind project did not significantly correlate with negative attitudes.

Ownership and Partners

A central theme in the literature is the evolution and complexity of ownership and partnership structures (Yalamala et al., 2023). Nevertheless, the literature shows that greater Indigenous ownership

is emerging as a critical factor in the acceptance and success of projects. Hoika et al. (2021) suggests a project with more than half Indigenous ownership is more likely to meaningfully address reconciliation although most of the projects she reviewed had little to no Indigenous ownership.

The concept of equity-ownership intersects with reconciliation and Indigenous self-determination. More Indigenous ownership will ultimately influence the sustainability and positive social outcomes of a project (Yalamala et al., 2023). Higher levels of "equity-ownership" and "benefits-sharing" can be important to successful large-scale energy partnerships (Yalamala et al., 2023).

Recent findings note a significant increase in Indigenous involvement in large-scale renewable energy projects in Canada (Yalamala et al., 2023), where studies have tracked a transition from utility-driven projects to a community-driven phase, with some communities achieving full or partial ownership (Karanasios & Parker, 2018).

Effective partnerships have been seen as crucial for a just energy transition, necessitating a consideration of power dynamics and a focus on who benefits and who bears the consequences of a project (Rioux-Gobeil & Thomassin, 2024). Some authors caution that without genuine collaboration, energy projects can perpetuate the colonial or extractive nature of development (Mercer et al., 2020), which necessitates that governments, energy companies, and Indigenous communities collaborate closely to ensure energy security (Yalamala et al., 2023).

The quality of relationships between Indigenous peoples and external governments or corporations is therefore a determining factor in achieving coordinated, just, and effective projects (Whyte, 2019). The literature suggests that true equity requires a fundamental change in policy to promote Indigenous ownership and governance, moving from exploitative models to those that genuinely empower communities.

A case study of the M'Chigeeng First Nation in Ontario, sole owner of two wind turbines since 2012, demonstrated that benefits of ownership extend beyond financial gain to include pride

Wisokolamson turbine installation near the Village of Riverside-Albert, New Brunswick (SWEB)

and the advancement of self-determination, even when financial returns are not yet clear (Mang-Benza & Baxter, 2021; Mang-Benza et al., 2024). This "pride of ownership" is a significant predictor of local acceptance, deep community engagement, and collective benefits (Mang-Benza et al., 2024; Hoicka et al., 2021).

Capital Flows and Benefits

Renewable energy projects can empower communities and significantly improve socio-economic conditions while simultaneously working to address inequality and poverty (Tamasiga et al., 2024). However, the success of these collaborations is contingent on fairness, participation, and trust during the development process (Rand, 2017).

The existing legal and policy frameworks, particularly in the United States, can compel tribes into arrangements that constrain their sovereignty and limit potential benefits, even as these projects are framed as opportunities for job growth and economic expansion (Maruca, 2019). For example, the Navajo Nation's "Green Jobs" effort failed in part because it prioritized private entrepreneurship over public investment and undermined the tribal government's authority (Curley, 2018).

Landscape view of the five Wisokolamson turbines (SWEB)

Historically, many renewable energy projects on Indigenous lands have provided minimal benefits to the communities themselves, often perpetuating a pattern of exploitation similar to the fossil fuel era (Grosse & Mark, 2023; Maruca, 2019; Mang-Benza & Baxter, 2021). Implementing "deep engagement" project structures, which deliver "local and collective benefits," enables just energy transitions and promotes reconciliation, according to Hoicka et al. (2021).

The benefits and capital flows from Indigenous-partnered wind energy projects are complex and do not always result in equitable distribution. Indigenous peoples have historically benefited very little from these projects due to legal and social barriers, rooted in ongoing colonialism (Grosse & Mark, 2023). However, a shift is occurring as communities move from "passive recipients" to active participants and owners (Karanasios & Parker, 2018).

Despite the potential for job growth and income expansion (Maruca, 2019), systemic challenges persist. For example, in the U.S. the competitive disadvantage faced by Indigenous communities when obtaining federal tax credits results in lessor-lessee relationships instead of project ownership (Maruca, 2019). The solution to these obstacles requires new financial approaches together with supportive government policies (Tamasiga et al., 2024).

The literature suggests that a fundamental overhaul of legal and policy structures is necessary to support Indigenous ownership and ensure that benefits are directed toward the communities themselves (Grosse & Mark, 2023).

Skill Development

In Indigenous-partnered wind energy projects, a central theme is the development of skills and the creation of jobs as a means to achieve community self-determination and economic growth.

The literature indicates a shift where Indigenous communities are moving from passive observers to active participants and leaders in the transformation of their energy systems (Karanasios & Parker, 2018; Maruca, 2019). These initiatives, such as the Red Lake Solar Project by the Red Lake Band of Ojibwe in Minnesota, prioritize creating meaningful work and training opportunities, with the project employing a majority of Red Lake Band members (Marks-Marino, 2019). Beyond direct employment, these partnerships are seen as fostering entrepreneurial and business skills within communities (Yalamala et al., 2023).

Active engagement in the energy transition also builds technical and financial capacity while recognizing and valuing existing community knowledge (Grosse & Mark, 2023). Having active participation through meaningful employment fosters a sense of pride within the community (Mang-Benza et al., 2024). Ultimately, these projects are viewed as promoting greater tribal self-determination and building robust clean energy economies (Maruca, 2019).

Community Values

The success of Indigenous-partnered wind energy projects hinges on the extent to which the projects reflect community values, as these initiatives must achieve more than just financial goals to gain local backing (Hoicka et al. 2021).

Indigenous peoples' relationship with their lands stems from their inherent rights to self-governance and cultural protection (Whyte, 2019). Many Indigenous communities initiate these projects to defend sacred cultural and traditional ways of life against the destructive forces of fossil fuels and climate change (Whyte, 2019). A prime example is the Red Lake Band of Ojibwe in Minnesota, who created a solar project to protect walleye and wild rice, which hold sacred value in their creation stories (Marks-Marino, 2019).

Research shows that renewable energy development in the U.S. must align with tribal strategic goals and self-governance to achieve successful and equitable outcomes while preventing the establishment of new extraction systems (Maruca, 2019; Grosse & Mark, 2023).

Literature on wind energy success in Indigenous communities shows a need to prioritize community benefits, local control, and cultural preservation over Eurocentric justice principles (Mang-Benza & Baxter, 2021). Long-term success for these projects depends on their ability to support reconciliation, self-determination, equity-ownership, and benefit-sharing, as these elements create positive social results and honor Indigenous decision-making authority (Yalamala et al., 2023).

Control of Indigenous Representation

How the projects are presented to Indigenous communities and the general public – through public-facing materials such as videos, websites and brochures – is also a key theme in the literature.

The representation of Indigenous peoples in project marketing is a complex issue. Corporate entities have historically used and often still use problematic stereotypes, such as the "Ecological Indian," to market sustainable energy projects (Brady & Monani, 2012). While companies like San Diego Gas and Electric in the U.S. have shifted away from such iconography, opting for a more modern, technological image, the degree of Indigenous involvement in decision-making and project management remains unclear and often absent from public communication (Brady & Monani, 2012).

This highlights the need for a wider understanding of sustainability that goes beyond economic benefits and considers how the project is presented to the public and ensures that equitable representation, management, and control is present in project representation (Brady & Monani, 2012).

Indigenous Control of Operations and Management

A key theme in the literature on Indigenous partnered wind energy projects is the critical issue of project control, which is related to but a different issue than project ownership. Indigenous communities are seeking active participation in the control of energy projects to meet goals of self-governance and economic development, and to mark a departure from a history of exploitative development (Karanasios & Parker, 2018; Maruca, 2019; Stefanelli et al., 2018).

Indigenous control over wind energy projects is thus vital for energy justice, helping communities move from being passive recipients of development to active participants in shaping their own energy futures (Karanasios & Parker, 2018; Maruca, 2019). While projects like the M'Chigeeng First Nation's sole ownership of two wind turbines gives the community considerable control, many communities still have limited or no ownership (Hoicka et al., 2021).

Also related is the ability to apply the Indigenous governance practices of self-determination and sovereignty, although some legal and policy structures hinder such active involvement in projects (Grosse & Mark, 2023; Maruca, 2019; Yalamala et al., 2023). A transition from passive recipients to active participants with agency in a project fosters a sense of pride and can mitigate internal community tensions (Mang-Benza & Baxter, 2021).

Visitor at Amherst Community Project, Cumberland County, Nova Scotia (Susan O'Donnell)

8. INDIGENOUS-PARTNERED WIND PROJECTS IN WABANAKI HOMELAND

8.1 OVERVIEW

As described in the Study Focus and Methodology sections of this report, the scope of our study was wind projects in partnership with Indigenous communities in Wabanaki territory.

Of the 32 wind projects in scope, 12 were operating at the time of the study, with 20 more in development. The operational projects were located in three provinces: five in New Brunswick, five in Nova Scotia and two in Quebec.

Of the twelve projects, eight are partnerships with Mi'kmaq communities:

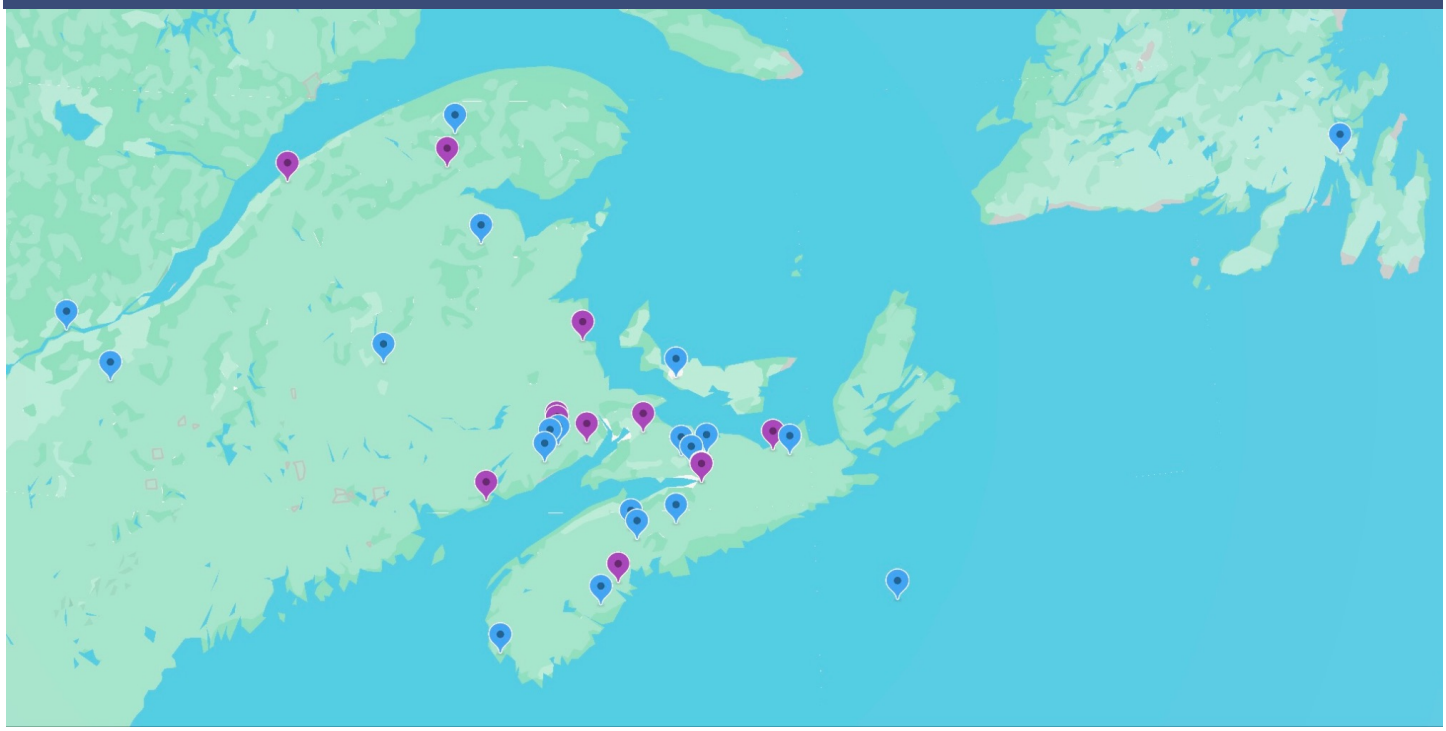
- Oinpegitjoig (NB)
- Neweg (NB)
- Pictou Landing (NS)
- Millbrook (NS)
- Truro Heights (NS)
- Whynotts (NS)
- Amherst Community (NS)
- Mesgi'g Ugju's'n (QC)

Four projects are partnered with Wolastoqey / Maliseet communities:

- Burchill (NB)
- Wocawson (NB)
- Wiskolamson (NB)
- Nicolas-Riou (QC)

Appendix 3 has information about these 12 projects, including size, turbines, partnerships, and funding. Links to all the available online information about each project is included in the Appendix 3 Supplement file.

FIGURE 2: WIND PROJECTS IN OUR STUDY



8.2 MAP OF THE WIND PROJECTS

In Figure 2, above, a map of the 32 relevant wind projects situated on Wabanaki territory, the 12 purple markers indicate the location of the operational wind projects. The 20 blue markers indicate projects in development. Some markers overlap on this small map, so not all 32 projects are in view.

The map indicates that all except one were onshore wind projects. One project is in early development off the Nova Scotia coast.

8.3 ANALYSIS OF THE WIND PROJECTS

We analyzed the Indigenous wind energy projects in Wabanaki using the seven key issues framework from the literature review.

