

The Impact of Resource Extraction on Inuit Women and Families in Qamani'tuaq, Nunavut Territory



A Qualitative Assessment

Report for the Canadian Women's Foundation
January, 2014

Pauktuutit, Inuit Women of Canada
School of Social Work, University of British Columbia

Prepared by:

**Pauktuutit
Inuit Women of Canada
Rebecca Kudloo, President**

**Karina Czyzewski and Frank Tester
School of Social Work
University of British Columbia**

**Nadia Aaruaq
Qamani'tuaq, Nunavut Territory**

**Sylvie Blangy
Centre nationale de la recherche scientifique
Montpellier, France**

Research for this report was funded by grants from:

The Canadian Women's Foundation

ArcticNet

Centre national de la recherche scientifique



EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

How has the Meadowbank gold mine impacted Inuit women and families living in Qamani'tuaq (Baker Lake), Nunavut Territory? To answer this question, research was conducted in 2013 by Pauktutit, the national Inuit women's organization, in partnership with the School of Social Work, University of British Columbia, with support from the Centre nationale de la recherche scientifique in Montpellier France.

The Meadowbank mine is 110kms north of Qamani'tuaq by road. The mine is currently owned by Agnico-Eagle Mines (AEM), a Toronto-based gold mining company operating in Canada, Mexico and Finland. The first Inuit Impact Benefit Agreement (IIBA) for Meadowbank was signed in 2006 with the Kivalliq Inuit Association (KIA), representing Inuit in the Kivalliq Region. The mine was being developed by Cumberland Resources, a Vancouver-based junior mining company. Cumberland was purchased by AEM in 2007. The Meadowbank Gold Mine opened in 2010 and a new IIBA was signed in 2011.

Terms of the agreement are publicly available, but financial arrangements and royalties paid to KIA have not been disclosed. A 'Community Economic Development Fund' was created to fund sustainable alternatives to mine employment, recognizing the limited life of the mine. To date, no application process for accessing these funds has been created and funds have not been spent in Qamani'tuaq. To the best of our knowledge, little has been spent addressing the impact of the mine on the community, women and families.

The content of IIBAs is spelled out by Article 26.3.3 of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement. The agreement does not obligate parties to specifically address the concerns of women in addressing "matters considered appropriate for Inuit benefits." The IIBA signed in 2011 does not mention women or women's concerns. It commits AEM to production of a "Community Wellness Report and Implementation Plan" to have been submitted to KIA by March 31 of 2012. Wellness reports were to address matters related to mental and physical health, alcohol and drug abuse, family relations, migration in or out of the community, the prevalence and use of Inuktitut, culture, job satisfaction and the management of personal finances by residents of Qamani'tuaq. Contrary to the terms of the IIBA, no wellness report has been completed to identify needs and to develop a plan for meeting them.

The research reported on here is qualitative. Results are based on information from a one-week workshop using popular education techniques. The objectives were to train Inuit women as researchers and to hear their concerns. Focus groups were conducted and interviews took place with education, social service and other professionals. The content from the training workshop

was also used to develop a questionnaire. Quantitative research is now being conducted in the community using the questionnaire. The results will be the subject of another report.

Inuit were 24.7% of the mine workforce as of December 2012. Women were 11% of the total workforce of 673 and nearly half of the Inuit workforce. Inuit women comprise about 60% of the women working at the mine. Many of the positions held by women are in housekeeping, laundry and kitchen work. Some women are, however, part of the truck haul operation. Inuit women are more likely to be temporary employees and hold unskilled jobs.

The research reveals the nature and extent of the impacts experienced by women. These are consistent with and elaborate upon observations made by others in examining the role of women in the mining industry internationally. An extensive literature review is part of this report.

Alcohol consumption in Qamani'tuaq has increased considerably. RCMP reports reveal that permits issued for the import of alcohol increased from 3,000 in 2009 to 6,105 in 2011, an increase of over 100%. Incidents in which the RCMP are involved have increased from approximately 540 in 2008 to over 800 in 2011. Many of these involve domestic disputes, including incidents of domestic violence. Inuit women painted a picture of intersecting impacts. The 'two-week in, two-week out' work schedule gives rise to jealousies and suspicion that affects interpersonal relationships. Relationships that may have been unstable prior to mine employment are further impacted by distance and the fear that a partner may be carrying on an affair or developing a relationship with someone else at the mine. In the presence of alcohol, the purchase of which is facilitated by an increase in disposable income, fears and jealousies lead to domestic incidents, including violence. Women reported on the inadequacy of the women's shelter in the community. They advocated a better shelter for women as well as one for men. Women reported that mental health services in the community are inadequate. The turnover of staff creates problems for the continuity and effectiveness of services available to them. It is recommended that more creative ways of accommodating the family obligations and needs of women be explored by mine management in consultation with women employed at the mine.

Women noted that a range of services needs to be in place before or at the time that mines go into operation. They noted that meeting these needs 'after the fact' is inadequate. They recommended more assistance be directed to mine employees—both men and women—having problems with substance abuse and that the current dismissal policy be re-evaluated to include warnings and help in dealing with these problems.

Women identified the lack of resources for the development of alternative, 'in-community' employment opportunities as a problem. Royalties paid to KIA need to be accessed to develop alternatives, with a focus on the needs of women. Women also expressed an interest in, and need for, financial literacy training. Women want to know more about money; how money works,

how it can be used, how to budget and manage it wisely. They also identified a need for life skills training. Researchers noted that both workshop participants and community informants did not seem to be adequately focused on mine closure and the effects this will have on women and the community.

Women reported impacts affecting their children. The capacity of women to participate in mine employment is affected by inadequate daycare facilities. School attendance has been affected for those families employed at the mine. Childcare by Elders with limited physical capacity to supervise children, by an older sibling or by relatives affects school attendance. Women asked for changes to daycare in the community. More resources, services and facilities need to be directed at youth.

With respect to the employment of Inuit women and their needs not being met in the community, there is a high rate of absenteeism that impacts mine operations. Difficulties with children and relationships, as well as responsibility for other family members, effect the capacity of women to fully participate in mine employment. Women reported that their treatment when they became pregnant was not consistent with the mine's legal obligations.

Women reported incidents where they were harassed and treated with disrespect by Qablunaat miners. They reported incidents of racist and unacceptable behaviour. More needs to be done by Agnico-Eagle to orient employees to gender issues, Inuit culture and social history, with programs and opportunities designed by Inuit for these purposes.

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INTRODUCTION

Inuit and Mining in the Canadian Arctic

Mineral exploration and mining are currently being advanced as ‘the way forward’ in the socio-economic development of Nunavut Territory. This report examines an, as yet, unexplored dimension of these activities: the impact of mining activity on Inuit women and families in Nunavut Territory.¹ The focus of this case study is the women of Qamani’tuaq (Baker Lake), the only inland community of Inuit in Canada. A history of mining in the Canadian Arctic (up until 2002) is part of a paper ‘The Mining Industry and the Social Stakes of Development in the Arctic’.²

In other regions of the Arctic there are currently two operations impacting Inuit: the Raglan nickel mine at Katiniq in Northern Québec and Voisey’s Bay in Labrador. In the case of the

¹ For purposes of this report, we have followed the guidelines provided by Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK). We have used *Inuit* to refer to Inuit residents of Nunavut and other territories. We have used the term *Aboriginal* to refer to the collective of First Nations, Inuit and Métis—all First peoples in Canada. We have used the term *Indigenous* in reference to all original peoples internationally, including, where appropriate and depending on the context, the First peoples of Canada. See ITK’s *Note on Terminology*: <https://www.itk.ca/note-terminology-inuit-metis-first-nations-and-aboriginal>

² Gérard Duhaime, Nick Bernard, Pierre Fréchette, Marie-anick Mallé, Alexandre Morin and André Caron (2002) ‘The Mining Industry and the Social Stakes of Development in the Arctic’. On Line Research Collection. Université Laval. Available at: <http://www.chaireconditionautochtone.fss.ulaval.ca/documents/PDF/116.pdf>.

Raglan mine, Inuit were investors in the operation. Furthermore \$1 million was paid twice (1996 and again in 1997) directly to the two Inuit villages most affected: Salluit and Kangiqsujuaq in Nunavik Territory. The Nunumviut Development Corporation, an Inuit corporation, also became a partner with a multinational development corporation in developing the open pit for the mine.

The Raglan Agreement, an IIBA negotiated with Falconbridge, which owned the mine at the time (1995), says nothing about monitoring the social impacts of the mine and both the company and the government refused to fund such monitoring after the mine opened.³ The Inuit workforce has never been more than 20% of the operation. However, the labour turnover was reported in 1998, three years after the mine went into production, to be approximately 70%. What was missing was an explanation for the turnover, something a social monitoring program would have revealed.

In Labrador, Inuit are employed at the Voisey's Bay Nickel Mine, opened by Inco in 1999 after taking the project over from Voisey's Bay Nickel Company in 1996. The mine was put into operation in 2005 and sold to Vale, a Brazilian company, in 2006. What is particularly interesting is the definition of 'environment,' negotiated in 1997 by Aboriginal interests, including the Labrador Inuit Association, including, "social, economic, recreational, cultural, spiritual and aesthetic conditions and factors that influence the life of humans and communities".⁴ David Cox examines the role and impact Aboriginal women had on Environmental Impact Assessment hearings about the mine and on the Impact Benefit Agreement.⁵ The problems Aboriginal women experienced in training for and working in skilled trades positions are noted, as well as the limits to and struggles of women advocating for affirmative action in hiring. Tongamiut Inuit Annait⁶, an Inuit women's organization, produced a remarkable list of concerns that the proponent, in the case of the Voisey's Bay Nickel Mine, should take seriously. The list includes: community life, housing, family life, violence against women, alcohol and substance use, environmental concerns, employment and training, women's health, social services, consultation and monitoring. What appears to be the case with respect to all of these developments is that physical environmental concerns receive some attention in on-

³ Kevin O'Reilly and Erin Eacott (1998) 'Aboriginal Peoples and Impact and Benefit Agreements'. Northern Mineral Program, Working Paper No.7. *Canadian Arctic Resources Committee*.

⁴ Mining Watch Canada (1997) 'Aboriginal Peoples and Mining in Canada: Six Case Studies'. Available at: <http://www.miningwatch.ca/aboriginal-peoples-and-mining-canada-six-case-studies>.

⁵ David J. Cox (2013) *Environmental Impact Assessments and Impact Benefit Agreements: The Participation of Aboriginal Women at Voisey's Bay Mine*. Open Access Dissertations and Theses. Paper 7796. Available at: <http://digitalcommons.mcmaster.ca/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=8859&context=opendissertations>.

⁶ Tongamiut Inuit Annait Ad Hoc Committee on Aboriginal Women and Mining in Labrador, 52% of the Population Deserves a Closer Look: A Proposal for Guidelines Regarding the Environmental and Socio-economic Impacts on Women from the Mining Development at Voisey's Bay, April 16, 1997. <http://web.archive.org/web/20030101235924/www.innu.ca/womenguidelines.html>.

going monitoring and follow-up initiatives. But the attention, the monitoring and action to address concerns raised by women—social concerns with implications for health, safety, family and community—have, in the history of northern mining, received very little attention.

Inuit have had limited historical experience with mining in what is now Nunavut Territory. The first mine operated at Rankin Inlet, on the coast, east of Qamani'tuaq, in what is now the Kivalliq region. It opened in 1957 and closed in 1962 when international prices for nickel fell far below levels seen in the early 1950s, largely in response to demand created by the Korean War. On the northern tip of Baffin Island, the Nanisivik mine produced lead and zinc for a European market between 1978 and 2002. Socio-economic concerns of Inuit in the nearby community of Arctic Bay were largely neglected in the operation of the mine, other than those dealing with employment.⁷ At the same time, Polaris, a zinc mine, operated on Little Cornwallis Island from 1981 until 2002. It produced 21 million tonnes of ore. Of the 250 employees, only 20 were northerners, primarily Inuit from Resolute Bay where the mine accounted for 30% of the employment in the community.

In 2006, Tahera Resources opened Nunavut's only diamond mine in the western part of the Territory. The Jericho mine encountered serious operating problems and was closed in 2008. This limited history of mining in what is now Nunavut Territory raises important questions about the legacy of mining and what the enduring benefits might be for Inuit. Other considerations—volatile international prices, logistic and operating issues—suggest the future of the industry in the territory and the enduring benefits for Inuit are not as straightforward as some commentary would suggest.



⁷ Tee Lim (2013) *Inuit Encounters with Colonial Capital: Nanisivik – Canada's First High Arctic Mine*. Master's Thesis, Resource Management and Environmental Studies, University of British Columbia.

The Meadowbank Gold Mine and Qamani'tuaq

Qamani'tuaq is currently the location of the only operational mine in Nunavut Territory. The Meadowbank Gold Mine is an open-cast operation, owned by Agnico-Eagle Mines with headquarters in Toronto. The mine is about 110 km (by road) north of the community. Production began in June of 2010. The mine is slated for closure in 2017, earlier than originally expected. The company has cited the high costs of producing lower quality ore and the high costs of operations – much of it due to employee attendance and labour turnover problems (CBC, April 20, 2012) – as reasons for the 2017 closure. The operation employs a 'fly-in, fly-out' arrangement for labour, with workers spending 2 weeks working on site and 2 weeks back in their home communities. Employees from Qamani'tuaq are driven to the mine site along the 110 km road connecting the mine and the community.

Inuit comprised 24.7% (166 people) of a total permanent workforce of 673 as of December 31, 2012. At the same time, 74 permanent employees are women, with women therefore making up 11% of the *total permanent* workforce. Of these, approximately 44 (or 60% of the women working at the mine) are Inuit. *Inuit women are therefore a little more than 6.5% of the total permanent workforce at the mine.*

There were, as of December 31, 2012, 114 temporary employees (14.5% of the total workforce) working at the mine. A temporary employee is one whose employment is not expected to last beyond a specific period of time. Eighty-one, or 71% of these employees, were Inuit. Forty women are half-time employees. These are all Inuit women. *Inuit women are therefore 35.1% of the total temporary workforce at the mine.*

Many of the positions held by women are, as one might expect, found in housekeeping and kitchen work. Of the total (male and female) Inuit employed at the mine, 52% (126 Inuit) hold what is classified as an unskilled job. Only 1 Inuk (0.04% of the Inuit workforce) holds a position at the management level.

However, as of December 31, 2012, the haul truck driver team at Meadowbank mine was composed mostly of Inuit. In 2012, 15 Inuit were trained for these jobs, of which 5 (33%) were women. Thirteen of the 15 who were trained succeeded in completing their course and 11 were still employed in this position as of December 31, 2012. Of 60 Inuit working as haul truck drivers, 14 were women, with one Inuit woman being a haul truck instructor.

Despite efforts by the company to create a relatively unimpeded career path for Inuit employees, the turnover and attendance problems of Inuit employees have been cited as an ongoing difficulty in the operation of the mine. In 2011, it was reported that on average, 22 people per day were missing from work (CBC, April 20, 2012). The turnover of Inuit labour may have been as high as 84% in 2012. These statistics suggest that there are problems for Inuit labour at the mine despite some success stories such as the involvement of women in the truck haul operations.

Inuit women are an important part of the labour force at Meadowbank. The fact that they comprise about 100% of all temporary female workers is worthy of note. But the positions and experiences of Inuit women require a more detailed examination beyond what statistics suggest about Inuit women in the industry. Furthermore, our investigations reveal that internationally, relatively little research has been done on women in the mining industry and even less attention has been paid to Indigenous women. Most importantly, virtually no research has been done on the role and experiences of Indigenous women and the mining industry in Canada. If mineral exploration and mining are to be—as the current federal and territorial governments have claimed—the economic future of Nunavut Territory, research is needed to better inform the processes by which projects are developed. Policy initiatives are required to address the concerns and experience of Inuit women. The objective is to meet the needs of Inuit women in relation to an industry that has, historically, been dominated by male culture—one with which Inuit women have virtually no prior experience.

This report is based on the qualitative results of the research, primarily interviews done with knowledgeable community informants in Qamani'tuaq, focus groups held with Inuit women and a special focus group held with young Inuit women around the impacts of mining on their lives and members of their families. The quantitative research is ongoing and is expected to be completed in the spring of 2014.



Background to the Research

Since 1984, Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada has been the national representative organization for Inuit women. The organization works to foster greater awareness of the needs of Inuit women, to advocate for equality and social improvements and to encourage the participation of Inuit women in the community, regional and national life of Canada. In recent years, an important concern for Pauktuutit has been the changing nature of economic activity in the North and its effects on the social determinants of health in Inuit communities. Resource extraction activities have been promoted as a significant opportunity for employment and economic growth across Inuit Nunangat, with projects ranging from the Voisey's Bay Nickel Mine in Nunatsiavut to the Mackenzie Gas project in the Inuvialuit Settlement Region. However, little research has been conducted to assess the impacts of mining and resource extraction activities on the well-being of Inuit communities. Pauktuutit has become increasingly concerned about the lack of research on this topic, limiting the opportunities for Inuit to inform themselves or to share their experiences.

In March 2007, Pauktuutit's Board of Directors passed a resolution at the organization's Annual General Meeting to explore the implications of resource extraction activities on the sexual health of communities in Inuit Nunangat. Concerns existed that mineral extraction work was having serious effects on all aspects of environmental, social, cultural and physical well-being, particularly for women. This resolution was followed by the *Resource Extraction and Inuit Sexual Health Conference: Sexual Health is Everyone's Responsibility* in February 2008. The conference in Inuvik, NWT brought together frontline health workers, community members and researchers for a dialogue on how to mitigate the negative impacts of industry activity, while maximizing the benefits to individuals and communities. The primary conclusion of the conference was to confirm the need to raise awareness of the social and health impacts of resource extraction. A further recommendation was to advocate for the mining industry to consider implementing sexual health policies.

Under direction from the Board of Directors, Pauktuutit pursued two avenues to collecting and raising awareness of the implications of resource extraction for Inuit. In 2011, Pauktuutit began correspondence with the Nunavut Impact Review Board over concerns that the environmental assessment process does not consider the specific impacts of resource extraction on women. At the same time, Pauktuutit began developing a relationship with the Violence Prevention Program at the Canadian Women's Foundation to secure funding for research on mining. With a culturally relevant gender-based analysis lacking from the assessment of resource extraction proposals, Pauktuutit determined to ensure that Inuit women's voices were heard. In a workshop on resource extraction at Pauktuutit's 2012 Annual General Meeting, "not having a voice" was one of the primary concerns of attendees. Other concerns raised about the social and health effects of mining activity included a lack of opportunity to share information between the Inuit regions, lack of childcare services, increasing STI rates and public intoxication, women's limited financial literacy and women's lack of awareness of their basic human rights.

In June 2012, Pauktuutit was awarded a grant by the Canadian Women's Foundation to develop an initial gender-based analysis of the impacts of resource extraction activities in Inuit communities with a case study in Baker Lake (Qamani'tuaq). The project builds upon Pauktuutit's five years of work in this area to provide a forum for Inuit women to share their experiences, and raise awareness across Inuit Nunangat of the implications of mining for Inuit women and thereby facilitate Inuit women's engagement with resource extraction industries, regulatory bodies and federal, provincial and territorial governments.

A plan for reporting back to the community and for publicizing the results of this research is attached to this report as Appendix 6.

Method and Approach

The research approach was designed and facilitated by Karina Czyzewski and Dr. Frank Tester of the University of British Columbia, School of Social Work, with input from Pauktuutit staff. The design was also modified by the participants in response to their needs and interests.

The research was conducted by Inuit women in Qamani'tuaq trained to do research in a workshop offered in the community of Qamani'tuaq over a one week period in February of 2013. The research design follows principles for research with Indigenous people outlined in Chapter 9 of the Tri-Council (Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, National Science and Engineering Research Council and the Canadian Institute of Health Research) and by Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (*Negotiating Research Relationships: A Guide for Communities*, 2002).

The research method used was Participatory Action Research (PAR). PAR is an approach to research that actively involves those who have a social or environmental concern that needs to be addressed. Participants define the issues and problems to be researched, design how to go about doing the research and establish what they would like to see done with the results. Those affected by the problem under consideration play active roles, not only in problem definition, the design and conduct of research, but in working to ensure the results are used to change and address the problems and issues that gave rise to the research.

The research that was discussed and developed by participants included qualitative and quantitative methods. These included focus groups with Inuit women and female youth, interviews with key knowledgeable people in the community and a survey of a sample of women in the community to document their experiences, opinions and ideas about the impact of mining on women in Qamani'tuaq. The activity central to this approach was a training workshop.

An outline of the training workshop, its design, logistics, delivery and the subjects covered in the research training, is found in **Appendix 1**.





LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

Mining is one of the oldest occupations on the planet. It is an industry whose activities, especially in the case of open-pit mining, are very visual. The impacts of these modifications to the landscape also introduce serious environmental risks. It is therefore not surprising that since the early 1970s, a wealth of literature on the topic of mining, extraction industries and sustainable development has been produced. There are far fewer sources that specifically cover the social and gendered impacts of mining—even less that focus explicitly on Indigenous people. Very little material is Inuit-specific.

This literature review includes relevant sources on the gendered impacts of mining. It includes material on the social impacts of mining in Arctic regions, as well as relevant fly-in/fly-out (FIFO) and Long Distance Commuting (LDC) literature. Based on consideration of approximately 60 sources, this review will address the historical context of the mining project that is the subject of this report, will introduce the centrality of ‘cultural friction’—problems arising from the interaction of different ‘ways of making sense’—and why this project focuses on women. It also examines the theories put forward in relevant analyses, and what has been proposed to mitigate impacts and facilitate positive outcomes. The focus of this review is the intersection of gender, race, culture and class and resilience in relation to mining activity and Indigenous peoples, with an emphasis on Inuit women. The review pays attention to conclusions emerging from the literature and concludes with some critical final considerations.

The literature review is based on material found in databases recommended by the reference librarian at the University of British Columbia. These included Compendex—<http://resources.library.ubc.ca/715>—a primary database for engineering which, upon examination, did not include much material dealing with the social and cultural aspects of mining. The ‘[Family and Society Studies Worldwide](#)’ database was consulted and searched using different combinations of keywords, as was [Sociological Abstracts](#).

Google Scholar was searched using citation software related to other work the principal investigator has done on the history of mining in the Canadian Arctic. EBSCO and JSTOR databases were also consulted. The available literature dealing with women, especially Indigenous women, and mining is very limited. Australia and India are sources of the most research and writing dealing with women and mining. English literature that covers the Americas is particularly sparse, suggesting that more research (and writing) about women, and particularly Indigenous women, and mining in Canada is needed.

There is very little evidence in the literature on Indigenous peoples and mining that identifies resource extraction done with thoughtful consultation, support and that has contributed fairly to nearby communities, with little impact on the land, water and people.¹

Despite some benefits and exemplary cases,^{2,3} the majority of sources cite people’s dissatisfaction with the mining process from discussion, planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation, to the closure of mines.^{4,10} The imposition of economic and political structures, Western values and beliefs, displacement, dispossession of lives and culture at considerable social costs are all cornerstones of what many authors describe, in reference to mining and Indigenous peoples, as capitalist and colonial relations.^{5,6} Many authors make reference to complicity between the State and extractive industries.¹⁰ Although people are identified as having greater access to some degree of income security, the benefits of mining projects are not distributed equally between industry and the people directly affected.^{7,8,9} Mining projects in the Canadian North have become part of a social and political attitude that can be described as ‘new frontierism’,¹⁰ where a great expanse of land and resources are *waiting* to be discovered and profited from, the benefits of which will ‘trickle down’ to those framed as ‘tragically destitute’. The “anxious” arguments for territorial and extractive expansion are reminiscent of a very familiar paternal discourse that associates the Canadian Arctic with Canadian identity and opportunity, in a rhetoric that often leaves out Inuit altogether. The north serves, primarily, “our”—easily understood to mean southern Canadian—interests and aspirations.¹¹

We are a Northern Country. The true North is our destiny—for our explorers, for our entrepreneurs, for our artists. To not embrace the promise of the true North, now, at the dawn of its ascendancy, would be to turn our backs on what it is to be Canadian” (Prime Minister Stephen Harper, August 2008, Inuvik, NWT; Canada 2009:3).¹²

History and Context

The Canadian economy has historically been and continues to be focused on resource extraction and development. These activities cannot be viewed without attention to environmental, historical, political, economic and social interconnections. Resource extraction has, and continues to, generate considerable controversy and debate among Canadians. Over the past year Canadians have seen 2.5 million rivers and lakes protected by the *Navigable Waters Protection Act* drop to only 160 with the passing of *Omnibus Bill C-45*. Proposals for the twinning and expansion of pipelines for the transportation of crude oil across the continent have been moving forward in the presence of oil spills in Alberta and British Columbia and the Lac-Mégantic explosion in Québec. The Alberta tar sands are seen by many to contribute to greenhouse gas emissions and thus global warming; a concern with regard to the environmental and social consequences for Arctic Canada. These developments generate controversy, with some politicians, business people, economists and members of the public focusing on the economic advantages—the contribution of oil sands development to employment and the Canadian economy. The Canadian economy is heavily reliant on the export of resources. In 2010, the energy, forest, agriculture and mining sectors accounted for 60.8% of the country's exports. Total exports accounted for about 30% of the country's GDP.¹³ Internationally, countries struggling with poverty increasingly see the export of their mineral wealth as a means for lifting themselves out of poverty and as a way of participating in a globalized capitalist economy.^{14,15} Since World War II mining has played an increasingly important critical role in fueling capitalist growth and expansion.^{14,16,17}

A growing concern in all economies—increasingly in western European as well as in southern countries—is growing economic inequality and the long-term implications for social well-being and the functioning of civil society. Cheap labour facilitates the accumulation of capital for development.¹⁸ The role of resource development in the creation of unequal outcomes and the dispossession of some to the advantage of others is an international concern related to mining and resource development.¹² Colonial expansion—internationally—has strong ties to the history of the development of gold and other minerals.¹⁹ The history of gold mining—including its recent history—is full of intrigue and controversy. Naylor provides a trenchant portrayal of the recent history of international gold mining, including attention to the technology and environmental implications of the chemicals and processes used to extract gold from ore, and the impact of gold mining on Indigenous peoples.²⁰ Internationally, gold mining continues to generate considerable opposition from Indigenous peoples whose traditional lands – from Papua New Guinea to Latin America, Australia to Canada—continue to be subject to considerable pressure from the ebb and flow of international desires for 'glamorous gold'.¹⁶

At the same time, there are individuals in the mining industry and companies that are clearly attempting to 'do things differently'. This is not always possible as mining companies, heavily dependent upon investment and sensitive—as are all corporations—to their share price on

Canadian and international stock exchanges, must still live with attention to the ‘bottom line’. Depending on the values, orientation and pressures acting on those responsible for decision-making, the promises made in an impact benefit agreement may get compromised. For example, environmental protection, in an attempt to save money and remain competitive, may be compromised. The pressures operating on management decisions in the mining industry are many. The literature dealing with the social and environmental impacts of mining is overwhelmingly concerned with these realities.

The history of the relationship of Canadians to the Arctic pre-dates confederation and the transfer of lands and resources under the control of the Hudson’s Bay Company and the Arctic islands under the control of Great Britain to the newly formed Canadian state. The colonization of northern lands, peoples and resources proceeds in a fashion that parallels settlement of eastern and, then later, western Canada. Displacement is literally and symbolically critical to capitalist expansion and colonial initiatives.^{10, 12, 21, 22} Incorporating colonial subjects into developing economies has been a concern related to colonial expansion since the early 1800s. In the Canadian Arctic, Inuit were first employed in the whaling industry. With its collapse just before the First World War, they were integrated into the fox fur trade of the Hudson’s Bay Company. The collapse of the fur trade following the Second World War introduced a period of welfarism, with Inuit increasingly dependent for sustenance and survival on the newly-developed liberal welfare state. It was a period where Inuit struggled with an epidemic of tuberculosis, the residential and day schooling of Inuit children, a move from hunting camps to consolidated settlements and, in general, phenomenal social, cultural and economic change.²³

These events had devastating and long-lasting impacts on people’s livelihoods, cultural vitality, self-esteem and physical and mental health.^{18, 23} Increasingly, efforts were made to integrate Inuit with the Canadian industrial economy, commencing with employment at the North Rankin Nickel Mine operating on the west coast of Hudson Bay from 1957 to 1962 and the construction of the Distant Early Warning (D.E.W.) Line (1956-57). These efforts were also evident in the development of Nanisivik, a lead-zinc mine developed near the Inuit community of Arctic Bay on the northern tip of Baffin Island. Planning commenced in the early 1970s and the mine operated from 1978 until 2002. It employed around 200 people from neighbouring communities and, along with the Polaris Mine operating on Little Cornwallis Island in the high Arctic, introduced many Inuit to wage employment for the first time.²⁴ Studies have revealed that the long-term or sustainable benefits of these projects for Inuit were few—if any.²⁴ They neither benefited from the infrastructure associated with the mines, nor were investments made in alternative income-generating activities that would sustain Inuit families after the mines were shut down.

Cultural Friction

The socio-cultural context of the respective communities and peoples engaged in mining is a prominent piece in the literature reviewed on the topic. There are good and evident reasons for

this. Many of the locations of the mines in the literature reviewed occur in areas that have seen social change and upheaval due to colonial presence and impositions (Canada's North, Australia, India, Papua New Guinea, Indonesia, etc.).^a The original inhabitants have seen sudden and often dramatic transformations in their lives and living conditions, so the impacts of mining and those from imposed foreign socio-cultural agendas are blurred or seen on a continuum of rapid change. The sites are also often disconnected from modernized urban centres or nearby towns, so long-distance commuting, fly-in fly-out (FIFO) scenarios or the creation of mining towns become necessary. The continuity of formal social structures, influences and roles that constitute the ways in which Indigenous communities operate can be destabilized by the sudden cultural changes introduced by the culture that accompanies the mining industry.^{10, 24, 25, 26}

Culture and cultural change are strong themes in much of the literature on mining. Culture appears heavily in the analysis of impacts and effects because culture is generated within communities, societies and institutions; the differences become evident when one moves from one cultural space to another.^{27, 28} Extractive industries find their headquarters in Western nations, with 75% of the world's mining companies based in Canada.²⁹ They carry with them to non-Western territory engrained perspectives with regard to relations of power, social structuring, division of labour, gender roles, responsibilities, value, welfare and well-being.^{1, 16, 18, 29, 30}

There are specific socio-cultural components that are inherent to the operation of mines that were cited repeatedly in the literature. Despite the roles women have played historically in supporting the activity of mining, by both working in the industry directly or through transformed roles, responsibilities and economic activities outside of the industry itself, mines remain very male-centered spaces.^{14, 19, 31} Sometimes these patriarchal relations and ensuing female exclusions from negotiations for the establishment of mines occur in places where gender equity is stronger than that espoused by the industry.^{18, 32} The result is to undermine women's status in the host community.^{17, 30, 31} As has been true of colonial relations with Indigenous peoples, mining and the way it is planned, the way negotiations take place and the respect and roles afforded women, can change the gender relations and expectations among those affected. This is relevant to considering the gender parity historically present among Inuit men and women.³³ Hierarchical relations of power can create discomfort and frustration as some communities traditionally operated via consensus. Other cultures do not always appreciate the hierarchy represented by 'expertise' and the self-assurance or pride that often accompanies it and results in others being looked down upon.^{34, 35} Mining companies bring with them, understandably, the values, logic, adherence to market principles, the Western work ethic and 'ways of doing things' that are part of western or dominant Euro-Canadian culture.^{12, 36} These include attention to the centrality of individualism, competition and the logic of markets as being the best way to organize social and economic affairs.^{17, 37} These 'norms' may be very different than the values of the local culture.³⁸

^a The sources reviewed were all in English hence why certain areas of the world are covered and others were not. For instance, Central and South America were absent from the literature covered possibly due to language.

There is cultural friction and lack of understanding for instance when these projects are planned and implemented without paying attention to the collective rights and collective awareness inherent in many Indigenous cultures.^{35, 37, 39}

Women are often hired by mining companies but a gender division of labour often occurs where women are relegated to ‘traditional female’ occupations, such as kitchen work, housekeeping, cleaning or laundry.²⁹ When women are hired outside these positions—haul truck drivers or machinery operators⁴⁰—they are often cited in the literature for being safer drivers or as operators that *take fewer risks*.⁴¹ There is an element of biological essentialism in these statements by mine managers: women are good to have around because it is assumed they cost the company less.⁴¹ Their incorporation into the mine workforce can be stereotyping and continue to frame women as nurturing and fragile, but also docile.¹⁶ They are less likely to strike or form a union and therefore are regarded as having a civilizing effect on men operating in the same workplace.¹⁶ It has been suggested that having women around diffuses “industrial tensions” through sexual distraction and sexual relations.¹⁴ This gender stereotyping can then spill over into the community. While mining culture is not responsible for creating a particular form of male culture in regard to women and while there are very many other factors adding to a patriarchal and patronizing way of regarding women, the literature suggests that remote mining camps where miners ‘live in’ for part of their tenure at the mine can, and most often do, contribute to these ways of regarding women.

Men may be framed as the appropriate breadwinner, as entitled to leisure time because of the male role in ‘working for a living’, and deserving of the partner’s faithful support, as well as absolution of household responsibilities.⁴² Women’s unpaid labour in the home is made invisible.⁴³ The employment of women primarily in food preparation and housekeeping reinforces these as appropriate roles for women, not only in the workplace, but within the home. Positions of authority and supervision are most commonly occupied by men, thereby reinforcing the idea that men have authority, a position that applies to the home as well as to the workplace. While most Indigenous men do not occupy positions of authority at mining operations, the message that men *should* occupy these roles is modeled in the workplace. Male authority as head of household is not questioned. Just because women have found employment at a mine does not mean that what may have been traditional roles are challenged. If anything, they are often reinforced by the kind of employment (sectors) in which women are engaged, with the result that women do ‘double shift’: working for income as a mine employee and full-time mom.⁴⁰

A disproportionate amount of responsibility falling upon one parent or the extended family is one negative outcome from one or both parents working at a mine.^{41, 44} When away, the mine employee may feel isolated or miss his/her family and marked occasions such as birthdays, baptisms, anniversaries, etc.^{25, 45} The female employee may feel further alienation due to sexual harassment in the workplace and gossip about her relationships or behaviour toward or with other men. Upon the employee’s return, fatigue is common after two weeks of 12 hour shifts.^{26, 46} The most common negative outcome cited in the literature is violence.^{15, 17, 18, 27, 30, 31, 32, 42, 47, 48,}

⁴⁹ Fights may ensue due to compounding self-reliance issues.^{32, 38, 46, 50} Women may achieve a degree of independence as a result of doing everything on their own in the absence of a partner or they may be the only source of employment income in the family. Fights may also ensue due to jealousy^{35, 47}, relationship breakdown²⁷, machismo competition^{16, 28} and issues of control^{48, 51} that may be further compounded by substance use.^{17, 18, 24, 29, 30, 32, 35, 36, 42}

Newly acquired incomes and financial mismanagement often go hand in hand. Money may be spent elsewhere: on substances, gambling and extramarital sex instead of family welfare.³⁶ Substance-induced behaviour can often be unpredictable, which can contribute to neglect and unsafe scenarios—including incidents of violence—for all family members. The literature notes that crime rates increase.³² Rates of sexually transmitted infections increase and the incidence of women willingly or unwillingly involved in the sex trade increases. Although in some situations these are attributable to the presence of a mine, in others these negative outcomes are a continuation of the legacy of impacts produced by the experience of colonialism and by rapid cultural change.¹⁰ These outcomes do not imply that miners, certain cultures or races, are more prone to social breakdown. What this does highlight is that situations that provide income to some community and family members and not to others, creates further ‘have’ and ‘have not’ divisions in communities that exacerbate social issues. Moreover, as a history of colonialism contributes to health outcomes, the conditions created by the mine can fuel already present intergenerational issues.^{22, 36} And, as the relationship between colonialism and health illustrates, some impacts have much greater legacies than others.^{10, 32}

Focus on Women

Some of the impacts mentioned above are solely borne by women or disproportionately affect women. The overwhelming conclusion in the literature is that a greater concentration of impacts affects women living in or nearby mining communities.^{18, 30, 31, 42, 49} The themes that underlie what has been noted thus far, and what is present in the literature, point to culture, race, class and gender considerations. What this suggests is that the ‘social impacts of mining’ cannot be spoken about by isolating any one of these categories. Questioning and describing the social impacts of mining on women and Indigenous women in particular, needs to be an intersectional process.^{1, 14, 15} An intersectional lens in the conduct of Indigenous women’s health research accounts for the interactions between racialization, the feminization of poverty,⁴⁰ colonial violence and intergenerational trauma and socio-economic stratification.⁷ The scope of the work presented in this report may not allow for a comprehensive analysis of these interconnections, but acknowledging their presence in the literature and the research facilitates recognizing the complexity of the issues being deliberated and why the focus on Inuit women is important.