- Project Size and Location
- Ownership and Partners
- Capital Flows and Benefits
- Indigenous Control of the Project
- Skill Development
- Community Values
- Control of Indigenous Representation

Our analysis focused on the 12 operational projects and included the 20 projects in development when the information was available.

8.3.1 PROJECT SIZE AND LOCATION

Of the operational projects, most are situated away from the Indigenous partner's community. Many operational projects are more than two hours away from the First Nation, and sometimes near a different Indigenous community entirely.

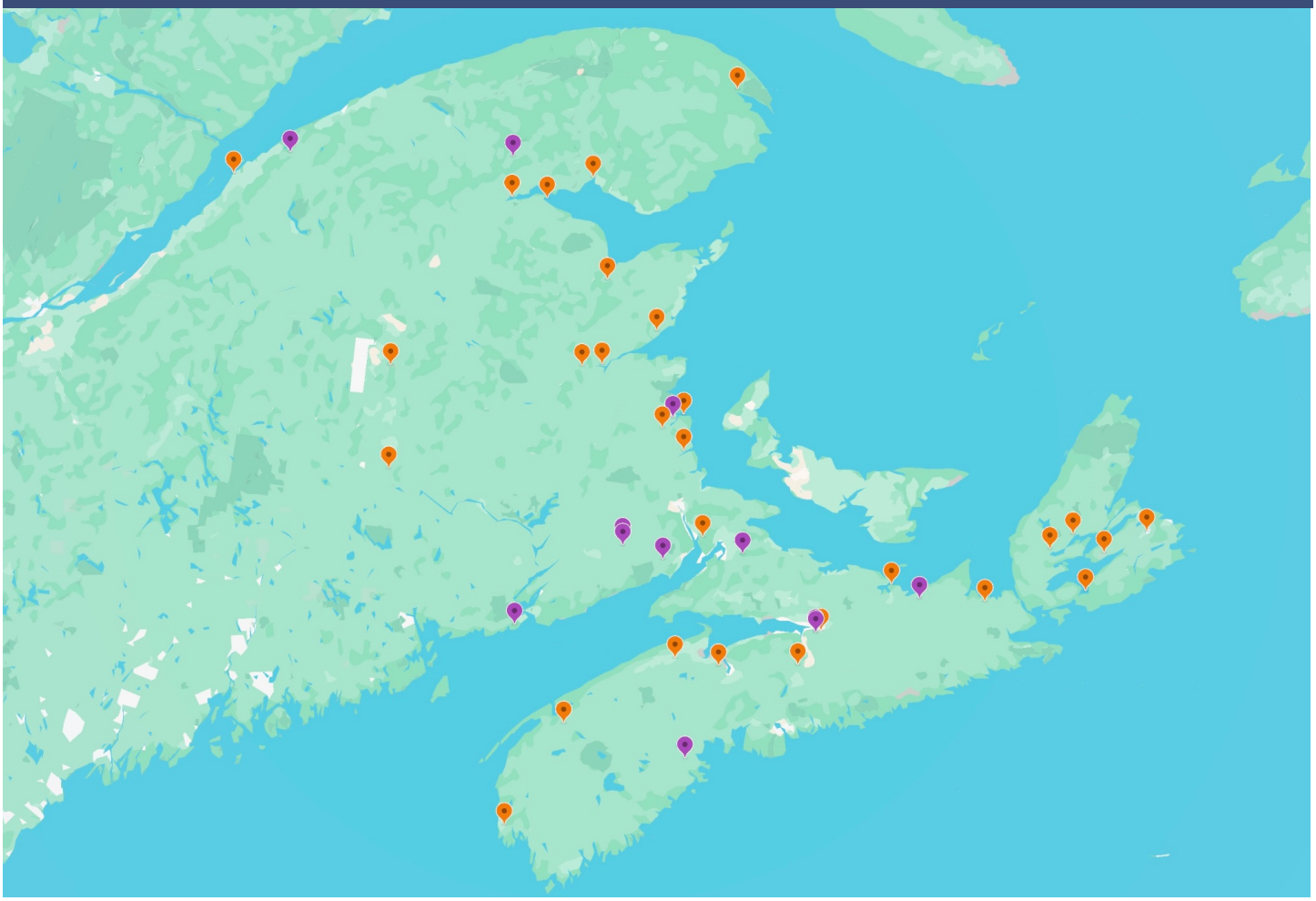
One project, situated 113 km from the Indigenous partner community, is located less than 25 km from three non-partnered Indigenous communities.

This situation raises several questions that our research did not answer: Are benefits going to the communities near the project? Were these other First Nations approached before the site was selected for a proposed project? What is the relationship between the Indigenous partner and the neighbouring non-partnered Indigenous communities?

The partner community gains financial benefits. However when the wind farm location is distant, this raises other questions: How many of the projects are actively employing community members at the wind farm? When the wind farm is located near a distant and uninvolved Indigenous community, are any of those community members working on the wind farm?

In Figure 3, below, although some communities and projects appear close together, only one community is within an hour walking distance from their project.

FIGURE 3: OPERATIONAL WIND PROJECTS (PURPLE) AND INDIGENOUS PARTNERS (ORANGE)



Most of the operational projects in Wabanaki territory have under 10 megawatts (MW) of capacity, but projects in development typically range in the 50-99 MW range. Figure 4, below, illustrates the shift from smaller scale to larger scale projects in the newer developments.

Industry has sought to locate these projects in remote areas within adequate proximity to the provincial electrical grid, that are not environmentally sensitive areas, and that are far from residences.

Some Indigenous partners have expressed a desire for their projects to be situated near their community, but weak grid connectivity, the presence of migratory bird corridors, and poor wind strength in the area can impede that possibility as these conditions would limit the success of the project.

Many projects are situated in rural areas or on old logging roads. Roads are often unpaved and simply packed dirt, limiting public accessibility. While some projects' webpages do list information about the site for visitors, not many industry partners are making the exact location available so navigating the area can be challenging for visitors without that information.

Of the 12 projects in operation, 31 partners are located 100 km or more away, and about 15 are 99 km or less (Figure 5); these measurements are approximate, measured as the crow flies. If measured via roads, some distances may be even longer.

FIGURE 4: SIZE OF PROJECTS IN MEGAWATTS (MW)

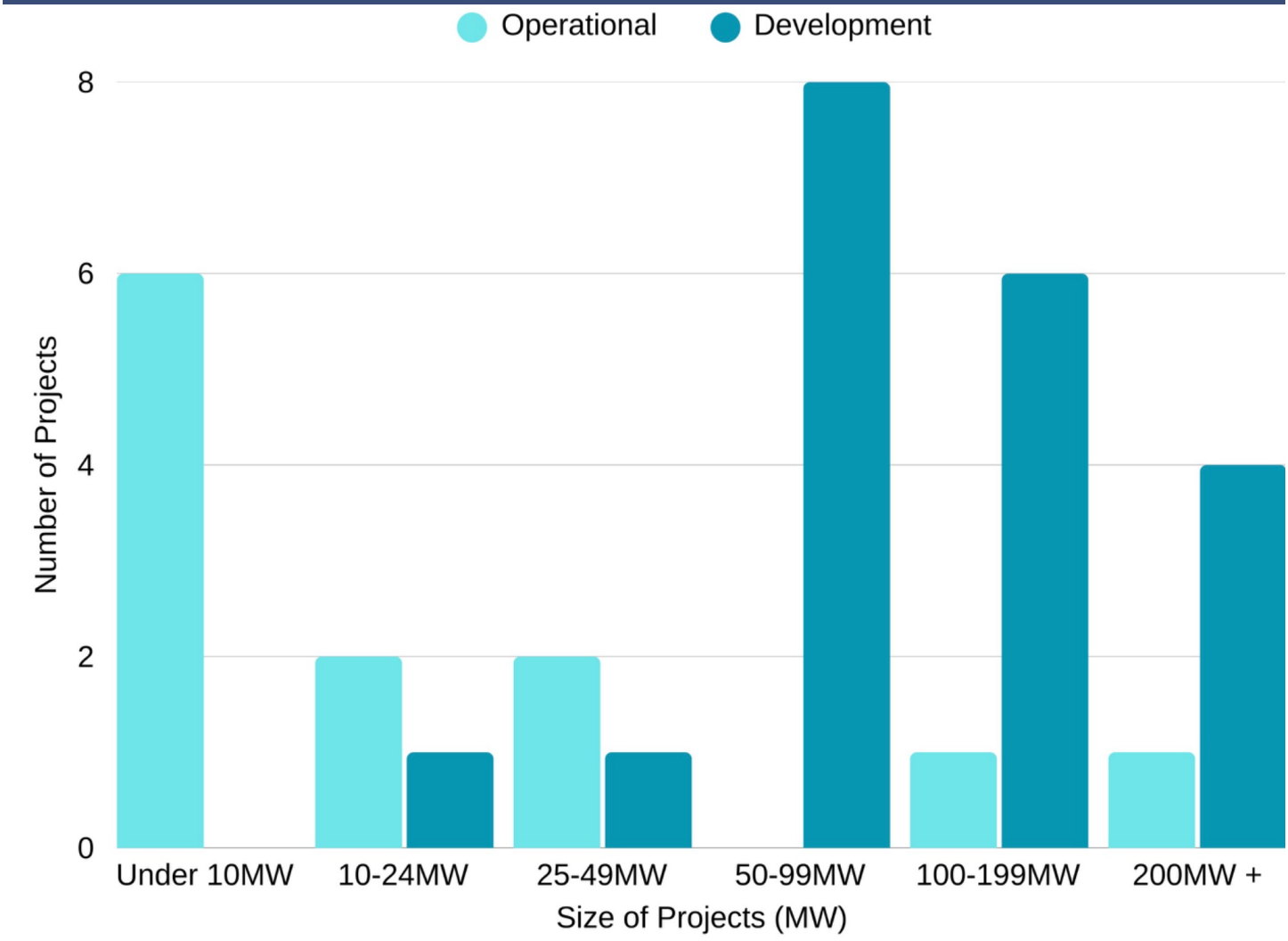
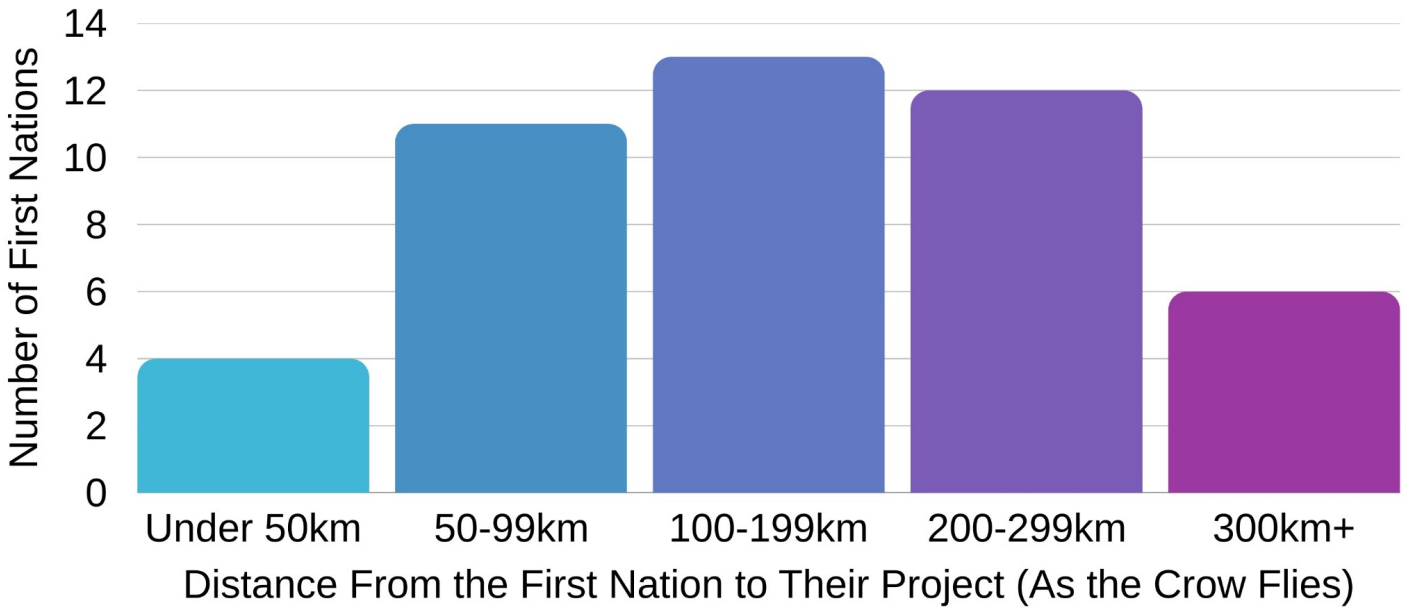


FIGURE 5: APPROXIMATE DISTANCE FROM THE INDIGENOUS COMMUNITY TO THEIR OPERATIONAL PROJECT



8.3.2 OWNERSHIP AND PARTNERS

Most of the projects for which we had ownership information have a First Nation as majority owner, with typically an industry partner as minority owner. Partnerships are also made under umbrella groups, such as the Mikmaq Wind 4All Communities Limited Partnership, which joins all 13 Mi'kmaq First Nations in Nova Scotia (A3.1). We identified 10 wind projects partnered with an Indigenous umbrella organization and 19 partnered with a First Nation community directly.