Women’s well-being is intricately connected to community well-being.²⁸ Previous research shows that investments in women’s education, training and economic empowerment contribute to better overall outcomes for the community.⁵² Women invest in the nutrition, education and health of their families.³³ It is for these reasons that many authors describe women as the

“linchpins”⁵, “backbone”¹⁶ or “guardians”³¹ of their communities. Their key role in ensuring the well-being and security of those around them means that when their security is jeopardized, so is the community’s.¹⁵ Consequently, safeguarding the participation of women in any development is significant to the development of the community, the sustainability of socio-economic relations and circumstances and to the maintenance of socio-cultural integrity.^{2, 33, 53}

The focus on women in this project contributes, in part, to a body of literature and research that seeks to empower women in sharing stories about what they see and feel is happening in their community. Due to the pivotal roles they occupy in mitigating social disruption, their voices are of utmost importance. Women’s labour and efforts can be made invisible in the Western corporate world, as well as in institutional and academic accounts of resource extraction workplaces.^{18, 19} The intersection of racism, colonialism and sexism within mining culture^{23, 41} helps explain why Indigenous women’s participation has been largely excluded or marginalized in decision-making about all aspects of developing and operating mines that affect Indigenous women and communities.^{33, 52} The literature suggests that the over-representation of ‘negative impacts’ and women’s suffering can contribute to disempowering women by victimizing them.¹⁷ The holistic presentation of the experiences of mine-affected Inuit women, currently hold very little space in the literature.⁵⁴ Research on this topic is likely to further reveal factors affecting Indigenous women’s health and their access to economic and social security. What the literature currently reveals is that these factors are affected by structural issues, in other words colonialism, classism, racism and sexism. If the meaningful participation of women is restricted by these structural issues, then the community’s future also becomes uncertain.

Theoretical Approaches

A gender-based analysis (GBA) was the most documented approach, with a few different styles cited in the literature reviewed. The focus of this review was on gender and women in the mining industry, with particular attention to material dealing with the experiences of Indigenous women. A GBA provides a critical lens to researching or evaluating projects that seeks to elucidate “gender-based relations of domination”.⁴³ A GBA in the study of mining tries to demonstrate how resource extraction activities affect male and female community residents. GBA gives voice to women when and where they may have been silenced, and seeks to rectify the situation when women’s work, roles and perspectives have been rendered invisible through gender ‘neutral’ stories.⁴¹

A wealth of theoretical perspectives is recommended within the work reviewed, with no consistency, creating what one author describes as a “theory vacuum”. The nature of the topic of ‘women and mining’ lends itself to an exploration of the intersection of labour, political and economic structures, gender relations and feminism, human rights, imperialism and environmental justice.^{22, 30, 48} ‘Gender mainstreaming’ and ‘development theories’ are proposed by some, but considered obsolete by others²³ because of their ethnocentric assumptions³⁹ and uncritical perspectives of the ‘add gender/development and stir’ variety.⁴¹ Lenses for analysis

include: industrial and organizational sociology,¹¹ institutional analysis,¹² thematic analysis,⁴² constructivist grounded theory,⁵⁴ cultural ecology,²⁵ ecofeminism,⁴² feminist political economy,⁴² political ecology-economy,⁵⁵ historical political ecology,²² first world political economy,^{17, 22} post-colonial feminism,²³ and labour history.^{9, 18}

As the focus of this project is Inuit women, the theoretical approaches adopted need to be responsive to the intersectionality of the factors contributing to or affecting Inuit women's well-being.⁵⁶ Parallel to this is the concept of holism: where different parts of one's being, family, community and nation are always interacting, interconnected and cannot be dealt with in isolation.⁵⁷ A description of the positive and negative impacts of mining in a community also needs to provide a realistic, accurate and rich understanding of interrelated roles and webs of relation.¹⁰ "Although gender is a significant component woven throughout the social, political, cultural, and economic issues, it is often ignored...gender is *holistic*."⁵⁷ The National Aboriginal Health Organization (2008) proposed a *culturally-relevant gender-based analysis* that acknowledges inequitable relations between men and women, as well as the socio-cultural and historical realities caused by colonization (relocations, colonial schooling and paternalistic administration). This framework is grounded in the concepts of holism, cultural diversity, equity, ownership and voice.⁵⁷ Highlighting these considerations also bridges connections between large-scale processes, colonial structures, the maldistribution of power and resources and connections to land, spirit and social justice.^{12, 22, 57} Attention to such an analysis keeps in mind voice, respect, responsibility, reciprocity and relevance, and honours Indigenous self-determination.^{22, 39} Pauktuutit has proposed a more specific model that encourages consideration of the issue at hand and how it relates to 1) *The Inuit Way* (Elders, culture, language, family, community and spirituality); 2) *Traditional Influences on the Inuit Way* (land, weather, animals and country food); 3) *Contemporary Influences on the Inuit Way* (institutions, policies, laws, climate change, globalized and capitalist economies); and, 4) *Assessing Gender Impacts in an Inuit Cultural Context* (pulling it all together).

Can Mining be Socially, Economically and Environmentally Sustainable?

The financial realities of opening a new mine involve raising, borrowing and spending considerable sums to bring a mine into production. Unlike other industries, mining is capital-intensive at the front end. The speed at which approval processes and development take place affects financial returns and the viability of a mining venture. This reality creates significant problems for the planning processes, procedures and regulatory approvals, as well as the inclusion of communities in the planning and development of a mine and monitoring once a mine is in operation. Time is of essence, as noted in the opening of the Ekati and Diavik diamond mines in the Northwest Territories. Pressure was placed on Indigenous communities in reference to a 60-day deadline for negotiations between BHP (the mining company), the five Indigenous communities likely to be affected and the Government of the Northwest Territories.^{2, 12} This framework had a negative impact on the capacity of Indigenous communities to participate.

A mining venture that does not take the time to involve people in discussions about how a mine will operate, the policies and procedures to be followed to address social, employment and environmental concerns, will be subject to problems that affect ‘the bottom line’. These will also greatly affect the health, well-being and future of Indigenous women and the entire community. The sustainability of a project is tied, in the literature, to the involvement of communities in all aspects of project planning, operations and monitoring. The ecological, economic and social sustainability of a project includes a ‘back and forth’ between community and company, and allowing community members to define the rights and responsibilities of all involved.⁵³ The social costs of development are sometimes subsequently borne by governments and are reflected in costs to health care systems, social services, the criminal justice system and law enforcement. They may be absorbed by people who suffer physical, mental and social problems that are not addressed by government or community-based counselling, health care and other social services. These problems affect the ability of people to participate socially, culturally and economically in community and national life. At the same time, with respect to strength and resilience—the ability to recover from difficult personal, historical, social, economic or environmental circumstances—some literature notes that having employment contributes to self-esteem and pride which, arguably, contributes to resilience; an important consideration in dealing with social costs.^{36, 57} One author suggests that sex work in mining has played a historical role in surviving change because women can be active economic agents. Resilience is identified in the literature as being dependent on other conditions such as prior family well-being,^{38, 45} intact social structures⁵⁴ and strong cultural integrity³⁶ or spirit.¹²

Some literature deals with these considerations with regard to communities in general, but it is reasonable to conclude that the same applies to Indigenous communities. When the processes and practices associated with mining do not support, respect or consider cultural values, existing means for dealing with problems and issues may be undermined. This may contribute to social disruption in Indigenous communities.^{33, 37, 42} The negative outcomes of poor implementation processes meant that many mining ventures were framed, in the literature, as socially intrusive instead of socially supportive.

Research done *with* Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities indicates that community-based direction is important to guiding research or to defining indicators for monitoring project success.^{49, 58} Participatory and community-based research are ways of putting voice and ownership into practice. These approaches help in demonstrating that the hopes and concerns of those most affected are being seriously considered. Communities likely to be affected should direct the legal, cultural and organizational structures that inform strategies for dealing with issues arising from mining activity. A commitment to community-based direction with regard to important matters that affect the well-being and future of community members helps to establish a reciprocal relationship. Reciprocity is an important concept for most Indigenous peoples. Western-style procedures used in planning and negotiation can make what are often touted as opportunities for open discussion and participation, much less than what they are claimed to be.⁴⁸

A commitment to being guided by community is important to exercising reciprocal relationships and the necessity of adequate and relevant public engagement from industry.^{24, 29, 39, 44}

A willingness to concede power and authority may be met with a willingness to accommodate the needs of those planning the development of a mine. Options for creating more positive mining environments and mitigating negative outcomes were discussed by several authors. Many mentioned the importance of including the entire family in events that are usually directed at individuals by the industry, such as orientation, site visits and income dispensing.^{45, 52} As a mine is seen to be taking something from the environment, community and people in the vicinity of its operations, community members feel entitled to supportive investments and benefits from corporations above and beyond what they typically offer.^{45, 47} Violence, addictions and childcare are cited as the most frequent concerns of Indigenous women.^{5, 16, 28} Many proposed that companies should be providing resources for the creation of support groups, services and programs inside and outside the mine to help alleviate these social problems.^{27, 45, 32, 59, 60} A recommendation coming out of the literature was that Elders play the role of onsite mentors to support employees on the job site.⁴⁵ This, it is suggested, would replicate, in the workplace, a continuity of family/community roles and the transmission of culturally relevant knowledge. Full-time community/industry liaison workers or support workers are also identified as having potential to play an important role in coordinating these initiatives, combating isolation, maintaining family integrity and cultural safety—for example, language and cross-cultural orientation considerations—onsite.

Women are acknowledged in the literature as important to committees negotiating benefit agreements and the posture—the attitudes and values expressed by those officials of companies or government—addressing women’s concerns once a mine is in operation. ‘Indigenous Women and Mining Agreement Negotiations’ is a thorough study of the importance of women in negotiating processes, emphasizing the importance in assessing women’s roles or including attention to their influence on the agendas in the process of negotiation, and not just their presence or absence at the negotiating table. Other authors point out ‘women’s issues’ should not be bracketed, or addressed as separate and special issues in negotiation processes: that women’s concerns have implications for the well-being of and issues affecting male miners and administrators, as well as women.

The literature pays some attention to the organization of training in relationship to jobs in the mining industry. Some authors raise concerns that most government training programs are delivered in such a way as to facilitate acculturation among trainees. They conclude that a shift in power to representatives of Indigenous peoples is important to affecting the content and structure of training programs in relation to culture and concerns about acculturation.³⁷ However, it is also true that power and responsibility is often handed to Indigenous decision makers once it becomes obvious they are likely to participate in arrangements consistent with the colonizing culture.⁶¹

The literature reviewed contains suggestions to improve women's safety and empowerment on- and off-site. Authors encouraged economic empowerment through investments in traditional local economies, small business ventures and the training and education of women so that benefits extend beyond the mine site and its closure.^{24, 29} The presence in communities of banks or financial institutions and childcare facilities are the most commonly cited infrastructural improvements that could increase access to opportunities for women.⁴⁵ An awareness and sensitivity to considerations of gender, culture and the importance of traditional economies¹² should be part of all aspects of project proposal, development, management and auditing, and an integral part of staff orientation.^{40, 43} The literatures notes the lack of industry policies that deal with sexual harassment in the workplace and the fact that even where policies are present, there is no or little enforcement or consequences in the event of an incident.^{15, 29, 32, 58} Other concerns noted in the literature and research done on women and mining include issues related to pregnancy and lay-offs, maternity leave and the harassment that occurs in what is a male-centred mine culture. Policy initiatives that address these concerns would make mining a safer, more secure occupation for female employees.⁶²

The need for more research on women and mining is noted in much of the literature. For example, it is noted that while policies are often in place that are supposed to guarantee that women receive the same pay for doing the same job as men, there has been little review of pay equity in Australia to ensure that this is the case.⁶³ In some of the literature the observation that more research is needed is country-specific.

Pulling It All Together

Some authors believe that framing the resource extraction industry as 'caring' or 'benevolent' is naive; capitalism and colonial endeavours are in and of themselves exploitive.¹² The nature of for-profit neo-liberal enterprise is, they suggest, incompatible with Indigenous traditions and values. Others suggest that social pressure can affect how corporations and governments consider concerns and how mining can generate benefits for affected communities.¹¹ The ecological, economic and social sustainability of a project is dependent upon a constant 'back and forth' and good communication between a community and a company, where community members play central roles that acknowledge and respect their rights and that, in the interests of their well-being and future, recognize the central role communities play in articulating who is responsible for what in the development of a project.⁵³ The capacity to shape planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation permits the community to safeguard its future and to make informed decisions.⁴⁸ Informed consent is dependent on ways of communicating and relationships that involve trust, humility, respect and caring.^{30, 32, 43}

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INUIT IMPACT AND BENEFIT AGREEMENT FOR THE MEADOWBANK MINE

Introduction

Issues that arose over the course of this study, particularly among women participating in the training workshop as well as in the focus groups that followed, are matters covered by the Inuit Impact and Benefit Agreement (IIBA). The agreement is a document signed by Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated, representing the interests of all Inuit contained in the *Nunavut Land Claims Agreement*. The Kivalliq Inuit Association is the regional Inuit organization representing the interests of Inuit of Qamani'tuaq. Agnico-Eagle signed the agreement in relation to the Meadowbank mine.

The first IIBA covering the Meadowbank mine was signed in 2006 when the mine was owned by Cumberland Resources, a Vancouver-based junior mining company. Cumberland had acquired the mine site in 1997 and put forward a feasibility plan for developing the mine in 2003. Meadowbank acquired the property when it bought Cumberland Resources in 2007. It brought the mine into production in 2010 and signed a new IIBA with the Kivalliq Inuit Association in 2011. The legal framework for the negotiation of IIBAs is contained in Article 26 of the *Nunavut Land Claims Agreement*.

The Nunavut Land Claims Agreement

Article 26.3.3 outlines the principles for negotiation and arbitration (when needed) as follows:

Negotiation and arbitration of IIBAs shall be guided by the following principles:

- (a) benefits shall be consistent with and promote Inuit cultural goals;
- (b) benefits shall contribute to achieving and maintaining a standard of living among Inuit equal to that of persons other than Inuit living and working in the Nunavut Settlement Area, and to Canadians in general;
- (c) benefits shall be related to the nature, scale and cost of the project as well as its direct and indirect impacts on Inuit;
- (d) benefits shall not place an excessive burden on the proponent and undermine the viability of the project; and
- (e) benefit agreements shall not prejudice the ability of other residents of the Nunavut Settlement Area to obtain benefits from major projects in the Nunavut Settlement Area.

Schedule 26-1 (Section 26.3.1) of the *Nunavut Land Claims Agreement* outlines the “matters considered appropriate for Inuit benefits.” They are listed as follows:

1. Inuit training at all levels.
2. Inuit preferential hiring.
3. Employment rotation reflecting Inuit needs and preferences.
4. Scholarships.
5. Labour relations.
6. Business opportunities for Inuit including: (a) provision of seed capital; (b) provision of expert advice; (c) notification of business opportunities; (d) preferential contracting practices.
7. Housing, accommodation and recreation.
8. Safety, health and hygiene.
9. Language of workplace.
10. Identification, protection and conservation of archaeological sites and specimens.
11. Research and development.
12. Inuit access to facilities constructed for the project such as airfields and roads.
13. Particularly important Inuit environmental concerns and disruption of wildlife, including wildlife disruption compensation schemes.
14. Outpost camps.
15. Information flow and interpretation, including liaison between Inuit and proponent regarding project management and Inuit participation and concerns.
16. Relationship to prior and subsequent agreements.

17. Co-ordination with other developments.
18. Arbitration and amendment provisions.
19. Implementation and enforceability, including performance bonds and liquidated damages clauses.
20. Obligations of subcontractors.
21. Any other matters that the Parties consider to be relevant to the needs of the project and Inuit.

Taken together, *Section 26.3.3* and *Schedule 26.1* define what is most likely to be found in Inuit Impact and Benefit Agreements negotiated with companies like Agnico-Eagle.

The concerns of women, identified in the research presented in this report, are not explicitly represented in these two sections of the *Nunavut Land Claims Agreement*. *Subsection (b)* of *Section 26.3.3* refers to maintaining a standard of living comparable to other Canadians. Standard of living can be interpreted to include not only a reference to personal income, but the presence of community and social services that confer on the Inuit population (and Inuit women) the same opportunities to live healthy, fulfilling lives as is true of other Canadian women.

The circumstances of Inuit women's lives in the presence of a mining operation, coupled with the colonial history of the eastern Arctic and 'baseline' challenges Inuit women face, suggest that this provision could be used to put in place a wider range of services. These need to be designed to ensure that women can take advantage of the economic opportunity afforded by the presence of the Agnico-Eagle mine.

Schedule 26.1, outlining matters suitable for inclusion in an Impact and Benefit Agreement, does not include any reference to social services and/or programs deemed necessary to the health, well-being and capacity of Inuit women (or men) to take full advantage of employment. Other than item 21 (which is open-ended), there is nothing in the schedule that clearly addresses what Inuit women have identified to us as impediments to their employment at Meadowbank. The wording of the schedule is such that anything introduced into the negotiating process that is not specified in 1 through 20, might not be well received or easily negotiated. However, this, as we will see, does not appear to have been the case with respect to the 2011 *Meadowbank Inuit Impact and Benefit Agreement*.

Impact and Benefit Agreements

Impact Benefit Agreements and the question as to whether or not they are a tool for healthy Inuit communities is the topic of a comprehensive 2009 study by NAHO (the National Aboriginal Health Organization). The NAHO report was based on notes from a 2008 NAHO-sponsored roundtable discussion on Impact Benefit Agreements and interviews with 12 people representing Inuit governments and land claims organizations in the 4 Inuit regions, as well as representatives

of mining companies and regional economic development corporations.⁹ The researchers noted that:

Different groups in the community will have different concerns and expectations. For example, Inuit women are concerned with social issues (e.g., abandonment, substance abuse, losing cultural/family values), impacts on education (e.g., youth abandoning higher education for immediate employment) and other social concerns related to development. Youth might perceive the proposed operation as ‘a way out’ or a chance for a better life elsewhere.¹⁰

While loss of cultural/family values is a matter specified for consideration in the negotiation of IIBAs, other concerns identified by women are not so easily accommodated. Not all of these were identified by the NAHO study. Furthermore, understanding the manner in which impacts come about is important to appreciating the effects these have on Inuit women and other family members attempting to work in the industry. For example, substance abuse is not merely a matter of substance abuse. The pattern described to us by the women involved in the training workshop and focus groups we conducted, and evident from some of the interviews with community informants, is as follows:

The resources made available by mine employment can, and appear to be, used by a significant number of those finding employment at the mine to buy alcohol and drugs. The two-week on, two-week off work schedule means that a family member is away for a period of time. This absence gives rise to jealousies. Many of our informants noted that the mine has been hard on relationships. Someone who is jealous or suspicious of the behaviour of a partner while away at the mine, or left alone in the community, and who now has the resources to purchase alcohol or drugs, is at risk of taking his or her (most often ‘his’) feelings out on his partner once he gets home for a two-week period. The increase in incident files and our discussions with RCMP in Qamani’tuaq suggest that this is a far too common scenario. In other words, domestic violence is a serious impact. This has implications for absenteeism and labour turnover, as do the use and abuse of alcohol or drugs in-and-of-themselves. Other than under *Sub-section 21 of Schedule 26.1*, there is no obvious place to address this impact in an IIBA, assuming the reference to health and safety in item 8 is construed narrowly as health, safety and hygiene ‘on the job’ or in the workplace.

⁹ National Aboriginal Health Organization. (2009) *Exploring Community-Based Responses to Resource Extractive Development in Northern Canada*. Available on line at: <http://www.naho.ca/documents/naho/english/resourceExtraction/finalReport.pdf>.

¹⁰ Knotsch, C, and Warda, J. (2009) *Impact Benefit Agreements: A Tool for Healthy Inuit Communities?* Ottawa: National Aboriginal Health Organization: 19-20.

The Meadowbank Inuit Impact and Benefit Agreement

The first Inuit Impact and Benefit Agreement was signed in March of 2006 between Cumberland Resources Ltd. and the Kivalliq Inuit Association (KIA) (Appendix 2). This agreement was in effect for five years until 2011. In December 2007, a production decision under the IIBA was given to the KIA by Agnico-Eagle Mines (AEM). This production decision triggered many of the requirements under the IIBA and led to implementation of the agreement. Meadowbank went into full commercial production in March of 2010.

The first IIBA signed in 2006 contained the following clauses about a Community Wellness Report and Implementation Plan.

The Report and Plan will address physical and mental health, alcohol and drug abuse, relationships, family issues, migration, loss of Inuktitut language and culture, job satisfaction, finances, effect of long-distance employment on employees and their families and other impacts of the Project on Inuit of Baker Lake.

The Report and Plan will include recommendations to address negative impacts on Inuit of Baker Lake. Cumberland must implement measures identified in the Implementation Plan, as agreed by the Implementation Committee.

This IIBA also created a scholarship fund of \$14,000 a year, an amount so small that it would not support one student for one year pursuing an education outside of Nunavut Territory. As noted, the property was purchased by Agnico-Eagle in 2007. To the best of our knowledge, no Community Wellness Report and Implementation Plan was ever produced under the terms of this agreement which was in effect until a new IIBA was signed with Agnico-Eagle in 2011.

The current *Meadowbank Mine Inuit Impact and Benefit Agreement* is an agreement between Agnico-Eagle and the Kivalliq Inuit Association (Appendix 3). The Kivalliq communities covered by the report include the hamlets established under the laws of Nunavut that are known as Baker Lake, Chesterfield Inlet, Rankin Inlet, Arviat, Whale Cove, Repulse Bay and Coral Harbour. It contains 13 Schedules.

Schedule A deals with implementation of the agreement. There are four members on the Implementation Committee. Until December 2013, the KIA Board Member from Qamani'tuaq was Elder Norman Attungala. Another is the General Manager of the Meadowbank mine. The committee is responsible for seeing that the terms and conditions of the Agreement are implemented and that the studies called for under the agreement are conducted. It is responsible for providing information to the parties to the agreement—KIA and Agnico-Eagle—about activities related to the agreement that can be incorporated into news releases and information for Inuit and others. The Kivalliq Inuit Association website currently contains no information about the Meadowbank mine or the Agreement other than notice of a Meadowbank Scholarship Fund

available for Inuit students. This fund was first set up under the 2006 IIBA with Cumberland Resources for the amount of \$14,000 a year. There is no indication on the current (2013) KIA website of any other spending on community initiatives made possible by royalty payments made to KIA on behalf of community residents in the region.

The website for the Kivalliq Inuit Association (2013) reveals that there are currently no women on the board of KIA. The *Inuit Impact and Benefit Agreement* does not contain any sections that deal specifically with the needs of women in relation to the expected socio-economic and cultural impacts of the mine. *Subsection A9* establishes an Implementation Committee Working Group of two people; one from KIA and the other from the mine.

Subsection A12 outlines the day-to-day responsibility that the Committee has for the Agreement and for reporting on any problems arising from the operation of the mine in relationship to the Agreement. Agnico-Eagle (AEM) is responsible for producing an Implementation Report due April 1 of each year that the Agreement is in force.

Section C3 of the Agreement outlines the responsibilities of the KIA-appointed Impact Benefit Agreement Coordinator. This includes: (*Subsection E*) assisting KIA with delivery of programs as described under Schedule L. Schedule L deals with economic, social and cultural wellness. L1 outlines the intent of the Schedule. KIA and AEM are to collaborate with a Kivalliq Regional Socio-Economic Monitoring Committee to monitor and mitigate *any* adverse economic, social or cultural impacts of the mine on Kivalliq Inuit. It commits KIA and AEM to assist in the development of a diverse economy in the region and the development of a strategy to assist Kivalliq Inuit in mitigating adverse social, cultural or economic impacts resulting from mine closure.

It also commits the parties to an annual report on the wellness of Inuit residents of Baker Lake (*Subsection L2*). Preparation of the report is not an option. The report is to draw its data from the annual report of the Socio-Economic Monitoring Committee submitted to the Nunavut Impact Review Board. *Subsection L2* also commits AEM to submit to KIA, by March 31 of 2012, and each subsequent March 31, a Wellness Report and Implementation Plan. *Subsection L3*,



obligates the Implementation Committee to review the Wellness Report and Implementation Plan and consult with the residents of Baker Lake and relevant government agencies to determine changes that need to be made to the plan.

The Content of a Community Wellness Report and Implementation Plan

The content of the Community Wellness Report and Implementation Plan is spelled out in Subsection L5. The list is a complete and a well-thought out indication of potential impacts and what needs to be addressed.

However, it does not include attention to the impacts on women. Given the position of women with respect to the mine and the responsibility that women have for children, it is reasonable to expect that affirmative action to address the needs of women is appropriate. The list of considerations includes, “in as much detail as practically possible”:

- (a) the state of the physical and mental health of the Inuit residents of Baker Lake;
- (b) the extent of alcohol and drug abuse in the community of Baker Lake;
- (c) personal and family relationships of the Inuit residents of Baker Lake, including any impacts attributable to employment at a remote work site under a rotational work schedule;
- (d) migration into or out of the community;
- (e) the prevalence and use of Inuktitut in the community of Baker Lake;
- (f) Inuit culture and traditional practices;
- (g) job satisfaction of the Inuit residents of Baker Lake employed at the Meadowbank Project;
- (h) management of personal finances by the Inuit residents of Baker Lake; and
- (i) any other aspect of the wellness of the Inuit residents of Baker Lake.

Section L13 also commits KIA to the establishment of a Community Economic Development Fund for use by Kivalliq communities impacted by the mine. These funds can be used by KIA, subsidiaries, Kivalliq communities or any third party. There is no information pertaining to this fund or how resources are being spent currently (September 2013) found on the website of the Kivalliq Inuit Association. There is considerable concern in Qamani'tuaq about the use of funds

made available to KIA in relation to the mine. This observation is also made by former graduate student Kelsey Peterson in a thesis examining the impact of mining on the community.¹¹

Additionally, public consultations about mining held in Baker Lake are not consistently attended by KIA executives (instead they see KIA staff members), despite KIA's position as the negotiator of the Inuit Impact-Benefit Agreement (IIBA) between Agnico-Eagle and the Kivalliq region (including Baker Lake). Several Baker Lake informants are frustrated with the secretive and clouded nature of KIA proceedings and wish they got more information about how the money from the IIBA with Meadowbank is being used.

Implementing the Community Wellness and Implementation Plan Provisions of the IIBA

In 2010, a team of researchers led by Ben Bradshaw, a geographer from the University of Guelph, visited Qamani'tuaq¹². It included Cathleen Knotsch, at the time with Inuit Tuttarvingat of the National Aboriginal Health Organization (NAHO). The research team spoke with representatives from a variety of sectors (education, health, municipal and other government departments) and populations (Elders and youth). They talked with 15 individuals from Qamani'tuaq and 6 in Rankin Inlet. They also met with 12 Elders in Qamani'tuaq. They enquired about the positive and negative impacts of the mine and what was needed to improve health and community well-being, the focus being the Meadowbank mine. They reported that:

Most of the comments the team heard about the mine's impact on human health described negative consequences. Although participants expressed great appreciation for existing health services and programs, they still noted shortcomings in the provision of health services and persistent difficulty in accessing doctors and hospitals as negative impacts, along with increased drug and alcohol abuse and addiction, spousal abuse, and domestic violence. The need for more mental health services and locally offered addiction treatment was mentioned repeatedly. Mental health counselling was also seen as a need at the mine site, with the expectation that this service would be provided by the mine owners.¹³

They also noted that:

¹¹ Peterson, Kelsey. (2012) *Experiences of Mining in Baker Lake, Nunavut*. Master of Arts Thesis, University of Guelph Ontario, April 2012. p. 119.

¹² Cathleen Knotsch, Ben Bradshaw, Maatalii Okalik, Kelsey Peterson. *Research and information needs concerning community health impacts and benefits from mining – A 2010 community visit report*. Available at: http://www.naho.ca/documents/it/2011_Research-Needs-Mining-Community-Health.pdf.

¹³ *Ibid.* p .9.

Sexually transmitted infections (STIs) were mentioned as being on the rise. The increased prevalence of STIs is seen as a negative impact resulting from the presence of migrant mine workers at the mine and in the community. This scenario is felt as a negative impact from being close to the mine. The presence of previously unknown street drugs in the community as well as a perceived increase in drug use is seen as a direct negative impact from the mine.¹⁴

With regard to family and community well-being they reported, among other things, that the shift work at the mine was disruptive of family life and was contributing to increased substance abuse, jealousy, family violence, child neglect, poor performance in school for children and less opportunity for traditional activities. Risks to Elders and their neglect were noted.

No report, meeting the requirement of the IIBA that one be submitted by March 31, 2012, was undertaken. The decision was made, with the agreement of Agnico-Eagle, that this was best done cooperatively by Ben Bradshaw and the Hamlet of Baker Lake. The research team from the University of Guelph commenced their approach to putting a Wellness Report together in July of 2012.

The events during the summer of 2012 related to the attempt to put together a Wellness Report consistent with what was called for in the 2011 IIBA.¹⁵ Efforts involved the work of two graduate students from the University of Guelph. The report of the community visit, available on the NAHO website, noted the efforts of Kelsey Peterson in 2011 and a report submitted to the Baker Lake Hamlet Council on April 27, 2012 called ‘Community experiences with mining in Baker Lake.’ This report has never been released.

The reasons why are not entirely clear. It may be the case that the subject matter was ‘off-putting’ for the council. Drawing attention to the negative impacts of mining activity among those who see mining as the ‘wave of the future’ in terms of the economic development of Nunavut is, understandably, a concern for those interested in further investment and development.

The report addressed many of the negative impacts that mining has had on the community and raised issues about alternative economic development and education. One of the difficulties southern researchers have in addressing the impacts and difficulties Inuit residents of Nunavut experience, is a failure to integrate the intergenerational trauma associated with colonial history

¹⁴ *Ibid.* p. 10.

¹⁵ The ‘Summary of the University of Guelph Activities in Support of the Generation of an Annual Wellness Report for the Hamlet of Baker Lake’, dated October 16, 2012, is part of a report submitted by the Socio-economic Monitoring Committee. The summary is available at:
<http://nunavutsemc.com/sites/default/files/20121016BakerLakeWellnessUpdate.pdf>.

into their analysis of social issues confronting Inuit. The other need is for northern researchers to better understand, appreciate and respect Inuit cultural practices. The content of the report, however, is available in the form of a thesis written by Kelsey Peterson.¹⁶

Another Guelph student researcher, Sophie Maksimowski, in the summer of 2012 put together material, based on interviews and focus groups, to be used in developing wellness indicators. A commitment was made to produce a Wellness Report by March 31, 2013. By March 31 of 2013, what had been produced was a report entitled ‘Developing Community Wellness Indicators in the Hamlet of Baker Lake.’ The report was included as Appendix K1 of the Meadowbank Gold Project Annual Report for the year 2012.¹⁷ (Appendix 4) The result is a very complete list of indicators that could be used to assess the social and cultural impacts of the mine on the community.¹⁸ The plan was to return to Baker Lake to complete the project in January of 2013. In the 2012 annual report, Appendix K clearly states what was supposed to happen.

The completion of an assessment of Hamlet wellness, based on the developed wellness indicators, is the primary task of 2013-14. This assessment will be reported to the KIA for the March 31st 2014 Annual Wellness Report, along with existing evidence of Hamlet wellness from secondary sources of information, as per Appendix 1.

The assessment was to be based on a census-style questionnaire administered to all households in the Hamlet. This questionnaire was to be developed by the study team, with guidance from the steering committee, based on the wellness indicators developed in January 2013. This household survey was supposed to be repeated on a biennial basis in order to generate evidence of Hamlet wellness over time.¹⁹ This did not happen.

Agnico-Eagle mines covered the absence of a ‘Community Wellness and Implementation Plan’ in its 2011-12 Annual Monitoring Report by appending the report detailing indicators that could

¹⁶ Kelsey Peterson. (2012) Community Experiences of Mining in Baker Lake, Nunavut. Master’s thesis. Department of Geography, University of Guelph Ontario.

¹⁷ Agnico-Eagle. (2012) *Meadowbank Gold Project Annual Report*. Available at: <http://ftp.nirb.ca/01-SCREENINGS/COMPLETED%20SCREENINGS/2011/11EN010-AEM-Pipedream%20%26%20IVR%20Exploration/05-ANNUAL%20REPORT/130426-11EN010-2012%20Annual%20Report-IA1E.pdf>.

¹⁸ Another difficulty with the work is that the list would require an extremely long and potentially complicated instrument and a demanding interview and schedule in order to produce information relevant to all of the indicators. The number and length of interviews and the questions such a process might have raised may also have been a concern and factor in the decision by the Council of Qamani’tuaq not to proceed.

¹⁹ 2011-2012 Annual Monitoring Report for Agnico-Eagle Mines Ltd’s Meadowbank Gold Project. Appendix K, Page 4. Available at: <ftp://ftp.nirb.ca/03-MONITORING/03MN107-MEADOWBANK%20GOLD%20MINE/03-ANNUAL%20REPORTS/01-NIRB/2012/1-REPORT/121207-03MN107-NIRB%202011-2012%20Monitoring%20Report-OT2E.pdf>.

be used to evaluate socio-economic and cultural impacts. (Appendix 5) Otherwise, they simply stated, in reference to the report on potential indicators, that: “AEM has also had a representative on the Kivalliq Socio-Economic Monitoring Committee. This committee has a mandate to monitor and report on industry’s performance in hiring local labour, supporting local business and otherwise contributing to the growth and development of Kivalliq society. A report from the committee was provided to the NIRB on June 25, 2012.”²⁰

In summary, a Community Wellness Report and Implementation Plan for the community has not been done, despite being negotiated with the first IIBA back in 2006. Further work on such a report and plan appears to have been suspended by the Qamani’tuaq Hamlet Council. Agnico-Eagle, as a result of its decision to entrust the preparation of the report to a cooperative agreement between the Hamlet and Professor Bradshaw of Guelph University, appears to be in breach of commitments found in the Inuit Impact and Benefit Agreement it has with the Kivalliq Inuit Association.

The Kivalliq Inuit Association has no information with regard to socio-economic and cultural impacts on its website. KIA also has no information posted regarding community economic development in relation to the Community Economic Development Fund created under the Agreement. There is no public information as to what money has been made available to KIA to address socio-economic and cultural concerns and how these funds have been spent.

Agnico-Eagle has gone as far as submitting the indicators report ‘Developing Community Wellness Indicators in the Hamlet of Baker Lake’ in addressing its obligations in its 2012 Annual Report to the Nunavut Impact Review Board. The Board does not appear to have noted or commented on the absence to date of a Community Wellness Report and Implementation Plan in responding to the Agnico-Eagle report. Furthermore, the Nunavut Impact Review Board, in specifying what it requires of proponents for development projects in Nunavut—including mines—does not have any requirements that the impacts and implications of proposed projects for Inuit women be specifically addressed.

Agnico-Eagle has indicated that problems related to absenteeism and labour turnover—and associated costs to production—are factors in its decision to plan for closing down the mine in 2017, three years ahead of schedule.²¹ The research presented in this report strongly suggests that problems with absenteeism and labour turnover are related to social impacts of mining that have never been addressed in the community of Qamani’tuaq.

²⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 13 & 14.

²¹ Jim Bell. (2012) “Meadowbank a reality check for Nunavut mining: AEM executive.” *Nunatsiaq News Online*. April 20.

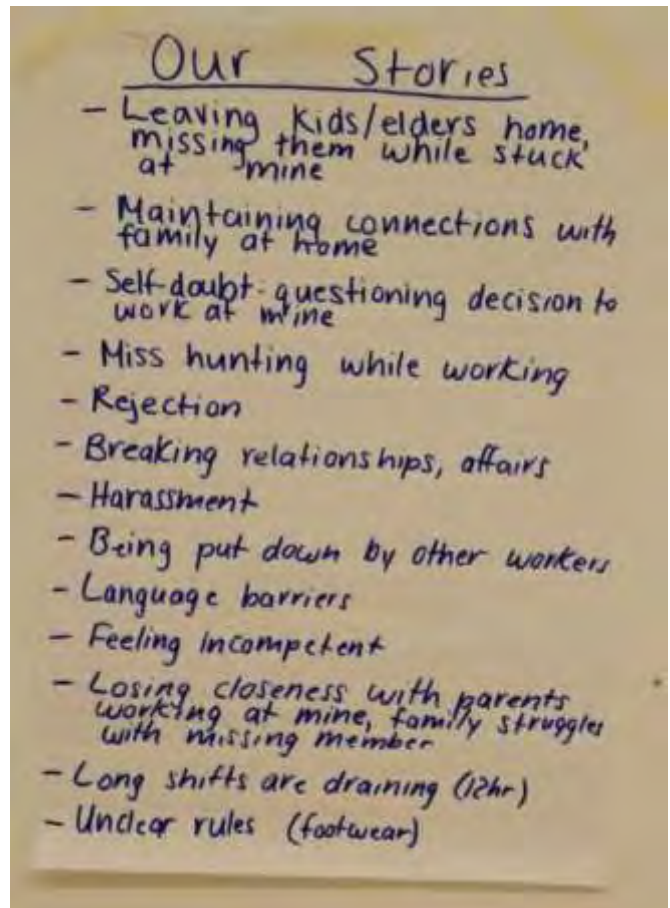
QUALITATIVE RESEARCH RESULTS

The following section is a thorough analysis of the qualitative data acquired throughout the course of this research project. The data is from three sources. These include the content of the training workshop held in February of 2013, focus groups that were held with Inuit women in the community in mid to late February, 2013 and interviews with key community informants conducted from March to May 2013.

The focus groups and interviews were transcribed professionally and then coded by the principal investigator and research assistant. This was done by reading the transcripts and noting the subject matter under discussion in the wide right-hand margin of the page on which the transcript was printed. We then reviewed the subject matter we had noted and identified five general themes, each of which contained a number of sub-themes that were prominent in the texts we had surveyed.

These five themes comprise the sub-sections in this section of the report. They are: work environment, material well-being and income, impacts on family relations, addictions and socio-cultural concerns.

Drawing parallels between the literature reviewed and recurring topics in the data was also significant in determining the main themes to discuss. We first look at the work environment for women at Agnico-Eagle, including working conditions, health matters, the social location of employees and the cross-cultural nature of work at the mine. We then examine the material benefits and costs to women and families in Qamani'tuaq. The mine brings income to some community residents and organizations and has affected the material well-being of families and the community. With it comes benefits, such as financial independence and the capacity to acquire material goods that enhance lifestyles, as well as social and personal costs related to the creation of 'haves and have-nots' and forms of consumption—including alcohol, drugs and gambling—that are self-destructive. The next section looks at the effects of the mine's location and work scheduling on family relationships and community health. Drugs, alcohol and gambling were issues that crossed all aspects of discussion and are intertwined with the impacts



outlined by women participating in the workshop and focus groups, as well as community informants, as noted in preceding sections. The last theme discussed is socio-cultural change, with particular attention to the socio-cultural changes and transformations noted by social service workers in relation to the mine. Comments from the women of Qamani'tuaq are displayed in italics.

The Work Environment

Introduction

What is work like? How do women feel about the social relations, the opportunities and possibilities associated with working in the industry? How are Inuit women treated? What do women encounter in the workplace in terms of the physical or material conditions they must address in the course of their duties? What are the personal, social and psychological implications of these experiences?

The answers to these questions can be found in quotes documented in this section. They include comments by women who have had direct experience working at the Meadowbank operation, as well as quotes from community informants in Qamani'tuaq who were asked to share their experiences and impressions of how the lives of Inuit women and families have changed since the opening of the mine.



Cultural Understanding and Gender Sensitivity

How culturally informed are employees of the Meadowbank operation that Inuit women interact with on a day-to-day basis? Here are some thoughts and observations from the community informants identified in the introduction to this section. *I know that a lot of women were badly treated at the mine by the other miners.* This quote suggests that it may be more than cultural understanding or misunderstanding that affects the work environment for women. In a very male-oriented industry, addressing sexist attitudes, as well as cultural understanding, as part of the orientation of employees is important, as pointed out by another informant. *So, I think the one thing that's much needed is cultural sensitive training with the mining companies.*

Cultural practices – in this case the hierarchical organization of the workplace – intersect with the reality of different cultures working together in the same physical space. Inuit women are experiencing relations of power and authority that can be identified, not only with cultural (and personal) practices, but also with ‘ways of doing things’ that are foreign to a culture that is still comparatively ‘flat’ in terms of hierarchies, power and authority. This is suggested by the following quote from a focus group participant. *It's not just Quebecers and Inuit; it's Quebecers and English Canadians. And even it goes from, uh, this department is higher ranked than that department, and this, this person has more seniority than that person.*

Language differences also generate some tensions and misunderstandings, making it possible for people to ‘talk behind the backs’ of others. ... *he never did anything; they're just talking with their own language, moving their lips looking at me; I can see their, their lips move and talking about me.*

Sometimes, cultural differences, language and the exercise of power and authority are all present. This is illustrated by the following quote from a woman who deals with language, responds by ‘giving the finger’ to Quebecois employees and reveals her frustration with a hierarchy where Inuit are not treated as equal participants in the team of which they are supposed to be members. *So I ask, I saw lots of French guys sitting on the couch talking along. I tried to ask, “Which one of you working in the ... lab?” They just talking in his own language, trying to smile. “Is one of you working in the lab?” They all start talking, laughing away. So I did this to them and they all walked out. No Inuit, nothing. And then I went to H.R. Audrey ..._French lady, “I heard you did middle finger last night?” “Yeah, I did. That's true.” “Why did you do that?” “Every time when we have meeting, every morning they say teamwork; that's not even a teamwork; that's why I'm upsetting.” That's not right to do that. Are you guys French people trying to step on your feet on our head, treat us like dirt?*

Inuit culture has always been one in which Elders were afforded considerable respect. Another interesting problem identified by a focus group participant, created by the ‘bracketed’ experience of the mine, is the possibility for young Inuit employees, removed from the community, to talk about Elders in ways that would likely be more uncommon in the community. *Don't they have to*

have respect older people, the young people? They seem changed up there. But here it's okay, but up there they're just too much young people; they're too much trying to put older people down. I tried to, I tried to talk back.

Personal Growth, Training and Experience

The work environment of the mine has also afforded Inuit women opportunities they have not previously had: not only opportunities for training, but experiences where training received results in employment and financial reward. Many of those interviewed and participating in focus groups commented on these important opportunities. One community professional observed: *I see some of my family, immediate and extended family who has had an opportunity to train and start work, as well as, my clients being hired - some of my clients who have never really worked at all. Some clients who have been totally dependent on income support.*

And through employment, it has made a benefit to those that have been seeking to go higher...by permanently becoming an employee and going up higher levels through training, and the company has provided that. With regard to the impact on women, one community informant observed that employment has: *made a positive impact on their (women's) confidence and their ability to focus on the future.*

One social service worker in the community observed: *... there's more women working...there's a lot of men working up there as well...there's not a lot of high-paying jobs, and so I found that it's really given some women a chance to, to get a good job and to provide for their family. ...a lot of women now driving trucks...they also do...a lot of work in the kitchen or in housecleaning. And I've also seen a lot of young people who haven't been able to get jobs anywhere are also working.*

Another informant also focused on the impact of the mine and employment on youth. *You'd have the women in school right now who see it as a fantastic way to gain independence and maintain independence through employment. ...they see this local employer and they have something to work towards. ...if you're a youth, and you see that you can do something locally and not have to move away from home to be able to do it, then that's got to be a light at the end of the tunnel.*

It is important to remember that the Meadowbank mine is to be closed in 2017. This reality was not, in our opinion, often taken into consideration when talking about the long-term benefits of the presence of the mine and the motivation that it might provide to young people in considering the future.

However, a considerable amount of frustration was expressed by women who had previously or were presently working at the mine. Opportunities for advancement and movement from low or no-skill positions to higher ones are sometimes seen as limited or thwarted by other realities, as suggested by the following quotes from focus group participants. Frustration was expressed by one woman who was promised an advancement that never materialized. *I went to a different*

department 'cause I was promised, promised that if I go to this department...you can work your way up. She also felt that promises of promotion and advancement were not always honoured. When the mine opened I was told that if I work there I can go up faster. I didn't go up faster, I stayed down ... Reference was also made to sexual favours playing a role in how one woman was promoted. Later on I found out that so-and-so used her resources. That's why she got good favours with...I didn't know that we could do, use our resources to move....That's why I quit. If I am going to have to go sleeping around I'm not doing it. Again, the concept of a hierarchy (seniority) as a criteria for advancement was identified as a source of frustration. ...wouldn't I have seniority? They always told me: It goes by seniority. Well if it goes by seniority...I couldn't take it anymore.

The reality for some women is that their family situation (background and history in Qamani'tuaq) determines whether or not they can easily find employment in the community. If a woman comes from a family with a history of substance abuse, this might be a strike against her. This is not a factor in hiring for the mine, as one participant notes. *I only get casual jobs. It's better; I find that with the mine open they don't look at my family background.*

Qamani'tuaq is a community that has, historically, experienced considerable unemployment and lower than average (for Nunavut) family incomes. It is not a community that benefits from being a regional or administrative center or from the devolution to communities of a major government department like health, social services, housing or education. The employment opportunity offered by the mine is worthy of note. *...the employment wise it's been good. Uh, the people who have never had employment before have employment today's.* However, as evident from the content of the following section, the benefits do not come without costs and for Inuit women these costs are specific and gender specific.

Sexual Harassment and Gendered Aspects of Employment



While a few women work on the truck haul crew, it is not surprising that most women work in housekeeping, laundry and as kitchen staff. Housekeeping is an activity that sets women up for many of the problems they experience working at the mine. It brings them into close proximity with a predominantly male workforce and the spaces they occupy while living and working at the mine.

The specific work experiences and encounters of many of the women who participated in the workshop and in the focus groups were often anything but pleasant. Many of these women, while acknowledging the benefits of having a job, also recognized the downside of employment.

There are two notable ‘downsides’ to mine employment that emerge from the interviews and focus groups. The most obvious is sexual harassment and, simply put, dirty and compromising work in conjunction with the day-to-day practices embodied in a work culture dominated by men. The second, discussed in the next section, are the implications for children and family, and relationships with spouses and partners.

What follows is a string of quotes, primarily from one of the focus group participants who was adept at speaking openly and frankly about incidents which other women in the group appreciated, in that they were familiar with and/or had similar experiences, but about which they were not always comfortable talking. What emerges from these focus groups and interviews are aspects of working in a mine that are seldom talked about and that rarely appear in print.

Some of the guys pee in pop cans and water bottles...even in the garbage cans. Lazy to get out of bed to go use the washroom. ...I'm not picking those up. Even if I get paid to. More than once I refused to go in some of the rooms.

Semen. Like in the sink...or in garbage cans, or in the shower...they're worse than kids.

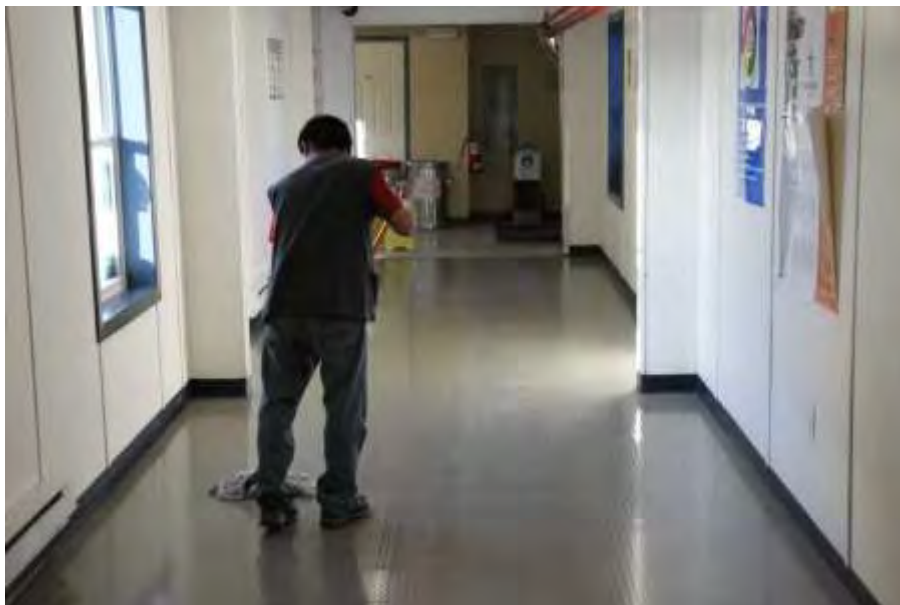
I was given permission to leave one room for two days. That taught him not to do that to me anymore. He left me 'presents' every day. [Putting it like that] was the only way to get my supervisor to come see: "Hey can you come and see the presents that guy keeps leaving me?" ...she wanted to know what the present was. So she came, and as soon as I opened the door: Ohhh. [The smell]. And I got that every day.

This one guy; I knocked when he was nightshift; I always call him the creepy stalker...other guys call him my French poodle...he's French. He followed me like a lost puppy everywhere I went...I knocked on his door. Every time he opened the door...It was like he tried to sleep in on purpose 'cause he knew I was the housekeeper...He'd open the door every time I knocked, butt naked. So I got one of the janitors to...go knock. He didn't believe... So he goes walking in, and he starts banging on the door; and the creepy stalker opens the door. "Ahhhhh" and just walks away without saying anything. And he looks at me: "fucking bitch". He made sure his alarm clock worked. I heard the janitor mumble "fucking small"!

Sometimes doors and locks have failed, trapping housekeepers in bathrooms and showers. After some women had recounted their experiences (some of which were the source of a lot of humour), another focus group participant noted: *I'm not the only person who got locked in the bathroom.* Another participant stated that: *I'll go back as housekeeper. It's a safe job.*

One of the community informants listed the following as concerns that she had with respect to Inuit women's experiences: *The harassment of just walking around and just the general undignified behaviour. The names that women are being called and the expectations. Yeah we've heard a lot about that. The women are afraid to take it to the human rights because they're going to lose their jobs, and that's a pretty powerful obstacle. But it's true, yeah, I believe that sexual assault is happening as a matter of fact up at the mines.* While this was an opinion ("I believe"), these serious concerns were voiced by someone in a position to know more precisely about serious incidents occurring at the mine. *We've had a number of women coming in and telling us about rapes. There were rapes. I mean they weren't just somebody who changed their mind, it was somebody who was actually raped up there.*

Sexual relations among those working at the mine have generated other concerns. The way the following quote is framed suggests that the information provided is speculative (*I have heard ...*). *I have heard that, you know, there's sexual harassment problems and even, like, sexually transmitted infections that are big problems. So again, I think that's more education...needs to be done about those kind of things. And about relationships.* The extent to which this observation is speculative or has substance can only be verified by access to community-specific public health statistics which are not accessible. Community-specific statistics dealing with police files (types of incidents and rates, before and after the opening of the mine), as well as statistics dealing with public health matters, need to be examined in order to address questions about the adequacy of benefit agreements, public health and other programmes and the formulation of policies and practices related to the opening and operation of mines. This is a serious, as-yet unaddressed need related to the social impacts of mining in Nunavut.



Labour Law, Women and Mine Employment

This section reviews labour law in Nunavut with attention to those sections and issues of particular relevance to Inuit women. As a workplace, mines and their facilities are conceptualized, designed and managed as workplaces primarily for men. Given the kind of labour most women find on a mine site (kitchen work, laundry and housekeeping), attention to regulation of the workplace is of critical importance. What in labour law ought to be of particular concerns to Inuit women? The *Labour Standards Act* of Nunavut is based on the 1988 legislation of the same name inherited from the Government of the Northwest Territories. The latest online version is a consolidation amended by the Statutes of Nunavut up to June 8, 2012.

The law is administered by the Labour Standards Compliance Office of the Nunavut Department of Justice. A Labour Standards Officer, appointed by the Commissioner of Nunavut, is responsible for ensuring compliance and dealing with complaints. A Labour Standards Board is also responsible for hearing complaints where the Labour Standards Officer cannot resolve them. The Board is also appointed, under section 44 of the legislation, by the Commissioner. Under section 44, the Commissioner may also appoint Inspectors under the Act. Their job is to ensure that an employer follows the legislation. Inspectors have a lot of discretionary power.

The *Labour Standards Act* is legislation that has not yet been translated into Inuktitut. Fact sheets summarizing the content of the legislation are available online at <http://www.nucj.ca>. The material online has not been updated recently. The minimum wage is indicated as \$10.00 an hour in the fact sheets. However, effective January 1, 2011, the minimum wage for Nunavut, indicated in the consolidated legislation found online, is \$11.00/hour [s 12 (1.1)].

The *Labour Standards Act* requires employers to keep complete **records of employment**. These deal with wages, official holidays taken, vacations, dates of the start and finish of employment, deductions made from wages, rates of pay and whether or not a person received a certain amount of their pay as compensation, in cases where a notice of termination of employment was not given.

When an employee is terminated, the Act states [s 14.03 (1)] that if that person has worked for the company 90 days or more, he or she is entitled to 2 weeks' notice of termination of employment. *If* the employer does not give 2 weeks' notice, the employer must give the person the equivalent of a maximum of 2 weeks of his or her pay instead [s 14.03 (4)]. The period of 90 days can be made up of shorter periods of work, provided the time between the periods of work is brief. In other words, the employee does not have to have worked 90 continuous days to be eligible for termination pay. However, the employee has to have worked at least 25 hours a week to be eligible. Where an employee has worked for 3 or more years, she or he has to be given an additional week of notice *or*, where notice is not given, an additional week of pay for every additional year of employment worked, up to a maximum of 8 weeks [s 14.03 (2)].

The legislation also specifies the **hours that an employee is permitted to work and the rate of pay** for overtime. The normal work week is 8 hours a day, 40 hours a week. However, an employee can work a maximum of 10 hours a day and 60 hours a week. In fact, an employee can work even longer hours if application is made and permission granted by the Labour Standards Officer [s 6 (1 b)]. Sunday is defined as a normal day of rest to which an employee is entitled. Any time worked above 40 hours a week is to be paid at 1.5 times the normal rate of pay [s 11 (1)]. There are some interesting sections of the legislation that affect overtime pay. For example, the hours worked can be averaged. In other words, if someone works more than 8 hours a day, but on other days works less than 8 hours, the hours worked can be *averaged* over a period of one or more weeks. The result affects overtime pay. Doing this requires the permission of the Labour Standards Officer [s 7 (1)].

Regulations associated with the legislation do not appear to be available online. Regulations associated with the legislation, according to the fact sheets published online by the Department of Justice, specify that an employee is entitled to a **30 minute meal break** after working for 5 hours. However, an employer can also get a waiver with regard to this regulation.



The *Labour Standards Act* specifies the **vacation pay** to be paid to employees. For the first five years, after one year of employment, the employee is entitled to two weeks of vacation and vacation pay calculated at a rate of 4% of her annual salary. After 5 years of earned vacation, she is entitled to three weeks of vacation and pay calculated at 6% of her annual salary. These amounts must be paid out a minimum of one day before the start of the vacation period. When a person quits or is terminated, she is entitled to be paid the vacation pay owing, up to the day she stops working. There are also 9 statutory holidays in Nunavut for which employees are to be paid. If the employee works a statutory holiday, she is entitled to a day off at a later date as compensation.

The legislation covers **pregnancy and parental leave as well as compassionate care** [Part V, sections 30-39]. Women who have worked 6 consecutive months with an employer are entitled to 17 consecutive weeks of unpaid leave immediately preceding the estimated date of the birth of a child, and maternal and paternal leave benefits that can be shared between parents following the birth or adoption of a child. Pregnancy leave, where a birth does not take place on the expected date, can be extended for up to 6 weeks. While the *Labour Standards Act* notes that this is unpaid leave, the expecting mother and the parents receive benefits available under the federal government's *Employment Insurance Act*. The rate of pay varies depending on the woman's rate of pay and insurance contributions. As of January 1, 2014, contributions 'max out' at \$48,600 a year. The maximum benefit would be \$514 a week. Following the birth or adoption of a child, parents are entitled to a total 37 consecutive weeks of leave to care for the child. The total length of time covered by benefits from the *Employment Insurance Act* is 52 weeks.

A woman can apply for pregnancy leave by submitting to the employer, if the employer requires it, a medical certificate signed by "a qualified medical practitioner or, in a community in Nunavut in which no qualified medical practitioner is resident, by a registered nurse, a nurse practitioner or a temporary certificate holder under the *Nursing Profession Act* (Northwest Territories)". This should be submitted to the employer at least 4 weeks before the woman expects to begin her pregnancy leave [s 31 (1) b]. Where a woman has had to leave employment suddenly for medical reasons and has not been able to follow these rules, she can submit this information to her employer within two weeks after she has stopped working [s 32].

A woman's rights related to pregnancy are covered by the *Canadian Human Rights Act* and the *Labour Standards Act* of Nunavut has to respect and be in-line with this legislation. A woman cannot lose her job because she is pregnant [s 38]. If someone has taken leave because she is pregnant and has followed this with parental leave, she is entitled to return to the same job she left at the same rate of pay. If a woman cannot perform her job because she is pregnant, the employer is under some obligation to negotiate with the woman to find another job or to change the routine or activity in order to meet her needs. Her rate of pay cannot change as a result of these accommodations. Under section 33 (1) of the *Labour Standards Act*, the Labour Standards Officer may, at the request of the employer, do an investigation and require an employee to take pregnancy leave where it is decided that the woman cannot perform her duties because of her

pregnancy. This clause would need to be exercised with extreme care, as such action could be interpreted, depending on circumstances, as a violation of section 3 (2) of the *Canada Human Rights Act*. As noted, women in this study reported that women had been ‘let go’ because they were pregnant. While raising this as a human rights issue is fine in principal, it should be noted that women participating in this study indicated a fear of raising any reference to the *Canadian Human Rights Act* for fear of losing their jobs.

Women are entitled to **compassionate care leave** to support an ill family member at risk of death within 26 weeks of the certificate in support of leave being issued or the day the leave was taken. The certificate must be issued by a “qualified medical practitioner” [s 39(2)]. This is unpaid leave for up to 8 weeks, with benefits being provided by Employment Insurance in much the same way and under similar financial terms to those for pregnancy leave. Employers cannot suspend or dismiss an employee for applying for or taking compassionate leave. The problem with the provisions for compassionate care leave in both the Nunavut *Labour Standards Act* and the Canadian *Employment Insurance Act* is that they do not recognize or respond to how Inuit define families. The definitions as to who constitutes a family member are restricted to nuclear or immediate family members.

Based on discussions in the workshop and focus groups with women, we have a number of concerns related to labour legislation in Nunavut. It appears, based on discussions with the Labour Standards Officer and material found on the website of the Labour Standards Compliance Office, that little has been done since 2006 to inform and educate Inuit with respect to provisions and procedures related to the legislation. In fact, the Labour Standards Officer indicates that since 2010, the only educational work he has been able to do has been at trade fairs attended by employers. As the Meadowbank Mine came into full operation in 2010, it appears that little, if anything of significance, has been done to help employees understand their rights and responsibilities under the legislation. Evidence of this can be found in comments and observations from women who noted problems with their pay and benefits related to the timely receipt of that to which they were entitled, and considerable confusion and complaints related to overtime. It is possible that averaging may have affected wages paid to some women, but no one seemed aware of averaging as an explanation for the pay they had received. As noted elsewhere, it was reported that women had been dismissed due to pregnancy. Of considerable significance, in discussing conditions of work and work experience, women did not make any reference to legislation or ‘rules’ or ‘the law’ in discussing conditions of work or employment; all of which suggests that Inuit women are generally unaware of the rights, responsibilities, benefits and conditions of work to which they are entitled.

Material Well-being/Income



Introduction

In this section we focus on changes in the material circumstances of Inuit women and families in Qamani'tuaq. Attention is paid to both the benefits and the costs associated with material well-being. Qamani'tuaq, not unlike Nunavut communities outside the capital (Iqaluit) and regional administrative centers (Rankin Inlet in the Kivalliq Region), has suffered, historically, from low levels of employment, a lack of opportunities for youth and average household incomes below territorial averages.

Some measure of the material well-being of Qamani'tuamiut prior to the opening of the mine can be found in the 2006 census data from Statistics Canada, released March 13, 2007.²² The average before tax income for Qamani'tuamiut (male and female) over 15 years of age in 2005 was \$26,736, compared with a territorial average of \$26,848. For those who worked a full year, the average was \$54,378, compared to a territorial average of \$58,088. These figures include all employees in Qamani'tuaq, Inuit and Qablunaat, with Qablunaat likely receiving considerably more in salary than the average Inuk employee, given their higher levels of education and the

²² Employment statistic and data on household incomes for Qamani'tuaq (Baker Lake) for 2006 can be found at: <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2006/dp-pd/prof/rel/Rp-eng.cfm?TABID=1&LANG=E&APATH=3&DETAIL=0&DIM=0&FL=A&FREE=0&GC=0&GID=776948&GK=0&GRP=1&PID=94533&PRID=0&PTYPE=89103&S=0&SHOWALL=0&SUB=0&Temporal=2006&THEME=81&VID=0&VNAMEE=&VNAMEF=&D1=0&D2=0&D3=0&D4=0&D5=0&D6=0>

senior positions they occupy in the community. The presence of many Qablunaat at senior administrative levels of government also skews the territorial average.

Of some interest, in 2005 the median (statistically in the middle) income for women was \$16,512, slightly more than the median income for men (\$15,232). The average income for women was \$27,040 and for men, \$26,451. Census data also reveals that the percentage of income accounted for by transfer payments (social assistance, pensions, etc.) was greater for Qamani'tuaq than the average for Nunavut (15.1 vs. 11.2%) and that the unemployment rate in 2006 was higher (18.9% vs. 15.6%). For men, the unemployment rate was worse than for women, being 23.6% vs. 13.6% for women. Comparable figures for Nunavut as a whole were 17.8% for men and 13% for women. Given approximate similarities among communities (excepting regional centres like Rankin Inlet and Iqaluit) in terms of the mix of Inuit and Qablunaat populations, these figures are significant.

In 2011, according to Statistics Canada²³, the unemployment rate in Qamani'tuaq was 19%. In 2006, the official unemployment rate was 18.9%. In other words, the opening of the mine in 2010 had no impact on the unemployment rate in the community. This suggests that even with significant developments like the Meadowbank mine, industrial activity and the demand for labour can barely keep up with the rate of recruitment of young people into the labour force. It may also indicate a number of other things: that the presence of the mine brought into the labour force Inuit who were not actively looking for work in 2006, realizing that little opportunity was available to them. The unemployment rate for men declined from 23.6% in 2006 to 21.3% in 2011, and the unemployment rate for women increased from 13.6% to 15.7%. This may suggest that more women were actively seeking employment at the mine and were having difficulty getting hired. The 2011 data indicates that 125 people from the community were employed in the oil, gas and mineral sectors - 95 men and 30 women.

Comparative data is revealing. For Canada as a whole, government transfers accounted for an average of 7.9 % of men's income in 2010 and 16.6% of women's income.²⁴ For Qamani'tuaq, these figures were 8.5 % and 20 % respectively. Between 2005 and 2010, the average wage for men in Qamani'tuaq increased by 56.07 % (from \$26,451 to \$41,282). The average wage for women increased by 27.49%, less than half that for men (from \$27,040 to \$34,472). It is clear that the mine has hugely advantaged men in terms of employment and income. The average wage in Qamani'tuaq in 2010 was \$38,035. The Canadian average was \$47,868.

²³ Employment statistics and data on household incomes for Qamani'tuaq (Baker Lake) for 2011 can be found at: <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/nhs-enm/2011/dp-prof/details/page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo1=CSD&Code1=6205023&Data=Count&SearchText=Baker%20Lake&SearchType=Begins&SearchPR=01&A1=All&B1=All&TABID=1>.

²⁴ Statistics Canada, 2011, Available at: <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/89-503-x/2010001/article/11388/tbl/tbl005-eng.htm>

In 2005, 82.38% of the population above 15 years of age in Qamani'tuaq with income (965 people) had incomes of less than \$50,000 a year. 17.62% had incomes in excess of \$50,000. The comparable figures in 2010 are 71.61% with incomes less than \$50,000 a year and 28.39% in excess of \$50,000. Given that the number of GN employees in Qamani'tuaq earning high salaries didn't change significantly between 2005 and 2010, it may be that the considerable increase in incomes over \$50,000 a year is attributable to direct and indirect employment related to the mine. While the presence of the mine has increased the income of Qamani'tuamiut, the benefit to the economy from the mine may also have contributed to a growth in the income inequality existing in the community. This is discussed further in the results section dealing with Material Well-being/Income.

Positive and Negative Experiences with Employment and Income



The benefits of having a job and income from the mine are obvious to people who work in social services in Qamani'tuaq.

That's, um, the things I see, um, some of the pros are some of the clients who has never owned any, um, equipment like ATV, four-wheelers, snowmobiles, trucks, uh, stuff like that; they're able to purchase those kind of things now. They don't need to wait for their income support cheque. Um, at the same time, uh, they're able to go out and provide for their family on their two weeks in, like go out hunting and, or else help other family members and stuff. Um, so that's a good part about having an income.

One of the problems in dealing with social impacts is that many of the more negative impacts are private and temporary matters. Therefore, these impacts are comparatively unseen or unheard. An incident involving alcohol and a domestic dispute, a child who has no after school care for a few days because of inadequate or failed childcare arrangements, a refrigerator that is empty while money goes towards the purchase of a new outboard motor, an affair – all of these are intangible and mostly hidden, but nonetheless real. The benefits, on the other hand, are often publicly visible and ‘ever present’: a new truck, a boat, a snow machine, a house, a new wide-screen television or furniture in a living room visited by friends and relatives.

As with the previous quote, the community informant quoted below uses the presence of more trucks in the community as evidence of material benefit. *But, you know, for a lot of families it has provided a lot of money. I know is just in the four years since I've been here when I first came there were a lot of ATVs. ... Now it, the majority of them are trucks. So people are able to afford a lot more things. And: Uh, I've seen and I've heard, um, that most women who are working at the mine are, buy their, uh, house, uh, like, uh, their husbands some snow machines, or something like trucks, Ski-Doos, a lot more, and just, um, they have been also helping so many ways, and paying bills, and yes there is also, uh, advantages and disadvantages in both ways.*

How informants view benefits from the mine should also be understood as a function of their own relationship to the mine. If a husband or wife or relative is working at the mine and assuming that the informant holds his or her job because they are functioning at a level such that they can retain the position, the positive effects of income are likely to weigh heavily in the overall perception and understanding of the relative costs and benefits to the community of the mine.

The following quote is best understood with this consideration in mind. Reference to “have stuck with the company” is perhaps best appreciated in relation to statistics on labour turnover at the mine. *Um, people are more happier when there's more food 'cause it's a way of providing food on the table. Uh, able to pay bills, um, get new clothing, um—quite a few families are happy compared to maybe seven years ago. ... Those that have stuck with the company are happy and you hear of bonuses coming to people, and they are buying, um, large items, snowmobiles, Hondas, boats. It's a good thing to do and watch. That's all I can say.*

Visual signs of wealth have other effects on a small community. While nothing new, this does constitute an ongoing aspect of change where historically, differences in ‘wealth’ among Inuit were minimal. What was valued was immaterial; the hunting skills of someone on whom a family or extended family depended for survival, the ability to tell a good story or to sew a good pair of waterproof kamiks. Since the 1970s, material wealth has signified difference among Inuit and Inuit families. The objects that money can buy – particularly those of size and substance – are both symbolic and real indicators of class formation among Inuit and residents of communities like Qamani'tuaq. The resources made available through employment at the

Meadowbank facility continue a trend in class formation and the creation of differences within a culture where this relationship with material objects was largely unknown.

It is evident from more negative or ‘reluctantly positive’ impressions of impacts, that there are widely differing perceptions about the material benefits versus the social costs attributable to the presence of the mine. For this reason, research that has access to community information that can provide a statistical picture of what is happening is needed. This research would be an essential tool in refining and negotiating benefit agreements and in targeting the funds so that maximum benefit is derived from them and the most serious problems faced by communities affected by mining are addressed.

While most community informants identified positive impacts of mining on women and families in Qamani’tuaq, it is interesting to note that their comments were overwhelmingly conditional. They often mentioned or alluded to the negative impacts ‘in the same breath’, suggesting that the overall extent to which some Inuit have benefited from employment at the mine is, when social costs are considered, debatable. One professional observed: *I think there might be some positive outcomes too. Like some people have been able to purchase homes because they now have sufficient income. And some people actually have stuck with their jobs, um, and are supporting their families and are very good about looking after their children with the money that they’re making at the mine. So it’s not all negative that ...* This comment followed a discussion about the negative impacts on the community and the use of the words “*I think*” – in other words “I am not sure ...” is revealing.

This is a perspective – attention to both positive and negative aspects of having more income – also found in the comments made by focus group participants. Many of them were ‘in touch’ with both positive and negative impacts. *There are blessings given to us from the mine and yet a mixture of, um, misfortunes, I would suppose that’s the word. Um, we’ve been able to, um, get new things; not all the time, but more food, more camping supplies. It supplied us with hunting and fishing in a better way. And yet it’s given us enough to supply for alcohol and it encouraged us a little bit more to enjoy with friends.*

The idea that work is solely a means to an end, and not necessarily something enjoyable in its own right, is captured by the following comment from another community informant who is knowledgeable about the relations between Inuit and the mining company. *It has given more, a lot more people jobs or a career that they enjoy or do not enjoy but gladly making money for their children or for themselves, pay off bills, buy what they need.*

What seems, from the data, to be important in interpreting Inuit experience, is that not unlike anyone who has been chronically unemployed in Qablunaat society, having found employment is a good thing. *Some clients who have been totally dependent on income support are now working, and they’re able to provide for their families.* However, what is different for Inuit is the cultural

and historical context within which employment opportunities occur. Without attention to these, the benefits of employment, and the struggle to realize those benefits, are not easily appreciated.

There are a number of considerations that change the benefit dimension of employment for Inuit, not commonly associated with the experience of finding employment in Qablunaat culture, where someone is finding employment after a long period of being without work. These are a history of colonialism and relations to power and authority which are often anything but pleasant; the residential school experience or a history of dealing with authoritarian and insensitive settlement managers, etc. A history of dealing with the feelings (anger) and relations resulting from this history may have involved alcohol or substance abuse. The individual may have a very limited history with the idea of wage employment, other than casual or seasonal work. She may be unaccustomed to regular work hours, life away from family and time defined by the agenda and needs of someone other than oneself (one's employer) or one's family. The extent to which these considerations impact upon the employment experience will vary with the age, gender and experience of the person who has found work.

These considerations are all relevant to the following observations from community informants.

There is positives of having extra income that affects quality of life for those that want to work at it and choose to want to have a better quality of life. Whereas some of those that never had anything have a bit of money now, and they misuse it and they abuse it.

And when they are back quite often there's substance abuse and that kind of thing because they have money that they can use to purchase those types of things.

Our, our drinking increased 'cause we had more money, and, and wanting to do that order on a weekly basis was higher 'cause we can afford it now with the extra change we have in the pocket.

On a personal level it has made a difference in the lives of the day-to-day need of the people within the community. Whether it be through food, clothing, alcohol and/or drugs.

How Money Gets Spent

The history of money and Inuit is important to appreciating the difficulties that some Inuit might have managing – and perhaps more importantly, understanding – money; what it is, how it works and what role it plays in the Qablunaat and industrial society they are being encouraged to join. Until 1959, money was a rare commodity in the eastern Arctic. It was not until 1959 when the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) stopped using its token system and 'credit on the books' to pay for fox and other furs, that Inuit were exposed on a regular basis to the use of cash. Family Allowances were paid 'in kind' rather than cash – as a credit on the books of the HBC, until the early 1960s.



Wage employment has been sporadic and unreliable in most communities of the eastern Arctic, except in the case of government employment. Public service jobs were primarily occupied by Qablunaat until the creation of Nunavut Territory in 1999. Until recently, there were no banks in the communities of Nunavut and currently, banks are only present in regional centres – Iqaluit, Rankin Inlet and Ikaluktutiaq (Cambridge Bay). Inuit have little experience with money other than having it and being able to purchase things with it, either at one of two retail outlets in most communities – Northern Coops or The Northern Store (formerly the Hudson’s Bay Company) – or by mail order. If an understanding of money – what it really is, how it works in Qablunaat society (including the use of gold), what it means and how to manage it – is a problem for most Qablunaat, it is not surprising that money is even more of a mystery for Inuit.

While money is used to materially benefit those working at the mine, it is evident that it also facilitates many problems. None of these are unique to or can simply be attributed to the presence of the mine and the incomes it makes available to Qamani’tuamiut. *I’m not saying, again, I can’t marry it up to whether they had a problem before they got employed by the mine; maybe it’s just that they were predisposed to drinking or, or doing drugs before they got the job and now they just have, you know, the money’s there to continue their habits; but, um, you definitely do see a relationship there in people who have the money being able to buy alcohol or drugs.*

Money may contribute to problems in a relationship. A family member may be spending money on alcohol, drugs or gambling, to the objection of a spouse or other family member. Money can heighten problems that, as noted by the observer quoted above, were already present. One social service worker reported that in some cases where there is employment: *They, they either gamble, gamble it away, uh, spend it all on substances. Uh, some of the cons are, uh, it creates, um, negativity inside the home where money becomes an issue inside the home.*” Tensions in a household can result from the person earning an income and appropriating the funds for him or herself. *Maybe she’s not getting the cheque to buy food.*



Another community informant made similar observations. *For some people, that’s, you know, a lot of people invest their money into good things, like we said: the trucks, buying houses, and paying bills; but there’s always some people that spend their money on alcohol and drugs. I mean for a lot of people the money is a good thing, but for some people it gets used in ways that it shouldn’t. That causes a lot of pain.* This suggests that it would be both useful and interesting to be able to track a sample of families to get a better picture of how the income from employment at the mine is spent. What would such a profile look like?