Of all 32 projects, five have a First Nation owner but under a company name. One First Nation is partnered through a regional county municipality, one project has two Indigenous owners not tied under a limited partnership or company, one project has a First Nation owner and an umbrella organization owner, and one project in development has not yet disclosed its Indigenous partner.

Figure 6, right, shows that many projects have a 51%-49% or a 60%-40% division of Indigenous-industry ownership.

Many of these partnerships are equity-ownerships: a direct stream of revenue goes to the First Nation or Indigenous partners. The revenue stream is the primary benefit of the project to the community. Most projects do not appear to employ Indigenous community members for management or planning roles. However the project revenue stream allows communities to hire staff for needed roles peripheral or unrelated to the project.

Figure 6 includes 18 projects both operational and in development. 14 projects did not reveal ownership share.

Surprisingly, despite being part-owners of a wind farm, many of the partner Indigenous communities have minimal information about their wind project ownership on their community websites. Nine Indigenous umbrella organizations and First Nations had a press release or news article on their website with in-depth information about the project, indicating a visible sense of ownership. Industry partners are typically the ones to share the most detailed information about the projects on their websites, which are easily findable.

The industry partner usually crafts a proposal for a project and searches for an Indigenous

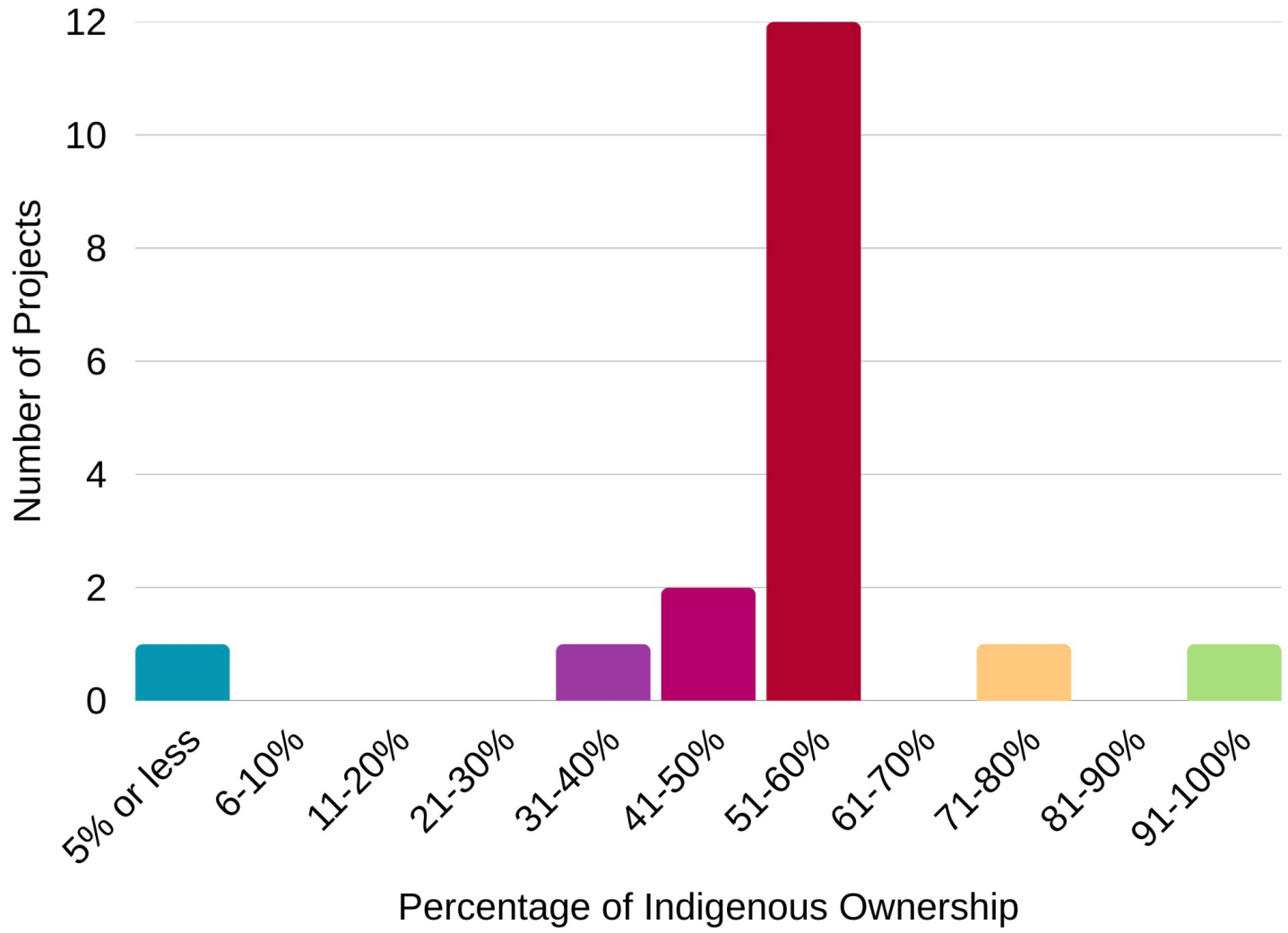
partner; rather than Indigenous partners seeking out the services of the industry. However, industry noted an increase in outreach in the last couple of years from Indigenous communities in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.

Industry noted that it is often difficult to make contact with potential Indigenous partners, thus well-established outreach is crucial for a partnership. It is much easier for industry to establish the project when a First Nation is familiar with this type of endeavour prior to their partnership, but many First Nations have no experience with these kinds of projects, making new partnerships more challenging and requiring more industry support and education.

Partnering with an Indigenous umbrella organization can help streamline the process, although industry has expressed a preference to working directly with Chief and council. Indigenous communities make good partners because they are "stewards of the land" (Interview 2).

According to both industry interviewees, early engagement and transparency are critical for the success of these partnerships but federal funding and other policy deadlines make it difficult to conduct adequate consultations with First Nations. Industry partners want more time to discuss new funding opportunities, implications for the partnership, and the impacts of the financial arrangement with the community.

FIGURE 6: SHARE OF INDIGENOUS OWNERSHIP



Burchill Project turbine delivery, New Brunswick (Natural Forces)

8.3.3 CAPITAL FLOWS AND BENEFITS

Revenues from the wind projects are clearly the primary benefit flowing to Indigenous partners. Indigenous partners use project revenue for a variety of purposes, including to add solar retrofitting to their band offices, develop scholarship programs for members, or to implement new economic ventures for their communities, such as more wind projects, construction of new buildings, or other purposes. Industry partners use some of their project profits to fund future projects.

Partnered wind projects are an advantageous venture for Indigenous communities since industry will typically secure capital up front. Further while wind power is variable, it is somewhat predictable, so estimates of financial returns can be established early on. Nevertheless, it is uncertain if the predictability of wind and the estimated financial returns from these projects will become harder to evaluate with the changing climate.

Federal funding programs for wind projects have been described as opportunities to "alleviate some of the strains placed on the community by decreasing the risks when starting these projects" that "lends somewhat well to a pursuit of reconciliation" even though short application deadlines can make it challenging to have adequate consultation with Indigenous partners (Interview 1). An industry partner for multiple projects in Wabanaki territory noted that federal funding from Natural Resources Canada and Indigenous Services Canada have lessened the financial risks for partnered Indigenous communities.

Industry project partners have established community funds, which are "baked into their financial models" to provide to Indigenous partners (Interview 2). These funds are separate from the direct revenue to the Indigenous community. The bigger the project, the larger the amount that is added to the community fund, which for the industry partner is a project expense.

Industry has noted local community benefits not directly associated with the First Nation partner. For example, industry employees visiting the projects for repairs and maintenance use services such as local plowing, accommodation, restaurants, and materials. Nevertheless, most of the operational projects in Wabanaki homeland are not situated near their Indigenous partners; hence, these services are most likely provided by neighbouring communities.

8.3.4 INDIGENOUS CONTROL OF OPERATIONS AND MANAGEMENT

Indigenous partners are not typically be involved in the operations and management of the projects; however, when the project is located near Indigenous communities, industry partners will utilize and support community services. There is typically little or no steady work for the Indigenous partners once the project is completed.

Industry has noted that the time frame for procurement in the province and the submission to federal funding make it difficult to conduct adequate consultation with the First Nations, meaning that they cannot always provide the full explanation of how a certain type of funding may impact business plans.

Industry has expressed that they are typically the ones who plan, propose a site, and apply for funding for these projects, often the initial plan and proposed sites being established before or during the process of finding an Indigenous partner. This would mean that in the initial phases of the project, there is limited Indigenous participation in planning.

Industry has expressed that they take on the role of monitoring the project sites, either through regular visits or through security cameras installed on nearby electric poles. When there is a turbine malfunction, the industry partner is either working on it themselves or contacting the turbine manufacturer to come perform the repairs. Unless the Indigenous partner has members hired into the industry, they are most likely not directly involved in operations and management.

8.3.5 SKILL DEVELOPMENT

The wind industry partners in Wabanaki territory have noted that many facets and fields of expertise are needed to get these projects off the ground, including environmental, legal, engineering, and partnership building.

Many different types of skillsets are required, and more qualified project planners, managers, and operators are needed. Also lacking is specialized machinery. For example, only three cranes are available in the region that can lift the nacelle to the top of the turbine tower, which can cause project delays.

The operational wind projects can foster skill development for communities situated geographically near their project sites by hiring local contractors, snowplow operators, and hospitality services. Some companies, like Borea Construction, contracted to build the projects, have hired some "First Nations individuals" for the installation phase (Borea Construction, n.d.).

Nevertheless, due to the spatial distance between Indigenous communities and the site of their project, few communities are seemingly hands-on after the project becomes operational. Furthermore, maintenance and repairs are sometimes required to be performed by the turbine manufacturer (separate from the industry partner). In these cases, a company employee will drive out from their headquarters to perform the needed services.

One industry partner for a project without local jobs for their partnered First Nation believes the project has provided experiential knowledge and skills for the First Nations partner, giving them the ability to expand their own economic ventures in the future with their learnings from their partnership.

Lastly, industry partners have worked to increase the interest in renewable energy and continuing education by providing scholarship and bursary programs for the partnered community. These opportunities target students with an interest in pursuing studies in renewable technologies or other subjects such as science, nursing, and others with good local employment opportunities.

8.3.6 COMMUNITY VALUES

For some of the projects, the Indigenous communities worked with the industry partner to conduct Ecological Knowledge Studies which helped to identify traditional and current Indigenous uses of the land and incorporate Indigenous ecological knowledge into the project planning. Wind farms are substantially less environmentally degrading than fossil fuel infrastructure; hence, these projects can serve as a way for communities to foster their values for the environment. In a project promotional video for the Burchill Wind project, a Chief expressed that his goal was for his community to be net-zero by 2050, and the wind projects help his community work towards achieving their goal (Natural Forces, n.d.)

Wind projects and partnerships enable Indigenous communities to support their community values by bringing revenue and industry connections to their community from a project that is clean and sustainable. With the revenues and partnership formed from a partnered project, an Indigenous community was able to advance their own energy sovereignty and reduce their environmental footprint, by installing a solar photovoltaic system on the community office.

As discussed above, wind project benefits can include scholarship and bursary programs. One industry partner provides two awards per year for the duration of the power purchase agreement (25 years) to youth in the community seeking post-secondary education. This program was established at the request of the First Nation partner during the early stages of the project.

Direct revenue and community benefits embedded in the partnerships allow for communities to maintain and advance values and priorities such as energy sovereignty, environmental protection, and education.

At some of the project sites, Indigenous partners have painted turbines in art that is representative of their community and culture (see next section).

A Neweg turbine spinning in the sun, New Brunswick (Emma Fackenthall)

Point Wolfe, Fundy National Park, New Brunswick (Emma Fackenthall)

8.3.7 INDIGENOUS REPRESENTATION IN THE PROJECT

How a project is represented to the public can support public education about Indigenous communities or promote stereotypes. Our analysis of operational projects reviewed how Indigenous partners are presented in promotional materials like videos, news articles, and press releases, from a variety of sources (Figure 7, below).

Project videos typically feature one or more Indigenous partner voices, usually the Chief, an economic development officer, a community member who helped establish the project, or a member well regarded in the community, like a former Chief. Some videos also feature footage of the project construction, the opening ceremony, and community events - most notably, Powwows.

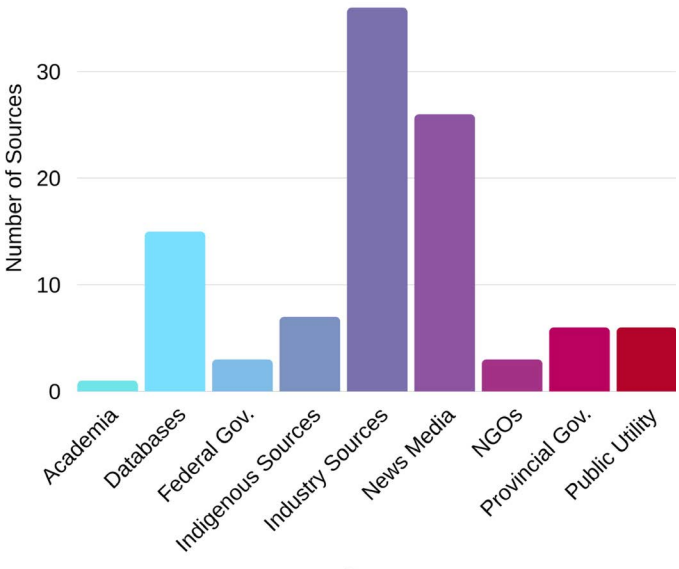
Most information on operational projects is found on separate industry-hosted websites, industry webpages, wind energy databases, and application packets submitted to the provincial government.