One astute community informant observed that the household relationship to money changes over time. The comment is made about changing social relations in the community and is entirely consistent with the way money works in Qablunaat society. Money is something that is easily ‘individually held’ and as such, can contribute to the social isolation of individuals and families who no longer need the support and sharing arrangements that make extended families important in Nunavut and in situations where resources are scarce and people need to depend on

one another. *And the difference I see now, is, um, when they first start working up there, when they first get back because they're making money now, they're out and about and they're purchasing this, they're hanging around the stores, or they're going to restaurants, or taking their families out or whatever. And in, uh, two years later, what I see with the same individual, okay, is that you rarely ever see them outside. They spend more time inside.*

This follows a pattern commonly found in western-European, male-dominated cultures. The needs of men are more often met easily through individual and market-related products and activities. This includes things like boats, trucks, ATVs, outboard motors, pool tables and video games. This is not to say that women do not benefit from or enjoy these 'things.' But women also have a considerable responsibility for children and families. What women often need in order to feel comfortable, happy and to live fulfilled lives are facilities (playgrounds, daycare centres, etc.) and opportunities for their children, mental health services, educational opportunities, counselling and good health care. Women—like some men—need opportunities to sew, carve, paint and create. These are activities that struggle in an economy and culture committed to employment and the expenditure of wages on the 'things' that employment often produces. The result is often, for women, an unfair distribution of the resources and opportunities made available by economic activity. This seems to be the case in Qamani'tuaq. The only way to correct this is by ensuring that benefit payments are directed to the services and opportunities that women need. They cannot be subsumed under benefits and opportunities that are often defined by and directed at men. Women, for this reason, need a prominent place at the table in negotiating Impact Benefit Agreements.

Financial Literacy

As noted, Qamani'tuaq is a community that has no financial institutions. Many financial transactions are conducted through the Coop or Northern stores. Inuit needing a bank account often have one in Winnipeg, an arrangement that is inconvenient and cumbersome. Cashing personal cheques can be a problem if one does not have an account at either of these stores.

The result is also that Qamani'tuamiut do not benefit from the information and learning that the mere presence of a financial institution in a community makes possible. Most residents have little or no experience with the many services and options that financial institutions make available to their customers. Few Inuit appreciate the possibility of using money to make money. Few people truly understand what a mortgage is and how it works. There is no one in the community to provide professional financial advice to someone who might be curious, interested or in need of such a service. Few Inuit, for example, would understand what an 'economic multiplier' is and how money spent in Qamani'tuaq minimally benefits the community; as soon as a dollar is spent it heads 'south,' rather than circulating around the community, as a result of the purchase of goods and services that are 'made' in Qamani'tuaq. In short, how western capitalism (and money) works is not something Qamani'tuamiut are familiar with.

Women in Qamani'tuaq are – like all residents of the community – seriously disadvantaged relative to other Canadians as a result of the absence of banking services and/or workshops and events designed to help them understand and better manage (for those who are interested) the incomes made possible through employment at the mine. The problem is captured by the following quote from a community informant. *Um, where I think that the big change is, and it would be the same as any large employer coming to the community, would be the, the, uh, the amount of disposable income. And what do you do with that disposable income?*



Community informants also commented on specific practices of Agnico-Eagle in rewarding its employees. While the practice may be laudable, the absence of ‘financial literacy’ in the community means that good intentions lead to social problems. *So I would suggest that if the mines are going to be giving out these big bonuses then do it in the form of an R.R.S.P. or in something that’s long term, something or in stocks, give people some of their stocks. But this big lump of money going in, um, is only a temptation for abuse.*

This comment was further elaborated upon by connecting the paying of bonuses to the problem of alcohol and alcohol abuse. *I have a real problem with those huge bonuses being given around Christmas time and the summer time because this past Christmas it was, it was pretty bad, um, people were paying up to a thousand dollars for a, a forty ounce bottle of booze. And that - the police told me that. And I know of families who were working at the mine who didn’t buy their children a Christmas present.*

Women participating in the focus groups add personal experience to the observations made by community informants. The reference to ‘order’ in the following quote is a reference to ordering

alcohol, something more easily done and something easy to ‘slide into’ when money is seen to be comparatively plentiful and one sees only limited uses for it – the purchase of goods – including alcohol. *And when the mine came and employment within our household was a little bit more, we’re like: Hey, why don’t we go order, go order. Let’s go order. Like, it was like a pattern now.*

Some of the difficulties fully appreciating how finances work – what paying cash versus using credit means for what things really cost, for example – are suggested, if not spelled out, by the following quote from one focus group participant. *Oh, so far we’ve bought, um, large TVs; a few of them. Um, an outboard motor that went into financing, so that helped with a big motor, and that’ll take us out to the land and; um, and by the end of the year it opens up a chance of a good chunk of change for tax refund, so now’s the time to: “Oh, income tax time” because he was working with the company the income tax refund will probably be higher than before. It’s those things that we look forward to.*

Finally, the situation described above and the implications of a lack of financial services, advice and education around financial matters available to women in the community are captured by the following astute observation from one focus group participant. *Well, if I had a financial institution available to me and assist me in ways that would increase my financial stability it would benefit a lot. But I don’t have a financial institution where I can go to: “Hey, can you help me set up my financing? My goal is to, um, buy a snowmobile; I need you to help me do a personal financing.” I want to reach that goal, and we don’t have that here.*

Simply put, when women of Qamani’tuaq have been introduced to the opportunity to earn a significant wage as a result of the introduction of a mine to the community, resources should be devoted to assisting those who are interested in appreciating what money is, how it works, what it means and how best to manage their resources in the interests of themselves and their families. What Inuit women of Qamani’tuaq deserve and what they are asking for are the financial services and the opportunity to become financially literate that are afforded to other Canadians.

Family Relations



Introduction

Discussion about the impacts of mining on family relations generated the most conversation among focus group participants and community informants. This is perhaps indicative of the extent to which family, family life and family relations remain at the core of Inuit culture and society. Inuit mine employees are loath to give more importance to work than to family matters. Absenteeism to attend to a sick child or family member, the death of a cousin or what Qablunaat might otherwise call ‘a distant relative,’ or simply the need to provide companionship or conversation to someone in need can, and often do, take precedence over work. For those unfamiliar with Inuit culture, family is most often a reference and responsibility to a large and very-extended network of people.

This is a responsibility, as one community informant observed, that extends to the community. *...the well-being of our communities. I mean that’s all that, that should really matter is we can all continue to advance in our own way, but collectively we all hold ourselves accountable.* The basic problems affecting various aspects of family relations are the trade-off made necessary by a fly-in, fly-out employment situation, with workers spending two weeks at the mine site and two weeks at home. The resources made available through employment and how these are managed further compound the problems created by absence from family and community.

One important observation relevant to all of those that follow, is in relation to the community services available to deal with social issues. Community services, as this quote from one community informant indicates, need to be conceptualized and funded *before*, or in anticipation of the kinds of difficulties that experience shows will arise in the presence of a mining operation. *You go and you inject that kind of income and that kind of opportunity into a community that quickly, and you don't have the rest of support groups such as health services or RCMP or social services caught up. ...if there's no support services, (they) catch and exhaust themselves trying to play catch up after the fact.*

The Enduring Importance of Family and Culture

The colonial project of Canadian culture in relation to Inuit has been to transform Inuit from a predominantly hunting culture with family at the centre of life, to a culture actively participating in industrial production and logic. Modernization of Inuit has, since the early 1950s, been the objective of successive Canadian governments. Western-European culture regards work not merely as means-to-an-end, but most often as an end in and of itself. Work is to be fulfilling, meaningful and, at the same time, produce rewards that enhance one's enjoyment of life. While working to provide for a family is an important reality of Qablunaat society and relationships to the workplace, there is considerable emphasis on individual enjoyment within that regime. Money is spent on sports cars, golf equipment, gym memberships – items that benefit the individual - as well as food, shelter, clothing and other things for the benefit of a family.

What is seldom articulated in relation to family and the impacts of industrial culture on Inuit is the implications of the logic of industrial culture for what constitutes the core of Inuit culture: the extended family. The family was a coherent and cooperative unit, focused historically on hunting, with a division of labour, respect and expectations focused on the maintenance of good relations essential to survival in environmentally demanding circumstances. The most significant (and often disturbing) impacts of mining are therefore those that affect families and interpersonal relations.

The interviews and focus groups make it clear that for Inuit, work is a means to an end, not an end in itself. In fact, family remains at the heart of Inuit culture and logic, to the extent that employment is often forgone for the sake of the family. The high turnover of Inuit labour at the Meadowbank mine (80% in 2011) is related to this reality, not to laziness or simple 'lack of interest or caring' on the part of Inuit – including Inuit women - as employees. Of 276 Inuit employees working at the mine in 2011, 229 departed sometime during the year. The absentee rate increased from 2% in 2009 to 5.6% in 2011²⁵.

Women will be inclined to take time off work to attend to family matters – to an extent and in a way seldom appreciated by mine managers, most of whom are male. While Qablunaat employees may also work to earn resources that are used to enjoy their time off, there is more likelihood

²⁵ "Meadowbank a reality check for Nunavut mining: AEM executive" *Nunatsiaq News Online*, April 20, 2012.

that the ‘time off’ is often seen – particularly for young, single males working in the industry – in terms of individual, rather than family time.

The cultural reality of the importance of family is enduring; no amount of training or the provision of employment is likely to replace the central role of family in Inuit culture in the foreseeable future. This, of course, is not the intent of training, education or employment. But in Qablunaat society, the idea of a career, of the status and prestige – as well as the personal satisfaction that accompanies it – is central to how one lives one’s life. The importance of these is supplanted to a considerable degree by the role of family in Inuit life.



Impacts on Relationships

The two week fly-in, fly-out work rotation for the mine is not without serious social problems. There is evidence that the incidence of domestic violence (more properly understood as assaults against women) and the incidence of “disturbances” have increased in the community. Fatigue can contribute to family problems when a worker returns to the community. *They come back and they possibly sleep for the first three, four days. Overtired because they’re working twelve hours a day, seven days a week non-stop.*

Given the number of women finding employment at the mine, it is sometimes the case that the woman is the only family member earning an income. *...you have the women going out and making money for the family, and then you have the man, the husband, staying at home and taking care of the children. So there’s a total flip-flop.* This can create a number of issues for women. The threat this poses to male power and control can, in some cases, result in women turning their cheques over to their male partners. It can also be the source of jealousy and conflicts leading to violence and disturbances. One informant who deals with these incidents put

it this way: ... *jealousy's been an issue where when she's been up working at the mine...she's come back....he doesn't know what she was doing. Or maybe he's heard rumours about what she's been doing up at the mine.*

Observations about jealousy and the contribution of the work schedule to the problem were common among all of the community informants interviewed. One of them put it this way: *I guess jealousy and I guess the insecurity of, like, their spouse being away for so long. The mine is, is new to the community, and I think it's a big adjustment. Right now, like, people are not really sure, they're not used to being away from their partner for so long.*

Another community informant stated: *Worry is a big thing. Sometimes their mind can play tricks, so you think - which is something that is not true or might be true - and it hurts to hear from somebody else what is really going on if it is happening, like their spouse, or whatever, is doing something else that they're not supposed to.* A cross-referencing of observations made by those interviewed and/or participating in the focus groups makes it clear that this is a serious problem. As one participant doing housekeeping at the mine noted: *I walked in on a couple. A married couple; not to each other!*

The impact on relationships and families of absences, jealousy and incidents such as that described above, is captured by the following observation from one of the social service professionals interviewed. As noted, not everything can be attributed to the presence of the mine. Social problems related to depression, poor housing, lack of privacy and difficult relationships existed before the advent of the mine. What is needed to create a complete picture are 'before and after' statistics, where these are available.

With the husband gone for a two week period comes back and looks after the children, the wife goes for a two week period comes back and looks after the children; the relationships are being torn apart and the children are suffering as a result of the parents not getting along.

We've had a huge increase in extra marital affairs. There's been an increase in STDs. Um, and people do come and talk to us about it, um, because it's happening to them and they need help. They weren't expecting that their marriage was going to break up; they weren't expecting that they would, um, that there would be a lot more obstacles in their way.

I know the one thing that's really escalated is the consumption of alcohol. But I think that's got a lot to do with the depressed state that people are in because of the lack of, uh, family life, intimacy, privacy and of course the housing shortage.

The role that employment income plays in contributing to domestic problems where alcohol is involved is captured by another counseling professional in the community: *We see people for a lot of, um, domestic violence, um, abusers, and, you know, a lot of it involved alcohol, you know, they're buying, I'm not saying they wouldn't buy it if they weren't working, but they have more*

money for it, and, you know, it always comes off sometimes that there's relationship problems, and then there's drinking involved.

Anxiety and concern about what might be going on at home while a woman is away from the family sometimes results in calls to home and then calls to social services to intervene or to 'check-up' on a situation. *Where women have called from the mines expecting their partners are drinking and their kids are alone, (this) puts extra work on us. So it's, there's been a lot of problems caused by the mines, and I think the women are bearing the brunt of it, and they shouldn't be.*

The increase in the number of police files (dealing with incidents attended to by the RCMP) from approximately 540 in 2008 to over 800 in 2011, a year after the mine opened, is likely indicative of the extent of the problem. This represents a 22.5% increase in calls for service.²⁶ It was noted that many of these files deal with "disturbances" and that this should be distinguished from the much fewer situations that escalate into violence. A breakdown of the focus of police files, before and after the opening of the mine, would produce data useful to determining what the social impact of mining is likely to be on Inuit communities and contribute to the development of services and the informed negotiation of benefit agreements. Putting in place services, proactively, would also greatly reduce the workload placed on the RCMP and result in more effective and appropriate ways of addressing the impacts of mining on interpersonal relations and the difficulties that couples encounter.

The need for shelters – safe places for both men and women – was noted by one community informant. *Well, given that, um, it is because of the mines and the wages that we're having an increase of alcohol consumption and certainly an increase in domestic abuse, the first thing the mine should have done is provide shelter to both genders because they, this is not a new thing, this happens everywhere a mine is where this sort of thing takes place.*

Not all participants – community informants and women in focus groups – were negative about the impact on relationships and family, although negative comments dominated most of the discussions. Asked about relationships, one focus group participant stated bluntly: *It's still the same. They don't change.* This was also an opinion expressed by one of the social service workers interviewed. *So I think if - in some ways it's improved, like, family life because men have, you know, a high satisfaction, like, with their job and they're happy to be working. It does provide a lot of money for the kids. You know, there's also some negatives that come with it. But, you know, for a lot of families it has provided a lot of money. But, um, I can only say that because they - when women get the, get the jobs and stick with it - they're more cheerful along with their family. And, uh, they, whenever they have a chance I know that they, they get out of town, uh, to be with their families too.*

²⁶ Samantha Dawson. (2012) "Mine near Baker Lake sparked more alcohol use: RCMP". *Nunatsiaq News Online*. July 23.

Different responses sometimes reflect the relationship between the person being interviewed (who may not be a mine employee, but enjoying some of the benefits of a spouse being employed) and the individual's position in the community in relation to the mine, as evident in the following response: *I really wouldn't want to comment (on negative impacts on relationships) without backup from women in the community. I, for one, as a spouse to an employee at the Agnico Eagle, I'm happy because my spouse has to up to the mine and be fed three square meals opposed to me doing it here, but I'm happy.*

Issues of Sexual Abuse: Women and Children

Three significant documents are relevant to the findings discussed in this section. These help shed light on the nature and extent of the victimization vocalized during the interviews.

Auditor General Sheila Fraser's 2011 report to the Legislative Assembly of Nunavut²⁷ painted a picture of employees in children and families services that are overworked, under-trained and under-resourced. In a number of communities, there is no permanent full-time community social service worker or supervisor for the year: monthly, more than 35% of these positions are vacant.²⁸ The well-being of youth and children has been identified as a priority in numerous Nunavut documents, including *A Public Health Strategy for Nunavut, 2008-2013*.²⁹ The Auditor General noted that there is a lack of direction and tracking that makes it difficult to report back on planned objectives. Monitoring the number of sexual abuse cases in communities was also a concern; at the time of this report there was no way of tracking whether or not a particular community was facing more cases, and therefore was in need of more resources.

Although parents are "primarily responsible for the protection and wellbeing of Nunavut children and youth"³⁰ under the *Child and Family Services Act*, federal, territorial and hamlet supportive programs exist and various groups offer services aimed at the well-being of children. Community social service workers have to respond to cases of a serious nature. Their work is often concerned with the alarming rates of sexual abuse of children. Some of these children are under the age of 10 years and have contracted sexually transmitted infections (STIs) from these

²⁷ Fraser, Sheila (2011) *Report of the Auditor General of Canada to the Legislative Assembly of Nunavut*. Ottawa. Office of the Auditor General of Canada.

²⁸ Sinha, Maire (ed.) (2013) *Measuring Violence against Women: Statistical trends*. Ottawa. The Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Statistics Canada.

²⁹ Government of Nunavut, Department of Health and Social Services (2008) *Developing Healthy Communities: A Public Health Strategy for Nunavut, 2008-2013*. Iqaluit. Nunavut Territory.

³⁰ Fraser (2011) p. 5.

assaults. Statistics Canada reported in 2011 that 10 times more incidents of sexual violations against youth under the age of 18 were committed in Nunavut compared to all of Canada.³¹

The prevalence of child and youth victims of violence in Nunavut is also 4 times the rate of all of Canada.³² This includes threats of violence, physical and sexual assaults, attempted murder and homicide. As noted in the Auditor General's report (2011), children and youth in need of services often had more than one issue. The example cited is not an uncommon story, where drugs and alcohol are linked to family violence, physical abuse and sometimes to cases of neglect. Fraser (2011) identifies a need "to address social concerns at their roots by understanding what is causing problems and taking a more holistic approach and implementing early prevention and intervention initiatives to help reduce alcohol and drug abuse, suicide, and crime."³³ However, she goes on to note that with such high workloads and an inadequate number of people, there are structural barriers to providing needed prevention. She also noted a lack of training of workers in "Inuit societal values".³⁴

Violence and crimes against youth and children are not the only offences that are alarming. The rate of violent crimes against women in Nunavut in 2011 was nearly 13 times higher than the rate for all of Canada.³⁵ The prevalence of police-reported sexual offences is substantially higher in Nunavut: a woman's risk of sexual assault is 12 times greater than the provincial average. Factors such as differences in perceptions of what constitutes sexual assault and willingness to report contribute to a high-level of underreporting. Therefore, these rates likely represent an underestimation of the extent of this issue.

It is important to note research that has recently been completed on suicide in Nunavut. In *Learning from Lives that Have Been Lived*, Chachamovich and Tomlinson identify contributing factors that increase the likelihood of suicide.³⁶ Those committing suicide were more likely to be male. The average age was 23.6. They were more likely to be single and unemployed. Those that

³¹ The rate is 44.3 incidents in Nunavut per 100,000 people, compared to 4.3 incidents in all of Canada per 100,000. 'Sexual violations' is defined as sexual interference, exploitation, invitations, luring a child via a computer, etc. Source: Incident-based crime statistics, by detailed violations (CANSIM Table 252-0051).

³² The number is 4,311 victims in Nunavut per 100,000 people.

³³ Fraser (2011) p. 7.

³⁴ Ibid. p. 16.

³⁵ The number was 1,715 'female victims', or 15,453 incidents per 100,000 population aged 15 years or older. Rates in the report are derived from Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Incident-based Uniform Crime Reporting Unit.

³⁶ Chachamovich, Edvardo and Monica Tomlinson (2013) *The Nunavut suicide follow-back study: Learning from Lives that Have Been Lived*. Montreal. Douglas Mental Health University Institute.

committed suicide had been known to be more impulsive and more aggressive toward others. Among those diagnosed with major psychiatric disorders in the last 6 months of their lives, there were significant differences in major depressive disorders, personality disorders and/or substance abuse or dependence between those committing suicide and a comparison group. Significantly more individuals in the suicide group had been physically and/or sexually abused in childhood compared to the comparison group.

What is most concerning from these combined results is the extent to which sexual abuse of women and children is happening in Nunavut communities. Current resources – people and programmes – cannot handle the extent of this problem. Research shows that there is a strong correlation between this form of trauma and later suicide. Evidence suggests that rates of sexual assault have increased since the mine opened. The situation, taken together with what is happening to children, is serious. How this social concern is understood needs to be contextualized within a larger story, taking into account the history of the sexual abuse of children in residential schools, like Turquetil Hall in Chesterfield Inlet, and local cases where those in positions of power have grossly violated a community's trust and safety, such as the recent sexual assault cases brought against Oblate priest Eric Jose Dejaeger in Baker Lake and Igloolik.³⁷

The picture that emerges from these documents makes it clear that these issues are not specific to one particular community in Nunavut. Similar problems can be found elsewhere in Canada. But sexual assaults and suicide rates are greater than in the rest of the country. These issues need to be understood within a history of forced, rapid change and little in the way of committed resources for dealing them. When communities are confronted with developments like mining, that bring further rapid change and stress for families, and when little or nothing is done to increase resources, then already stretched resources will not be able to appropriately respond. When the trauma of the past is unresolved, trauma repeats itself and the legacy continues.

³⁷ http://www.nunatsiagonline.ca/stories/article/65674as_dejaeger_trial_starts_in_nunavut_belgian_media_keep_a_close_watch/

Impacts on Children



The impact of the mine on children appears mixed, with community informants and focus group participants all reporting that the money made it possible for children to have things that they would not otherwise have. One community informant observed that: *It has given more, a lot more people jobs or a career that they enjoy or do not enjoy but gladly making money for their children or for themselves, pay off bills, buy what they need.* Another observed that: *Some of the children, some of the women, some families are just nicer than they used to be. They have warmer clothes I could see during the winter. They have more, they, they seem to be looking after themselves a bit more...children, they seem to be dressed a little better.*

The employment of women at the mine has had an impact on traditional family relations. This development, as suggested in the comments made by one observer, may have positive impacts in challenging gender stereotypes. On the other hand, it may introduce new conflicts into family life. *We actually see a lot of their husbands who aren't employed at the mine taking babysitting over. So, they're staying, so you have a total shift in your traditional, in your traditional dynamic, family dynamics. You have, you have the women going out and making money for the family, and then you have the man, the husband staying at home and taking care of the children. So, there's a total flip-flop.*

However, comments about the positive impacts employment has on children and families were seldom unqualified. There were far more observations and comments found in the transcripts of interviews and focus groups about the negative impacts on families and children specifically,

than comments noting positive contributions. The following is not an atypical comment from one of the women attending a focus group. *And I've had the opportunity to apply for employment with the company and have seen many people succeed. And again, within my household, my children and my spouse have had the opportunity to benefit from the mining. And over the time that we've experienced it, in my household there's been good things happening around us, amongst us. And bad things mixed in it. There are blessings given to us from the mine and yet a mixture of, um, misfortunes, I would suppose that's the word.*

The following pattern was noted by one community informant. Sometimes, people start out positively, but over time the ways in which money gets spent and the benefits of employment for families and children slip away. *Some people actually have stuck with their jobs, and are supporting their families and are very good about looking after their children with the money that they're making at the mine. When they first get back because they're making money now, they're out and about and they're purchasing this, they're hanging around the stores, or they're going to restaurants, or taking their families out or whatever. And in, two years later, what I see with the same individual, okay, is that you rarely ever see them outside. They spend more time inside....they don't seem to socialize much anymore, I see a lot of alcoholism.*

Of concern, there seems to be no consensus among professionals who deal with children and families in Qamani'tuaq, on the extent to which children are being affected in negative ways by the resources made possible by employment in the mining industry. One professional reported that with regard to apprehensions: *Numbers of children coming into care have gone down. Families are providing for their children.* Observations made by another professional, suggest that the exact opposite may be, or ought to be, the case. These are important statistics relevant to social impacts and should be made available, so that the question as to whether child apprehensions have decreased or increased can be determined. The following extensive quote from one of the community informants paints a disturbing picture.

What I see a lot is there are a lot of women victims. I see a lot of women victims. Not just women. Young women, teenagers, little girls. And I have really seen an increase in that. I have seen an increase in women being victimized over and over. Young girls, young ladies being victimized, young teenagers being victimized, young children having to take the stand in court because the adult is pleading not guilty. Some children seem to now be lacking adult supervision because when [some] the adults first come home for the first two-to-four days they're sleeping. And of course, they'll give their children money to do whatever they want.

"I'm convinced some of them are not even going to school anymore or very little adult supervision....a lot of children under the age of sixteen walking around. A lot of children are sleeping over at other places, which also affects them because they're, they could be victimized. Young children practice like taking alcohol with adults, even adults giving alcohol to children. Ninety percent of the court appearances are alcohol-related. Either alcohol-related or substance abuse or something that they can't deal with like anger-management.

And in response to an enquiry as to the extent to which this individual thought these situations had anything to do with the advent of mining, the reply was unequivocal: *Yes, it is related to mining.*

Another community professional made the following observation of a similar nature, focusing on the role of alcohol and substances in this scene. *There are kids that were hoping that: "All right, I'm going to get this or that on my mom's or dad's payday." But they end up spending it on booze, or drugs, or gambling...some kids are pretty honest and they'll just say, because they bought booze or drugs, or they spent it on gambling. And it hurts to see the little children suffer like that, and in some case...some cases they go hungry instead, instead of, I don't know, 'cause of their parents, or their aunts or uncles bad habits.*

The management and supervision of children has also been complicated by one, or in some cases, both parents' employment at the mine and their absence from the family and community. *A lot of times the mother has difficulty managing the children. Maybe she's not getting the cheque to buy food, and when the woman, woman is away it causes, like sort of separation anxiety for the child, and they're often left with older siblings who are expected to look after them....those children are affected in a negative way because they're not mature enough to run a household and feed their brothers and sisters.*

I also think there have been some negative things. For example, in the school I'm pretty sure it's (the presence of the mine and mine employment) affected ... attendance, and the well-being of the children in some aspects and from certain families.

Childcare and Relations with Children

One of the most significant problems created by employment at the mine, and one that has not been adequately addressed, is the need for childcare. At present, there is a daycare facility that can only handle about 24 children. The criteria for access to the facility are tight. It is reported that most of the spaces are currently occupied by children of parents who are government employees.

Several community informants described the situation as follows: In this situation, child care often falls on relatives – often aging parents. You also have a lot of couples employed at the mines, so then it falls back on babysitting with family, with the children, with the grandparents, or, or aunts and uncles if both parents are employed at the mine. Or they're flip-flopping. And: With the husband gone for a two week period comes back and looks after the children, the wife goes for a two week period comes back and looks after the children; the relationships are being torn apart and the children are suffering as a result of the parents not getting along. Another community professional observed that much childcare was falling to grandparents who are pleased to see their children have employment, but find the task of keeping up with their grandchildren to be an onerous and demanding one.



While observations made by professionals in the community are helpful, they don't capture the intimate details of the dynamics at play offered by Inuit women participating in the focus groups. Here are several insightful examples.

My family, with my husband; it changed a lot. He thinks that just 'cause he's working at the mine, he thinks I have to work there. My role as a mother really changed my....I spend six months out of the whole year, six month with them, six months away from them. My kids think I'm not the boss. They don't need to listen to me. I'm not, but they think they're, they're ... I'm their walking ATM. It affected my health. I've had two strokes since the mine opened. I had aneurisms. I got surgery. I ended up in the hospital quite a few times 'cause of my blood pressure. My, my blood pressure just boils. There is a lot we see and hear and we stay quiet. That's a negative. But it taught me a lot how to communicate. At first we couldn't communicate. But now we know how to communicate 'cause we only have six months out of that whole year to talk and we choose our words wisely.

And: ... it affects the families because the relationships breaking. Um, it affects the children more so because, um, I'm sure the children wonders, "Where's my mom? Where's my mother for these two weeks, or where's my father?" Um, she said she feels for the children because children are the ones that are touched greatly.

The problems are related and the impact on children of the difficulties mine employment causes for interpersonal and intimate relationships can't be ignored, as noted by a focus group participant. *My kids think if I go back to the mine our family's going to fall apart. They think I'm going to find somebody else.*

Addictions

Introduction

The topic of spending money on drugs, alcohol, gambling and related activities was a frequent theme in the interviews held with community informants. It was a topic also raised in the training workshop and the focus groups. Have problems with substances increased since the mine opened? Is increased substance use related to mining? How are women impacted by spending on substances and gambling in Qamani'tuaq? How are children impacted by increased substance use? What kinds of social environments, social attitudes and approaches to dealing with addictions—not all of which are effective—contribute to addictions?

Access

The most frequent references when the topic of spending related to addictive behaviours came up included references to drinking alcohol, marijuana use and gambling. *I came to see. The torch was on, but I saw a box. I put my hand in it if it was beer. It's not beer. It's some kind of a grass or something.* The speaker is referring to discovering a box containing marijuana in her cold porch when she went to see what her son was up to. The references to alcohol, marijuana and gambling do not suggest these are the only substances or addictive activities present at the mine or in the community. Problems with these substances and this activity are well-known. It may also be the case that they are easier to talk about.

Qamani'tuaq is one Nunavut community where access to alcohol is restricted. This means that there is no publicly accessible, official liquor outlet in town and there are limits on how much an individual can bring into the community over a period of time. Anyone wishing to import alcohol must pick up a permit from the RCMP to do so, and pay a fee. Each week an applicant is entitled to a maximum of 54 beers or three, 26-ounce bottles of liquor, or two 40-ounce bottles, or one 60-ounce bottle, or five bottles of wine or combinations of equivalent volumes. In 2007, it was reported that as a result of employment in the development of the Meadowbank mine and other exploration activities, the number of alcohol permits being issued had increased from about 40 a week to about 70 – 75.³⁸ The RCMP report that 3000 permits were issued in 2009 and 6,105 issued in 2011, an increase of over 100%.³⁹ Bootlegging is also a problem in Qamani'tuaq. An Alcohol Education Committee works with the RCMP in the issuing of permits, with the RCMP advising the committee of anyone who has been in trouble with them as a result of drinking. Residents who have been involved in alcohol-related incidents with the police are banned for three months from ordering alcohol. The period of ban is lengthened depending on the number of

³⁸ Stephanie McDonald, 'Alcohol permits under scrutiny in Resolute, Baker Lake', *Northern News Services Online*. September 3, 2007. Available at: http://www.nnsi.com/frames/newspapers/2007-09/se3_07a.html.

³⁹ Samantha Dawson. (2012) "Mine near Baker Lake sparked more alcohol use: RCMP". *Nunatsiaq News Online*. July 23.

incidents. In 2007, it was reported that harsher penalties involving access to alcohol were imposed where spousal abuse or abuse of children were involved.

Nunavut has a rate of crime that is 7 times the Canadian national rate. The homicide rate has been reported as 1000 per cent of the Canadian average, with the number of crimes doubling since Nunavut was declared a territory in 1999.⁴⁰ Alcohol is a major contributing factor in these statistics, which include a rate of child abuse that is 10 times the national average. This occurs in a context, reported in September 2011, where 50% of the social work positions in the territory were vacant. Qamani'tuaq is not a community that has escaped these realities. Evidence suggests that increases in disposable income related to mine employment are tied to these realities at a community level.



That these problems are difficult to discuss, and that there is a desire not to have these circumstances constantly reported by the press or even highlighted in reports such as this one, is understandable. There is a great deal of hurt in Inuit communities associated with colonial experiences, the hurt, pain and confusion of these experiences and the use of alcohol—both then and now.⁴¹ Not talking about these issues—or at least not to an extent revealing of the depth and

⁴⁰ Patrick White. 'The trials of Nunavut: Lament for an Arctic nation'. *The Globe and Mail*, 'Focus'. April 01, 2011.

⁴¹We cannot detail these experiences here. Many Inuit were talked to, treated and looked upon in the most negative way by government officials, the RCMP, clergy and others. The experience with residential and federal days schools, settlement managers, the RCMP and others, was often one of being made to 'feel small', having one's culture portrayed as 'primitive', one's beliefs as 'heathen' and one's children as 'dirty', etc. At the same

seriousness of the issues—is one way of coping and protecting others from stories that are seen to be hurtful and harmful.

The presence of bootleggers in Qamani'tuaq and the possibility of having liquor brought in by a mine employee means that the system is not 'fool proof.' One participant made the following observation. *Um, unfortunately, [the mine] has had an effect on, um, drinking and, and drugs. I'm not sure what the increased numbers are, but I as an individual have noticed from, um, word from other people that the weekly orders are over a hundred per week. I don't know if that's decreased but that's a high number from what I've heard.* The issue is the increase in the use and abuse of substances in the presence of the mine and the systemic implications of that abuse. People can use and abuse substances whether they are controlled or not, or whether they are deemed 'drugs' or not. The solvent abuse present in some Aboriginal communities is one example of how everyday products can be abused for the purposes of intoxication. However, there is a perception in Qamani'tuaq that use has visibly increased. *Our, our drinking increased 'cause we had more money.*

What these references do indicate is that people are engaging in activities that require more money. These activities are not necessarily cheap. The mark-up in Northern communities for alcohol and drugs is substantial. Writing about this in the *Globe and Mail*, (April 1, 2011) reporter Patrick White observed that: "On average, Nunavummiut spend \$940 each year on alcohol, more than almost anywhere else in the country, according to Statistics Canada. That doesn't include black-market purchases, which easily run as high as \$100 for a 375-millilitre mickey of vodka."

Similar observations by one of the social service workers link the problem to one practice of the mine in particular. *And I have a real problem with those huge bonuses being given around Christmas time and the summer time because this past Christmas it was, it was pretty bad, um, people were paying up to a thousand dollars for a, a forty ounce bottle of booze.* While having money makes it easier to purchase alcohol, circumstances also increase the likelihood of alcohol-related activities. The presence of a transient population from outside allows for new interactions. The mine site is isolated. It is possible to regulate what comes in and leaves the site.

time, there were some *Qablunaat* who were kind, generous and caring, recognizing the incredible transformations taking place in Inuit lives at the time. In this regard, the period from 1950 to 1980 was particularly hard on most Inuit. This is pain and experience that gets passed from one generation to another, reflected in parenting skills and relationships. Anyone dealing with Inuit social services and the problems people are currently experiencing needs to appreciate this history. Colonialism is intimately tied to the current problems all Aboriginal peoples in Canada are experiencing. Much of this history can be found in Tester, Frank James and Peter Kulchyski. 1994. *Tammarniit: Inuit relocation in the eastern Arctic, 1939-63*. Vancouver. UBC Press. These relationships are also made clear by Karina Czyewski in a paper 'Colonialism as a Broader Social Determinant of Health'. *The International Indigenous Policy Journal*. 2(1) May 2011, and have been talked and written about by Inuit Elders and leaders. A sense of these changes can be found in *Inuktituut Magazine*, especially the contributions of Zebedee Nungak and his article 'Five Decades of Inuktituut Magazine' found in the Spring 2012 edition.

However, no screening system is, or can be, perfect. It is possible to bring substances into the site. One workshop participant noted that: *One of the guy's rooms [at the mine] had a big thing of drugs.* A social service worker remarked: *Um, there's a lot more bootlegging. A lot more, um, pushing for drugs.* Gambling is also quite available to community residents through controlled means, such as community fundraising events or local stores.

The use of substances is not restricted to any particular subgroup of the population. There are accounts of all ages and sexes using alcohol. *They drink, uh, beer with them in my house and they got into trouble, fight until my daughter finally find out. She kicked one of my boy's girlfriends out; never came back.* Since the use of substances exists among all segments of the population and affects everyone directly or indirectly, the social implications can be serious. *Um, a lot of children are sleeping over at other places, which also affects them because they're, they could be victimized. Um, young children, um, practice like taking alcohol with adults, even adults giving alcohol to children. That's what I see.* This comment sheds light on the statistics cited earlier.