Different project websites present information on the Indigenous partners in different ways, with some pages listing a paragraph near the top of the page, and others providing solely the name of the First Nation and little other information about the partnership. However, the lack of information on the Indigenous partner could be at the request of the Indigenous community.

Industry project pages typically have a paragraph for each First Nation, describing the size and location of the community and information on the Chief and council or the umbrella Indigenous organization partner. Most operational projects will also list the percentage of Indigenous-industry ownership. Some Indigenous partners appear to be actively involved in the representation of their projects and partnerships by permitting video interviews, footage of their Powwows, and providing direct quotes to news media and radio stations. Nonetheless, many information sources neither directly refer to the Indigenous partners nor include any direct quotes from an affiliated member of the Indigenous partner. Some sources even misleadingly list the industry owner as the sole owner and manager of the project (Global Data, 2024).

Aside from industry-hosted project pages, some Indigenous partners do have limited information on their websites. Of the operational projects, there are eight news releases by First Nations and one project page by an umbrella organization. Some First Nations' websites feature posts about job and training opportunities related to wind energy without directly referencing their project. Four First Nations mention their wind project name in passing in the "about" or "economic development" sections of their websites.

FIGURE 7: WIND PROJECT INFORMATION SOURCES



Industry sources and news media are by far the most numerous sources of public information about the wind projects (Figure 7, above). The sources include industry webpages and press releases (28), news articles (23), other webpages (16), PDF documents (12), databases (10), government documents (9), Indigenous Industry/Partnered Indigenous Association pages (6), videos (6), Meta posts (1). The Appendix 3 supplementary file includes screenshots of notable elements of these sources.

FIGURE 8: INDIGENOUS VOICES IN SOURCES

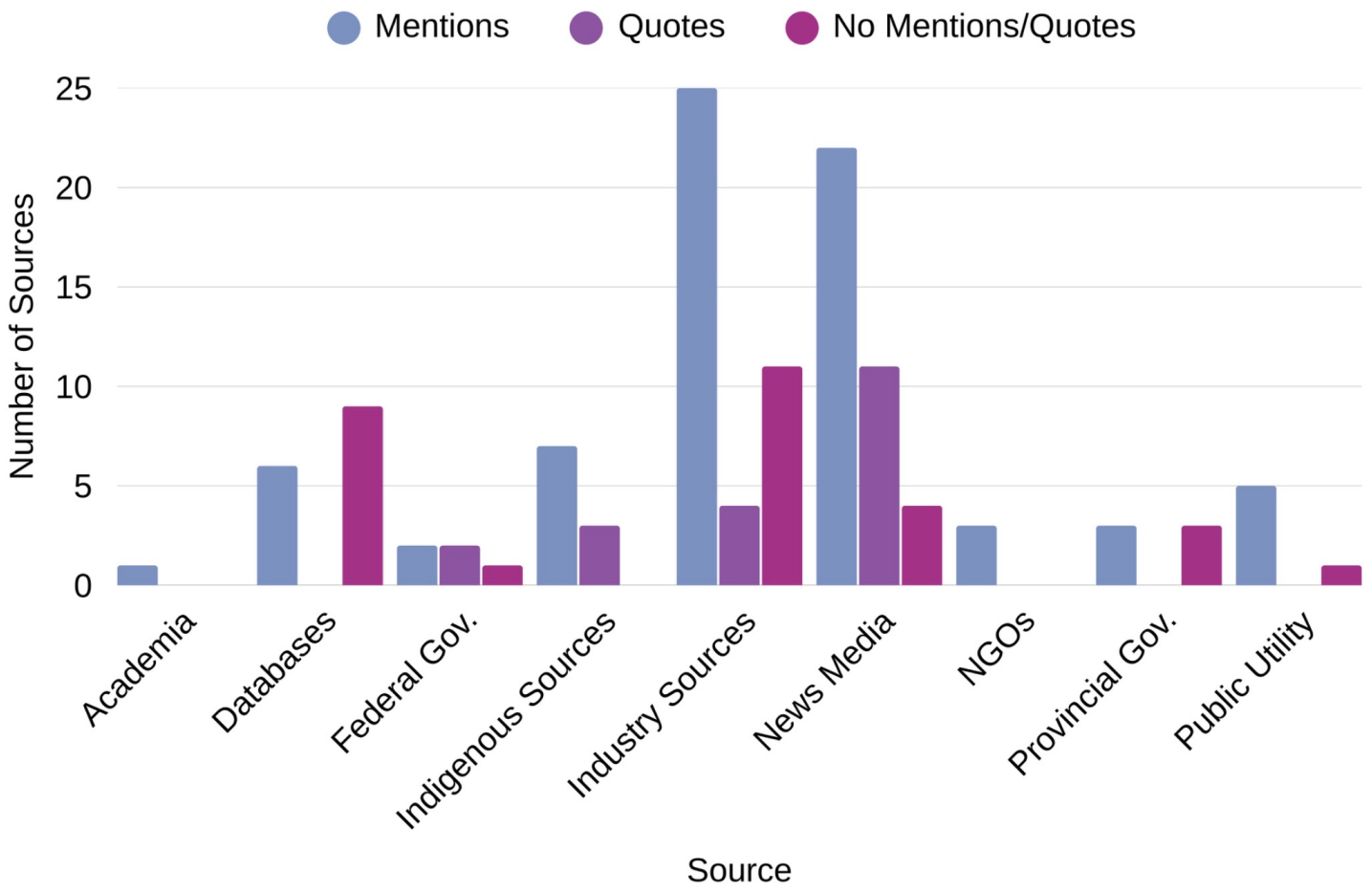


Figure 8 includes information sources for the 12 operational projects and how often Indigenous projects were mentioned or Indigenous voices quoted.

Figure 8, above, identifies the mentions and direct quotes from Indigenous partner representatives in the different sources. Indigenous partners are referenced the most in industry sources and news media; however, the latter includes many more direct written text or quotes from Indigenous representatives.

News media coverage is limited for some projects, especially those smaller in scale and in more remote areas. The industry uses social media platforms such as LinkedIn, X, and Instagram to post project updates and may also include photos of community leaders at corporate events and ribbon-cutting ceremonies.

On the project sites themselves, signage can include the Indigenous partner name, but this is not always the case.

FIGURE 9: OINPEGITJOIG (RICHIBUCTO) PROJECT SIGNAGE, NEW BRUNSWICK (EMMA FACKENTHALL)

FIGURE 10: JOINT WOCAWSON AND NEWEG PROJECT SIGNAGE, KINGS COUNTY, NEW BRUNSWICK (EMMA FACKENTHALL)

FIGURE 11: NEQOTKUK ART ON A WOCAWSON TURBINE IN KINGS COUNTY, NEW BRUNSWICK (EMMA FACKENTHALL)

A project situated in the Greater Moncton and Southeast Region of New Brunswick (Figure 9, above) in Richibucto lists both the Indigenous and industry partners and also features a pressed hand mural with the phrase "Empowering future generations with sustainable energy."

Two projects in the Greater Moncton and Southwest Region of New Brunswick (Figure 10, above) in Springdale share a project sign which does not list either industry or Indigenous partners.

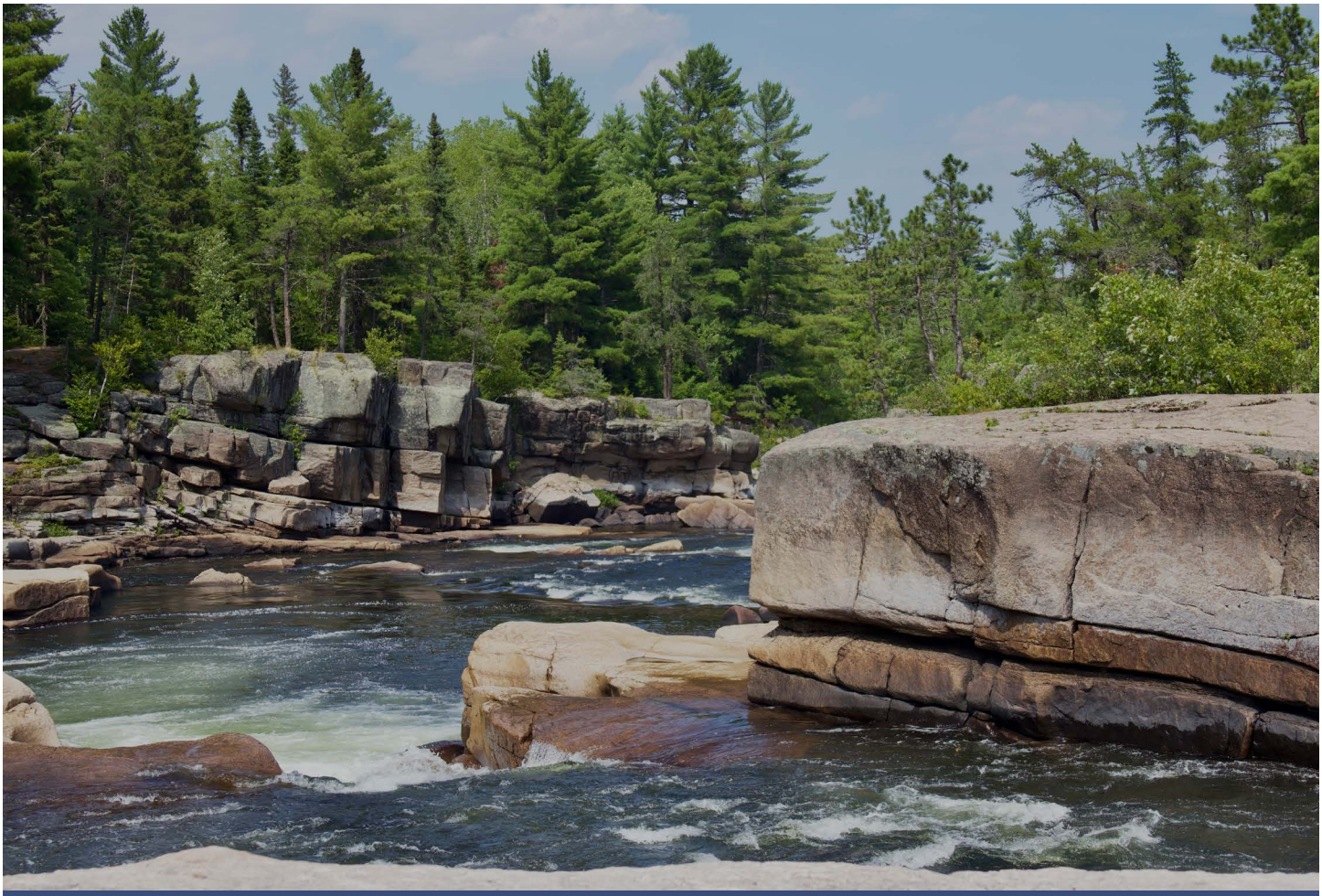
The Springdale project has a unique look (Figure 11, above). The turbine nacelles were painted before installation by an Indigenous artist - commissioned to paint artwork that represented the Indigenous partner. During the second phase of this project, there are plans to commission Indigenous art for the bottom of the turbine towers.

8.4 STORIES PUBLISHED ANALYZING THE WIND PROJECTS

The NB Media Co-op published three articles while the study was underway, included in this report and available online (https://nbmediacoop.org/)

- July 23, 2025: “Reconcili-action”: NB Power’s wind energy agreements a potential turning point for Indigenous-industry partnerships (By Emma Fackenthall)
- October 10, 2025: Setting the standard: Burchill Wind (By Emma Fackenthall)
- December 15, 2025: Pabineau First Nation’s path toward economic reconciliation and climate justice through wind energy (By Chief Terry Richardson and Emma Fackenthall)

Near Pabineau Falls, Pabineau First Nation (Emma Fackenthall)



Pabineau Falls by Pabineau First Nation, New Brunswick (Emma Fackenthall)

8.4.1 "RECONCILI-ACTION": NB POWER'S WIND ENERGY AGREEMENTS A POTENTIAL TURNING POINT FOR INDIGENOUS-INDUSTRY PARTNERSHIPS

By: Emma Fackenthall

In what could potentially be a pivotal step toward a just energy transition, NB Power has announced four wind energy agreements with Indigenous communities across the province. The new Power Purchase Agreements total more than 450 megawatts (MW) of wind-generated electricity.

Beyond the headline of low-cost wind power lies a deeper narrative: climate justice, Indigenous leadership, and intertwining environmental responsibility with economic reconciliation.

Powering Indigenous futures (and the grid)

NB Power expects the four projects to be operating by 2027–2028:

- Salmon River Wind (200 MW), co-developed by the Wolastoqey Resource Developments Inc. representing all six Wolastoqey communities, in partnership with the Halifax company, Natural Forces.
- Paqt'smawei Sipu Wind (100 MW) a Mi'kmaq-led effort by the Indian Island First Nation and Mi'kmaq United Investment Network alongside Natural Forces
- Astuwicuwon Wind (92 MW) developed by Sistansisk (St. Mary's) First Nation and Quebec-based Eolectric.
- Papoqji'jq Wind, a 60 MW project in partnership between Pabineau First Nation and Germany-based ABO Energy.

The NB Power media release claims that each project ensures sustained community revenue, job creation, and co-governance - what the Director of Economic Development for St. Mary's First Nation, Patrick Brooks, calls "Reconcili-Action."

"This is a win for Wolastoqey communities, NB Power, and all New Brunswickers," said Chief Patricia Bernard of Madawaska First Nation. "For our communities, it means sustained revenue, employment opportunities, and greater influence over our lands."

From Tokenism to True Partnership?

Historically sidelined from economic development projects like energy development, Indigenous communities in New Brunswick have an opportunity now to be at the helm of renewable energy leadership.

The new projects come after the federal government announcement in December 2024 of an investment of up to $1 billion dollars in clean energy projects for New Brunswick, of which 670-megawatts is to be Indigenous-led.

These partnerships attempt to go far beyond symbolic inclusion - if the vision is realized, they will feature equity participation, economic autonomy, and environmental stewardship.

Chief Allan Polchies of Sitansisk (St. Mary's) emphasized the deeper significance: "Reconciliation is about working together and recognizing that Indigenous Nations have the capacity and willingness to exercise stewardship..."

This potential shift from the historic colonial relationship between governments and Indigenous nations also aligns with broader climate justice principles, such as addressing the uneven burdens and benefits of the energy transition.

For communities that have long borne the brunt of environmental degradation, exploitation, and land dispossession, access to clean energy revenues and governance rights offers Indigenous people a restorative path forward.

Chief Ross Perley, Neqotkuk (Tobique First Nation), second from left, at the June 2023 opening of the Burchill Wind project with partners from industry and municipal, provincial and federal governments (Natural Forces).

A just energy transition in practice?

NB Power's announcement arrives at a crucial time. Despite the climate emergency, the new federal government is talking about developing new fossil fuel pipelines and false climate solutions such as carbon capture, utilization and storage (CCUS).

Changing the discourse and pushing support for renewable energy and addressing questions of equity are vital to put Canada on a more sustainable path.

In the NB Power media release, Lori Clark, president and CEO, said the projects are "the future of sustainable energy in New Brunswick - working together, showing respect, and deeply rooted in community."

The utility said the projects were selected through a rigorous process that emphasized not only cost-effectiveness but also community integration and environmental values.

Reconciliation through decarbonization?

Including Indigenous partners as co-developers rather than stakeholders is an attempt to bring more diverse voices to the table and offer economic prosperity for Canada's first peoples. If employment, revenue-sharing, and direct equity ownership actually materialize, these projects could be stellar examples of a sustainable and just energy transition with true economic reconciliation.

If this happens, for many Indigenous nations, these projects could represent not just infrastructure, but legacy - transforming historical subjugation and injustices into sustainable, self-determined futures, a true "Reconcili-action."

Quiet fields around the Pabineau First Nation's Oinpegitjoig (Richibucto) Project, New Brunswick (Emma Fackenthall)

8.4.2 PABINEAU FIRST NATION'S PATH TOWARD ECONOMIC RECONCILIATION AND CLIMATE JUSTICE THROUGH WIND ENERGY

By Chief Terry Richardson and Emma Fackenthall

As the urgency to transition to low-carbon energy grows, Pabineau First Nation is emerging as a key player in Indigenous-led climate action and renewable energy development. The Mi'kmaq community in northern New Brunswick near Bathurst is demonstrating how renewable energy can support both climate goals and economic reconciliation.

Renewable energy as a path to reconciliation

For many Indigenous communities, economic reconciliation includes equitable access to resource development, energy sovereignty, and combating energy poverty. Pabineau First Nation is pursuing these goals through infrastructure project partnerships to generate long-term benefits for their community members and the province.

Starting-off strong: Oinpegitijoig (Richibucto) wind project

Operational since 2020, the Oinpegitijoig (Richibucto) Wind Project powers roughly 900 homes annually, securing long-term revenue for Pabineau First Nation. Photo by Emma Fackenthall. Pabineau First Nation's entry into the renewable energy sector began with the Oinpegitijoig (Richibucto) Wind Project, a single 3.8-megawatt wind turbine near Richibucto, New Brunswick. Developed in partnership with Halifax-based company Natural Forces and operational since early 2020, the project generates enough electricity to power approximately 900 homes annually.

The initiative received support from Indigenous Services Canada, Natural Resources Canada, and the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency, alongside private-sector investment. Under a 25-year power purchase agreement with NB Power, the project provides stable long-term income to the community and supports local employment and training.

Projects in the works:Papoqji'jg wind project

In May 2025, NB Power selected the Papoqji'jg Wind Project, a 60-megawatt wind energy development, as part of a major procurement process for over 450 megawatts of new wind capacity across the province. Pabineau First Nation is a development partner on this project led by ABO Wind, a company headquartered in Germany with offices in Calgary, Halifax, and St. John's.

The Papoqji'jg Wind Project, expected to be operational by 2027 or 2028, will help New Brunswick reduce greenhouse gas emissions and increase the share of renewables in NB Power's energy mix. It also represents a significant step forward in Indigenous participation in large-scale renewable energy infrastructure.

The First Nation is always on the lookout for new opportunities to grow their assets and demonstrate to the region that they are not myopic. At the heart of all business ventures is a desire to see the growth of the region and community benefits for all.

Economic development and environmental stewardship

Aside from renewable energy, Pabineau is actively pursuing opportunities in economic development through its dedicated office and partnerships. The First Nation has formalized several agreements with government agencies and private firms to ensure projects reflect both community values and long-term strategic goals. These include employment for community members, training initiatives, and environmental assessments grounded in Mi'kmaq knowledge.

The Pabineau First Nation Economic Development Office outlines its goals as fostering sustainable, culturally appropriate development that supports both community well-being and environmental responsibility.

Inspiration for Indigenous-led energy transition

Pabineau First Nation's approach works with the federal government's initiative to include Indigenous nations as owners and partners in resource and infrastructure development projects. There is also a growing realization across Canada that Indigenous participation is necessary for both true reconciliation and climate resilience.

By leveraging renewable energy, Pabineau is helping guide New Brunswick on a more renewable energy path while creating new streams of revenue, employment, and autonomy for its members.

As governments and energy utilities plan their energy futures, partnering with Indigenous communities on renewable energy projects helps to foster economic reconciliation instead of colonial relationships that create injustice and stifle economic development. The example set by Pabineau First Nation provides a model for a partnership rooted in mutual benefit, long-term vision, and Indigenous self-determination.

8.4.3 SETTING THE STANDARD: BURCHILL WIND

By Emma Fackenthall

The Burchill Wind Project near Lorneville produces up to 42 megawatts of renewable energy for Saint John Energy. Photo by Carlos Valenzuela via Wikimedia Commons

The Holt government's review of NB Power is a fitting time to highlight some of the many Indigenous renewable energy projects in the province. The Burchill Wind project near Lorneville, a significant milestone in sustainable energy development and Indigenous collaboration, should serve as inspiration when we plan our energy future.

Operational since June 2023, this 10-turbine wind farm can produce up to 42 megawatts of renewable energy. The power is sold to Saint John Energy, a municipally owned company that supplies electricity to the City of Saint John.

Burchill Wind is a working partnership between Natural Forces, a Halifax-based renewable energy company, and Neqotkuk (Tobique First Nation), the majority owner.

This collaboration underscores Neqotkuk's commitment to environmental stewardship and economic development. In an interview with radio station Country 94.1, Neqotkuk Chief Ross Perley emphasized the project's significance: [Saint John] "is part of our unceded Wolastoqey territory. We've got reserve here, the Brothers Islands, but we've never really had a footprint for business, for economic development, for relationship building with the city."

Too often, Perley remarked in the interview, support is lacking from the government for renewable project development in partnership with First Nation communities. The Chief hopes that the Burchill Wind Project will serve as a positive and successful example to draw inspiration from.

The federal government has acknowledged and supported this Indigenous-led initiative by investing nearly $50 million through

Construction of a Burchill Project tower, New Brunswick (Natural Forces)

Natural Resources Canada's Smart Renewables and Electrification Pathways Program. This program supports Canada's stated goal of a decarbonized electricity grid by 2035.

More recently, in late 2024 the federal government announced up to $1 billion for wind projects in New Brunswick – many having partnerships with Indigenous communities.

This is not the first Natural Forces and Neqotkuk collaboration. Indeed, the two previously partnered on the Wocawson Wind Energy Project on the outskirts of Sussex, in operation since December 2020. This smaller project with five turbines has an installed capacity of 20 megawatts.

The Burchill Wind Project is expected to supply about 15 percent of the City of Saint John's energy needs, providing clean power for over 10,000 homes annually. The 25-year power purchase agreement with Saint John Energy ensures long-term community benefits.

In March 2024, Burchill Wind further enhanced its capabilities by adding the largest battery energy storage system in New Brunswick.This system stores variable electricity generated by the turbines, ensuring a stable energy supply even when wind conditions are unfavourable for power production. Wind energy, paired with storage, can provide secure, reliable electricity, eliminating the need for other power sources that emit greenhouse gases.

Beyond energy production, the project honours Indigenous heritage by naming the access road "Pisunawtik Road," which means "Medicine Road" in Wolastoquey language. This name serves to reflect on the traditional use of the land for medicine and highlights the continuous and strong relationship between the Wolastoquey and their land.

The Burchill Wind Project is an example of Indigenous and industry collaboration on sustainable energy development. Through this endeavour, the First Nation community has economic opportunity and a prominent role in the sustainable energy transition. Burchill Wind inspires visions of sustainable and just energy futures.

A Burchill Project turbine, in partnership with Neqotkuk (Tobique First Nation) (Natural Forces)

9. CONCLUSION

Our study began with a question: What kinds of clean energy projects are Indigenous nations developing? We found that across Canada, Indigenous nations are partnered in more than 170 renewable energy projects.

Wabanaki territory, Atlantic Canada, has some of the best wind resources in the world. Our analysis identified 32 wind projects in this territory in operation or development with Indigenous partners. Indigenous-partnered wind projects have emerged as essential energy generators in this region, during a time when alternatives to fossil fuels are urgently needed to power electricity grids.

In his foreword to this report, Peskotomuhkati Chief Akagi recounted the success of the project to remove the Milltown hydroelectric dam from the Skutik. That experience highlighted three important elements for the future success of wind energy projects: Indigenous nations must have a say when developing major projects on Indigenous territories, strategic partnerships with Indigenous communities are essential for major energy projects, and the new wind energy development must align with Indigenous values.

A key word and approach in all the projects reviewed for this study is "partnerships." Excellent partnerships between Indigenous nations, industry, and government funders will drive these projects forward. Strong partnerships will lead to long-term relationships that bring revenues and increased capacity for Indigenous communities and reliable energy systems for all Wabanaki homeland.

At the same time Indigenous communities have many competing priorities. It is partially on government or the agencies providing project funding to create space and time to allow for Indigenous communities and teams to digest the product, assess the associated risks and benefits, and develop meaningful partnerships.

Partnerships between First Nations and local governments and municipalities have also emerged as an avenue to wider community development. For example, recently the Northern Energy Alliance was developed with the Mi'kmaq First Nations of Eel River Bar and Pabineau, working with the Regional Service Commissions of Restigouche, the Acadian Peninsula, and Chaleur. In that region, the Belledune coal-fired electricity plant in the region is mandated to close in 2030. The Alliance's mission is to develop sustainable energy projects by and for the communities, on their own terms, ensuring that both economic and environmental benefits remain within the region.

Power lines passing near Kouchibouguac National Park, New Brunswick (Emma Fackenthall)

Transmission lines and turbines on the Wocawson & Neweg Project sites, New Brunswick (Emma Fackenthall)

In his foreword, Wolastoq Grand Chief spasaqsit possesom, Ron Tremblay, reinforced a point raised only briefly in this report: the impact of mining the materials needed for wind turbines. He noted that the rationale for the Sisson project proposal in the province is to mine and use molybdenum and tungsten for the U.S. war industry, and that the link between wind turbines, molybdenum and the Sisson project needs consideration. All elements of wind energy development, in particular mining, must be done to minimize harm and only with the consent of Indigenous Nations.

Our study identified seven features of wind energy developments along with questions that deserve attention because they can shape the extent to which projects provide benefits to Indigenous communities.

Of the 18 projects for which ownership information was available, for most the Indigenous partner or partners had more than 50 percent ownership. Maintaining majority ownership may become more difficult as the size of the projects increase and more capital is required upfront. Our analysis found that the project sizes are increasing over time.

The primary benefits flowing to communities are the revenues generated from the wind farms. Wind strength is variable but somewhat predictable, making estimates of financial returns generally possible far in advance.

The wind is strong in many areas of Wabanaki homeland, but some areas are more suitable than others for wind turbines. Concerned with profitability, industry prefers to locate wind projects in remote areas near the provincial electrical grid that are not environmentally sensitive. Although Indigenous partners may prefer the turbines situated nearer their community, that can be difficult. Weak grid connectivity and poor wind strength will limit the success of the project. Keeping the projects away from migratory bird corridors is also important.

Of the projects studied, most of the operating wind farms are a fair distance away, more than a two-hour drive, from the Indigenous partner's community. The project may be closer to different Indigenous communities, possibly a different nation. The analysis did not answer several associated questions, including: Are communities located near the project gaining benefits? Were these other Indigenous communities approached before the wind project site was selected? Given the distance between the partner community and the project, are many partner community members actually employed and working at the wind farm?

Given that most of the projects studied are not situated near their Indigenous partners, local employment opportunities can be limited for the Indigenous partner. When a wind farm is up and running, many of the ongoing tasks are hands-on, with onsite operators using support services in nearby communities. Finding ways for partner Indigenous communities to play active ongoing roles will be a challenge and needs discussion early in the project development.