Substances and Community Wellness



Participants were well aware that substances fuel dangerous incidents and contribute to crimes committed in the community. *There's an increase in, um, alcohol-related offences: alcohol consumption, um, court appearances, both youth and adults.* Based on information given by the RCMP, the number of files created in response to incidents of all types in the community has doubled since the mine was opened. While not all of these files deal with incidents that involve alcohol, anecdotal evidence, combined with what is known about the nature of offenses in

Nunavut in general, strongly suggest that employment, income and alcohol are related to police incidents in the community. *There are some women that I am seeing...Either alcohol-related or substance abuse or something that they can't deal with like anger-management. I have more men than women. Um, offender-clients...The majority of them [court appearances] are alcohol-related.*

Men have more direct access to mining income due to their greater presence in the workforce, which only in part explains their relation to substance-related incidents. One social service worker noted: *I can say that there are a lot of individuals that come through the office because of the impact and choose to buy liquor or controlled substances with it. ...Generally if people purchase liquor or drugs, uh, routinely, we tend to deal with them quite a bit.* Keeping in mind the particular focus on the impacts on Inuit women and families, the aforementioned substance-related incidents are genderized: the offender is more often male and females are more often those affected. *There's been an increase in physical assault, there's been an increase in sexual assault. Not only on adult women. These physical assaults are, uh, the ones that are affected are either women, young women, teenagers or children. Uh, sexual assault, there's been an increase over the past three years I would say. More of an increase on children as well.*

Domestic violence is a real issue in Northern communities. The problem is undoubtedly worse in some communities than in others. It is also clearly a problem that existed prior to the opening of the mine. However, there is every reason to believe, based on the observations of participants, that the presence of the mine has greatly exacerbated existing problems. *We, we do see some people that do work at the mines, so they come on their two weeks off. And, a lot of them, we see people for a lot of, um, domestic violence, um, abusers, and, you know, a lot of it involved alcohol, you know, they're buying, I'm not saying they wouldn't buy it if they weren't working, but they have more money for it, and, you know, it always comes off sometimes that there's relationship problems, and then there's drinking involved.* Not all incidents involve violence, but as this quote indicates, alcohol can have serious implications for interpersonal relationships and families.⁴²

Maintaining functional families and supportive environments for children in the presence of addictive behaviours is a challenge. One focus group participant gave us the following example of what a conversation between a mother and her child might look like. *"How come you were really crying?" "Because my uncle was really drunk." "Why, did he hit you or do anything to you?" "No, he just went out and I'm scared to be home alone, somebody might come in and do*

⁴² The reader is referred to a report written by Ting Zang, Josh Hoddenbagh, Susan McDonald and Katie Scrim (2012) *An Estimation of the Economic Impact of Spousal Violence in Canada, 2009*. Ottawa Department of Justice, Canada. This comprehensive national study reveals the seriousness of both the extent and the economic costs of spousal violence in Canada. The total estimated lost wages as a result of spousal violence for the year 2009 was estimated at \$33,671,686. The cost of dealing with mental health issues, including related attempts at suicide was estimated at \$11,824,467. Approximately 63% of these costs are borne by the State, 29% by individuals and 7% by the private sector.

something.” The speaker is obviously referring to the fear a child has of being sexually violated by someone, without naming it as such. We respect this, because talking about such incidents—and there appear, from both the data and anecdotal evidence, to be many—is extremely difficult where one has been personally affected by these experiences.

The ‘two week in, two week out’ work schedule can cause difficulty for the safe supervision of children because of fatigue. Supervision and the need to relate to and communicate with children may also be impacted by substance use. *They work two weeks on and two weeks off, and, um, so they have difficulty for one thing finding childcare for the two weeks that they’re away. And when they are back quite often there’s substance abuse and that kind of thing because they have money that they can use to purchase those types of things.* Alternatively, a partner's substance use may be indirectly causing women's distress. *Um, we have quite a number of situations where women have called from the mines expecting their partners are drinking and their kids are alone, which puts extra work on us. ...There’s been a lot of problems caused by the mines, and I think the women are bearing the brunt of it and they shouldn’t be.* Family problems which may be alcohol related complicate childcare arrangements. Further compounding this, is the daycare situation in Qamani'tuaq (discussed elsewhere). Older siblings may assume childcare responsibilities. Depending on the problems that the older child may be experiencing, there may be risks directed at the younger child for which he or she is responsible. Furthermore, without adequate supervision, neglect may be a factor in a child’s engagement with risky behaviours and in missing school.

One participant was particularly reflective about her own experience. Negative situations are the result of the increasing use of substances. *And—the drinking amongst ourselves and our friends increased, and the, the actions around us are higher -- whether it be good or bad. And I’ve seen it where it may have affected our friendship with other people because of the unexpected negative ’cause our wanting to drink was higher. And increased, it, our chances of, um, running into a negative moment was higher because of our intoxication. ...Well, if you invite a friend another friend will come, and another friend will come and, um, the environment is increased where chances are that something will go wrong; and it’s been happening.* Activities and spaces that demand sobriety under the law (being behind the wheel of a vehicle) or under policy (the policy at Meadowbank of not allowing alcohol on the premises) mean that people under the influence may find themselves in serious situations, such as being charged. *There’s a lot of um, hmm, there’s been an increase in drunk driving.* More specific to the mine, employees may lose their job. *I worked with a guy on, during nightshift, and when I went home he still had to be there for another seven days....He showed up to work on time everyday...; he showed up all the time. But one night the security guard caught him with a joint, so when seven o’clock came he lost his job. He had to go...; he got fired.*

How Addictions Are Framed

There is a zero tolerance drug and alcohol policy at the mine. The way in which substance use is constructed in relation to mining spaces and the work that takes place at the mine suggests that substances jeopardize safety. The policy also suggests that substance use raises questions about one's dependability, seriousness and work ethic. A participant captures the attitude of some, by relating what might be the attitude of a mine employee. *We got fourteen days off to drink and smoke, right? Fourteen days to stay sober. And why lose your job over drugs or booze? Even if the pay is small, it's still work.* In other words, why use alcohol and drugs when one is on the job? Why run the risk of losing one's job? One can drink and smoke (presumably pot) for two weeks when one is off the job. Participants see the conflicts associated with having more disposable income. The quote above highlights the problem, further spelled out by the following speaker. *There's always some people that spend their money on alcohol and drugs. I mean for a lot of people the money is a good thing, but for some people it gets used in ways that it shouldn't. That causes a lot of pain.*

Participants also made some judgments with regard to whether money was being spent 'wisely' or 'foolishly'—money spent on alcohol, drugs and gambling was portrayed as a case of bad judgment. *I've seen employees who have worked for more than two years now, and they don't own a single thing...They don't. They, they either gamble, gamble it away, uh, spend it all on substances.* Sometimes, spending on gambling and substance use is viewed negatively because the money is not spent on individual material desires. *They end up spending it on booze, or drugs, or gambling, and it really, I see some children, 'oh, I didn't get that because I don't know,' and they don't really want to say,...but some kids are pretty honest and they'll just say 'because they bought booze or drugs', or they spent it on gambling; and it hurts to see the little children suffer like that, and in some case, some cases they go hungry instead.*

In some instances—and perhaps more so when there is little to no impact on other family members—spending on substance use or gambling is seen by the consumer as pleasurable and not destructive. *And yet it's [money and a job] given us enough to supply for alcohol and it encouraged us a little bit more to enjoy with friends.* Having more disposable income and enjoying alcohol in moderation is not condemned. Addictive behaviours—and some more than others—are sometimes 'normalized' within the dominant Canadian society. In Qamani'tuaq, the use of substances—a common occurrence—is also 'normalized'. *On a personal level it [a job and money] has made a difference in the lives of the day-to-day need of the people within the community. Whether it be through food, clothing, alcohol and/or drugs.* A degree of altered state of consciousness is acceptable in certain spaces and times, and can also be present with the naive expectation that it will increase entertainment and satisfaction. *And that's another negative area where which should have benefitted us, but it didn't. Um, I guess when you have more money there's more affordability to do more things.* In other words, having more money should have benefited Inuit women, but it also makes it possible to do more presumably harmful things. One Inuk female focus group participant remarked: *Well, before the mine we used to have a drink*

once in a long while (clears throat). And when the mine came and employment within our household was a little bit more, we're like: Hey, why don't we go order, go order. Let's go order. Like, it was like a pattern now.

The concern with framing substance use and gambling as strictly 'poor judgment' or 'foolish behaviour' is that it downplays the presence of addictive behaviour and the diminished control over one's actions that accompanies such dispositions. In other words, the limited control that a person with an addiction has over his or her behaviour is not recognized and the person is held responsible for 'poor judgment' or 'foolish behavior.' The feeling of euphoria, numbness or escapism that accompanies substance use is fleeting. It may not seem worth it to many, but cravings can be overwhelming. Someone can engage in the use of alcohol and/or drugs even with the knowledge of subsequent negative consequences. Although framing addictive behaviours as 'habits' does conjure up the sense of involuntary behaviour, it does not do justice to the physiological dependence that creates withdrawal and is consequently soothed by more of the same. This makes stopping such behaviour demanding and challenging. *Maybe it's just that they were predisposed to drinking or, or doing drugs before they got the job and now they just have, you know, the money's there to continue their habits.*

Compounding Issues



It is one thing to suggest that newly-acquired income can fuel addictive behaviours. It is another thing to imply that someone is 'predisposed'. The quote above suggests that some people's already existing addictive behaviours were amplified by the mining situation, which combines interactions with new and different people in a new and different setting with the realities of a fly-in/fly-out work schedule and significant increases in disposable income. However, an

understanding that someone is more prone to addiction than others could also be something the speaker is trying to convey. “The job” is actually a reference to a very complicated social environment. In the field of addictions counseling and research, some people argue that there are people who are more 'addiction-prone' than others. This is attributable to things such as unhealthy early childhood development, traumatic experiences and sexual and physical abuse, as well as biology.

The danger in framing abuse of substances, alcohol or gambling (in this case) as 'bad habits' or suggesting that residents may be 'predisposed', is that such labels oversimplify the context in which the addictive behaviour was enabled. This places blame on the individual or worse, generalizes the condition of an entire culture. The difference is between seeing addictions as personal failings, rather than as a social issue. Inuit social and colonial history must be understood and taken into consideration in appreciating, understanding and responding to the problem of addictions exacerbated by the presence of the mine.

One social service worker provides insight with regards to how healing in relation to addictions is complicated by one's social environment: *If it's a good program the person stays in it until completion. [...T]he other issue is they just come back to the same...They're dealing with the same group of friends...how to get them away from that social network or change their social network so they actually make those changes...because remission is huge. So what happens: two weeks, she's back with the same boyfriend, same social...happens. Some issues are back again, she's gone back into remission.* If there is no way of getting away from potentially enabling friends and partners, the feeling of boredom or the toxic family relations that trigger substance abuse, it is certainly difficult to replace unhealthy activities with constructive ones. Addressing addictions requires, among other things, a supportive environment.

As earlier indicated, there are limited shelter options in Qamani'tuaq for Inuit women who need to remove themselves from this kind of behaviour or who need to deal with their own addictions. There is a women's shelter without its own entrance and only one bed. There are no 'safe havens' in the community from either alcohol-induced incidents or substance use. Not only are such services unavailable or inadequate, they were needed in anticipation of the mine, not 'after the fact'. One social service worker put it this way: *I think we could have done a better job being better prepared for the mining companies....Why not have the mining companies and the federal government use our royalties to open a new women's shelter, or a men's shelter? Why not more mental health workers? Why not more counselors? Why not enhanced quality of education?* It appears that some social service workers in Qamani'tuaq were aware that preparedness would have contributed to creating the supportive structures and services necessary for the social impacts of mining. *Well, given that, um, it is because of the mines and the wages that we're having an increase of alcohol consumption and certainly an increase in domestic abuse, the first thing the mine should have done is provide shelter to both genders because they, this is not a new thing, this happens everywhere a mine is, where this sort of thing takes place.*

If it is known that an increase in substance use and abuse occurs in nearby communities in conjunction with the opening of a mine (something that is supported by other research reported in the literature), the ideal situation would have been to have appropriate services in place prior to the opening of the mine. A needs assessment could have been conducted prior to the opening, with the results used to negotiate details of the IIBA and to put in place the services that Inuit women and families would need in the presence of mine employment. Doing a wellness survey—discussed in the section dealing with the Impact Benefit Agreement—after the fact and then using the results to determine what services are needed, is too little, too late.

In Qamani'tuaq, the only existing addictions service, a substance abuse centre, was shut down before the end of 2012. *Essentially, um, the common sense part of it is you go and you inject that kind of income and that kind of opportunity into a community that quickly and you don't have the rest of support groups such as health services or RCMP or social services caught up. If there's no support services...catch up and exhaust themselves trying to play catch up after the fact.You know there's definitely some trouble-shooting that needs to go on, but, uh, it's huge, a huge hole that's missing.* Being overworked and under-capacitated is a clear and well-known result of conservative budgeting for social services across Canada. Simply put, the case can be made that we are not paying the social costs of many of the activities we feel are necessary to our economic well-being. Sooner or later, these costs take a toll on our economic activities. Our conclusion is that this is precisely what is happening in Qamani'tuaq, reflected in high labour turnover and extremely high rates of absenteeism at the Meadowbank mine. This is affecting productivity and the costs of operation, and has been reported as contributing to a decision to shut the facility three years ahead of schedule.⁴³

Staff burn-out and problems with staffing are possible explanations for the closing of the substance abuse centre. *The big concern...is counseling, is volunteer.* This statement from a social service worker indicates an aversion to certain therapeutic approaches, such as self-determined interventions, however, feminist practice or harm reduction are yet other possibilities. *The sad part about it is, um, we don't have substance abuse counselors. We don't have that in town. Um, the hamlet of Baker Lake decided to close that down. Not because there's no money. There is money available, okay? Lack of workers I think. I would say more but I choose not to...There could be counselors in town if one is willing to, to start it.* Another possible explanation is the attention that an addictions treatment centre might draw to the challenges Inuit women (and others) are experiencing. A focus on 'what is wrong' and the painting of a negative image of Inuit and the community, is a legitimate and real concern. Blaming individuals is not helpful and portraying Inuit as somehow being less than competent, capable, intelligent and making a significant contribution to their families, communities and the country, is not helpful. It does not paint an accurate picture of Inuit and Inuit culture. The compounding factors of

⁴³ Jim Bell. 'Meadowbank a reality check for Nunavut mining: AEM executive'. *Nunatsiaq News Online*. April 20, 2012.

insufficient infrastructure and the presence or absence of supports and beliefs, contribute to social environments that either exacerbate or alleviate addictive behaviours.

A Gender-based, Culturally-Relevant Analysis of Addictions in Baker Lake



A gender-based analysis of addictions pays attention to the role and position of Inuit women in contemporary Inuit culture, the opportunities Inuit women have (or don't have) to voice their concerns and differences among Inuit women. Colonial relations of power between the State and Inuit have impacted Inuit spiritually, physically and emotionally. Few well-intentioned Qablunaat have an adequate understanding of this colonial history and the phenomenal changes Inuit 'put up with' in the 30 year period from 1950 through to the early 1980s. The belief structures imposed on Inuit are considerable. Colonialism—and all that it contains—is a social determinant of the health and well-being of Inuit families and communities. A combination of structural issues (intergenerational trauma, poverty, boredom, isolation and territorial exploitation) can contribute to overwhelming despair. Destructive behaviours can be passed from generation to generation through families. If women and children's welfare is affected by actions in the family, the community's well-being is also destabilized. When young people look ahead and conclude they have no future, suicide is often the outcome. For this reason, employment—and not just employment in the mining sector—is important. This reveals an important contradiction. Mine employment, at the same time as it promises a future, undermines that future by means of its contribution to social problems—like addictions—in the community.

They [many community residents] weren't expecting that their marriage was going to break up; they weren't expecting that they would, um, that there would be a lot more obstacles in their way. And I know the one thing that's really escalated is the consumption of alcohol. But I think that's got a lot to do with the depressed state that people are in because of the lack of, uh, family life, intimacy, privacy and of course the housing shortage. This social service worker paints a grim picture of the situation in Qamani'tuaq. She describes the factors affecting relationships: the demands of the mining shifts and their impact on family life (organizational and temporal) and other structural (i.e. housing) and social (i.e. lack of privacy) considerations impacting the well-being of Qamani'tuamiut. She implies that people are drinking because of negative feelings, suggesting substance use as a coping mechanism. People with mental health and addictions issues often have a diminished capacity and/or lack the ability or the opportunity to participate in healthy activities that help buffer the changes of work life. *Every single...second month, there's a different worker...when I ask them if they want to go see the mental health workers about counseling they say: 'I have to start right from the beginning all over again, and I really don't see any point because all I'm doing is I'm just repeating myself and I'm not advancing.* A lack of continuity in the provision of services undermines their effectiveness. Change can be stressful at the best of times; rapid family, social, environmental or cultural change can have lasting impacts on well-being. Imposing unequal gender roles and hierarchical relations that were not part of Inuit culture or an Inuit way of doing things, can undermine social norms, beliefs and integrity.

Um, as I say the mine should have done something for Baker Lake, new health centre, we should have better roads, we should've had an ambulance. But there's nothing coming back to the people. Historical and newly-introduced forces contribute to inequity. This, in turn, contributes to frustration, desperation and feelings of powerlessness. The results test the insufficient service capacity as communities try to respond to undesired changes.

Much of the frustration of women in Qamani'tuaq is related to the fact that their needs—in terms of women, families and children—are not being met. This is evident from the fact that the 'Wellness Report' that was originally to be submitted by March 31, 2012 was never completed and the fact that nothing in this regard has been done since. As noted, needed services have not been identified or created, nor have additional resources been made available for existing services important to the well-being of women, children and families.

Wage earning can instill a sense of pride, boost self-esteem and generate excitement at the thought of new or increased capacity to consume. Employees may start by treating their family to eating out, presents and trips. This visibly may also create 'have' and 'have not' families. However, the novelty or joy associated with 'things' can wear off. In reference to one family that started off handling a wage and the transitions that accompany it reasonably well, one social service worker observed: *And in, uh, two years later, what I see with the same individual, okay, is that you rarely ever see them outside....I see a lot of alcoholism, um, alcohol consumption, a lot more money being spent on alcohol.* A multitude of compounding issues and contextual factors may ultimately undermine what starts out as a good experience. Some spending may be

seen as socially acceptable (a new TV) and other spending (substances) may not. The work environment may change. A person may be promoted to a level that is just beyond what he or she feels comfortable with. Choices or preferences made possible with the resources from employment may start to become the source of problems. Lump sums facilitate large impulse spending in often unconstructive ways, such as the aforementioned Christmas and summer bonuses. These are issues that can only partially be addressed through life skills training.

Action

It is clear from the content of these interviews, that community informants and residents know that addictive behaviours are a public concern in Qamani'tuaq. Increased use is identified with the presence of the mine. *Um, the issues such as, they have a no drinking policy up there, for example, so, and, uh, no drugs. And they screen people before they come in, um, and, uh, monitor, as best they can, activities of the employees while they're up there. And that's an Agnico Eagle policy Um, so, essentially if they catch people up there drinking, then they deal with the matter in- house because it's not, it's not something that involves the RCMP.* Agnico-Eagle clearly has a legitimate concern about the use of substances on the job site. They have a zero tolerance policy when it comes to alcohol and drugs.

Whether or not it is helpful to have a zero tolerance policy is debatable. The following observation makes the point. *However, the way in which substance use and its increased disturbance is acknowledged by the company is not supportive, responsive to cultural norms or accountable. It's a drug and alcohol free. That's with no warnings when it comes to drugs and alcohol.* An alternative might be to lay an employee off and support the individual in dealing with his or her substance abuse issues, with the understanding that if addressed, the individual will be given some priority for re-hiring. Another issue that needs attention is the use of alcohol and drugs in the two week 'off period'. This is likely costing the company and the community millions of dollars in everything from the production schedule and efficiency of the operation to the cost of RCMP services in the community and long term implications for the wellness and productivity of many Qamani'tuamiut.

An inter-agency group is trying to get an addictions centre running again and there are people struggling with addictions who do sincerely want access to help. One community resident shared that the mine did say they were willing to help finance fly-out treatment, but the option was still inaccessible. The coverage offered is still a fraction of the cost. As one service worker pointed out: *this idea of going to, uh, Winnipeg for services or Churchill. And, uh, you know, that's daunting in itself.* Some community residents have a very clear idea what is wanted and needed to secure a safe workplace, family stability and community well-being.

Women participating in the workshops and focus groups, as well as many community informants interviewed, identified alcohol use as being a concern in the community, tied to criminal activities, women and child assault and increased substance use. Lack of accurate and culturally

responsive education on addictions, in addition to virtually non-existent services, perpetuates environments that do not support healing from addiction. Relations and environments that build on concepts of social justice, equity and the importance of community voice facilitate healing. Their absence contributes to destructive behaviours. Addressing addiction and the impacts of the mine borne by women and children requires creativity in creating space for culturally-safe and gender-based responses to this public health issue.

Socio-Cultural Concerns

Introduction

Whether the mine is considered beneficial to the community or, in the opinion of others, comes at great cost to the community, what cannot be denied is that it is changing the community of Qamani'tuaq. Some proponents argue that change is inevitable, some disruptions are unavoidable and that a short period of 'adjustment' will be necessary. The literature on the impact of mining operations on Indigenous people points to the seriousness of the socio-cultural disruption that accompanies these ventures. The presence of a mine can result in sudden shifts in the way people make sense of their world and organize themselves. This section is an analysis and commentary on themes that emerged with regards to socio-cultural disruption in the presence of the Meadowbank mine. Community informants, workshop and focus group participants stated clearly that education and awareness, in addition to informed consent and the capacity to brace for change, could have helped buffer impacts on the community and increase benefits from the presence of the mine.

Women noted that the ways in which people are relating to one another have changed in the presence of the mine. This is also discussed with regard to family welfare. Here we examine a similar theme in reference to respectful ways of interacting, specific to Inuit culture. What women had to say about environmental transformations is briefly discussed. Finally, hopes and visions for the future of Qamani'tuaq, shared by the women participating in the study, are noted.

'We Should Focus on Education'

Mines are time-limited economic investments. Mine officials project how long the surveying, planning, construction and operation of the mine will take. The economic benefits to the local economy—jobs and economic opportunities for local businesses and suppliers—are estimated. Technical and specialized skills may be imported from across the country or internationally. Interprovincial or territorial labour can also be flown in to fill the labour requirements unavailable in the local community or in an effort to spread the benefits to other communities where unemployment is an issue.

Without the education or certification needed for jobs requiring specific technical and other skills, community members often find themselves in positions that are entry-level and service-oriented.



These may require only the minimal skills necessary to performing service-oriented jobs at the mine. They include housekeeping, laundry and work in food services. One finding related to the Nanisivik mine that operated on northern Baffin Island from 1978 until 2002, was that the skills obtained as a result of being employed at the mine were not transferable. Plans are now being made to close the Meadowbank mine in 2017, earlier than originally forecast. How will the training and education received by women working at the mine contribute to their future economic and social well-being?

One social service worker we interviewed identified that some women are confident and future-oriented about completing the education and training that will lead toward a position at the mine. This community informant observed: *You'd have the women in school right now who see it as a fantastic way to gain independence and maintain independence through employment.... they have something to work towards... They're working on getting them to graduate and stay engaged in school.*

This community informant framed employment at the mine as something to look forward to and a reason to not have to move outside of the community. *Um, the mine is a big employer. They want local people. They want - they want trained local people to work at the mine. So, they're being proactive; they're up there pursuing, uh, local, local women and men. Um, so you have that. So, I figure that that's fantastic, personally. If you're a youth, and you see that you can do something locally and not have to move away from home to be able to do it, um, then that's got to be a light at the end of the tunnel.[...]the school itself, I think they have done two trades' weeks.[...]they had, uh, a lot of businesses -- including Agnico Eagle[...]they all had booths, and the reason why is to encourage people to work towards things and say, uh, these are opportunities in your community; you don't have to move away for it; here's, here's your chance if you stay in school, do well, graduate...and work towards a job type-of-thing, right?*

There are jobs that women and youth can work toward in the mining industry. Agnico-Eagle is currently an employer that needs skilled workers for its Meadowbank operation. Other immediate possibilities for mine-related employment in the region include the Meliadine mine, proposed for a location northwest of Rankin Inlet, and the AREVA proposal for a uranium mine west of the community. However, neither of these proposals is 'a sure thing'. Investment in the exploration and development of the Meliadine mine has recently been scaled back, in light of a decline in the international price of gold. The AREVA proposal, in addition to matters related to the price and demand for uranium, faces issues related to its environmental assessment.

One social service worker suggested that Inuit could have been better equipped to take advantage of employment opportunities in the industry. *Why did, if they were preparing this ten years ago, why didn't they prepare the school system to advance itself to have a stronger core and curriculum to ensure that we have better educated people?* The transferability of skills is a concern. Much of what is currently being emphasized in the community are skills that are transferable, but only to other mining operations. *I've been telling all our young people to, to go*

and get training for, for mining occupations. Where are they going to go? Mining's is going to go away one day. Comments made by community informants and women attending the workshop and focus groups suggest that few people are aware of this possibility or are acknowledging the fact.

At a 'trades week' held in the community in early 2013, other professions had a presence (health services, social service, administration, project coordination, etc.), but training for jobs in these areas is not locally-based and the number of positions available at any given time are few. Mining, on the other hand, is an industry where there is a sudden demand for a great many workers. At the same time, when an operation ends, a great many jobs are suddenly lost with considerable impact on the mine-affected community (as was true in the cases of the Nanisivik mine closure in 2002 and the North Rankin Nickel mine closure in 1962).



At present, there appears to be considerable confusion around the closure of the Meadowbank mine. News articles on the subject and statements made by mine officials are easily accessible from a Google search. Yet this reality does not seem to be recognized in the community. Social service workers and community residents who participated in interviews and focus groups did not refer to 2017 as the projected closure date. Many seemed unaware that the life of the mine is limited. Some communicated with us as if the mine was a permanent fixture of the community.

As researchers, this provoked questions from us regarding what information the community residents received about the mine, the Inuit Impact and Benefits Agreement (IIBA) and decisions made about the benefits the community is receiving—or might have received—in relation to the

development of the mine. One social service worker clearly stated his frustration about why needs were not anticipated from the outset and were not being met. *Why not have the mining companies and the federal government use our royalties to open a new women's shelter, or a men's shelter? Why not more mental health workers? Why not more counselors? Why not enhanced quality of education?* Those who expressed frustration, anger, worry and sadness in relation to the negative impacts of mining on Qamani'tuaq often also felt unjustly treated. They wondered why some needs in relation to the impact of the mine had been overlooked. This observation can be related to what has previously been discussed with regard to IIBAs: the openness of the negotiation process, the involvement of women at the community level, attention to social needs and more transparency with regard to impact benefits agreements and their content.

I'm not a supporter of mining, but if we can advance ourselves with quality of life and use education, everybody should use education as a foundation. This social service worker feels particularly strongly about the role education can play in advancing community residents' quality of life. Studies show a positive correlation between education and employment, as well as educational attainment in relation to poverty. Aboriginal women who complete high school are twice as likely to find employment as those who have not finished secondary school.⁴⁴ Finishing a high school diploma is a minimal educational requirement for many service and basic level entry jobs. Post-secondary education—when physically and financially accessible—increases access to employment.

In Qamani'tuaq, the impact of employment at the mine on the school attendance of children was raised as a concern by several community informants and workshop participants. Educators in the community indicated that mine employment had affected school attendance by children from families where one or both parents are working at the mine. There are, therefore, a number of ways in which education—relative to the presence of the mine—is a concern.

Informants were clear to describe 'education' as not simply curriculum-driven learning in formal institutions. Education was also a matter of developing awareness on important topics and consciousness around certain issues. *So, I think the one thing that's much needed is cultural sensitive training with the mining companies.* This social service worker highlights the importance of cross-cultural education and cultural understanding directed at creating culturally-safe practices and spaces. Another social service worker indicated how far education could go to help people identify healthy and unhealthy interactions. *I have heard that, you know, there's*

⁴⁴ Quinless, Jacqueline. 2012. *Aboriginal Women in the Canadian Economy: The Links Between Education, Employment and Income*. Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada. Available at: http://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/DAM/DAM-INTER-HQ/STAGING/texte-text/ai_res_aborig_econ_pdf_1331068532699_eng.pdf.

In Nunavut, the average annual salary of Inuit women was \$24,927 in 2006. While this is better than the average salary of other Aboriginal women in Canada (\$21,733), in relation to the very high cost of living in Nunavut, Inuit women may not be as well-off as Aboriginal women elsewhere in the country. Salaries for women at the mine are much higher than the Nunavut average.

sexual harassment, uh, problems, and even, like, sexually transmitted infections that are big problems. So again, I think that's more education, you know, needs to, to be done about those kind of things. And about relationships.

In the presence of the mine, a need for more life skills training was expressed by community informants and focus group participants. There are currently a number of initiatives in the community that address this need, but they are fragmented and therefore only partially meet community needs. For example, a men's group has been meeting at the Ba'hai House in Qamani'tuaq. St. Aidan's Anglican Church has had a women's group for many years. The Mianiqsijit Project offers counselling addressing the needs of families and victims of sexual abuse. It also offers relevant classes dealing with topics that are part of its mandate. Nevertheless, these services are fragmented and do not necessarily meet the needs of all Inuit women and their partners in the community, who might need and benefit from life skills training.

Young people were identified as having particular needs. *It's always been, uh, happening, even before the mine started; problems with, uh, young people. Uh, not knowing how to cope with their problems. Not knowing how to talk.* There were focus group participants that valued the role of Elders in passing down teachings in meaningful and relevant ways. *I believe in Elders playing a large role in their opinions and knowledge of life, and I'd like to see that. I know there are Elders within the community and are very well known to work with people of all ages. ...It would be nice to, to, to be able to have an Elder to go to.* While education does not directly or always lead to behaviour change, increasing access to accurate information could help equip community residents to better understand and address the impacts they have been feeling. As one participant put it: *I think just awareness and education is the key to everything. Because there'll be no proper way.* In other words, both good information and an education that helps in both interpreting and using the information are required.



Many community informants indicated that there were concerns with regard to gendered impacts. One community informant noted: *But for every community member, especially elderly women, I think their concern as well is the roles of men. Whether the men are taking the responsibility to be a contributing part of the family members. ...what elderly women would be more concerned about as well, too, in the cultural perspective, is maintaining that cooperation and participation, and the involvement of men.*

Quotes from those participating in the research suggest that there are gaps in the information Inuit have about the mine and mine-affected communities. There is a need for life skills training and education that addresses culture and cultural concerns both in formal educational settings and in the community. Inuit women need more information about what closure of the mine means for their economic future in relation to the transferability of skills, the content of their education and the education of their children.

Informed Consent and Bracing for Change

As previously mentioned, some social service workers were aware of what mine-affected communities struggle with: the impacts being experienced by Qamani'tuaq are not unique. One made reference to pre-existing social issues that may have been amplified by the presence of the mine. Another related personal experiences with the nickel mine at Voisey's Bay Labrador, to parallel issues affecting Qamani'tuaq.

The literature reviewed for this study, based on experiences elsewhere in Canada and internationally, is consistent in emphasizing that the impacts of mining operations on Indigenous populations include impacts that are gendered. These impacts include domestic violence, sexual harassment and the feminization of poverty. Historically relevant experience with Nunavut's Nanisivik mine near Arctic Bay (Ikpiarjuk), suggests other issues that should concern residents of Qamani'tuaq.⁴⁵ There is documented dissatisfaction with how few skills were transferable. Substance use was such an issue that the phrase 'Nanisivik alcohol' was coined. No material legacies—infrastructure, industrial or household equipment or community-based economic alternatives—were left to the community after the mine closed.

Conversations with workshop participants, community informant interviews and the results of focus groups suggest that there was inadequate engagement of the community, as a whole, in the development of the mine and the negotiating of the Impact and Benefits Agreement. This is not to say that community leaders and business people were not consulted, but women in the community affected by the mine did not feel that they had been adequately informed, involved or consulted in development of the project. This translates into people feeling disrespected, afraid and frustrated.

⁴⁵ Lim, Tee, Terre Satterfield and Frank Tester. 2012. The Social Dimensions of Mine Closure: Lessons from Nanisivik, Canada's First High Arctic Mine. Paper presented at the 18th Inuit Studies Conference, Washington D.C., October 24-28.

One Elder told the following story to illustrate the impact of both a lack of respect for and ‘not knowing’ what is happening to one’s land. *Quite a few years ago, there, there was an elder who [...] used to go out in the land by walking, he’d go for walks, walk, long walks. And one time he was out, uh, walking again, and I guess while he’s out walking he would camp out, you know, out in the country, out in the land; and one day he was woken by a helicopter, and he doesn’t know, didn’t know anything about helicopters then and what they were. And when he woke up there was this helicopter that was, uh, hovering above him, and he didn’t know what it was, so he took his gun and aimed at the helicopter and then it flew away and never returned to that spot. So she figures maybe those were the prospectors surveying, doing their survey.* This Elder was taken by surprise, frightened and even more upset when he thought about the implications of actually shooting at the helicopter.

Respect is pivotal to the development of positive relations between Inuit women and a mining company. The very male-centered culture of the industry means that mining companies often have, at least initially, a poor idea of what positive relations might look like. Involving women in this process and working with mine-affected women is important to showing the respect that is vital in building good working relations with all elements of Inuit communities.



Showing respect can take many forms. It includes becoming informed about and accepting Inuit ways of doing things and Inuit ways of being. A respectful process between proponents of the mine, stakeholders and the community of Qamani'tuaq, should have included more information about other mine-affected communities. In this way, community members could have done a better job of weighing the costs and benefits of the mine and discussing their hopes and concerns in an informed way. *I myself I'm not very pleased with how the mining operation has prepared. I think the community should have been more involved in community consultation.* A respectful

process would engage community members on their own terms and include their way of dealing with who is involved, how a consultation and information process is structured and how decisions are made.

None of this is to suggest that Inuit of Qamani'tuaq—even if they had a better understanding of both the positive and negative potential impacts of development—would have decided differently than to support mining development. Many Inuit with whom we spoke are strong supporters of mining and of the mine company. They noted that they have benefited a great deal from employment at the mine. *[They're] able to go out and provide for their family on their two weeks in, like go out hunting and, or else help other family members and stuff. Um, so that's a good part about having an income.*

However, there is considerable division in the community over the benefits of mining. *A lot of people here, I guess they were just focusing on the jobs... Just jobs for them.* Jobs have brought wanted positive change to the material security of many families. But along with the job comes a new schedule, new social environment, new expectations, new relations of power and encounters with new situations that present employees and families with new risks to their physical, personal and social well-being. New income can also affect how one is perceived within the home community and vice versa. *Some of the community I know they changed towards me 'cause I work at the camp. They think I make big bucks; like, I make less bucks than a lot of people here.* What contributes to the perceptions of these workers, and feelings of resentment by other community members, is that many Qamani'tuamiut recognize that only a portion of the population seems to have benefited from the mine. *I think back then the way things were done, that the municipality just agreed to certain conditions, and I think only few benefitted from preparation, such as the private sector. Uh, I'm glad private sector is benefitting; however, I think the rest of the Baker Lake people should have also benefitted.* This statement speaks to the values and sense of *collective* well-being and responsibility characteristic of Inuit culture. It also suggests that benefits meeting the needs of everyone—including public services derived from the mine and the Impact and Benefits Agreement—are not evident in the community.

If the objective is to make sure that the benefits and opportunities afforded by the mine are shared by the greatest possible number of people, preparing the community for what they might expect allows people to consider how to buffer change and meet this objective. It is not surprising that those proposing a mining development and those in favour act as advocates. They emphasize the benefits of such a project. But ignoring potential problems is a mistake—even for developers. The costs in terms of absenteeism and labour turnover, attributable to social and personal problems that were overlooked or downplayed in the interests of generating community support, can be considerable.

This appears to have been the case with respect to the Meadowbank operation, as reflected in some of the comments we received. *I don't know if we really prepared for the changes that were coming.* Some social service workers spoke about insufficient infrastructural capacity. *Why was*

there no preparation of maybe a better health centre, paved roads, utility services, recreation centre, counseling services, um, one-on-one counseling, student counseling... Another social service worker, recognizing some of the problems created by a sudden influx of money, wondered: *Why wouldn't you have [an addictions centre]?* Another put it this way: *I think Baker Lake should have got a lot more in return for social development to make sure that there is social justice, that there is basic access to human rights and activities.* The mining company has provided helicopter tours to areas traditionally occupied by Inuit of Qamani'tuaq, paid for community feasts, supported community activities and provided a baseball diamond. The question is: "Based on the experience of other mine-affected communities, what are the important needs of the community in relation to the impact of the mine?" Notwithstanding difficulties with the terms of reference for and the process of negotiating the Inuit Impact Benefit Agreement for the Meadowbank Mine, many social service needs created by the mine do not seem to have been identified and, consequently, do not seem to have been adequately addressed.

Rapid Change and Cultural Responses

Society is changing so fast. We're just one generation away from moving from an igloo to working at the mines. Cultures are dynamic. However, rapid change has the potential to shake cultural and community integrity. Cultural norms engrained and embraced by some, may have a different value within a mining context. For instance, the elderly may expect to be treated with a certain level of respect when interacting with a younger individual of the same culture. When this does not happen—or quite the opposite occurs—the Elder may feel slighted and question the person's sense of cultural identity. Don't they have to have respect older people, the young people? They seem changed up there. But here it's okay, but up there they're just too much young people; they're too much trying to put older people down. I tried to, I tried to talk back. What happens when a mining culture is introduced to Inuit youth is bound to impact Inuit ways of doing things. An organizational cultural that is hierarchical and based on formal educational credentials and meritocracy creates friction within a culture that had, historically and based on different criteria, alternative and different ways of doing things. The



hierarchical and competitive relations that are a product of corporate work environments create friction with the ways of being and doing characteristic of Inuit culture.

Other hierarchical and new relations of power present at the Meadowbank mine, and not present in the community, are those between the French-Canadian and Inuit employees. *And six months out of my life I have to deal with French people. I thought they were like all Canadians. I didn't realize that in their minds they think they're better than the rest of the other Canadians. And I...they're worse than my kids; not all of them are like that.* Frustration and exhaustion are evident in this statement. Six months out of the year, this Inuk community resident lives in a community where people of her culture and ethnicity make up the overwhelming majority of the population. Six months out of the year, she exists in a 'contained environment' where she becomes a 'minority' on her traditional lands. What is more, she and other Inuit bear witness to, as well as become subject to, racial and cultural discrimination. *It's not just Quebecers and Inuit; it's Quebecers and English Canadians. ...It's even Quebecers against Quebecers.* Inuit become entangled in the identity politics that are part of Canadian social and political life. This kind of conflict, in a culture that is adverse to conflicts of this sort, is both challenging to understand and stressful.