Wisokolamson Project rotor blades awaiting installation, New Brunswick (SWEB)

The related challenge is skill development in the partner Indigenous community. Given the distances involved between the Indigenous partner and the project, few communities are seemingly hands-on, limiting the opportunities for practical skill development with wind turbines. However involvement in a major energy project can develop experiential knowledge that can be transferred later to other projects.

In their forewords, both Chief Akagi and Chief Tremblay raised the need for energy projects to be true to Indigenous values. Materials posted by communities highlighted the link between renewable energy and addressing the climate crisis. Wind projects and partnerships enable Indigenous communities to support their community values by bringing revenue and industry connections to their community from a clean energy project. The project with a painted turbine nacelle was a creative cultural expression but an outlier that could be considered in other projects.

One aspect of wind projects that may need to be reconsidered is how the Indigenous partner or partners are represented in project information and promotion. The projects tend to have limited news media coverage, especially smaller projects in more remote areas. Signage at the project sites does not always include the name of the Indigenous partner, although some signs do feature that information. The Appendix 3 Supplementary file has links to all the sources of online information and promotion for every wind project operating in Wabanaki homeland. Many projects have very little information available online.

One of the stories published from this project asks if wind projects in this territory could be a pivotal step toward a just energy transition: Beyond the headline of low-cost wind power lies a deeper narrative: climate justice, Indigenous leadership, and intertwining environmental responsibility with economic reconciliation.

Wisokolamson Project tower construction, New Brunswick (SWEB)

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Yalamala, R. S.., Zurba, M., Bullock, R., & Diduck, A. P. (2023). A review of large-scale renewable energy partnerships with Indigenous communities and organizations in Canada. *Environmental Reviews, 31*, 484-497. dx.doi.org/10.1139/er-2022-0011

A2: Annotated Bibliography

Brady, Miranda. & Monani, Salma. (2012). Wind Power! Marketing Renewable Energy on Tribal Lands and the Struggle for Just Sustainability. *Local Environment, 17*(1), 147-166. https://doi.org/10.1080/13549839.2011.646966

Using a case study approach within the framework of "just sustainability," this article critically explores how corporate marketing intersects with environmental and social justice for renewable energy projects on American Indian tribal lands. The authors focus on two corporate entities, Native Energy and San Diego Gas and Electric, to illustrate how public rhetoric around "green" energy can both support and undermine the goals of "just sustainability." The study draws attention to the problematic use of archetypes like "the Ecological Indian" and evaluates the extent to which these projects empower Indigenous communities.

Curley, Andrew. (2018). A Failed Green Future: Navajo Green Jobs and energy "transition" in the Navajo Nation. *Geoforum, 88,* 57-65. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2017.11.012

Curley analyzes the failure of a grassroots renewable energy initiative within the Navajo Nation that sought to shift from coal to wind and solar power. Using five years of ethnographic research and interviews, the author argues that the Navajo Green Jobs movement ultimately failed because it was grounded in what they call "hybrid neoliberal" assumptions that decentralize tribal government and idealize local entrepreneurship over public investments. While these ideas are framed as "empowering" they undermine the existing tribal authority and fail to engage with the spatial, cultural, and political embeddedness of coal in the community's economy and governance. The Navajo Nation rejected this initiative and instead continued coal development through the creation of the Navajo Transitional Energy Company (NTEC), which used the language of "transition" to justify their continued coal extraction under tribal ownership. The author demonstrates that concepts like "green jobs" or the "energy transition" work as the conventional development priorities of colonial legacies, economic dependency, and uneven power dynamics. The energy transition is not a linear technical shift, it must take into account place-specific histories and the colonial entanglements that have shaped Indigenous energy development

Grosse, Carrie., & Mark, Brigid. (2023). Does renewable electricity promote Indigenous sovereignty? Reviewing support, barriers, and recommendations for solar and wind energy development on Native lands in the United States. *Energy Research & Social Science, 104.* https://doi.org/10.1016/j.erss.2023.103243

Using a comprehensive review of 74 articles published over 20 years on the topic of Native American involvement in renewable energy, particularly wind and solar projects on Native lands in the United States, the authors argue that renewable energy projects have the potential to significantly benefit Native American self-determination. This is especially true when projects focus on sovereignty and self-determination. These projects mitigate harms from settler colonialism and the climate crisis, supporting Native Americans in the process. However, the article notes that Native people have historically received few benefits from these types of projects due to systemic barriers shaped by ongoing colonial dynamics. The article highlights the key supports for Indigenous involvement, noting the unique attributes of Native

nations and the alignment of renewable energies with Indigenous environmental values. However, the authors stress a strong need for systemic change to address widespread issues such as lack of trust, insufficient technical capacity, and restrictive legal frameworks that nip these projects in the bud.

Hoicka, Christina. E., Savic, Katarina., & Campney, Alicia. (2021). Reconciliation through renewable energy? A survey of Indigenous communities, involvement, and peoples in Canada. *Energy Research and Social Science, 74*. https://doi.org/0.1016/j.erss.2020.101897

This article presents a comprehensive national survey of 194 renewable energy projects associated with Indigenous communities in Canada, analyzing their legal form, degree of Indigenous control, and alignment with principles of community energy and reconciliation. Hoicka et al. develop a conceptual framework based on community energy which emphasizes participation, local benefit, and government. They use the framework to evaluate how Indigenous involvement in energy projects intersects with larger goals of self-determination and reconciliation. Hoicka et al. determine that while equity ownership by Indigenous peoples has increased over time, most projects still lack Indigenous majority control and leadership, especially for Métis and Inuit communities. The article argues that renewable energy has the potential to support reconciliation; however, this potential must be unlocked by employing more active and widespread Indigenous leadership, policy support, and securing free, prior, and informed consent. This source delves into the barriers of Indigenous partnered renewable energy projects in Canada, including the structural barriers, institutional aids, and justice-based frameworks needed for mutually beneficial participation.

Karanasios, Konstantinos. & Parker, Paul. (2018). Tracking the transition to renewable electricity in remote indigenous communities in Canada. *Energy Policy*, *118*, 169-181. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.enpol.2018.03.032

The authors examine the transition from diesel-based to renewable energy systems in 71 remote Indigenous communities in Canada from 1980 to 2016. Using a multi-level perspective framework, the authors note two phases in the transition: 1) utility driven, wind energy projects initiated by electrical utilities, and 2) community-driven phase, primarily Indigenous-led solar projects. Through policy analysis, literature review, and historical case studies, the authors demonstrate that successful renewable energy deployment relies heavily on iterative learning, intergovernmental collaboration, and adaptive governance structures. This study emphasizes the importance of shifting from top-down sustainability frameworks to community-centered approaches that support Indigenous autonomy, energy self-determination, and institutional capacity-building. Though this article does offer a strong analysis of governance dynamics and technical factors influencing renewable energy technology adoption, it provides limited attention to Indigenous cultural values and traditional ecological knowledge as drivers of sustainability.

Lowan-Trudeau, Gregory. (2017). Indigenous Environmental Education: The Case of Renewable Energy Projects. *Educational Studies, 53*(6), 601-613. https://doi.org/10.1080/00131946.2017.1369084

This article explores how Indigenous-led renewable energy projects in Canada function both as environmental initiatives and acts of political sovereignty. Reviewing over 300 projects across 200 communities, the study demonstrates how Indigenous communities are reclaiming land and environmental rights by leading solar, wind, and hydroelectric initiatives - often in collaboration with non-Indigenous companies. Using the framing of Bruyneel's "third space" concept, these projects work as a form of resistance both within and outside settler systems. The article also discusses how these projects tend to face NIMBYism (Not in my backyard), apathy, limited political will, and backlash from large energy corporations when Indigenous autonomy challenges economic status quo. Further, this piece emphasizes the importance of renewable energy education in schools and training within communities. The study critiques how progress is tolerated only to the point that it does not disrupt existing power structures.

Mang-Benza, Carelle., & Baxter, Jamie. (2021). Not paid to dance at the powwow: Power relations, community benefits, and wind energy in M'Chigeeng First Nation, Ontario, Canada. *Energy Research & Social Science, 82,* 1-9. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.erss.2021.102301

This article examines the case of M'Chigeeng First Nation, an Indigenous community in Ontario that fully owns and operates a 4 MW wind energy project. Drawing on 32 semi-structured interviews and a community-based research approach, Mang-Benza and Baxter critically engage with dominant energy justice frameworks - distributional and procedural justice - arguing that these Eurocentric models are insufficient for understanding Indigenous experiences. Instead, the authors suggest that recognition and restorative justice frameworks better capture the implications of Indigenous wind projects. This paper highlights the need of community ownership, transparent communication, and the role of pride and healing in the shaping of local responses in the M'Chigeeng. By centering Indigenous knowledge and colonial legacies, the study makes an important contribution to the decolonial understanding of energy transitions.

Mang-Benza, Carelle., Baxter, Jamie., & Corbiere, Jeff. (2024). Pride of ownership: Local views on community-owned wind energy development in M'Chigeeng First Nation, Canada. *Energy Research & Social Science, 118*. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.erss.2024.103722.

This article investigates community attitudes towards Indigenous-owned wind energy projects operated by M'Chigeeng First Nation in Ontario. By conducting a survey of 161 community members, the authors analyze the social acceptance of the Mother Earth Renewable Energy (MERE) project, looking at factors such as community affinity, fairness in the planning phase, fairness in the distribution of benefits, communication, emotional responses, and perceptions of Indigenous-settler reconciliation. The study found that 60 percent of respondents think positively of the project - identifying closely with feelines of pride and reconciliation serving as a key predictor for support. The article notes the role of Indigenous leadership in renewable energy as a way to foster economic sovereignty and address historical injustices.

Mantyka-Pringle, Crystal. S., Westman, Clinton. N., Kythreotis, Andrew. P., & Schindler, David. W. (2015). Honouring indigenous treaty rights for climate justice. *Nature and Climate Change, 5*(9), 798-801. *DOI:10.1038/nclimate2714*

This commentary argues that Canada's expansion of oil sands development is disrespecting Indigenous treaty rights, causing environmental degradation and deterring true and meaningful climate action. The authors call for the honoring of treaty obligations, particularly in Treaty Eight territory, as a pathway towards climate justice and sustainability. The authors list the environmental and sociocultural consequences of fossil fuel development on Indigenous lands and the effects on communities, which include contamination, habitat loss, and weakened legal protections. This article does not directly refer to wind energy or renewable energy partnerships; however, it provides important context for understanding why Indigenous communities are seeking control over energy developments on their lands.

Marks-Marino, Dara. (2019). Solar Bear. Climate Change Program. Institute for Tribal Environmental Professionals, Northern Arizona State University. www7.nau.edu/itep/main/tcc/Tribes/gl_solarBear

This report documents the renewable energy leadership of the Red Lake Band of Ojibwe in Minnesota through the work of Bob Blake and his Indigenous-owned solar company, Solar Bear. Motivated by environmental health concerns, particularly mercury contamination in sacred fish species due to coal-fired energy plants, the Red Lake community began transitioning to solar power. The Red Lake Solar Project includes rooftop installations on tribal buildings and a solar farm built primarily by community members. Solar Bear also launched an initiative to provide solar workforce training to formerly incarcerated people, called the Just Solar Returning Citizens Initiative. They have also implemented the Solar Club K-12 Program to promote STEM and sustainability education in tribal schools. This report emphasizes the concept of energy sovereignty, noting that owning energy infrastructure supports self-determination, job creation, and attaining climate justice. The piece also discusses the challenges related to financing and resistance by electrical utilities, proposing a stronger need for tribal utility companies and broader policy change.

Maruca, Michael. (2019). From Exploitation to Equity: Building Native-Owned Renewable Energy Generation in Indian Country. *William & Mary Environmental Law and Policy Review, 43*(2), 391-499. https://scholarship.law.wm.edu/wmelpr/vol43/iss2/3.

This article provides a detailed legal analysis of the barriers that Native American tribes face in developing renewable energy projects on their lands. Maruca outlines how the United States' electricity systems' fragmented regulatory framework - particularly federal leasing laws like the Indian Long-Term Leasing Act and the Hearth Act - undermine tribal sovereignty and limit Indigenous participation in wind and solar energy development. Employing the Kumeyaay Wind project and the Kayenta Solar initiative as examples, this article argues that reforms should focus on enabling tribal ownership and self-determination over simply streamlining the process. This study is valuable as it highlights the structural challenges of Indigenous-led renewables and offers clear policy recommendations. Although thorough, the complex structure and length make this document difficult for non-specialist readers. Future work could distill findings into more accessible formats for tribal communities and policymakers.

Mercer, Nicholas., Hudson, Amy., Martin, Debbie., & Parker, Paul. (2020). "That's Our Traditional Way as Indigenous Peoples": Towards a Conceptual Framework for Understanding Community Support of Sustainable Energies in NunatuKavut, Labrador. *Sustainability, 12,* 1-32. doi:10.3390/su12156050

The authors investigate community perceptions of sustainable energy technologies in nine off-grid Indigenous communities in Southeast Labrador. Using community-based participatory research the authors conducted 211 hybrid surveys/interviews and 11 key informant interviews to assess attitudes towards wind, solar, biomass, tidal, wave, battery storage, and energy efficiency. The research identifies five major themes that influence Indigenous energy preferences: community familiarity, past project experiences, cultural connections, resource endogeneity and energy security. The findings of this paper show a strong support for wind, solar, and energy efficiency but a general opposition to hydroelectricity and small modular nuclear reactors (SMRs). Mercer et al.'s work is notable as it offers valuable insights into the social drivers for renewable energy adoption and provides a replicable model for participatory research in similar communities.

Rand, Joseph., & Hoen, Ben. (2017). Thirty years of North American wind energy acceptance research: What have we learned?. *Energy Research & Social Science, 29.* http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.erss.2017.05.019

This review article synthesizes over 100 studies spanning three decades of research on public acceptance of wind energy in North America. Rand and Hoen identify nine key insights: widespread public support for wind energy; the invalidity of the NIMBY (not in my backyard) stereotype; the importance of socioeconomic impacts; the strong role of sound and visual effects in driving opposition; and the relevance of procedural justice, fairness, and trust in shaping attitudes. They argue that opposition is often rooted in meaningful concerns, not ignorance, and that dismissing it undermines effective policy and project development. Despite abundant research, implementation of best practices remains limited. This article is a valuable and comprehensive resource for researchers, developers, and policymakers seeking to understand and improve community acceptance of wind energy.

Rioux-Gobeil, Fabienne., & Thomassin, Annick. (2024). A just energy transition for Indigenous peoples: From ideal deliberation to fairness in Canada and Australia. *Energy Research & Social Science, 114.* https://doi.org/10.1016/j.erss.2024.103593

This article explores how renewable energy projects - particularly those on Indigenous lands - must be evaluated through the lens of justice, not only in environmental and procedural terms but also in terms of Indigenous knowledge renewal. Focusing on Canada and Australia, the authors argue that energy transitions often reproduce colonial power dynamics which leave Indigenous communities with limited agency despite their deep ties to the land and their growing involvement in renewable energy projects. The authors introduce a theoretical framework for a "Just Energy Transition" that incorporates three interdependent dimensions: procedural power, socioeconomic distribution, and renewal justice - the latter emphasizing cultural and knowledge-based inclusion. The article presents an "insidious loop effect" as a way to understand how colonial legacies continually reinforce injustices in energy transitions. Rioux-Gobeil and Thomasssin's work is highly relevant to Indigenous partnered wind energy projects as it

stresses the importance of co-governance, cultural recognition, and equitable decision-making structures in the project planning and implementation phases. Further, the authors also critique tokenistic consultation processes - noting that securing free, prior, and informed consent is essential for legitimacy.

Stefanelli, Robert. D., Walker, Chad., Kornelsen, Derek., Lewis, Diana., Martin, Debbie H., Masuda, Jeff., Richmond, Chantelle A.M., Root, Emily., Tait Neufeld, Hannah., & Castleden, Heather. (2018). Renewable Energy and Energy Autonomy: How Indigenous Peoples in Canada are Shaping an Energy Future. *Environmental Reviews, 27*(1)*,* 1-46. https://doi.org/10.1139/er-2018-0024

This article systematically reviews Canadian academic and grey literature from 1980 to 2017 on Indigenous peoples' involvement in renewable energy projects. The authors analyzed 26 of the documents in further detail, to explore the motivations and goals of Indigenous communities in participating, leading, or partnering on renewable energy projects. The paper's findings indicate that Indigenous-led renewable energy projects are often founded by aspirations of energy sovereignty, economic autonomy, and environmental stewardship. This review also considered these initiatives within the broader contexts of decolonization and reconciliation - raising critical questions about whether and how renewable energy development can truly support Indigenous partnerships. Notably, the article urges caution against overly optimistic narratives and highlights the need for a more critical evaluation of projects and the employed Indigenous consent mechanisms. This study is pertinent as it demonstrates how Indigenous-partnered wind energy projects can serve as a tool for self-determination but can also preserve ongoing colonial dynamics if not planned equitably.

Tamasiga, Phemelo., Onyeaka, Helen., Altaghlibi, Moutaz., Bakwena, Malebogo., & Ouassou, El houssin. (2024). Empowering communities beyond wires: Renewable energy microgrids and the impacts on energy poverty and socio-economic outcomes. *Energy Reports, 12,* 4475-4488. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.egyr.2024.10.026.

Tamasiga et al., present a systematic review of renewable energy microgrids and their role in addressing energy poverty and furthering socio-economic development - placing a particular emphasis on underserved and off-grid communities. Using data from Scopus and Web of Science, the authors analyzed 1,297 studies. Their analysis found that renewable microgrids positively improved livelihoods, education, food security, and public health - all while aligning with multiple sustainable development goals. The authors note that renewable microgrids are both cost-effective and environmentally sustainable; nevertheless, there are many critical barriers for these projects, including high capital costs, regulatory issues, and institutional inertia. Tamasiga et al. call for stronger policy support, stronger financing, and community engagement to enable broader adoption of renewable microgrids.

Whyte, Kyle. (2019). Too late for Indigenous climate justice: Ecological and relational tipping points. *WIREs Climate Change, 11*(e603), 1-7. https://doi.org/10.1002/wcc.603.

Kyle Whyte, a Potawatomi scholar and activist, argues that it may be already too late to achieve environmental justice for many Indigenous communities due to systemic relational breakdowns. Whyte introduces the concept of a "relational tipping point" (distinct from the more widely discussed ecological tipping point) to emphasize how the lack of trust, consent, accountability, and reciprocity between Indigenous peoples and external governments, corporations, and NGOs impedes the possibility of any truly just climate action. Based on historical contexts and contemporary Indigenous movements in North America, Whyte critiques the "urgency" narrative in climate change discourse which tends to marginalize Indigenous rights and perpetuates new forms of colonial harm. He states that global efforts to curb emissions are essential, but they must not come at the cost of further dispossessing Indigenous peoples.

Yalamala, Reddi Sekhara., Zurba, Melanie., Bullock, Ryan., & Diduck, Alan. P. (2023). A review of large-scale renewable energy partnerships with Indigenous communities and organizations in Canada. *Environmental Reviews, 31*, 484-497. dx.doi.org/10.1139/er-2022-0011

This article offers a comprehensive review of literature addressing Indigenous participation in large-scale renewable energy projects across Canada. The authors analyze 80 sources, synthesizing 33 to identify key components of successful partnerships, including community engagement, equity ownership, and benefit sharing. Placing emphasis on the UN Declaration and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's Call to Action, Yalamala et al. explore how Indigenous self-determination and legal rights intersect with energy development. The authors note both the opportunities and barriers for Indigenous communities considering renewable energy developments - such as capital access, governance challenges, and policy disconnect. The authors call for a greater collaboration between governments, industry, and Indigenous organization

A3: Wind Projects in Operation

This appendix contains the information available to the public at the time of writing on the 12 Indigenous-partnered wind projects in operation in Wabanaki homeland when this report was published.

We encourage all readers interested in these projects to reach out to the partners listed for more information. Readers are also directed to the A3 Supplementary Information file available for download with the report, Indigenous-Partnered Wind Energy in Wabanaki Homeland, by following this link: **https://cedar-project.org/reports/**

The A3 Supplementary file includes all the information gathered about the 12 wind energy projects in operation in scope for our study, including the information available online and through correspondence with project partners. The information on each project includes:

1. General information
2. Sources of information
3. Screenshots of selected information sources

Projects currently operating:

A3.1 Amherst Community (NS)

A3.2 Burchill (NB)

A3.3 Mesgi'g Ugju's'n (QC)

A3.4 Millbrook (NS)

A3.5 Neweg (NB)

A3.6 Nicolas-Riou (QC)

A3.7 Oinpegitjoig (Richibucto) (NB)

A3.8 Pictou Landing (NS)

A3.9 Truro Heights (NS)

A3.10 Whynotts (NS)

A3.11 Wisokolamson (NB)

A3.12 Wocawson (Phase 1) (NB)

A3.1 Amherst Community

Capacity (turbine)	6.1 MW (Enercon E101 - 3.05 MW)
Nation (province)	Mi'kmaq (Nova Scotia)
Map Coordinates, approximate	45°49'58.6"N 64°08'46.6"W 45.832943, -64.146270
Indigenous Owner (ownership share)	All 13 Nova Scotia Mi'kmaq Nations: Acadia, Annapolis Valley, Bear River, Potlotek (Chapel Island), Eskasoni, Glooscap, Membertou, Millbrook, Pag'tnkek, Pictou Landing, Sipekne'katik (Shubenacadie), Wagmatcook, and We'koqma'q through a partnership called Mikmaq Wind 4All Communities L.P. (75%)
Private/Commercial Owner (share)	Natural Forces (Halifax, NS) (25%)
Status	Operational
Year Built (operating)	2017 (2017)
Additional Notes	Natural Forces worked with the Mi'kmaq communities to conduct Mi'kmaq Ecological Knowledge Studies for the wind farm projects, which help to identify traditional and current Mi'kmaq uses of the land and incorporate Mi'kmaq ecological knowledge into the project planning.

A3.2 Burchill

Capacity (turbine)	42 MW (Enercon E138 - 4.2 MW)
Nation (province)	Wolastoqey (New Brunswick)
Map Coordinates, approximate	45°10'42.6"N 66°11'35.7"W 45.178500, -66.193250
Indigenous Owner (ownership share)	Neqotkuk / Tobique First Nation (51%)
Private/Commercial Owner (share)	Natural Forces (Halifax, NS) (49%)
Funders (funding to date)	Natural Resources Canada ($49 M)
Status	Operational
Year Built (Operating)	2023 (2023)

A3.3 Mesgi’g Ugju’s’n

Capacity (turbine)	150 MW (Senvion 3.2M114 - Info WindTurbine.net)
Nation (province)	Mi’kmaq (Quebec)
Map Coordinates, approximate	48°16'47.8"N 66°44'43.7"W 48.279944, -66.745472
Indigenous Owner (ownership share)	Gesgapegiag, Gespeg, and Listuguj through the Mi’gmawei Mawiomi Business Corp, Mi'gmawei Mawiomi Secretariat (MMS) (50%)
Private/Commercial Owner (share)	Innergex Inc. (Longueuil, QC, CA) (50%)
Status	Operational
Year Built (operating)	2015 (2016)
Additional Notes	Mesgi’g Ugju’s’n means “big wind” in Mi’kmaq • All energy produced is sold under a 20-year fixed-price power purchase agreement with Hydro-Québec

A3.4 Millbrook

Capacity (turbine)	6 MW (Vestas V-100 2MW)
Nation (province)	Mi’kmaq (Nova Scotia)
Map Coordinates, approximate	45°19'34.4"N 63°20'41.1"W 45.326222, -63.344750
Indigenous Owner	Millbrook First Nation through the Truro-Millbrook Wind LP
Private/Commercial Owner	Juwi Wind Canada Ltd. - Former (Wörrstadt, Germany) Potentia Renewables - Current (Toronto, ON)
Status	Operational
Year built (operating)	(2015)
Additional Notes	Juwi Wind Canada Ltd. sold in 2013 • This project is built on the same site as Truro Heights

A3.5 Neweg

Capacity (turbine)	25 MW (Enercon E-138 EP3 E2)
Nation (province)	Mi’kmaq (New Brunswick)
Map Coordinates, approximate	45°47'24.0"N 65°14'24.0"W 45.790000, -65.240000
Indigenous Owner (ownership share)	Mi’kmaq First Nations through the Mi'gmaq United Investment Network (MUIN) (51%)
Private/Commercial Owner (share)	Natural Forces (Halifax, NS) (49%)
Funders (funding to date)	Natural Resources Canada ($25 M)
Status	Operational
Year Built (operating)	2025 (2025)

A3.6 Nicolas-Riou

Capacity (turbine)	224.5 MW (Vestas V117)
Nation (province)	Maliseet (Quebec)
Map Coordinates, approximate	48°08'02.4"N 68°52'51.6"W 48.134000, -68.881000
Indigenous Owner (ownership share)	Wolastoqiyik Wahsipekuk Viger First Nation through the RCMs of the Bas-Saint-Laurent (33.3%)
Private/Commercial Owner (share)	EDF Renewables (San Diego, California, USA) (50%)
Community Owner (share)	Régie Intermunicipale de l’énergie Gaspésie-Îles-de-la-Madeleine (16.7%)
Funders	Invested together with their respective municipalities and EDF Renewables for the capital expenditures / National Bank Financial Markets (co-lead arranger and sole book runner) / Sun Life Assurance Company of Canada (co-lead arranger)
Funding to Date	$ 500 M ($340 M of which, non-recourse, full term project financing underwritten by National Bank Financial Markets)
Status	Operational
Year Built (operating)	(2018)

A3.7 Oinpegitjoig (Richibucto)

Capacity (turbine)	3.8 MW (Enercon E126 - 4.0 MW)
Nation (province)	Mi'kmaq (New Brunswick)
Map Coordinates, approximate	46°39'45.5"N 64°53'33.3"W 46.662639, -64.892583
Indigenous Owner (ownership share)	Pabineau First Nation (51%)
Private/Commercial Owner (share)	Natural Forces (Halifax, NS) (49%)
Funders (funding to date)	Stonebridge Financial ($7.27 million long-term, fixed rate debt financing)
Status	Operational
Year Built (operating)	2020 (2020)

A3.8 Pictou Landing

Capacity (turbine)	1.65 MW (Enercon E92 - 2.35 MW)
Nation (province)	Mi'kmaq (Nova Scotia)
Map Coordinates, approximate	45°35'23.2"N 62°22'03.0"W 45.589778, -62.367500
Indigenous Owner	Pictou Landing First Nation
Private/Commercial Owner	Natural Forces (Halifax, NS)
Status	Operational
Year Built (operating)	2017 (2017)

A3.9 Truro Heights

Capacity (turbine)	4 MW (Vestas V100/2000)
Nation (province)	Mi'kmaq (Nova Scotia)
Map Coordinates, approximate	45°18'59.8"N 63°20'28.8"W 45.316611, -63.341333
Indigenous Owner (ownership share)	Eskasoni First Nation (100%)
Private/Commercial Owner	Potentia Renewables (Toronto, ON)
Status	Operational
Year Operating	2014
Additional Notes	This project is built on the same site as Millbrook Wind Project.