In mine-employed families, sometimes it is the man who works at the mine, sometimes a woman and her partner and sometimes, less typical of mining, it is just the woman who is employed. *So, there's a total [gender] flip-flop. Now how that plays into their psyche or, or family dynamics at home when they're, when they are together, um—I don't know. Like, it's a reality that is what's happening.* This perspective comes from a White Euro-Canadian, so the understanding and assumption of what constitutes culturally normal gender roles among Inuit in Qamani'tuaq may be limited. As one Inuk participant explained: *traditionally what I understood and what I grew*

up with is that both men and women have specific roles, nothing genderized. It was shared responsibility.

This may be a statement that is historically correct, while the extent to which this still represents gender relations and cultural norms in the community might be questionable. Catholic values and teachings, the residential and day school experience and now the presence of three churches in the community, have likely contributed to significant changes in gender relations and the way men regard women. What historically may have been more casual attitudes toward sexual relations have likely changed in the presence of the idea of the 'sanctity of marriage'. The mine and the import of values and perspectives on gender relations, coupled with the tensions and jealousies created by a two week in, two week out schedule, complicates already complicated perspectives on 'the right way to live together'. The mine has clearly not been the only influence on gender relations. However, there is evidence in the literature that attitudes towards sex and money change with the introduction of mining to Indigenous communities.⁴⁶ Independence and a sense of authority and control experienced by women working at the mine, has likely put into question how men and women, husbands and wives, relate to one another in contemporary Inuit culture.

Two statements further illustrate the impact of mining on Inuit culture, interpersonal relationships and responsibilities. *Some have to learn to depend more on themselves than other, than their spouses or whoever they depend on.* Another woman stated that: *And, um, we, for us we look out for each other even though they are not our own children.* In the former, the speaker is suggesting that some Inuit (since the opening of the mine) have become more independent and less dependent on others in their families or anyone else in the community. The second statement is one about a cultural norm, a sense of community and collective responsibility; in this case, for children, regardless of their relationship to the person in question. A web of interconnected relations, where Inuit depend on one another, is more in line with what has characterized Inuit culture. For Inuit, it is typical to give and expect support from family and extended family members. In the presence of this cultural expectation, needs created by the experience of working at the mine and a lack of services may put an added emotional burden on family members, especially women. *It's emotionally or mentally straining on us too. ..I'm affected by the person calling me. I pay less attention, I guess, to my own children and grandchildren, and, uh, to my relationships. My relationship to my husband maybe---He must wonder why I'm behaving like that or acting like that or quiet.*

⁴⁶ Lahiri-Dutt, Kuntala. 2012. "Digging Women: Towards a New Agenda for Feminist Critiques of Mining." *Gender, Place & Culture* 19 (2): 193–212.



Roles, responsibilities and beliefs appear to be in transition among many Qamani'tuamiut. Some are welcoming of these changes, some are unaware. Others believe that there is benefit to maintaining traditional Inuit ways of being and understanding. There are attitudes and activities identified by those attending the workshop and focus groups and by community informants as destructive of relations in the community. What complicates a community's capacity to deal with harmful behaviour among its residents when it is underserved and overwhelmed is not only a lack of information and resources. It is the presence of cultural values and ways of doing things that served Inuit well in camps and small settlements, but that are problematic in the face of rapid and complex social change and the problems that accompany it. One of these is the value of non-interference. The autonomy of the individual is a value important to Inuit culture and reflected in the respect and responsibility afforded to children. *A lot of cases, uh, even with her own, she's experienced it that she's noticed that there's a change in one of her children's lives and asked them, Is there anything wrong? And once they say, no; there's nothing wrong, there's not much you can do unless they open up themselves.*

The Inuk Elder that shared this observation hoped that people would learn to communicate, but also believes it inappropriate to pry into the affairs of others, including children. Will the changing circumstances we have noted—a rapid pace of cultural and social change of which the mine is a part—force a re-evaluation of this and other cultural norms? The Elder speaking about these changes worries about what disruption and a lack of cultural continuity can do to Inuit youth: *That's when they get discouraged with life and, uh, start attempting suicides and that. But that's what makes me very nervous wondering how they're going to be able to cope with the problems when they face situations in their lives.* The cultural response may be to respect the person's self-determination. *...it's up to each individual, uh, how they deal with life. And young people do learn from their own mistakes. Uh, the sad part is a lot of times that they think that when they do make mistakes that they're not worthy anymore.* Appropriate interventions may help buffer these and other impacts.

Environmental Concerns

Some workshop, focus group participants and community informants commented on impacts on the physical environment. These are reported on in this section. As part of our research, we drove to the Meadowbank mine and received a guided tour that helped us better appreciate some of the environmental concerns expressed by workshop and focus group participants.

It is not our intention to make any particular claims with respect to caribou or any other species, that is beyond the scope of the current research. We have, however, noted some of the comments made by participants in the workshop. Some participants reported spending more on food than they had in the past, when caribou were more easily available. The road is reported to have affected caribou migration. One workshop participant suggested that: *The road, Agnico road, the hundred and seven kilometer, changed the caribou migration; that's a bad thing for the hunters and the community. There's no caribou around much anymore.* While migration may have been affected, caribou are often sighted in the vicinity of the mine.



People have stopped harvesting food in areas near the mine. *I know that the mining area itself, I know it used to be a lot of, ah, there's a lot of fishing areas, but nobody goes there anymore. And, um, personally I haven't seen the mine, the pit mine there directly, but sometimes seeing it from far it's more like an ugly sight to see. There, it's not natural like it used to be.*

Dust is a commonly reported concern with respect to the road to the Meadowbank mine. *The first time when it, the thing started, and especially with the road--as for myself, I always liked natural nature, untouched land—um, especially during the springtime. Um, you go on the road going to*

Meadowbank and you see a lot of dust on both sides, and you tend to start asking yourself, "What have we done?" The road to the mine is not readily accessible; if one wishes to use it for hunting purposes, one must register with the Hunters and Trappers Organization (HTO). The road does produce a lot of dust, which is a commonly mentioned by-product of mining roads. Dust and vehicle exhaust can have detrimental effects on roadside vegetation. Dust can also exacerbate respiratory issues, such as asthma. Asbestos, which has serious respiratory implications, has also been detected at the mine site.⁴⁷

One of the problems with Environmental Impact Assessments is that they often fail to recognize caribou—in this case—and Inuit reliance on caribou as a food source, as part of an integral system. Environmental assessments are not necessarily integrated assessments. The social or human dimension is often neglected. For example, impact statements may focus on the health of a species. Thus, if a herd of caribou is displaced, but remains healthy in terms of numbers, recruitment rates and physical health, a mine or associated infrastructure like a road is deemed to have no impact on the species. This does not necessarily mean there is no impact. Displacement and changed migratory patterns mean that Inuit access to a resource upon which much of the culture is based and upon which they depend for the most important source of protein, is affected.

Most people we spoke to had never seen the open pit. But it was no secret that the land had changed and that there were concerns about long-term impacts, especially regarding tailings and waste disposal. Several years ago, it was discovered that hundreds of barrels of waste, some of it toxic, had been dumped by mining and exploration companies (or by the Hamlet of Baker Lake under an agreement with mining and exploration companies) in the municipal dump.⁴⁸ *I learned about two years ago that Agnico-Eagle is paying twelve hundred dollars a month to the hamlet to throw their garbage into our waste site and, um, a lot of concerns about what kind of waste that is.* Another participant stated: *We used to be able to walk on the tundra, and seeing what has happened now; you know, they destroyed the land, not only the surface, but way under the ground as well.* Another Inuk participant talked about noise pollution. *Because back then we didn't know what planes or helicopters were and, you know, living out in the land, in the tundra, it's very quiet, very peaceful, and then these things come and they're very noisy. We didn't have a clue at all.* Another Inuk participant stated: *It was so quiet back then; there was no machineries, no, none of the stuff we have today. You were, they were able to hear a dog team coming in that, that, at that, from that distance.*

⁴⁷ Meadowbank mine workers warned of asbestos in ore: Mineral is a health hazard when dust inhaled. CBC News/North, Online. October 17, 2012. <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/story/2012/10/17/north-meadowbank-mine-asbestos.html>.

⁴⁸ Toxics in Baker Lake dump appall researcher: Waste leaking into water source, B.C. professor says. CBC News/North. Online. Sept. 22, 2010. <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/story/2010/09/22/baker-lake-dump-waste.html>.

The landscape has changed for Inuit over the last 60 years with major land-based activities (Operation MuskoX in the late 1940s), construction projects like the Distant Early Warning Line, (built in 1956-57), airfields, mining and exploration camps and the development of a few mines, such as North Rankin Nickel Mine (1957-1962) and Cullaton Lake Gold Mine (1981-1986). Changes seen in and around Qamani'tuaq in the past decade have been significant. The conflict between generations, and involving different attitudes toward mining and development in relation to culture, are captured by the following quote from an Inuk woman participating in the workshop. *I was actually told by one of them that if I was not in support of the mine then I was against, um, the Inuit, their traditions and against their getting ahead.*

Hopes and Vision for the Future



As is true of any situation involving change, among the participants in this research, some change is okay, some is invited and sometimes it just matters how it is delivered. *But I think generally, like, any man or woman would have a genuine concern about the wellness of the environment, of the animals, the well-being of our communities. I mean that's all that, that should really matter is we can all continue to advance in our own way, but collectively we all hold ourselves accountable.*

Inuit women have different perspectives on what are positive and negative changes and impacts. The woman quoted above is suggesting that the well-being of the environment, animals and the

community are important. Most importantly, what matters is advancing *in our* (the Inuit) *way*. The combination of a collective sense of responsibility and respect for autonomy is evident from the wording of the above quote from a community social service worker. Another worker shared that the mine: *had a positive effect on local businesses where it's assisted them and increased the number of people to work in private companies to meet the needs of the mining company.*

People are not against change and economic development, but protecting the environment, animals and having control over changes so (they) *can all continue to advance in* (their) *own way* is important. With some exceptions, the current processes for negotiating Inuit Impact Benefit Agreements and what has subsequently happened to ensure that social needs of the community are met, does not leave most Inuit women who participated in the research feeling that they had any significant role to play in dealing with changes affecting their lives. Problems with the Community Wellness Report and the subsequent development of important social services intended to address problems identified in the report, have been outlined in the section dealing with the Inuit Impact Benefit Agreement for the Meadowbank Mine.

As noted elsewhere in this report, a sustainable future depends very much on the development of alternative economic opportunities and the presence in the community of a bank or banking facilities. While there is a bank in the regional centre of Rankin Inlet, there is none in Qamani'tuaq. The community is too small to warrant the operation of a full-scale bank, though a self-serve electronic alternative that would accommodate cash deposits and withdrawals is a possibility worth exploring. Women want workshops and opportunities to acquire a measure of financial literacy. Women have considerable talent that could be put to work in the development of economic alternatives. But there is considerable anxiety about change in the community. Women wish to be heard.

Participants made it clear that Qamani'tuaq is a community of Inuit with many different talents. They commented on the gifts people in the community possess: that of a joker, a good speaker, a good ear, a good heart, an organizer, a good hunter, a good cook, a storyteller, a square dancer, a musician, etc. The list goes on. What one social service worker continued to say was: *I would really, my vision is that Baker Lake would come out of alcoholism, you know? What I would want to see is, um, I would want to see Baker Lake coming together as a community and see themselves as to how they were before the mine even existed.* The phrase 'come out of' is significant in regard to problems with alcohol use and abuse in the community. The social impact of alcohol use in the community is portrayed as a cloud or shackle on the community that restricts its capacity to thrive. Inuit women participating in this study are aware that the community's well-being has shifted. They want women and children to be heard. *I can only wish and believe that the people of Baker Lake will have enough fortitude and strength to be able to keep our head up above water and to know that this is our community and that women and children have a say, and I hope that we can restore that in the community.*

Changes in the community that require attention were identified by all participants in this research. *And I know the Elders are aware that the mine has had an awful lot of effect on the community, and their words are really wise. And a lot of people do respect them for what they have to say about it and how to go about dealing with it.* Some Inuit who are concerned about the impacts of the mine on Inuit culture and social life are mostly silent. They are fearful of speaking out. This is understandable. Some families are divided in their support for the mine. Some, for reasons made obvious by a quote noted earlier in this text, are afraid of being seen to be against progress and unappreciative of the jobs and opportunities the mine affords.

At the same time, a few Inuit women have been quite vocal about what should happen. *But I think we have to become more politically aware, more politically conscious, and I think the people of Baker Lake should voice more about saying, "What about us?" They've taken the resources from our lands; give something back.* This statement suggests that despite employment and other benefits to Qamani'tuaq, there are clearly important needs that women of Qamani'tuaq feel have not been addressed, hence the request that 'something be given back'. This also indicates that not everyone is aware that Agnico-Eagle is making royalty payments to the Kivalliq Inuit Association as part of the agreement to develop the mine.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Women and an Economic Legacy

The eastern Arctic—formerly part of the Northwest Territories and, since 1999, Nunavut Territory—has long suffered from problems affecting the economic well-being of Inuit. The price paid for fox fur trade, upon which Inuit had depended since the opening of the first HBC trading post in Kimmirut in 1911, declined rapidly following the Second World War. Inuit culture and society was subsequently disrupted by a series of events that included relocations, residential and federal day schooling initiatives, military activity—including the construction in 1956-57 of the Distant Early Warning (D.E.W.) Line—and movement from land-based camps into settlements along the Arctic coast.

Qamani'tuaq is the only inland community of Inuit in the Canadian Arctic. Starting in 1945, Inuit became increasingly economically dependent upon welfare payments and Family Allowances; an amount, paid in kind, to Inuit women based on the number of children in their families. In the new settlements, men often had more difficulty than women finding employment. Women were employed as clerks at the Hudson's Bay Company outlets, as the HBC converted from a fur-trade to a retail operation. They found work assisting in the schools, nursing stations and government offices that developed across the territory. Initiatives to bring economic opportunities to the eastern Arctic often floundered. These included boat-building initiatives, attempts to introduce poultry and livestock, an industry based on Eider-down and numerous commercial fishing ventures.

Inuit found wage employment with the RCMP, with the construction of the D.E.W. Line and, in the Kivalliq region, with the North Rankin Nickel Mine (1957-1962) that resulted in the creation of the community of Rankin Inlet. Rankin Inlet is now the regional centre for the Kivalliq Region of Nunavut. The closure of the mine brought considerable hardship to Inuit formerly employed by the mine. Research into the history of this mine and the aftermath, is consistent with other experiences with the Polaris Mine on Little Cornwallis Island (1981-2002) and the Nanisivik Mine near Arctic Bay on Baffin Island (1976-2002). There has been no economic legacy associated with these operations. When the mines closed, those employed became unemployed. No attention was given to creating a fund that could be used for alternative economic development once the mines closed. In the case of Rankin Inlet, numerous attempts by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development to create alternative employment failed, including the opening of a fishery and canning operation in the mid-1970s.

The most enduring and successful economic development initiatives throughout Nunavut have been in the area of arts and crafts. Arts and crafts development has a long and outstanding history in Qamani'tuaq, commencing with the appointment of Doug Wilkinson as the first Northern

Development Officer in 1957. Since then, a series of initiatives in sewing and printmaking have made the community one of the leading sources of Inuit art in the territory. The more recent initiatives include the opening of the Jessie Oonark Centre in 1992, the formation of the Ujaraqtatit Carving Society in 1993, the Akubliriit Arts Society in 2005 and the Baker Lake Printmaker's Co-operative in 2008.

The research we conducted reveals that few people have given much thought to the closing of the Meadowbank mine. There is little discussion of this eventuality, currently planned for 2017, three years ahead of what was originally intended. In fact, some of the conversations to which we were privy give the impression that mining will continue in the community for at least another 20 years. These impressions may be based on anticipation that AREVA will be successful with its plans to open a uranium mine to the west of the community. AREVA is currently in the approval process, but the economics of the proposed operation and the approval process mean that this development is far from certain.

It is therefore quite possible that the Meadowbank mine will close in 2017 and leave current employees with little choice but to seek similar employment at the proposed Meliadine mine—another gold mine to be operated by Agnico-Eagle—located northwest of Rankin Inlet. However, the development of the site depends on further exploration and the future price of gold. The price of gold has been declining recently. Fluctuations in the price of gold and other metals, combined with high operating costs relative to other parts of the world, have implications for the development of mining in Nunavut. These realities have affected plans for the development of the Baffinland Mary River iron mine. All of this adds considerable uncertainty to mining as a source of employment or source of long-term employment for any community in Nunavut.

The degree to which the economy of Qamani'tuaq is currently dependent on mining activity is remarkable. In the first nine months of 2011, of Agnico-Eagle expenditures of \$118 million, \$19 million went to Qamani'tuaq businesses. With an average salary of \$66,000 a year for its Nunavut-based employees (the majority of which are located in Qamani'tuaq), Agnico-Eagle contributed about \$19 million to the economy of the Kivalliq region. However, the evidence suggests that the benefits from these expenditures are poorly distributed in the community and are giving rise to a 'class system;' some people benefit considerably, while others benefit little or bear the costs of the mine in terms of substance use, domestic disputes and violence, mental health and other problems. As previously noted, the impact on unemployment in Qamani'tuaq has been negligible. The impact on social relations in terms of income distribution appears to have been significant.

Despite the creation (on paper) of a Community Economic Development Fund, no payments under the fund have been made in Qamani'tuaq. There is no information; there is no outline of a process for applications and no forms online. No effort has been made to initiate an alternative sustainable form of economic development in Qamani'tuaq that either builds on current economic activity or explores new and other possibilities.

Current mining activity creates a number of problems. Local businesses that are not tied directly to mining operations have a hard time competing with the wages available at the mine.

Furthermore, local businesses of all types are, at present, the beneficiaries of the income that Qamani'tuaq residents have to spend. The closure of the mine has serious implications for all economic activity in the community. There is a need to plan for the eventual closure of the mine and the possibility that mining jobs may not be readily available to Qamani'tuamiut.

Furthermore, rates of absenteeism and turnover suggest that some women, given difficulties with childcare, relationship problems related to mine employment and the work experience at the mine, would prefer alternative, community-based employment even if the pay is less.⁴⁹ While history suggests difficulties in creating alternative and small business opportunities in Nunavut, some realities have changed, notably the possibilities of developing businesses reliant on online catalogues and marketing. Women are asking for a project that works with women in the community who are interested in community-based employment opportunities with a life beyond the mine. Some also wish to acquire the skills that will make it possible for them to have alternative employment. To develop those possibilities would generate interest among women who, for family and other reasons, wish to find employment in the community. These initiatives might include a hair salon, sewing and marketing parkas, other sewn goods, boxed sets of the instruments for playing traditional Inuit games, a bakery and/or coffee shop, etc. Initiatives might build on activities already present in the community. Internet marketing of arts, crafts and other products made in Nunavut is very under-developed. An internet search using keywords that one might expect to reveal interesting made in Nunavut products for sale online, typically produces nothing. The issue with community economic development is always the competition that initiatives capitalized with a community economic development fund presents to existing businesses. Nevertheless, women have not, historically, had access the same resources as men in developing business opportunities.

The Nunavut government should carefully study the economic impact of the Meadowbank mine and consider not only the impact on the economy in general, but note the considerably unequal distribution of economic advantage that our research suggests has happened in the community. Is poverty reduction a matter of absolute or relative objective? Is the inequality being created in Qamani'tuaq in terms of class and gender acceptable and a desired outcome of mineral development in the territory? How does growing inequality relate to the principles of IQ and what was characteristic of Inuit culture and social relations?

The Community Economic Development Fund that KIA is to use to initiate sustainable economic alternatives should be put in place as soon as possible.

⁴⁹ A number of women in the focus groups had done just that. They had quit their jobs at the mine and taken employment in the community for one or more of the reasons outlined.

Guarantees should be provided that women will be given equal access to these funds, in recognition of the difficulties women commonly experience in attempts to access capital for small business development.

KIA should initiate a series of meetings and workshops with women in Qamani'tuaq to identify business opportunities and to give women the necessary skills to manage a small business. KIA—or someone hired for the purpose—should work with interested women in Qamani'tuaq to assist them through the process of business development.

Inuit Impact Benefit Agreements need monitoring to ensure that their terms and conditions are met. Of considerable importance, IIBAs should be transparent: not just in relation to their terms and conditions, but also with respect to the resources they make available to regional Inuit associations and how these funds will be spent. The matter of accountability does not appear to have been adequately addressed in dealing with resources intended to mitigate impacts; how and when they are spent---and by whom.

Childcare

The results of discussions with Qamani'tuaq women suggest that there are two types of childcare needed in the community. This need has been created by the 'two week in, two week out' schedule for those working at the mine. This section deals with the needs of young children. The needs of pre-teen and teenage children are addressed in the section of the recommendations dealing with youth.

Current arrangements and facilities for childcare in Qamani'tuaq are completely inadequate in meeting the needs of women and families in the community. The daycare is currently housed in one of the oldest buildings in the community. The physical infrastructure is inadequate. Many of the daycare needs are related specifically to the mine. Given the limited life span of the mine, this might have meant that temporary buildings were provided in the community capable of meeting the daycare space needs of families working at the mine. No attempt has been made to establish what current needs are. No research was done on likely daycare needs as the mine was being planned and developed. Parents and families should have been asked what arrangements they would make and what their needs were, given different work scenarios.

Funding for the existing daycare comes from the Nunavut Department of Education. This explains, in part, why its operation is tied to the school year. Some additional funding comes from the Kivalliq Partners in Development (KPID) fund operated by the Kivalliq Inuit Association. An application has been made to the federal government's 'Community Infrastructure Improvement Fund' to address the physical space needs of the facility.

The current daycare facility is run and operated by a Board chaired by Lorraine Niego, who is also the IIBA coordinator for Qamani'tuaq. The facility has 24 places. Only four of these are for infants. These places are currently filled and there are 19 people on the waiting list. Getting a place for one's child is done on a first-come, first-served basis, based on the waiting list. Board members of the daycare (5 women) and staff have priority. Qamani'tuaq women with whom we spoke were under the impression that most of the spaces were taken by women and families who had employment with government services in Qamani'tuaq.

The daycare is not designed to address the needs of women who may be working at the mine and whose partners may be working elsewhere in the community. The facility operates from 8:15 to 12:00 and from 12:50 to 5:00. The hours of operation are restrictive. They do not meet the needs of someone working at the mine or someone in the community who may be working at a site such that returning from work to pick up a child at noon from the daycare would be inconvenient or impossible. The daycare operation is also tied to the school system and closes when schools in Qamani'tuaq close. This is because at other times, the attendance at the daycare is low. Running the facility over the summer and at Christmas is not cost effective, but its use is a function of the perception that it is not suitable or available to people who are working at the mine. How this

would change if many of the infants using the daycare facility were children of Inuit working at the mine needs to be assessed.

Between July, 2011 and June, 2012, an average of 16.75% of the workforce from Qamani'tuaq was absent from the Meadowbank mine at any given time for various reasons. In some months, the figure was as high as 23%. As noted, difficulties with the Inuit workforce, based on 2010-2011 data, were cited by Agnico-Eagle's General Manager for Nunavut, Denis Gourde, as one of the factors affecting the life of the mine. Between the time that he made this statement (reported by Nunatsiaq News online, April 20, 2012) and the end of June, 2012, absenteeism of the Qamani'tuaq workforce increased dramatically. Challenges with daycare contribute to this problem.

A more recent report claims that the problem of absenteeism has been addressed to some considerable degree. With 30% of the mine's workforce arriving for two-week in, two-week out rotations, missing a flight or, in the case of Qamani'tuaq, the ride to the mine means missing a week of work. Agnico-Eagle is reported to have addressed the problem by being more selective in whom it hires, paying attention to references and interviewing candidates more carefully with work attendance record in mind.⁵⁰ Coordinators have also been hired to pick up employees and get them to their community airstrips and, in the case of Qamani'tuaq, presumably to the bus making the 110km trip to the mine. The career path and training being implemented has been designed to motivate employees. The mine claims that turnover among Inuit permanent employees has dropped from 25% in 2011 to 8% as of September 2013. What turnover looks like among temporary employees, many of whom are women, is unknown.⁵¹

While Agnico-Eagle's policies may have implications for both absenteeism and turnover, a concern over women's employment at the mine and turnover rates for Inuit women remains. If paying attention to work attendance records is a criteria for hiring, given women's responsibilities for family— children and often care of Elders—women may be considerably disadvantaged by such practices. The only way to ensure women's employment and to address absenteeism among Inuit women employees is to provide them with the structural supports— daycare paramount among these—needed to make their employment and attendance at work more possible.

Data available from Agnico-Eagle is inconclusive on the extent to which childcare problems explain this figure. Officially, 4% of those absent from work gave 'no child care' as a reason. However, a lack of information was available in 8% of cases, a 'no show' with no reason

⁵⁰ Ian Ewing. 2013. New path for ancient culture. *Canadian Institute of Mining Magazine*. September. Available at: <http://magazine.cim.org/en/2013/September/upfront/NEW-path-for-ancient-culture.aspx>.

⁵¹ Agnico-Eagle indicates that 14.5% (114) of its employees are temporary. Of these, 81 are Inuit and 40 are women. It appears that all of the women are Inuit. This being the case, women are 50% of the temporary Inuit employees at the mine. (Based on email communication from Graeme Dargo, Agnico-Eagle, August 6, 2013.)

accounted for another 27% of absenteeism and 'no answer given' was reported for 21% of all cases of absenteeism. There is every reason to believe that, with regard to women, a significant percentage of the 'unknown reasons' is accounted for by childcare problems (the other being domestic incidents, as discussed elsewhere). A significant portion of the unknown reasons is likely also related to men hunting or going out on the land, suggesting that more cultural understanding on the part of mine management may be in order.

For these reasons, the failure to adequately address daycare needs can be seen as a significant contributor to labour problems and to frustration and a measure of dissatisfaction that Inuit women of Qamani'tuaq have with their jobs at the mine.

An assessment of daycare needs in relation to the mine be undertaken in consultation with Inuit women who are and who have been employed at the mine. Plans should be made to reconfigure the daycare (size and hours of operation) in relation to the identified need. This should be done as soon as possible, given that it is highly likely that this problem is linked to high rates of labour turnover at the mine.

There is an immediate need for improvement and expansion of the existing facility from which the daycare is operating.

Where needed, the participation of Inuit women in the management and operation of the daycare should be increased. Elders should be consulted and actively involved in the daycare centre.

Addictions

Addictions and addictions-related issues were identified by Qamani'tuaq women as the cause of a considerable amount of concern and social disruption. Addictions refer to drug and alcohol abuse, as well as problem gambling.

Until recently, Qamani'tuaq had a centre for helping Qamani'tuamiut deal with addictions. The centre is no longer operational. There is, in the community, an inter-agency group that has periodic discussions about how to reinstate a centre. We were led to believe that there are some extenuating circumstances behind the closure of the centre and the absence of an addictions counselor in the community. Given the increase in the consumption of alcohol in the community, this is difficult to understand. It would appear that financial reasons are not behind these decisions and that not wanting to draw attention to the difficulties the community is experiencing in this regard, may have much to do with the fact that a serious problem has not been addressed. The result is, however, to set in place circumstances that have systemic implications for the well-being of Inuit women and families. Furthermore, these problems (domestic disputes, etc.) are clearly related to the employee absenteeism and turnover statistics for the Meadowbank mine. Not doing more to address the problem is regarded by women in Qamani'tuaq as a serious mistake.

The cost and process of obtaining alcohol through the permit system is not a deterrent in the presence of higher incomes for those working at the mine or in businesses in the community benefiting from the presence of the mine. Bootlegging in the community and smuggling of substances into the mine and to Inuit in Qamani'tuaq is happening. Youth are exposed to more alcohol and substances. An increase in alcohol-related offences, including acts of violence and sexual assault, has been reported by the RCMP.

Although some believe an alcohol and drug-free policy at the mine is important to ensure a safe working environment, others believe this may encourage bingeing; the heavy use of alcohol and substances in the period when an employee is not working at the mine. Some participants in this research were of the opinion that there should be 'second chances' or a supportive policy for employees who are having difficulty with alcohol or substances. At the same time, the importance of safety on the job is recognized. Female mineworkers are also frustrated that there is such a clear drug and alcohol policy with harsh sanctions, but that clear and harsh sanctions are not part of the policy that deals with sexual harassment.

The literature we reviewed clearly identifies substance abuse as one of the major impacts that mining has on both Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities. Enough is known about the problem that it can be named specifically in IIBAs. Meadowbank management is willing to support fly-out treatment for Inuit employees experiencing problems. However, while the support they offer is recognized and appreciated, this option is still financially inaccessible. Help

for Inuit with problem gambling does not exist in the community. Local and onsite services are needed.

Given the connection between substance abuse and incidents of violence on women and children, coupled with the relationships between alcohol consumption, gambling and family financial insecurity noted in this study, there are compounding, urgent and valid reasons why addressing addictions is a community health issue. It is well-known that substance abuse has implications beyond the current generation of those experiencing difficulties with substances, reflected in problems like fetal alcohol syndrome (FAS) and the intergenerational trauma associated with sexual assaults. These problems are not restricted to the individual substance user or assault victim. Archibald and Crnkovich (1999)—and others cited in the literature we reviewed—note the pattern created by being raised in a home where violence is present. Brockman (1995) makes the point that discussion of the impacts a mine has on community well-being needs to be in-depth enough to paint a sufficiently realistic picture of what ‘increased addictions’ might mean for the community.

On September 10, 2013, Keith Peterson, Minister of Health and Social Services, announced that the government was considering opening new addiction treatment centres.⁵² In addition to the Akausisarvik Mental Health Treatment Centre recently opened in Iqaluit, consideration is being given to centres in Rankin Inlet and Cambridge Bay. What may be needed, in addition to these regional centres, are treatment programs and flexible facilities that can be located in communities most affected by mining developments as these occur in the territory.

In the case of future mining developments, an assessment of community well-being, including rates of substance-related offences, addictions issues, rates of domestic violence and mental health/addictions infrastructure, should be completed *before* benefits are negotiated. Use should be made of what is already known in negotiating funds that will deal with the additional burden that mining operations place on addiction-related services in Inuit communities.

Agnico-Eagle should work with a committee made up of women residents to discuss their concerns around the impacts of addictions on women and the community. The screening for drugs/alcohol at the mine should be re-evaluated. Sanctions for possession or use of substances on site should be re-evaluated to include ‘warnings’.

Sufficient infrastructure and human capacity to address addictions should be available and financially supported on and off site. Agnico-Eagle should be part of the inter-agency group looking to reopen an addictions centre. This effort needs to be coordinated with the recent announcement by the Territorial government, with consideration given to services in mine-affected communities tied in to any plans for regional centres to deal with addictions and mental health issues.

⁵² “Nunavut mulling new addiction treatment centres.” CBC.ca/News/Canada/North. Sept. 10, 2013.

Support for Families

The impact of the mine on families and relationships is evident from the observations of women participating in this research and well documented in the literature on mine impacts. The shift schedule, relations at the mine, financial mismanagement, substance misuse and abuse, childcare challenges and unequal domestic responsibilities put considerable strain on the healthy functioning of families.

Support services that help women and families address concerns regarding their family well-being are needed on and off the mine site. These can take a number of forms: from individual counselling, to family counselling, to groups that address specific concerns, such as ‘separation anxiety’ or a support group for partners of mine employees who had relationships with other men or women while living at the mine. At present, a family support group at the mine and a women’s group in the community address some of these issues.

Family-centred services, not unlike other services, need to be enhanced in the presence of a mining operation. Education and awareness about issues, events and realities that may affect families should be discussed in communities before mines go into operation. Ideally, these discussions should involve family members meeting together. Teenagers and children should be given opportunities to explore—among themselves if necessary—the likely impacts on their lives of the mine employment of their parents and other family members. Families need to plan for time together and need to know and consider the schedules of mine employees in relation to family activities.

Inuit culture puts family at the centre of all activities. Women noted that getting leave to attend family-related events (funerals, births, graduations, birthdays, anniversaries, etc.) was not always easy. In this regard, the expectations of mine management may not be realistic. Inuit not only feel obligated to attend these occasions in terms of immediate family, but have obligations in terms of extended family. This cultural reality creates challenges for mine management and the scheduling of work.

Some women indicated that they were laid off because they were pregnant. This is particularly disturbing information. The law is clear in Canada, the provinces and territories. A woman cannot be dismissed because she is pregnant and is entitled to work as long as she is able to perform the tasks associated with her employment. If a woman is ill during her pregnancy, she is entitled to use up any sick leave for which she may be eligible and, secondly, any insurance that may be associated with the job, although the employer can also insist that Employment Insurance benefits be used for this purpose.⁵³

⁵³ A straight-forward explanation of women’s rights with respect to pregnancy and employment can be found at: http://www.naalc.org/migrant/english/pdf/mgcanwpr_en.pdf.

A range and continuity of services are important to meeting the needs of families with members employed at the mine. These include support for Elders who may be looking after children and who are sometimes exhausted and frustrated, better daycare and childcare facilities, support groups and counseling services, telecommunication and other services that allow families to keep in touch with a member working at the mine (Skype and other internet-based communication systems) and access to life skills training.

Support services should include the presence of a community worker who, as a matter of practice, checks in with families when a family member is away at the mine to see if there are needs that he or she can address or resources to which family members can be referred. The worker might also check once a family member has returned from his or her two week period at the mine, to see if there are issues that need to be addressed.

Agnico-Eagle currently pays for a phone-line counseling service for employees. The service, however, connects the person in need with a counselor based in southern Canada with limited—if any—knowledge and appreciation of Inuit culture or capacity to communicate in Inuktitut. A brochure given to employees and directing them to this service features a Latino-looking family on the cover. Counseling services are needed and this attempt to meet the need is clearly inadequate.

Mine managers need a better appreciation of the central role of family—including the extended family—in Inuit life. They need to work with the community to find innovative and creative ways of addressing what are likely to be more days and periods of leave than would be the case for Qablunaat employees. In accommodating extended family needs, mine managers need to be sensitive to and think creatively of ways of accommodating these realities. Having a roster of people who can fill in for those taking leave to deal with family expectations and obligations deserves consideration.

All women employed at the mine should be given information as to their rights and responsibilities if they become pregnant. Mine managers must be informed about and respect their obligations under the law.

The current service gap in meeting family needs in Qamani'tuaq needs to be identified and gaps in services need to be addressed. Both a failure to recognize and accommodate the need to attend to obligations related to extended family and the service gap in meeting family needs are likely significant contributing factors to absentee rates and labour turnover at the Meadowbank mine.

Mental Health Services

One of the social service workers interviewed for this study indicated that the clients she was referring to community mental health services were not following through by accessing mental health support. Inuit women participating in the study noted that the reason for not accessing needed services was related to the high turnover of mental health workers in the community.

When a client has to see a new worker and ‘start from the beginning’ with each one in explaining his or her difficulties, history and circumstances, this is frustrating and makes it quite challenging to work through issues and move forward in an effective way. A high turnover of mental health workers discourages clients from returning to get the help that they need. With limited alternatives to address mental health issues in the community, residents of Qamani’tuaq—and particularly women—are not accessing or obtaining the mental health services they need.

No reason was provided by workshop participants for the high turnover of mental health workers in the community. Problems with the retention of staff could be related to changes in community wellness and an increased need for mental health services. The result can be staff ‘burn-out.’ When mental health workers are Qablunaat, a lack of knowledge of the social history and culture of Inuit will affect their effectiveness in dealing with the experiences and problems faced by Inuit women. A discussion about approaches to dealing with mental health issues, what the alternatives are and what might best meet the needs of Inuit women needs to take place. While a need for better mental health services was identified by the roundtable discussions on poverty reduction held in the Kivalliq region, no discussion of approaches and ways of dealing with mental health issues has taken place. Are there self-help and collective responses that might work? How consistent are these with notions of autonomy and independence found in Inuit culture? How can Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit be used in relation to mental health issues?

In some communities or within some cultures, it is important to offer support services collectively and in a culturally safe environment. Ilisaqsivik, a non-profit Inuit community organization operating in Clyde River, has developed a distinctly Inuit approach to dealing with mental health issues as a community.⁵⁴ The program incorporates a spring camp bringing youth and Elders together, programs in Inuktitut literacy, a focus on traditional and culturally important skills in the making of tools, implements and skin clothing, workshops on parenting and trauma and healing.

This initiative has received a number of awards, including the Kaiser Foundation’s National Mental Health and Addictions Award, being named as one of Canada’s top 10 innovative organizations by Tides Canada and, in 2012, the Prime Minister’s Volunteer Award for social innovation.

⁵⁴ Information on Ilisaqsivik is available at: <http://ilisaqsivik.ca>.