A3.10 Whynotts

Capacity (turbine)	4 MW (Vestas V100/2000)
Nation (province)	Mi'kmaq (Nova Scotia)
Map Coordinates, approximate	44°24'18.2"N 64°28'09.3"W 44.405056, -64.469250
Indigenous Owner	Kwilmu'kw Maw-klusuaqn, or the Mi'kmaq Rights Initiative, Assembly of Mi'kmaq Chiefs Whynotts Mi'kmaq Wind Company Mi'kmaq Resource Development Partnership
Private/Commercial Owner	Juwi (Wörrstadt, Germany) Potentia (Toronto, ON, CA)
Status	Operational
Year Operating	2014

A3.11 Wisokolamson

Capacity (turbine)	18 MW (Vestas V 126)
Nation (province)	Wolastoqey (New Brunswick)
Map Coordinates, approximate	45°45'23.4"N 64°56'25.9"W 45.756500, -64.940528
Indigenous Owner (ownership share)	Woodstock First Nation (51%)
Private/Commercial Owner (share)	SWEB Energy (Halifax, NS) (49%)
Funders	Typical financing with a debt/equity split. Equity provided by the partners.
Status	Operational
Year Built (operating)	2018-19 (2019)

A3.12 Wocawson (Phase 1)

Capacity (turbine)	20 MW (Enercon E126 - 4.0 MW)
Nation (province)	Wolastoqey (New Brunswick)
Map Coordinates, approximate	45°47'23.9"N 65°14'04.0"W 45.789972, -65.234444
Indigenous Owner (ownership share)	Tobique First Nation (51%)
Private/Commercial Owner (share)	Natural Forces (Halifax, NS) (49%)
Funders	Stonebridge Financial, financed by Stonebridge Infrastructure Debt Fund II L.P.
Status	Operational
Year Built (operating)	2020 (2020)

A4: Wind Projects in Development

This appendix contains the information available to the public at the time of writing on the 20 Indigenous-partnered wind projects in development in Wabanaki homeland. We encourage all readers interested in these projects to reach out to the partners listed for more information.

A4.1 Apitamkiejit (NS)

A4.2 Astuwicuwon (NB)

A4.3 Bear Lake (NS)

A4.4 Benjamin Mill Phase 1 (NS)

A4.5 Broughton (QC)

A4.6 Higgins Mountain (NS)

A4.7 Kci-Wocawson (Phase 2) (NB)

A4.8 Kmtnuk (NS)

A4.9 Lotbinière Ndakina (QC)

A4.10 Mesgi'g Ugju's'n 2 (QC)

A4.11 Nova East (NS)

A4.12 Paqt'smawei Sipu (NB)

A4.13 Papoji'ig (NB)

A4.14 Red Spruce (NS)

A4.15 Salmon River (NB)

A4.16 Toqlukuti'k (NL)

A4.17 Weavers Mountain (NS)

A4.18 Wedgeport (NS)

A4.19 Wejipek (PEI)

A4.20 Windy Ridge (NS)

A4.1 Apitamkiejit

Capacity	68 MW
Nation (province)	Mi’kmaq (Nova Scotia)
Map Coordinates, approximate	49°45'32.1"N 67°17'08.8"W 49.758917, -67.285778
Indigenous Owner	One or more First Nation communities that are yet to be disclosed
Private/Commercial Owner	SWEB Energy (Halifax, NS, CA)
Status	Development
Year Built (operating)	2027-2029 (2029-2030)

A4.2 Astuwicuwon

Capacity	92 MW
Nation (province)	Wolastoqey (New Brunswick)
Map Coordinates, approximate	N/A (Florenceville-Bristol Area)
Indigenous Owner (share)	Sitansisk First Nation (51%)
Private/Commercial Owner (share)	Eolectric (Brossard, QC) (49%)
Status	Development
Year Built (operating)	2026 (2027)

A4.3 Bear Lake

Capacity	89 MW
Nation (province)	Mi’kmaq (Nova Scotia)
Map Coordinates, approximate	44°46'25.3"N 64°12'36.4"W
Indigenous Owner (share)	Membertou First Nation through their company, Wju’snewiknaq (Wind Strength) (Majority owner)
Private/Commercial Owner (share)	Everwind Fuels (Halifax, NS) (Partial owner and developer)
Status (operating)	Development (2025-2026)

A4.4 Benjamin Mill Phase 1

Capacity	34 MW
Nation (province)	Mi'kmaq (Nova Scotia)
Map Coordinates, approximate	44°53'10.8"N 64°15'24.5"W 44.886319, -64.256813
Indigenous Owner (ownership share)	All 13 Nova Scotia Mi'kmaq Nations: Acadia, Annapolis, Valley, Bear River, Potlotek (Chapel Island), Eskasoni, Glooscap, Membertou, Millbrook, Paq'tnkek, Pictou Landing, Sipekne'katik (Shubenacadie), Wagmatcook, and We'koqma'q through a economic development partnership called, Wskijnu'k Mtmo'taqnuow Agency Limited (51%)
Private/Commercial Owner (share)	Natural Forces (Halifax, NS) (49%)
Funders (funding to date)	Canada Infrastructure Bank ($45.8 M)
Status (year built)	Development (in progress)

A4.5 Broughton

Capacity	150 MW
Nation	Abenaki (Quebec)
Map Coordinates, approximate	46°09'00.0"N 71°07'12.0"E 46.150000, 71.120000
Indigenous Owner	Abenaki Council of Odanak and Abenaki Council of Wôlinak
Private/Commercial Owner	Pattern Renewable Holdings Canada 2 ULC (Houston, Texas, USA)
Community Owner	MRC des Apalaches; MRC de l'Érable
Status	Development

A4.6 Higgins Mountain

Capacity	100 MW
Nation (province)	Mi’kmaq (Nova Scotia)
Map Coordinates (Approximate)	45°34'12.0"N 63°35'24.0"W 45.570000, -63.590000
Indigenous Owner	Sipekne’katik First Nation
Private/Commercial Owner	Elemental Energy (Vancouver, BC) • Stevens Wind (Unknown)
Funder (funding to date)	Canada Infrastructure Bank ($118 M)
Status (operating)	Development (2026)

A4.7 Kci-Wocawson (Phase 2)

Capacity	50 MW
Nation (province)	Wolastoqey (New Brunswick)
Map Coordinates, approximate	45°46'48.0"N 65°19'48.0"E 45.780000, 65.330000
Indigenous Owner (share)	Tobique First Nation (60%)
Private/Commercial Owner	Natural Forces (Halifax, NS) (40%)
Status	Development

A4.8 Kmtnuk

Capacity	98 MW
Nation	Mi’kmaq (Nova Scotia)
Map Coordinates, approximate	45°34'48.0"N 63°15'36.0"W 45.580000, -63.260000
Indigenous Owner	Membertou First Nation, through their company Wind Strength (Wju’snewiknaq)
Private/Commercial Owner	Everwind Fuels (Halifax, NS)
Status (operating)	Development (2026)

A4.9 Lotbinière Ndakina

Capacity	100 MW
Nation (province)	Abenaki (Quebec)
Map Coordinates, approximate	46°37'12.0"N 71°55'12.0"W
Indigenous Owner	Abenaki Council of Odanak (2.5%) Abenaki Council of Wôlinak (2.5%)
Private/Commercial Owner	Innergex Inc. (Longueuil, QC) (50%)
Community Owner	Regional County Municipality of Lotbinière (45%)
Status	In Development
Year Built (operating)	2028 (operating)

A4.10 Mesgi’g Ugju’s’n 2

Capacity (turbine)	102 MW (Nordex Turbines)
Nation (province)	Mi’kmaq (Quebec)
Map Coordinates, approximate	48°35'24.0"N 66°37'48.0"W 48.590000, -66.630000
Indigenous Owner (ownership share)	Gespe’gewa’gi: Gesgapegiag, Gespeg and Listuguj through the Mi’gmawei Mawiomi Business Corp and Mi'gmawei Mawiomi Secretariat (MMS) (50%)
Private/Commercial Owner	Innergex Inc. (Longueuil, QC) (50%)
Funders (funding to date)	Canada Infrastructure Bank ($108.3m); CIBC ($163.9m); Dejardins ($41m); letter of credit facility from Canada Infrastructure Bank ($313 M)
Status, year built	In Development, 2026

A4.11 Nova East

Capacity	300-400 MW
Nation (province)	Mi'kmaq (offshore Nova Scotia)
Map Coordinates, approximate	The proposed project site is located in French Bank area, approximately 25km offshore from Goldboro, NS. Precise project location is subject to the CNSOER-regulated seabed land tenure process, which has not yet been launched. Final turbine siting within the project area will be determined in conversations with First Nations, Fishers are other stakeholders
Indigenous Owner (share)	Assembly of Nova Scotia Mi'kmaw Chiefs (The project has an MOU to work together to develop a Benefits Agreement)
Private/Commercial Owner (share)	DP Energy (Buttevant, Ireland) • SBM Offshore (Amsterdam, Netherlands) (This is commercially confidential information)
Funders	The ongoing development work has been funded by the project partners
Status	In Development
Year Built (operating)	This timeline is dependent on the regulatory processes, including seabed tenure and the impact assessment (early 2030s)
Additional Notes	This is an offshore wind project proposal. Nova East Wind is committing to develop a Two-Eyed Seeing (Etuaptmumk) program to support a greater understanding of the project respecting the traditional knowledge of First Nations.

A4.12 Paqt'smawei Sipu

Capacity	100 MW
Nation (province)	Mi'kmaq (New Brunswick)
Map Coordinates, approximate	45°39'19.0"N 65°11'49.9"W 45.655277, -65.197187
Indigenous Owner (ownership share)	Indian Island First Nation Mi'kmaq United Investment Network (MUIN) (60%)
Private/Commercial Owner (share)	Natural Forces (Halifax, NS) (40%)
Status	In Development

A4.13 Papoji’ig

Capacity	56 MW
Nation	Mi’kmaq (New Brunswick)
Map Coordinates	unknown
Indigenous Owner	Pabineau First Nation
Private/Commercial Owner	ABO Energy (Germany)
Status	In Development

A4.14 Red Spruce

Capacity	108.8 MW
Nation (province)	Mi’kmaq (Nova Scotia)
Map Coordinates, approximate	44°56'24.0"N 63°41'24.0"W 44.940000, -63.690000
Indigenous Owner	Glooscap First Nation through Glooscap Energy
Private/Commercial Owner	SWEB Energy (Halifax, NS)
Status (operating)	In Development (2028)

A4.15 Salmon River

Capacity	200 MW
Nation (province)	Wolastoqey (New Brunswick)
Map Coordinates, approximate	45°32'53.5"N 65°24'05.2"W 45.548194, -65.401432
Indigenous Owner (ownership share)	Wolastoqey Nation (60%)
Private/Commercial Owner	Natural Forces (Halifax, NS) (40%)
Status	In Development

A4.16 Toqlukuti’k

Capacity	500 MW
Nation (province)	Mi’kmaq (Newfoundland and Labrador)
Map Coordinates, approximate	47°50'24.0"N 53°57'36.0"W 47.840000, -53.960000
Indigenous Owner	Miawpukek First Nation
Private/Commercial Owner	ABO Wind Canada (Germany) Braya Renewable Fuels (Dallas, Texas, USA)
Status	In Development
Year Operating	2028

A4.17 Weavers Mountain

Capacity (turbine)	96 MW (Nordex N163)
Nation (province)	Mi’kmaq (Nova Scotia)
Map Coordinates, approximate	45°32'24.0"N 62°09'00.0"W 45.540000, -62.150000
Indigenous Owner (ownership share)	Glooscap First Nation through Glooscap Energy (Majority owner, greater than 50%)
Private/Commercial Owner	SWEB Energy (Halifax, NS) (Minority owner, less than 50%)
Funders (funding to date)	Canada Infrastructure Bank and Desjardins. Partners provided equity portion and further $25m has been received through the Smart Renewables and Electrification Pathways program (SREP) ($25M SREP).
Status	In Development
Year Built	2025-26

A4.18 Wedgeport

Capacity	80 MW
Nation (province)	Mi’kmag (Nova Scotia)
Map Coordinates, approximate	43°45'00.0"N 66°00'00.0"W 43.750000, -66.000000
Indigenous Owner	Sipekne’katik First Nation
Private/Commercial Owner	Elemental Energy (Vancouver, BC) • Stevens Wind (Unknown)
Status (operating)	In Development (2025)

A4.19 Wejipek

Capacity	18 MW
Nation (province)	Mi’kmaq (Prince Edward Island)
Map Coordinates, approximate	46°18'00.0"N 63°38'24.0"W 46.300000, -63.640000
Indigenous Owner (share)	Lennox Island First Nation (51%)
Indigenous Share of Ownership	51%
Private/Commercial Owner (share)	Natural Forces (Halifax, NS) (49%)
Status	In Development

A4.20 Windy Ridge

Capacity	340 MW
Nation (province)	Mi'kmaq (Nova Scotia)
Map Coordinates, approximate	45°28'48.0"N 63°28'12.0"W 45.480000, -63.470000
Indigenous Owner	Potlotek First Nation through Bayside Corporate of Paqtnkek Mi'kmaw Nation
Private/Commercial Owner	EverWind Fuels (Halifax, NS)
Status (operating)	In Development (2026)