As no one approach is effective for every client, a diversity of approaches may be necessary to effectively reach all clients. To provide a diversity of options and to address the staff turnover, there should be sufficient staff available to respond to the needs of the community. However, a collective and community-based response is needed to meet on-going and long-term community needs.

An Elder at the mine site is needed for support, counselling and cultural continuity purposes.

The mental health needs of Qamani'tuaq should be assessed. A committee of service providers, Elders and others representing youth, parents and women should evaluate and identify community mental health needs.

The reason for the current high turnover of mental health workers should be determined and the problem addressed.

Mental health services should be consistent with principles and practices of Inuit Qaujimaqatugangit.

The Iisatsivik initiative in Clyde River is likely the best example of the meeting of community mental health needs in Nunavut. It is a model that should be considered for other communities, especially Qamani'tuaq, where the presence of the mine appears to have created a need for enhanced and culturally-appropriate mental health services. The Kivalliq Inuit Association and the Government of Nunavut should sponsor a visit to Clyde River by Inuit women in Qamani'tuaq concerned with mental health issues in the community. Representatives of the Iisatsivik organization should be engaged to work with interested Qamani'tuamiut in taking a similar approach to meeting cultural and mental health needs in Qamani'tuaq.

Youth

The research suggested that school attendance was one of the most significant impacts on youth. When parents—or a parent—are working at the mine, youth are left in the care of Elders or relatives and sometimes older siblings. The result appears to be a decline in the school attendance of youth in mine-employed families. Conversations with youth were part of the research conducted in Qamani'tuaq.

Inuit youth confront a well-known list of challenges. They grow up with adults who related to them consistent with the norms and expectations of Inuit culture and consistent with the principles of Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit in the raising of children. Non-interference and non-directed learning—learning from example and by doing—are values and approaches used in dealing with youth. At the same time, youth are being prepared for a culture and society very different from that of previous generations, where the organization and structuring of the day and attention to time and schedules are important. The kind of direction and supervision given to youth in Qablunaat culture doesn't always fit well with Inuit parenting. In the absence of any parental direction, school attendance becomes a problem. The work schedule of the mine that means one or both parents may be absent from the home has exacerbated an existing problem.

Young people in Qamani'tuaq, as is true of all Nunavut communities, stay up late, commonly sleep over at one another's homes and may walk or ride the streets, weather permitting. Curfews exist in some communities, made possible under the *Nunavut Curfew Act*.

Inuit youth struggle with their location in a rapidly changing culture that mixes all of the norms, expectations and possibilities revealed by the Internet and television, with the norms, expectations and practices of Inuit culture. Youth occupy a confusing, demanding, difficult and often contradictory space. In a community where alcohol consumption—something that has increased significantly in the presence of the mine—is also associated with domestic incidents and sometimes violence, Inuit youth deal with acts of conflict and violence, sexual abuse and the use of substances. They consequently have many mental health challenges. They often see little opportunity to participate in a world presented to them by the Internet, television and captured by contemporary music and videos. This leads to some youth seeing 'no point' in taking school or other opportunities seriously.

The suicide rate for youth has received ongoing attention and has been studied extensively for years. A Globe and Mail article published in July of 2012, based on a report from Statistics Canada, reported the suicide rate for children and youth in Inuit homelands (Nunavut, Nunavik, the Inuvialuit Settlement Area and Labrador) at 30 times that of youth in the rest of Canada. The article quotes Jack Hicks, a researcher who has studied the problem extensively, as noting that unlike other populations, suicide rates are highest among youth. "That's important to recognize, he said, because people who first attempt suicide when they are young are driven by different problems – "a different basket of risk factors." They frequently suffer from anxiety disorders,

misuse cannabis and have a personal history of emotional and/or sexual abuse, Hicks said, adding prevention programs need to be tailored to the at-risk group.”⁵⁵

It is beyond the scope of this report to deal with a problem that has already received considerable attention from researchers, politicians, community workers, public health officials and, notably, young Inuit themselves. The Nunavut government launched a suicide prevention strategy in September of 2011 that included the building of facilities for dealing with mental health issues— noted earlier in the text—and the training and hiring of more mental health workers.

Qamani'tuaq does not yet appear to have benefited from these initiatives.

Meadowbank has supported a ‘trades weeks’ at the school to encourage youth to look at jobs in mining, as well as within the community. Ensuring that youth are directed to both mining-related skills that are transferable and employment possibilities other than mining is important to their future, given that the mine closes in 2017.

Youth need mentors and role models that can support them to be hopeful, to find their passion and achieve their goals. These mentors could be peers. Some women Elders stated that youth should have more opportunities to work with Elders and receive teachings and cultural knowledge. Initiatives like this would help contribute to cultural integrity, the learning of roles and responsibilities in Inuit culture, a better understanding of Inuit social history and would contribute to youth having pride in their culture.

Youth need a safe space where they can discuss their fears and concerns with mentors who are accepting, knowledgeable and understanding. Youth need a space where they can share with other youth and find support in one another. Youth need access to alternative forms of education informed by their lived realities through new social media, technology, arts and play. Youth need access to diverse physical recreation opportunities. Youth need exposure to information that is accurate, non-judgmental and responsive to their life experiences. This includes information dealing with teen pregnancy, sexual orientation and substance use. Women participating in the research indicated that Agnico-Eagle is willing to make some funding available for Qamani'tuaq youth. However, the criteria for accessing the funds did not seem to be clear. Youth also need help in identifying sources of funding and with making applications.

Of particular note and worthy of support in Qamani'tuaq are efforts by young people themselves to address the problem of young Inuit suicide. BLAST (Baker Lake Against Suicide Team)—a group of young people in Baker Lake trying to address suicide and related issues for young people—deserves and needs support. YouTube videos, such as one recently produced by Jordan Konek on a Baker Lake suicide walk, are also part of an effort by youth to address young Inuit suicide.⁵⁶ Youth in Qamani'tuaq should be consulted as to what they would like to do to address the problem, should be given the opportunity to

⁵⁵ Helen Branswell. 2012. “Death, suicide rates among Inuit kids soar over rest of Canada”. *Globe and Mail*. July 18.

⁵⁶ Konek Productions. (2013) *Suicide Walk 2013*. Available at: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U0XAg_uXCag.

consider a range of possibilities—activities and initiatives that could be funded—and assisted in making applications. Given the extent of this problem in all Nunavut communities, this is one area where mining companies—Agnico-Eagle in this case—could make a real and important contribution to the wellness of Qamani’tuamiut.

A space built or dedicated as a youth centre with permanent staff is also needed in Qamani’tuaq. There are a number of youth that utilize the open gym nights at the school, but there is no designated social service that caters to youth. Youth in Qamani’tuaq currently have inadequate opportunities to meet together to pursue their interests and have their needs met.

A youth committee should be established and advocate for the type of programming that would engage youth and prevent their exposure to harmful circumstances. A separate sub-committee or specific programming should be responsive to young women’s needs in the community, such as teen mom or women against violence support groups.

Models and opportunities for Inuit youth to work with Elders in exploring the social history of Qamani’tuamiut, Inuit culture and Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit should be considered in working with youth in the community. These include services offered by the Iisatsivik community organization in Clyde River and the exploration of Inuit social history and culture conducted by the Nanisivik Arviat History Project (<http://nanisiniq.tumblr.com>).

Life Skills Training and Education

Access to adequate and effective information and education is necessary in order for anyone to deal effectively with everyday life. The case for life skills training is not based on the capacity or capability of women in Qamani'tuaq to deal effectively with matters historically true of life in the community. Rather, it recognizes that, as women participating in the workshop and focus groups made abundantly clear, a development like a mine changes many things and introduces relationships, experiences, concerns and issues that are both an extension of former issues, as well as new ones.

Life skills training can be a form of adult education. Women participating in this research were interested in knowing more about banking and the management of finances, as previously mentioned in discussing an economic legacy. However, there were other issues and concerns raised that also need to be met with life skills training.

Parents, siblings, extended family and community are sources of learning. Other lessons are learned from Elders, schools, churches, peer groups, media and the experience and reflection of being on the land. When problems arise with individuals and institutions or when new circumstances present themselves, sometimes these common sources of learning fail to provide the information and learning necessary to cope with new and different realities.

An economy and culture that is increasingly based on industrial logic needs to be understood in order for Inuit women to successfully navigate its challenges. How does a big company like Agnico-Eagle operate? How is it different from a small business—of the sort one might find in Qamani'tuaq? What motivates the people that Inuit women deal with at the mine? What are their realities in relation to having a job and working for a company like Agnico-Eagle? What do the economics of a mine like Meadowbank look like? How does this explain the way the company operates? How does the bigger economic system that Meadowbank is part of work? How does one understand and relate to the many Qablunaat—French Canadian and English—who are now and will likely, in future, be working in and around Qamani'tuaq? What are the new and different challenges faced by youth? What are the best ways to assist youth in addressing them? Given that Inuit women have more resources with which to purchase consumer goods, what insights, skills and information are needed in order to make sure this is done wisely? How do the Nunavut and Canadian political systems work? How do decisions get made? What are my rights as a Canadian citizen, Inuk woman and employee of Meadowbank? How does the law and legal system work in Nunavut and in Canada? The number of questions that can be addressed with life skills training is almost limitless. Those listed above are a few examples of things that interest Inuit women in Qamani'tuaq.

Life skills include communication and parenting skills. Parenting skills have been seriously affected by the residential and federal day school systems introduced to Nunavumiut in the 1950s, '60s and '70s. The loss of these skills is intergenerational and currently affects many Inuit

families. How best to deal with family members who are aggressive or angry? How does one talk to someone who has been sexually or physically abused. Life skills education might address the need for social and community health education. Some of the topics noted in the results section of this report point to gaps in accurate, popular education on healthy relationships, financial management, risk and safety management, harm reduction in relation to substance abuse and healthy coping mechanisms. One Elder commented that she wished the youth would have more esteem and capacity to talk. Recognition of these needs is something that has been addressed by the Iisaaqivik community organization in Clyde River. Its programs and activities offer an example of how to address many of these concerns using the equivalent of life skills training.

Support groups, community and school workshops or courses on healthy relationships would contribute to more people in the community becoming knowledgeable about how to develop healthy relationships and what healthy parenting means in Inuit culture.

The safety of women is an important topic for life skills education in a community where there has been a significant increase in alcohol consumption and the aggressive and sometimes violent behaviour that accompanies it. Participants indicated that women and children are exposed to situations that place them at risk. Basic information, not simply about the risks but how best to deal with these situations, would be useful. Family planning and sexual education are also important topics for life skills education with women.

Inuit women could benefit from life skills training dealing with many topics relevant to the changes taking place in the community and in their lives. To date, little has been done to address these needs. These are initiatives for a community development worker or for an organization—the equivalent of something like Iisaaqivik. Life skills training could go a long way in helping to address many of the impacts felt by women living with a great deal of mine-related changes in the community.

A committee of Inuit women in Qamani'tuaq should be provided with the resources needed to conduct a series of life skills workshops to address issues of concern. Attention should be given to finding Inuit who can offer these, with attention to Inuit Qaujimaqatugangit, both in terms of the content and the way in which life skills training is approached. A series of workshops might involve a resource person spending a week or more in the community to meet the needs of interested women. Life skills training should be culturally safe, address needs defined by age and gender and be offered on and off the mine work site. Funding for this initiative should come from Nunavut Culture and Heritage, the Kivalliq Inuit Association, private foundations and national women's organizations working through Pauktuutit.

Women are interested in acquiring greater financial literacy. Agnico-Eagle should fly in personnel from the bank in Rankin Inlet or elsewhere, several times a year if necessary, to mount a series of workshops for women dealing with financial services and management.

Women and Men's Emergency Shelter Services

Issues about and concerns for domestic safety and security were prevalent throughout the literature reviewed and the qualitative data collected for this study. The problems created by increased consumption of drugs and alcohol have been outlined elsewhere in this report. Women and children need a safe place to go when serious physical, emotional or sexual violence are present at home. When there are altercations in the home and someone is asked to leave, or told they need to sober up before coming back, this adult or youth needs a roof over her or his head.

There is currently a women's shelter in the community of Qamani'tuaq, but no men's shelter. There is no separate entrance for the women's shelter. It must be accessed through another building. Anonymity and privacy are not protected. If extended family is not available or not an option for whatever reason, people need somewhere to go that, to some degree, will protect them from not only physical and serious emotional harm, but also the stigma that can result from finding oneself in this kind of situation.

There is only one bed at the shelter. For these reasons, the facility is not accessible and does not currently meet the needs of women and children in the community. There is no emergency shelter for men; no safe and decent place for men to rest and receive support while coping with their feelings or behaviour. The lack of a shelter makes policing difficult where it is evident that someone could benefit from being removed for a time from a situation that could have serious consequences. The absence of a men's shelter complicates the work of the RCMP in Qamani'tuaq and has implications for the safety of women.

Women in Qamani'tuaq who were part of this study were of the opinion that a better and fully-functioning shelter for women is required, given increases in alcohol consumption and substance use in the community in relation to the resources made available as a result of the presence of the mine. The wisdom of having a men's shelter also came up in discussions with community informants.

A better and functioning women's shelter is a priority in addressing the impacts on the community of the mine. The women's shelter should be expanded immediately and given its own and separate entrance. Staff to support and operate these shelters is needed. Consideration should be given to a men's shelter. These should be financed with funds made available to KIA to deal with the social and cultural impacts of the mine on the community. Community service workers, Elders and Inuit women should advise on where these buildings should be located and how they should operate.

Cross-Cultural Understanding and Historical Awareness

Cross-cultural tension was a common thread emerging from the workshop and focus groups and was the basis of much dissatisfaction. It emerged with regard to both English and French-Canadian mine employees, between Inuit and fly-in employees, between Inuit and management, between the ‘culture’ of the community and that of the mine and between what were identified as Northern and Southern interests. These tensions are emblematic of broader socio-historical events and processes, found in many locations in Canadian society and cultures. As a social service worker noted, there is no right or wrong way of trying to make things a bit better, but awareness and education are key. They are a step in a helpful direction.

Dealing with cross-cultural issues and understanding presents a number of challenges. Mine employees do not take their jobs expecting to receive lectures about Inuit social history and culture. Inuit do not typically understand the history of Québec and the attitudes, values and world view of many Québécois. The history of English Canada is something not well-enough understood, even by English-speaking Canadians. And very few Canadians know anything about Inuit social history or culture. The presence of the mine does present some interesting opportunities for addressing the basis for what can otherwise develop into deep and significant misunderstandings.

While Meadowbank does some orientation with Inuit and Québécois employees, the orientation given to Francophone employees is not done by Inuit or Inuit Elders and others knowledgeable about Inuit Qaujimaqatugangit and social history. An orientation that introduces mine employees to Inuit culture, that is designed in a manner respectful of the class, cultural and other interests of mine employees and is intended to make the experience fun and interesting, would do much to ‘set the stage’ for better working relations between Inuit and Québécois—and other Canadian mine employees. At the same time, a 2-hour presentation or reading a book will not result in someone knowing and respecting another culture. Very little of our colonial history is made obvious and visible in the formal education system, public venues and spaces. It has been noted time and again that when we are not informed of past mistakes and unfair ways of characterizing and communicating about others, we are destined to repeat these mistakes. Without prior and proper knowledge of the ways in which the dominant Euro-Canadian culture was paternalistic toward Aboriginal peoples, both French and English-speaking Canadians can uncritically re-create colonial relationships that are degrading of Inuit.

What social service workers, health service workers, educators and others working at the mine as managers or educators want to avoid are ahistorical perspectives that decontextualize the conditions in which people are living their lives and frame Inuit as ‘incompetent,’ ‘unmotivated’ or ‘genetically predisposed.’ These individuals should receive training around the intergenerational impacts of colonialism on peoples’ functioning and behaviour and the ways in which intergenerational trauma may be present in peoples’ lives.

Ongoing opportunities to engage with Inuit culture, as well as French-Canadian and English-Canadian culture, are important to ongoing working relations at the mine. Cultural understanding and operating in culturally-safe ways requires learning through doing and reciprocity, or a back and forth exchange of experiences and insights, with community members and mine employees. As learning is ongoing, commitments to training on various topics or relevant teachings from Elders would contribute to maintaining awareness on these issues. Having regular debriefings or bringing forward to an Elder and group, situations where cultural understanding and sensitivity have been identified as the source of personal or other issues, could also be helpful.

Greater attention should be paid to the use of Inuktitut on the job site, in terms of lettering on vehicles and material welcoming visitors to the mine. The use of Inuktitut is a tangible indication that mine management takes a respect for Inuit language and culture seriously. While some attempt has been made to make sure that Inuktitut has a presence in the workplace, our observation is that more could be done. The presence of language and attempts by management to give it maximum presence, goes farther toward generating goodwill between Inuit and mine management than management and others may realize.

Language is critical to cultural vitality, knowledge and collective consciousness. Language can also hurt or trigger memories of negative experiences. Self-identification and what one wishes to be called are an important first step in not creating offence. So is expressing things in ways that are sensitive to people's experiences. The challenge with language usage in cross-cultural environments is recognizing that demonstrating cultural understanding means creating inclusive spaces for everyone. The mine operates on territory where Inuit speak Inuktitut and English. Women noted that some miners exclude Inuit through the use of French and have told Inuit they are not allowed to speak Inuktitut on site.

The mine also has an opportunity to introduce Quebecois and English-Canadian culture to Inuit. For all employees, language may be, to varying degrees, an issue. Film and discussion may be ways of overcoming these barriers to a considerable extent.

On-site, Inuit need an Elder to go to for advice and counseling, more cultural programming, access to country food and family-oriented ways of doing things (orientation, site visits, finances, emergency leaves, treatment, etc.). Consulting Inuit mine employees and recognizing and taking these needs seriously, shows an appreciation for people's self-determination: people understand and know what will work best for them and can make their own choices in deciding what best supports their well-being in the workplace.

Understanding when working with First Nations, Inuit and Métis in Canada also includes a degree of historical awareness. Ideally, accurate information on the history of colonialism in Canada should be taught on a wide scale and would point to the ongoing forms of colonialism. Realistically though, any 'outsider' living or working in an Inuit community should be exposed

to the type of training and orientation that would help them develop a greater appreciation of the history of relations affecting Inuit and Inuit lands.

Mine management should receive a thorough orientation to Inuit culture and social history—including the history of Qamani'tuaq and Inuit who migrated there—offered by Inuit Elders and others respected for their knowledge of this history and the circumstances leading to the creation of Baker Lake.

An Elder should be present at the mine as a counselor and advisor for Inuit mine employees who wish to communicate their feelings and insights about their experiences working at the mine.

All fly-in employees should receive an orientation to Inuit culture and social history offered by Inuit—including Inuit Elders—and/or others designated by Inuit for the purpose. Some of what is offered at the mine should be mandatory, while some elements of such a programme may be voluntary. Meadowbank currently offers some orientation. It would be a good idea to have what is currently done by way of orientation reviewed by Inuit Elders and others, with the idea of giving constructive feedback to mine management as to how to improve the content.

Incidents where Inuit feel discriminated against or treated badly because they are Inuit should be reported to an Inuit Elder and/or committee that includes Inuit, so that these matters can be dealt with in fair, empathetic and constructive ways.

A film series showcasing Inuit films, perhaps offered in conjunction with Isuma Productions (<http://www.isuma.tv/isuma-productions>), with follow-up or discussion with Inuit Elders and others, may be one way of introducing mine employees to Inuit culture and heritage on an ongoing basis. For Inuit employees, films illustrating Canadian culture and history may be used.

Agnico-Eagle should go 'out of its way' to ensure that the Inuktitut language is given prominence at every reasonable opportunity.

APPENDIX 1

RESEARCH TRAINING WORKSHOP



Research Training Workshops: February 18 – 22, 2013

This appendix contains details of the training workshop held with women in Qamani'tuaq, February 18-22, 2013. It also contains details of the sample developed for a quantitative survey of women in the community using a questionnaire that will be used in the fall/winter of 2013-14. The results will be part of a forthcoming report. While the sampling technique is not relevant to understanding the results of the qualitative research in this report, it is included because sampling for surveys like the one being conducted was part of the training workshop.

Workshop design

The creation of the workshop for participatory action research training purposes was a collaborative effort between all the work partners involved. A draft workshop outline with materials was developed by research assistant Karina Czyzewski and revised by principal investigator Dr. Frank Tester at UBC. The outline was then reviewed by Elana Nightingale and Sharon Nochasak-Mclean from Pauktuutit, and further revised by the 'UBC team'.

The final product was an outline that covered 6 possible workshop days. While the design was important, the delivery of a good workshop means being adaptable and flexible. A good facilitator will also pick up on the needs and wishes of participants and be willing to adjust a schedule and format accordingly. Some of the activities outlined in Appendix A had to be altered, dropped or switched in response to the context that became more obvious once the facilitators arrived in the community (space, number of participants, participants' prior knowledge of certain topics, participants' comfort level, etc.).

The workshops were based on popular education methods of consciousness-raising and knowledge co-creation. Although activities came from various sources, popular education techniques, as a way of delivering the workshop, are most closely associated with Paulo Freire and his work *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970). Popular education is based on the experience of the participants and their local ways of knowing and understanding. The facilitator is there to hold the space and keep the conversation going. He or she is not there as an expert, but as someone who draws out perspectives and information, as well as facilitates connections through the use of experiential activities, interactive dialogue and 'play' (role play, performance, visual art, mixed methods, etc.). Since direction and knowledge is generated by the participants, the content is culturally relevant and sensitive to the demographic (in this case, Inuit women from Qamani'tuaq).

Workshop logistics

The workshops and following focus groups were facilitated in the Qamani'tuaq Community Recreation Center in the center of the hamlet. An Elder was invited to open the series of workshops and was gifted for her time and sharing of wisdom. Consent was obtained for photographs and filming throughout the workshops. This media may be used for educational

purposes (training video in popular education techniques). Workshops were held Monday to Friday, from approximately 9am to 4pm with breaks and at least an hour for lunch so participants could go home to eat. The following Monday and Tuesday the women learned about conducting focus groups. Focus groups were facilitated by the workshop participants with local Inuit women. Snacks and drinks were provided whenever possible and childcare was arranged in the building. Workshop participants were compensated for their time (\$300.00 each) and were feasted at a local restaurant at the conclusion of the workshop.

Workshop delivery

Every day began with a check-in (seated in a circle, sharing how we felt) and a warm-up ('ice breaker' activity). These activities - combined or separate - served specific purposes: they allowed participants to share feelings and 'where they were at' to help guide the rest of the group or to gauge people's energy and reactions. They also contributed to team and trust building, 'breaking the ice' and having fun, getting a sense of what was appreciated in the workshops and identifying the skills, talents and insights of participants.

The workshop week began with introductions and a question and answer session dealing with the purpose of the research project and our week together. Participatory action research 'employs' the people who are directly implicated in what is being researched. There were a number of topics that needed to be addressed and understood by all involved in the workshop so that the research would be conducted in an ethical and informed way. These topics included: what the research objectives should be, sampling techniques, ethics and informed consent – what it is and how to obtain it – voluntary participation, communication skills, how to conduct an interview and administer a questionnaire and how to conduct a focus group.

Participants were actively engaged in producing the content for and revisions to the questionnaire. Not only was the content discussed, but we engaged in activities designed to help everyone involved to recall situations and circumstances affecting women, before and after the mine opened. For example, the women were asked to pin photos from an extensive collection of images to a divided clothesline to denote what life was like 'before' and 'after' the mine. The women were asked to use 'emoticon' stickers to help articulate the different and often mixed feelings they had about the mine. We watched a film on mining elsewhere in Canada and discussed differences and similarities. Information generated through these discussions and activities directly informed content for the research instrument.

Research training

*A Sample for the Quantitative Research*⁵⁷

⁵⁷ The quantitative research related to this project is ongoing. Results are expected by March/April of 2014. The discussion of sampling is included here as developing the sampling method and explaining it was part of the workshop. It does not apply to the content of this report as this report is based on information conveyed in the

The research objectives were identified through group discussion and taking notes on flipchart paper. A sample was created using Statistics Canada 2011 census data for Qamani'tuaq. A chart was created and the ideas of research validity, random sampling and sampling without replacement were explained to the group. The 2006 census population size for Qamani'tuaq was 1728, an increase of 14.7% since 2001. Assuming the same rate of increase, the current population is estimated at 1982. Approximately 50% of this population will be women. The median age of residents was 22 years in the 2006 census and 65% of the population was 15 years or older. The population is very young. The current population of Inuit women (2011) was, according to Statistics Canada, 810 (Statistics Canada, Catalogue # 99-004XWE, July 26, 2013). Assuming an annual growth rate of 2.94% based on the rate of increase between 2001 and 2006, we estimated the Inuit female population at $810 + 24$ or 834. The adult population of women over 15 years of age was therefore estimated at 65% of 834, or 542 Inuit women. A sample size of 73 ($n = 73$) Inuit women (13.5% of the eligible female population) was created. The number and status of women to be interviewed with the questionnaire in each age category is shown in Appendix B. The number in each category reflects, in addition to the number of women in each census category, the relationship of women to the mine and their relationship status. For example, while the number of women in the age category 15-19 years is considerable, their relationship to the mine is limited, as is their experience with interpersonal relationships/partnerships. The number of women in each category reflects these and other realities. Sampling was done using a hamlet inhabitants list, where a household name would be drawn at random. If someone in the household fit one of the age and status categories, she would be interviewed. The household was then withdrawn from the sample with the result that no more than one interview was conducted in any given household. Consequently, the results represent a range of insights from members of a large number of households in the community.

Ethics and Consent

Ethics was a topic that required much 'unpacking'. It was a topic that was part of a number of the research training activities. We discussed what 'ethics' means and what ethical conduct looks like in the research process. This included explaining what consent is, what informed consent is; what participation and voluntary participation are. The discussion of ethics also included what to do in difficult or challenging situations with research respondents. Discussions included the positive and negative aspects of offering honoraria to study participants, the merits of Participatory Action Research and discussions about what should be done with research results; how they should be presented to the community, who needs to get the message coming from the research and how best to make sure that the research results in positive changes that affect women involved with the mining industry.

course of doing the workshop, several focus groups subsequently held with Inuit women and interviews with community informants deemed knowledgeable with regard to the impact the mine has had on Inuit women and families.

Research Roles and Communication

Peer research assistance involves working directly with people. We created a list of skills necessary to the conduct of research. The tasks and roles necessary to the success of the project were identified. This was done so that women would be able to relate to the work a bit more and not see it as intimidating. The topic of this research can be disturbing for participants who have had some experience with the mining industry. In an effort to discuss events, issues and circumstances openly and to create awareness around potential situations that could develop when interviewing someone, we engaged in role play. The women practiced how to start a conversation about conducting an interview, how to strive for a safe research environment, how to respond to women's stories and feelings and how to deal with unsafe situations (for example, having a hostile male enter a space where a woman is being interviewed and wanting to know 'what is going on'). We conducted a focus group among workshop participants so that the women would know how to conduct a focus group with members of the larger community. A participant volunteered to be the facilitator. An ulu was used as the equivalent of a 'talking stick'. Focus groups were conducted with Inuit women on the last days of the workshop series on Monday, February 25 and Tuesday, February 26, 2013.

Workshop outcomes

The women who participated in the workshop were trained as research assistants and continued to help the research process after the workshop. The women began their work with in-depth, audio-recorded interviews with key community informants (also identified in the workshop). The week long workshop was filmed and photographed. Some content was audio-recorded (mainly the focus groups) and notes were taken throughout on flipchart paper. These notes were then typed up and informed the development of the research instrument.

APPENDIX 2

INUIT IMPACT AND BENEFIT AGREEMENT

MEADOWBANK MINE

2006

SUMMARY

MEADOWBANK PROJECT INUIT IMPACT & BENEFIT AGREEMENT

BETWEEN

CUMBERLAND RESOURCES LTD.

and

KIVALLIQ INUIT ASSOCIATION

Purpose

1. The purpose of the Agreement includes ensuring that the Meadowbank Project contributes to the well-being of Inuit by providing for training, employment and business opportunities and addressing potentially detrimental impacts and providing for benefits for Inuit.

Non-derogation

2. Nothing in the IIBA affects any right granted under the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement.

Assignment

3. Cumberland may not assign the Agreement, unless the assignee is the purchaser of the Meadowbank Project, has the capacity and qualifications to carry out Cumberland's obligations, and assumes all of Cumberland's obligations. KIA may only assign the Agreement to a Designated Inuit Organization.

Confidentiality

4. This summary of the Agreement may be made public.

Language

5. All documents intended for distribution to Inuit will be made available in both English and Inuktitut.

Review and Renegotiation

6. The parties will review the Agreement every three years to determine if there has been a material change requiring amendment of the Agreement.

IMPLEMENTATION

Objectives

1. Objectives include cooperative implementation, periodic review, ongoing adaptation of implementation plans, and effective communication.

Implementation Committee

2. The Parties will establish an Implementation Committee with 2 representatives from KIA and two representatives from Cumberland. At least one KIA representative must be from Baker Lake. The Committee meets twice a year and may hold teleconferences as necessary.
3. The Committee will monitor implementation, review reports, provide information and recommend strategies for successful implementation of the IIBA.

Annual IIBA Implementation Report

4. Cumberland will prepare an Annual IIBA Implementation Report each year, containing information on Inuit training and employment, contracts and economic benefits.

MEADOWBANK IIBA COORDINATOR

Objective

1. Objectives include the employment of a Meadowbank IIBA Coordinator for the full, effective and cooperative implementation of the IIBA.

Location and Duties

2. The Meadowbank Coordinator will be located in Baker Lake and will assist Cumberland to ensure it's obligations under the IIBA are observed and that there is effective communication between Cumberland and KIA.

KIA IIBA COORDINATOR

Objective

1. Objectives include the employment of a KIA IIBA Coordinator for the full, effective and cooperative implementation of the IIBA.

Location and Duties

2. The KIA Coordinator will assist KIA to ensure that it's obligations under the IIBA are observed and that there is effective communication between Cumberland and KIA.

TRAINING AND EDUCATION

Objective

1. Objectives include the provision of training and education to promote employment of Inuit.

Kivalliq Inuit Labour Force Development Plan

2. Cumberland will prepare a Labour Force Development Plan, to help achieve Inuit employment and remove barriers to employment. KIA will assist in the development of the Plan by working with other agencies to identify skills and qualifications available in the Kivalliq Inuit labour force and the number of Kivalliq Inuit potentially available to fill positions. The Plan will be updated annually.

Inuit Training Opportunities

3. Cumberland will provide on-going Inuit training and career path development opportunities. There will be at least eight entry level trainee positions and eight apprenticeship positions in different trades, subject only to availability of Inuit apprentices. In addition, within thirty six months of the commencement of operations, at least forty-four positions will be available to Inuit to receive training and experience.
4. Cumberland will require its contractors to implement training programs aimed at increasing Inuit employment.
5. Cumberland will provide Inuit employees with job placement counselling when a decision is made to close the Project.

Reporting

6. Cumberland must report to the Implementation Committee every six months, detailing its training programs, the number of hours of training, the percentage of Inuit who successfully completed training and the number of Inuit who received promotions.

Inuit Education Opportunities

7. Cumberland will pay to KIA \$14,000.00 per year for a Scholarship Fund for Inuit post-secondary education students from the Kivalliq Region.
8. Cumberland will provide community information and career awareness programs in all Kivalliq Communities once a year and will allow Inuit high school and post secondary students opportunities to visit the Project each year.

INUIT EMPLOYMENT

Objective

1. The objectives of this Schedule include processes to increase Inuit employment.

Meadowbank Project Positions

2. All positions will be open to Inuit with the ability, work skills, experience and qualifications required by the positions. Where appropriate, Cumberland will consider ability, skills and experience as an equivalent to formal qualifications and Inuit applicants with experience equivalencies will be treated equally with Inuit applicants with formal training.
3. Inuit will be given preference over other applicants and priority will be given to Inuit residents of Baker Lake.
4. Cumberland must give Inuit ten business days' advance notice of all Meadowbank positions, prior to making such opportunities available to others.
5. Points of hire for the Project include all Kivalliq Communities and Thompson, Manitoba. Cumberland will provide air transportation for Inuit employees from and to their respective points of hire to the Project.
6. Inuit who lack fluency in the English language may qualify for positions where fluency does not compromise safety. If required for safety reasons, Inuit without fluency in English may be transferred to another position. Cumberland will translate all policies, instructions and job descriptions into Inuktitut (Syllabics) and will employ Inuktitut translators to translate to unilingual Inuit.
7. Cumberland will make summer employment opportunities available to Inuit students. Inuit students from the Kivalliq Region will be given preference but priority will be given to Inuit students residing in Baker Lake.

Inuit Employment Target & Goals

8. Cumberland must use all reasonable efforts to achieve an Inuit employment target at a level that reflects the demographics of the Work Force in Nunavut by the 5th anniversary of the Commissioning Date, and thereafter.
9. The Implementation Committee will set an annual Minimum Inuit Employment Goal (MIEG) for the Project. The MIEG is the minimum level of Inuit employment that Cumberland shall use all reasonable efforts to achieve on an annual basis.
10. Cumberland must provide an annual MIEG Plan describing how it intends to achieve the MIEG and an annual report showing the success of the MIEG Plan.
11. If Cumberland doesn't achieve the MIEG, they may be required to undertake measures to correct the problem. If Cumberland fails for two successive years to achieve the MIEG, they may be required to make financial compensation to KIA, to be applied to Inuit training and employment programs.

Employment Support

12. Cumberland shall provide cross-cultural orientation and training for all Project personnel hired for 6 months or more and will provide Inuit employees and their legal dependents with counselling workshops and programs.
13. Cumberland will make Country Food available to employees at least once a week.

CONTRACTING OPPORTUNITIES**Objective**

1. Objectives include improved capacity of Inuit Firms to be awarded contracts and increased contracting with Inuit Firms.

Notice

2. Cumberland must give not less than twenty business days' notice of contracts exceeding \$500,000.00. Notices will state that Inuit Firms will be given preference.
3. Cumberland shall assist Inuit Firms to complete contract proposals to maximize Inuit Content
4. For contracts under \$500,000.00, Cumberland can choose to negotiate with an Inuit Firm or may advertise the contract.
5. If, for reasons beyond Cumberland's reasonable control, Cumberland fails to complete contract negotiations with an Inuit Firm within a specified period, they may consider contract proposals submitted by non-Inuit Firms.

Inuit Content & Bid Adjustment

6. Inuit content in contract proposals will be evaluated and bids adjusted based on factors such as degree of Inuit ownership, Inuit employment, head office in the Kivalliq Region, proportion of wages paid to Inuit and total purchases from Inuit Firms. All contract proposals will be evaluated for cost competitiveness, supply, quality and schedule. The Contractor with the highest points will be awarded the contract. The Inuit content in each accepted contract proposal must be included in the contract.
7. Bid adjustments will not apply for contracts for the construction of the Project.
8. If an Inuit Firm is not awarded a contract, Cumberland will provide an explanation to any Inuit Firm which submitted a contract proposal.

Contractor's Inuit Content Plan

9. All Contractors must have a Contractor's Inuit Content Plan (CICP) containing details on Inuit Content Components and a description of how the Contractor intends to achieve, maintain and optimize Inuit Content.

Contract with Inuit Firm

10. Cumberland must make all reasonable efforts to negotiate a contract with Sakku Investments Corp. ("Sakku") for the provision of Meadowbank Project catering services prior to commencement of construction.

ACCESS TO FACILITIES

Objective

1. Objective is to provide Inuit access to facilities constructed for the Project.

Access to the Meadowbank Project

2. Where necessary for the administration of the IIBA, Cumberland must provide access to KIA to those parts of the Project which are on Inuit Owned Lands.

Practices and Procedures

3. Cumberland may establish operating procedures pertaining to safety and may require anyone, including Inuit, traveling on leased by Cumberland to comply with those procedures.
4. Cumberland will not unreasonably withhold requests for assistance in the search and rescue of persons missing in the Project area and will not unreasonably withhold requests for gasoline, emergency shelter and food made by Inuit travelling in the vicinity, if the requests are based on emergency need, health or safety. Cumberland may establish guidelines for cost recovery.

RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

Objective

1. The objectives are increased Inuit participation and profitability arising from research and development.

Opportunities

2. If research and development is undertaken for the Project, KIA may participate. If technologies and methodologies are developed which have commercial value beyond their use in the Meadowbank Project, KIA will share in that value to the extent of its participation.

Priority

3. Research and development that will increase the Meadowbank Project's profitability will receive the highest priority.

Costs of Research

4. If joint research is undertaken, the costs will be shared by Cumberland and KIA in proportion to the benefit of the resulting commercial value.

OPTION TO ACQUIRE PROJECT ASSETS**Objective**

1. The objective is to provide KIA the right to acquire Project assets.

Right to Acquire

2. Cumberland will give KIA the first opportunity to negotiate the purchase of any equipment, buildings or materials located on Inuit Owned Land considered by Cumberland to be surplus to its requirements at any time, at fair market value and on terms and conditions acceptable to the Parties.

Assets Located Off Inuit Owned Land

3. Subject to any rights granted before signing the IIBA, if Cumberland no longer needs any assets located off I.O.L., KIA will have the right to acquire such assets at fair market value and upon such other terms and conditions as they agree.

Construction of Assets

4. Whenever practicable, Cumberland will build buildings and facilities in such a manner that they are easily moveable after closure.

WILDLIFE**Objective**

1. The objectives include management and monitoring of, and compensation for, wildlife kills.

Wildlife Reporting & Kills

2. Cumberland will have a wildlife sighting and incident program consistent with its Terrestrial Ecosystem Management Plan (TEMP) and will report wildlife sightings and incidents to KIA and the Baker Lake Hunters and Trappers Organization on a quarterly basis.
3. Cumberland will submit an annual report detailing bear kills, compensation paid, wildlife sightings and disposal of wildlife parts.
4. Valuable parts of wildlife killed must be delivered to the Baker Lake HTO.

5. If, as a result of Project activity, a bear is killed, Cumberland must pay compensation to KIA. KIA will notify the HTO of the affected community to determine appropriate compensation for the tag and for each additional tag forfeited, as a result of a reduction in that HTO's Total Allowable Harvest due to the bear kill.

TEMP Implementation

6. Cumberland shall implement its TEMP and will consult with KIA on any material changes to the TEMP. Cumberland shall ensure KIA is informed of all TEMP findings, on an annual basis.
7. The TEMP shall incorporate Inuit Qaujimanituqaugit.

ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL WELLNESS

Objectives

1. Objectives include monitoring and mitigating negative impacts, promoting healthy Inuit communities and economic development.

Baker Lake Inuit Wellness Report and Implementation Plan

2. Cumberland will prepare an annual Baker Lake Inuit Wellness Report and Implementation Plan.
3. The Report and Plan will address physical and mental health, alcohol and drug abuse, relationships, family issues, migration, loss of Inuktitut language and culture, job satisfaction, finances, effect of long-distance employment on employees and their families and other impacts of the Project on Inuit of Baker Lake.
4. The Report and Plan will include recommendations to address negative impacts on Inuit of Baker Lake. Cumberland must implement measures identified in the Implementation Plan, as agreed by the Implementation Committee.

Post-Closure Inuit Wellness Strategy

5. Cumberland must prepare a Post-Closure Inuit Wellness Strategy to address the effects of closure of the Project on Inuit of the Kivalliq Region and detail reasonable measures to mitigate these effects.
6. Cumberland will provide to KIA funding for a Post-Closure Inuit Wellness Strategy Implementation Fund.

Inuit Initiatives Program

7. Cumberland will provide KIA with funding to establish an Inuit Initiatives Program to support local and regional Inuit initiatives for training, education, wellness and other programs.

Business Development Assistance

8. Cumberland will provide KIA with funding for business development workshops and assistance programs for Inuit residents of the Kivalliq Region.

ARBITRATION & DISPUTE RESOLUTION

Objective

1. The objective is to provide a mechanism for dispute resolution.

Dispute Resolution

2. If the Parties are unable to resolve a dispute relating to any matter arising under the IIBA, either Party may give the other a notice demanding arbitration and the arbitration will be undertaken in accordance with the procedures set out.

APPENDIX 3

INUIT IMPACT AND BENEFIT AGREEMENT

MEADOWBANK MINE

2011

(Note: This appendix contains only sections of the document relevant to this study. The complete document is available online.)

**MEADOWBANK MINE
INUIT IMPACT AND BENEFIT AGREEMENT**

BETWEEN

**AGNICO-EAGLE MINES LIMITED /
MINES AGNICO-EAGLE LIMITÉE**

AND

KIVALLIQ INUIT ASSOCIATION

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SCHEDULE A: IMPLEMENTATION

Objectives

- A1. This Schedule has the following objectives:
- (a) full, effective and cooperative implementation of this Agreement;
 - (b) periodic review of implementation of obligations contained in this Agreement;
 - (c) ongoing adaptation of implementation plans to ensure that the objectives and obligations of this Agreement are being met for the mutual benefit of AEM and KIA; and
 - (d) effective communication between the Parties and to the public.

Implementation Committee

- A2. Not later than 60 days after the Effective Date, or at such earlier time agreed to by the Parties, an Implementation Committee will be established.

Membership of the Implementation Committee

- A3. The Implementation Committee shall have four members and consist of two members appointed by each Party. One of the KIA members shall be the KIA Board Director from Baker Lake. One of the AEM members shall be the General Manager of the Meadowbank Mine. While new members may be appointed from time to time in accordance with this Section A3, each Party shall endeavour to maintain consistent membership on the Implementation Committee.

Advisors and Management Level Representatives

- A4. In addition to its members, each Party may invite external advisors and management level representatives to attend meetings of the Implementation Committee, provided that it gives the other Party not less than five Business Days' advance notice of its intention to do so.

Duties of the Implementation Committee

- A5. The Committee shall:
- (a) monitor the implementation of obligations made under this Agreement;
 - (b) recommend strategies and plans to the Parties for the successful implementation of obligations made under this Agreement;
 - (c) assist in the resolution of Disputes in accordance with Section 3.15;

- (c) review AEM's annual IIBA Implementation Report and provide observations and recommendations to the Parties to improve implementation of this Agreement;
- (d) provide the Parties with information on this Agreement and the Meadowbank Mine for incorporation into newsletters, publications and news releases;
- (e) review reports of the Meadowbank IIBA Coordinator and the KIA IIBA Coordinator;
- (f) provide input to the Parties on the Work Force Development Plan;
- (g) consider other items of mutual concern related to the implementation of this Agreement raised by either Party; and
- (h) monitor and direct the activities of the Implementation Working Group.

Decisions of the Implementation Committee

- A6. The Implementation Committee shall make decisions by consensus. If the Implementation Committee fails to reach a consensus on any matter, either Party may refer the matter to the respective Presidents of the Parties for resolution in accordance with Section 3.15.

Meetings of the Implementation Committee

- A7. There shall be an inaugural meeting of the Implementation Committee within 60 days of its establishment, and thereafter at least two in-person meetings each year and such teleconferences as the Implementation Committee deems necessary.

Chair of the Implementation Committee and Preparation of Minutes

- A8. The Parties shall alternate in chairing meetings of the Implementation Committee. The chair shall be responsible for determining the location of the meeting, and for distributing a proposed agenda to be reviewed and approved at the meeting. If the Implementation Committee so directs, the Meadowbank IIBA Coordinator shall prepare draft minutes of the meeting for review and approval at the next meeting.

Implementation Working Group

- A9. The Parties undertake and agree to establish, at the first meeting of the Implementation Committee following execution of this Agreement, a working group consisting of two representatives of each Party (the "**Implementation Working Group**"). The Implementation Working Group shall report to the Implementation Committee.
- A10. AEM shall appoint the Meadowbank IIBA Coordinator and KIA shall appoint the KIA IIBA Coordinator to the Implementation Working Group.
- A11. While each Party has the discretion to select its other member, it is understood and agreed that, where possible, the third and fourth members of the Implementation Working Group

should be individuals employed at the Meadowbank Mine. A member of the Implementation Working Group who is not so employed must remain adequately informed of activities and circumstances at the Meadowbank Mine on a regular basis.

- A12. The Implementation Working Group shall, in connection with the day-to-day operation of the Meadowbank Mine:
- (a) monitor the on-going status of activities in relation to the implementation of this Agreement;
 - (b) review, discuss and, where practicable, resolve any concerns or issues identified by either Party regarding the implementation of this Agreement;
 - (c) refer to the Implementation Committee issues or concerns that the Implementation Working Group has been unable to resolve;
 - (d) make recommendations to the Implementation Committee for the purpose of facilitating and improving the implementation of this Agreement;
 - (e) provide periodic reports and address any matter related to the implementation of this Agreement as the Implementation Committee may direct from time to time; and
 - (f) gather and review the data and information necessary to prepare the annual IIBA Implementation Report.
- A13. The Implementation Working Group shall operate on the basis of consensus. Where it fails to reach a consensus, the Implementation Working Group shall advise the Implementation Committee of the reasons for any disagreement or difference of views.
- A14. During the 24-month period that follows the establishment of the Implementation Working Group, it will meet not less than once each quarter. Thereafter, subject to the approval of the Implementation Committee, the Implementation Working Group may meet less frequently. In both cases, the Implementation Working Group shall establish a proposed or tentative schedule of meetings each year.
- A15. Either Party may invite its external advisors or management representatives to attend meetings of the Implementation Working Group, provided that it gives the other Party not less than five Business Days' advance notice of its intention to do so.
- A16. Members of the Implementation Working Group shall continue to communicate on an informal basis in relation to the matters described in Section A12 during the intervals between meetings.

Annual IIBA Implementation Report

17. AEM will prepare an annual report on the implementation of this Agreement (the "**Implementation Report**"). AEM shall forward the Implementation Report to KIA not later than three months after the Effective Date or on the next ensuing April 1, whichever

is the later. AEM shall provide subsequent Implementation Reports to KIA by April 1 of each year.

A18. The Implementation Report shall contain detailed information on:

- (a) progress toward achievement of the MIEGs described in Schedule E;
- (b) economic benefits arising from Inuit participation in the Meadowbank Mine;
- (c) contracts awarded, detailing progress toward CIEP implementation, as described in Schedule F;
- (d) training programs which AEM implemented, contributed to or participated in, detailing Inuit participation; and
- (e) other matters pertaining to this Agreement, as appropriate.

A19. AEM will be responsible for all costs associated with the collection of information and data, the necessary analysis, and the production and distribution of the Implementation Report. KIA may make the Implementation Report available to the public in all Kivalliq Communities.

A20. AEM shall make all data and other information that AEM has compiled in order to prepare the Implementation Report available to KIA at no cost, to enable KIA to analyze this information independently. AEM agrees to reimburse KIA for the costs incurred in order to conduct this analysis as set out in Section J2.

Communication with the Public

- A21. Each Party will inform the other Party of any public meeting pertaining to this Agreement.
- A22. Subject to any confidentiality agreement between KIA and AEM, where information provided to KIA by AEM affects Kivalliq Inuit, those Inuit will be informed of the information in an appropriate manner by KIA.
- A23. Upon execution of this Agreement, the Parties shall jointly issue a news release that confirms the execution of this Agreement.

Communication between Parties

- A24. Nothing in this Schedule A prevents the Parties from communicating with one another on matters considered important for the successful implementation of this Agreement.

SCHEDULE B: MEADOWBANK IIBA COORDINATOR

Objectives

- B1. This Schedule has the following objectives:
- (a) full, effective and cooperative implementation of this Agreement; and
 - (b) the employment of a coordinator to assist AEM in the implementation of its obligations under this Agreement (the “**Meadowbank IIBA Coordinator**”).

Administration

- B2. AEM will employ the Meadowbank IIBA Coordinator and provide that individual’s name and contact information to KIA not later than 15 Business Days after the Effective Date. In the event a new Meadowbank Coordinator is appointed, AEM will notify KIA not later than five Business Days after such appointment.

Location

- B3. AEM agrees that the Meadowbank IIBA Coordinator will be based at the Meadowbank Mine, or in Baker Lake, or from time to time at either location.

Roles and Responsibilities

- B4. The Meadowbank IIBA Coordinator will assist AEM to ensure that its obligations under this Agreement are fulfilled. Specific roles and responsibilities include:
- (a) working closely with AEM management and the KIA IIBA Coordinator to design and develop strategies and plans to provide Inuit with opportunities to benefit from the Meadowbank Mine;
 - (b) identifying Inuit and Inuit Firms interested in taking advantage of Meadowbank Mine-related employment and contracting opportunities during all phases of the Meadowbank Mine;
 - (c) providing secretariat services to the Implementation Committee including preparation and distribution of the minutes of its meetings;
 - (d) participating in the annual development of the Work Force Development Plan in accordance with Section D3;
 - (e) acting as one of the AEM members on the Implementation Working Group;
 - (f) advising AEM employee relations personnel of employee counselling needs and of counselling programs that are offered in the Kivalliq Region;
 - (g) assisting AEM in the development and implementation of workplace training for Inuit employees;

- (h) together with the KIA IIBA Coordinator, developing an on-going program of consultation with Inuit employees of AEM to identify their needs, issues and concerns;
- (i) assisting AEM in accessing appropriate programs to address family separation (while an employee is at work), money management, life skills, alcohol/drug and gambling education/awareness programs to assist Inuit employees and their families in responding to lifestyle changes associated with employment at the Meadowbank Mine;
- (j) recommending ways and means to increase benefits and mitigate adverse socio-economic impacts of the Meadowbank Mine on Inuit; and
- (k) communicating frequently with the KIA IIBA Coordinator on strategies and plans for successful implementation of this Agreement.

SCHEDULE C: KIA IIBA COORDINATOR

Objectives

- C1. This Schedule has the following objectives:
- (a) full, effective and cooperative implementation of this Agreement; and
 - (b) the employment of a coordinator to assist KIA in the implementation of its obligations under this Agreement (the “**KIA IIBA Coordinator**”).

Administration

- C2. KIA will employ the KIA IIBA Coordinator and notify AEM of that individual’s name and contact information not later than 15 Business Days after the Effective Date. In the event a new KIA Coordinator is appointed, KIA will notify AEM not later than five Business Days after such appointment.

Roles and Responsibilities

- C3. The KIA IIBA Coordinator will assist KIA in ensuring that the provisions of this Agreement are implemented. Specific roles and responsibilities include:
- (a) working closely with KIA management and the Meadowbank IIBA Coordinator to design and develop strategies and plans to ensure Inuit from the Kivalliq Region are provided opportunities to benefit from the Meadowbank Mine;
 - (b) assisting the Meadowbank IIBA Coordinator in the provision of secretariat services to the Implementation Committee;
 - (c) assisting in identifying Inuit and Inuit Firms interested in taking advantage of Meadowbank Mine employment and contracting opportunities;
 - (d) assisting KIA with administration of the Kivalliq Scholarship Fund contemplated by Section D16;
 - (e) assisting KIA with delivery of programs as described under Schedule L;
 - (f) providing advice to KIA Implementation Committee members;
 - (g) advising the Meadowbank IIBA Coordinator of Inuit employee needs, issues and concerns;
 - (h) assisting the Meadowbank IIBA Coordinator in the identification of appropriate programs for Inuit employees and their families to address lifestyle changes associated with employment at the Meadowbank Mine, including: family separation counselling (while an employee is at work), money management, life skills, alcohol/drug and gambling education/awareness;
 - (i) recommending to KIA ways and means to implement this Agreement; and

- (j) communicating frequently with the Meadowbank IIBA Coordinator on strategies and plans for successful implementation of this Agreement.
- C4. Information provided to the KIA IIBA Coordinator and KIA by Inuit employees of the Meadowbank Mine concerning personal or family matters will remain confidential and not be disclosed to AEM unless the individuals affected give their informed consent in writing for such disclosure.

SCHEDULE D: TRAINING AND EDUCATION

Objectives

D1. This Schedule has the following objectives:

- (a) the provision of training opportunities for Inuit at the Meadowbank Mine;
- (b) the provision of educational opportunities for Inuit; and
- (c) on-going development, maintenance and retention of a skilled and qualified Inuit labour force at the Meadowbank Mine.

Kivalliq Inuit Work Force Development Plan

D2. Concurrent with the execution of this Agreement and on each anniversary of that event, AEM shall provide to KIA and the Implementation Committee a list showing each position to be filled at the Meadowbank Mine during the ensuing year, together with a summary of the skills and knowledge required to perform the duties of each such position.

D3. AEM, in consultation with KIA and the Implementation Committee, shall prepare a plan to be used to achieve the Minimum Inuit Employment Goals established in Schedule E (the "**Work Force Development Plan**"). The Work Force Development Plan shall include:

- (a) the information described in Section D2;
- (b) labour supply information, including the Kivalliq Inuit labour supply information to be provided by KIA in accordance with Sections E26 and E27;
- (c) a description of strategies to enhance employability and advancement of Inuit in all positions of the Meadowbank Mine including:
 - (i) the barriers that must be removed or minimized to increase the number of potential Inuit employees at the Meadowbank Mine;
 - (ii) the barriers that must be removed or minimized to enhance the advancement of existing Inuit employees within the Meadowbank Mine labour force; and
 - (iii) a description of training programs developed by AEM and governmental agencies responsible for training of Inuit;
- (d) proposed funding and programs for the implementation of the Work Force Development Plan; and
- (e) other information pertinent to sound human resource planning.

D4. AEM shall submit the initial Work Force Development Plan to the Implementation Committee not later than 40 Business Days after receiving the Kivalliq Inuit labour supply information to be provided by KIA pursuant to Section E26. AEM shall submit an updated Work Force Development Plan to the Implementation Committee annually, and shall do so

not later than the anniversary of the date on which the initial plan was submitted, provided that KIA, in accordance with Section E27, has analyzed and updated the information contemplated by Section E26 and has made it available to AEM.

- D5. KIA shall assist AEM in the development of the Work Force Development Plan by working with the appropriate governmental agencies to identify skills and qualifications available in the Work Force and the number of Kivalliq Inuit potentially available to fill the positions described in Section D2.

Inuit Employment and Training Coordinator

- D6. Within the Human Resources department at the Meadowbank Mine, AEM will have a full-time employee who is fluent in Inuktitut and whose responsibilities, in conjunction with management and other staff, will include liaison, training programs and orientation of Inuit employees.

Inuit Training Opportunities

- D7. AEM shall maintain an on-going orientation and training program for Inuit employees that incorporates a review of the policies and procedures that AEM has established for the Meadowbank Mine, including those pertaining to worker health and safety.

- D8. AEM shall provide on-going career-path planning and counselling for Inuit employees that incorporate clear options for advancement to more senior positions at the Meadowbank Mine. An Inuit employee will qualify for the career-path planning and counselling contemplated by this Section D8 if he or she:

- (a) is a permanent employee;
- (b) has completed not less than 12 months of continuous service; and
- (c) has indicated a willingness to undergo the career-path planning and counselling that this Section D8 contemplates.

Despite paragraph D8(b), where AEM determines that an employee who has not completed 12 months of continuous service has demonstrated the potential to advance to a more senior position at the Meadowbank Mine, AEM shall give reasonable consideration to offering that employee career-path planning and counselling in accordance with this Section D8.

- D9. Not later than six months after the Effective Date, AEM shall develop and implement programs under which it will provide on-going supervisory skills and management training to employees who, as a result of the career-path planning and counselling undertaken in accordance with Section D8, have been selected for and have confirmed their willingness to undergo such supervisory skills and management training.
- D10. AEM shall provide its employees and KIA with full information, on a quarterly basis, that describes training opportunities and programs that are available to employees and potential employees of the Meadowbank Mine.

D11. AEM shall ensure that not less than 44 positions that provide job-related skills and training will be available to Inuit at the Meadowbank Mine. In addition, AEM shall ensure that there will be:

- (a) eight entry-level trainee positions of an unskilled nature for Inuit; and
- (b) eight apprentice positions for Inuit in trades that can be practised in relation to the exploration and mining industry,

provided that AEM is not required to engage more than a total of eight such trainees or eight such apprentices at any one time.

D12. Where this Agreement requires a Contractor to achieve a MIEG, AEM shall incorporate, as a term of the applicable contract, a requirement for the Contractor to develop and implement training programs consistent with this Schedule D, aimed at increasing employment and advancement opportunities for Inuit.

D13. AEM shall provide Inuit employees with job placement counselling upon a Closure decision being made. Job placement counselling will focus on identifying and securing alternate employment and, if required, accessing employment insurance benefits.

On-site Training Facilities and Living Accommodation

D14. AEM shall provide training facilities and living accommodation on site that are sufficient to enable AEM to fulfill its obligations in accordance with this Schedule D.

Reporting

D15. Not later than April 1 and October 1 of each year, AEM shall submit a written report to the Implementation Committee that describes:

- (a) the training programs provided to Inuit;
- (b) the number of hours of training received by Inuit under such training programs;
- (c) the percentage of Inuit who successfully completed the training; and
- (d) the number of Inuit who received promotions.

The April 1 report shall cover the period from July 1 to December 31 of the immediately preceding year. The October 1 report shall cover the period from January 1 to June 30 of the then current year.

Inuit Education Opportunities

D16. AEM shall make a payment to KIA in the amount of \$14,000 on the Effective Date of this Agreement, and thereafter on the anniversary of that date, to establish and maintain a scholarship fund for the benefit of Inuit post-secondary students from the Kivalliq Region (the "**Kivalliq Scholarship Fund**").

- D17. Scholarships awarded from the Kivalliq Scholarship Fund shall be granted preferentially to individuals who wish to pursue post-secondary studies in fields such as geology, engineering, accounting, information technology and environmental sciences that will enable them to pursue employment in the mineral exploration and mining industry.
- D18. If KIA does not distribute the total amount available in the Kivalliq Scholarship Funds in any one year, the remaining funds shall accrue and may be used in subsequent years. KIA shall administer the Kivalliq Scholarship Fund through a trust, and KIA shall develop terms of reference for the granting of scholarships, including guiding principles, size and duration of awards.
- D19. KIA shall acknowledge AEM's support in all scholarships provided through the Kivalliq Scholarship Fund. AEM shall have the right to audit the Kivalliq Scholarship Fund from time to time.
- D20. KIA and AEM shall work with the government agencies responsible for education and training in Nunavut toward the development and implementation of off-site education and training programs aimed at preparing Inuit for employment in mining-related fields.
- D21. AEM and KIA shall encourage the government agencies responsible for education in Nunavut to provide trades training within the Kivalliq high school system.
- D22. AEM shall, on an annual basis, provide Inuit high school and post-secondary students opportunities to visit the Meadowbank Mine. This may be done in concert with Kivalliq high schools and other agencies responsible for education and training.
- D23. In an effort to enable Inuit employees to advance in all levels of employment at the Meadowbank Mine, AEM shall provide on-site facilities to permit Inuit employees to access education upgrading programs and opportunities during their non-working hours.

Job Fairs

- D24. AEM shall undertake community information and career awareness programs in all Kivalliq Communities once each year. AEM may do this in collaboration with government and other agencies through participation in initiatives aimed at providing information on:
- (a) the labour needs of the Meadowbank Mine;
 - (b) the skills and qualifications required for employment and advancement at the Meadowbank Mine;
 - (c) the training opportunities available to prepare for employment at the Meadowbank Mine; and
 - (d) educational support programs for development of qualifications in the mining industry.

SCHEDULE L: ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL WELLNESS

Objectives

- L1. This Schedule is intended to establish procedures under which:
- (a) KIA and AEM will collaborate with the Kivalliq Regional Socio-Economic Monitoring Committee to monitor and mitigate any adverse economic, social or cultural impacts that the Meadowbank Mine may have on Kivalliq Inuit;
 - (b) KIA and AEM will work together to ensure that all Kivalliq Inuit will have the opportunity to benefit from the Meadowbank Mine;
 - (c) KIA and AEM will collaborate to enhance the long-term prosperity of Kivalliq Inuit by promoting the development of a diverse economy in the Kivalliq Region, and contributing to the growth of sustainable and healthy Kivalliq Communities; and
 - (d) KIA and AEM will develop a strategy to assist Kivalliq Inuit to mitigate any adverse economic, social or cultural impact resulting from Closure of the Meadowbank Mine.

Baker Lake Inuit Wellness Report and Implementation Plan

- L2. AEM shall prepare an annual report on the wellness of the Inuit residents of Baker Lake (the "**Wellness Report and Implementation Plan**"). The Wellness Report and Implementation Plan will draw its data from the annual report of the Socio-Economic Monitoring Committee submitted to the Nunavut Impact Review Board and from the other sources described in Section L4, and will include an implementation plan. The first Wellness Report and Implementation Plan will be submitted to KIA by March 31, 2012 and each subsequent report will be due on March 31. Each Wellness Report and Implementation Plan will include data from the immediately preceding calendar year.
- L3. The Implementation Committee will review the Wellness Report and Implementation Plan at its first meeting after April 1 of each year. AEM and KIA will work together to consult with the Inuit residents of Baker Lake and the relevant government agencies to determine what adjustments need to be made to the Wellness Report and Implementation Plan. This consultation will occur during the second quarter of the year (April 1 through June 30) with the objective of reaching agreement on the final content of the Wellness Report and Implementation Plan by June 30 of each year.
- L4. AEM shall obtain the information required to prepare the annual Wellness Report and Implementation Plan by appropriate means from the following sources;
- (a) the annual report of the Kivalliq Regional Socio-economic Monitoring Committee;
 - (b) data collected by AEM from its own records;
 - (c) the online Nunavut Statistics Bureau;
 - (d) data available to AEM from the Hamlet of Baker Lake;

- (e) data available to AEM from KIA;
- (f) data available to AEM from other government sources;
- (g) information from ongoing discussions with the Meadowbank Community Liaison Committee; and
- (h) any other relevant sources.

Where necessary in order to ensure that the Wellness Report and Implementation Plan fulfills its underlying objectives, AEM shall also give reasonable consideration to implementing other forms of inquiry including: (i) personal interviews; (ii) focus group sessions; (iii) surveys; and (iv) case studies.

- L5. The objective of each Wellness Report and Implementation Plan is to provide an overview of any impacts of the Meadowbank Mine on the wellness of the Inuit residents of Baker Lake in as much detail as practically possible, including any impacts on:
 - (a) the state of the physical and mental health of the Inuit residents of Baker Lake;
 - (b) the extent of alcohol and drug abuse in the community of Baker Lake;
 - (c) personal and family relationships of the Inuit residents of Baker Lake, including any impacts attributable to employment at a remote work site under a rotational work schedule;
 - (d) migration into or out of the community;
 - (e) the prevalence and use of Inuktitut in the community of Baker Lake;
 - (f) Inuit culture and traditional practices;
 - (g) job satisfaction of the Inuit residents of Baker Lake employed at the Meadowbank Project;
 - (h) management of personal finances by the Inuit residents of Baker Lake; and
 - (i) any other aspect of the wellness of the Inuit residents of Baker Lake that the Meadowbank Mine could reasonably be expected to affect.
- L6. The Wellness Report and Implementation Plan shall take into account any recommendations that the Implementation Committee has made during the reporting period on ways to mitigate any adverse impacts of the Meadowbank Mine on the Inuit residents of Baker Lake.
- L7. AEM shall incorporate the Wellness Report and Implementation Plan into its Annual IIBA Implementation Report, and shall implement any measures identified in the Wellness Report and Implementation Plan that the Implementation Committee has agreed require implementation.

- L8. AEM and KIA shall collaborate in an effort to identify additional funding sources and partners to support the preparation and implementation of the Wellness Report and Implementation Plan.

Post-Closure Inuit Wellness Strategy

- L9. AEM shall prepare a strategy to address the potential impacts of the Closure of the Meadowbank Mine on the wellness of Kivalliq Inuit (the "**Post-Closure Inuit Wellness Strategy**"). AEM will submit the Post-Closure Inuit Wellness Strategy in draft form to KIA for review not later than April 30, 2015. AEM and the KIA will then work together to consult with the relevant Inuit organizations and the relevant government agencies to determine whether any adjustments need to be made to the Post-Closure Inuit Wellness Strategy. This consultation will occur during the second quarter of 2015, with the objective of reaching final agreement on the content of the Post-Closure Inuit Wellness Strategy by December 31, 2015.

- L10. AEM shall update the Post-Closure Inuit Wellness Strategy annually.

- L11. The Post-Closure Inuit Wellness Strategy shall identify the anticipated impacts of Closure of the Meadowbank Project on Kivalliq Inuit and describe the strategies and measures that can reasonably be implemented by AEM, KIA and governmental authorities to mitigate these impacts and help Kivalliq Inuit to adjust to post-Closure conditions.

- L12. AEM shall provide funding to KIA in accordance with Schedule J to enable KIA to implement the Post-Closure Inuit Wellness Strategy. This funding shall be divided into an Economic and Community Development Fund and a Business Development Assistance Fund. The KIA shall use each fund to mitigate adverse post-Closure consequences on Inuit of the Kivalliq Region.

Economic and Community Development Fund

- L13. From a portion of the funding identified in Section L14, KIA will establish an Economic and Community Development Fund for use by Kivalliq Communities impacted by the Meadowbank Mine. Projects funded may be undertaken by KIA, its subsidiaries, Kivalliq Communities, other third parties, or any of these parties in collaboration, and may include:

- (a) development of economic sector strategies and plans;
- (b) development of other programs or projects that generally foster a diverse economy that KIA may from time to time deem necessary or desirable;
- (c) education and training in various sectors;
- (d) cultural, social and wellness activities and programs;
- (e) employment activities in various sectors;
- (f) other programs of a similar nature that KIA may from time to time deem necessary or desirable.

L14. KIA shall endeavour to identify additional funding sources and partners for the implementation of projects funded from the Economic and Community Development Fund.

Business Development Assistance Fund

L15. From a portion of the funding described in Section L12, KIA will establish a “**Business Development Assistance Fund**” to support Inuit firms in the Kivalliq Region, from which KIA may fund the following:

- (a) periodically, and in no event less than once each year, business development workshops including such topics as:
 - (i) business structures;
 - (ii) developing funding proposals;
 - (iii) developing business plans;
 - (iv) preparation of contract proposals;
 - (v) client services and marketing;
 - (vi) maintaining business records and accounts; and
 - (vii) insurance and bonding.
- (b) business assistance and support for Inuit Firms including:
 - (i) individual follow-up and mentoring; and
 - (ii) seed capital support.

L16. KIA shall endeavour to identify additional funding sources and partners for the implementation of projects funded from the Business Development Assistance Fund.

APPENDIX 4

MEADOWBANK GOLD PROJECT

ANNUAL REPORT

2012

(Note: This appendix contains only sections of the document relevant to this study. The complete document is available online.)



MEADOWBANK GOLD PROJECT

2012 Annual Report

Prepared for:

Nunavut Water Board
Nunavut Impact Review Board
Fisheries and Oceans Canada
Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada
Kivalliq Inuit Association

Prepared by:

Agnico-Eagle Mines Limited – Meadowbank Division

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APPENDIX 5

COMMUNITY WELLNESS INDICATORS AND IMPLEMENTATION PLAN

ANNUAL MONITORING REPORT

MEADOWBANK MINE

2013

(Note: This appendix contains only sections of the document relevant to this study. The complete document is available online.)

Appendix K1

***Report: Developing Community Wellness Indicators in the
Hamlet of Baker Lake***

Developing Community Wellness Indicators in the Hamlet of Baker Lake



March 2013 Update Report

Project Contact Information

Principal Investigator Ben Bradshaw, University of Guelph
bbradshaw@uoguelph.ca
(519) 824.4120 x 58460

Research Assistant Sophie Maksimowski
smaksimo@uoguelph.ca
(416) 795.6366
(867) 793.3054

Introduction

Study Background

The Hamlet of Baker Lake, Nunavut has experienced unprecedented development with the construction and opening of Agnico-Eagle's Meadowbank gold mine, 100km away by all-weather road. The Inuit community of 1800 residents has experienced a torrent of workers, supplies and money. Businesses are booming and the service industry is being stretched to capacity during much of the year. As Meadowbank is the first mine to be established in Nunavut since the creation of the territory in 1999, the Hamlet of Baker Lake serves as a test case for the rest of the territory, both for modern industrial development and Nunavut's new institutional arrangements. As such, there is considerable interest in tracking wellness conditions in the Hamlet of Baker Lake; indeed, the Inuit Impact and Benefit Agreement (IIBA) signed by Agnico-Eagle Mines Ltd. (AEM) and the Kivalliq Inuit Association (KIA) in 2011 requires that such monitoring be done:

AEM shall prepare an annual report on the wellness of the Inuit residents of Baker Lake (the "Wellness Report and Implementation Plan"). The Wellness Report and Implementation Plan will draw its data from the annual report of the Socio-Economic Monitoring Committee submitted to the Nunavut Impact Review Board and from the other sources described in Section L4 (see Appendix 1), and will include an implementation plan. The first Wellness Report and Implementation Plan will be submitted to KIA by March 31, 2012¹ and each subsequent report will be due on March 31. Each Wellness Report and Implementation Plan will include data from the immediately preceding calendar year.

The expectation of the Annual Wellness Report and Implementation Plan, as outlined in the IIBA, is to detail any impacts of the Meadowbank Mine on the wellness of Inuit residents of Baker Lake (see Appendix 2). The specific indicators that will be developed to capture Hamlet wellness for these reports will be unique to Baker Lake. A draft list of wellness indicators, based upon interviews and focus groups with Hamlet residents in 2011 and 2012, is detailed in this report.

Funding

AEM has made funds available to the Hamlet of Baker Lake for the execution of this study with cooperation from Ben Bradshaw of the University of Guelph. Funding also comes through a MITACS accelerate program grant (www.mitacs.ca/accelerate) and from ArcticNet (<http://www.arcticnet.ulaval.ca>).

¹ The March 31 2012 Annual Wellness Report and Implementation Plan was postponed to March 31 2013 in lieu of this indicator development exercise.

Study Outline

Stage 1 Community-based Interviews and Focus Groups: 2012

For the purpose of developing Hamlet wellness indicators meaningful to Baker Lake residents, qualitative community-based research was conducted to capture how Baker Lake residents define and perceive their Hamlet's wellness. Between July and September 2012, two focus groups and 45 semi-structured interviews were conducted. One focus group was held with women and another with youth, with a total of 15 participants. Interview participants represented a diverse cross-section of the community in terms of age, gender, education and socio-economic background. These 45 interviews included elders, young adults, Meadowbank Mine employees, community leaders, front-line workers and administrators.

Stage 2 Wellness Indicator Development: 2012-13

The development of Hamlet wellness indicators is the primary task of 2012-13. These indicators will be reported to the KIA by June 2013 along with existing evidence of Hamlet wellness from secondary sources of information outlined in Appendix 1.

Indicator development has drawn upon two main data sources. The first is the community-based interviews and focus groups outlined above in Stage 1². The second is evidence gathered in the Hamlet of Baker Lake in 2011 by University of Guelph Graduate Student, Kelsey Peterson, and is summarized in a report presented to the Baker Lake Hamlet Council on April 27, 2012 titled 'Community experiences with mining in Baker Lake'.

Both sources were reviewed and carefully sorted into 10 key domains of community wellness:

WELL-BEING AND FUNCTIONAL WELLNESS	COMMUNITY HEALTH
ENVIRONMENTAL HEALTH	FAMILY, CHILDREN AND YOUTH
COMMUNITY DYNAMICS AND SOCIAL LIFE	COMMUNITY SERVICES AND INFRASTRUCTURE
EDUCATION AND TRAINING	ECONOMY AND EMPLOYMENT
COMMUNITY GOVERNANCE	SELF-CONTROL

Themes and topics raised by participants were then organized into sub-domains and categorized according to values, concerns and opportunities for wellness, and are outlined in this report.

² It is not suggested that all the indicators outlined in this report relate to mining or industrial development, but they were included in this report to be comprehensive of the topics Baker Lake residents discussed when asked what community wellness entails.

Values, concerns and opportunities within each sub-domain were drafted into a list of proposed indicators of Hamlet wellness as they appear in this report. During March 2013, this report is being circulated to community members in order to solicit feedback on the appropriateness and feasibility of the drafted indicators.

Stage 3 Community Surveying: 2013-14 and beyond

The completion of an assessment of Hamlet wellness, using an approved list of Hamlet wellness indicators, is the primary task of 2013-14. This assessment of Hamlet wellness will be reported to the KIA for the March 31, 2014 report, along with existing evidence of Hamlet wellness from secondary sources of information outlined in Appendix 1³.

The assessment will derive from use of a household survey that will be administered to all households in the Hamlet⁴. Execution of this community survey will take place over a number of years to enable tracking of Hamlet wellness over time.

³ Indicators represented by existing data sources will not be included in the household survey

⁴ For example, if an indicator of community wellness is 'youth participation in land-based activities each season (hunting/fishing/food gathering)', then an associated question for the household survey would be 'over the last winter, how many times have youth members of this household participated in hunting activities?'

APPENDIX 6

REPORTING BACK TO THE COMMUNITY OF QAMANI'TUAQ AND PUBLICIZING RESULTS

Community Engagement/Dissemination

Inuit women of Qamani'tuaq have been actively involved in this research project. The project was developed to provide Inuit women with a voice; an opportunity to raise their concerns around the impacts of mining on their community and to share their personal experiences. Pauktuutit and the University of British Columbia worked with the women of Qamani'tuaq to develop a participatory research process to collect information that fairly represented Inuit women's experiences with the impacts of mining on women and families. The qualitative research results presented in this report are by and for the women of Qamani'tuaq. The hope is that this research is actively shared to raise awareness and motivate discussion regarding the effects of mining on Inuit women and families. The women of Qamani'tuaq hope that key stakeholders will take the findings and recommendations seriously so that work can begin to address the challenges they have identified.

Public Access

A popular version of this report and material from it will be made publicly available on Pauktuutit's website. It will be based on the qualitative data collected through focus groups and key informant interviews in Qamani'tuaq. It will be available in English and Inuktitut. The women of Qamani'tuaq who participated and worked as community researchers on this project are recognized as co-creators and contributors to this research.

A Facebook page will be created for the project. A copy of the research report and summary fact sheet will be posted, along with other relevant information dealing with the impact of mining on Inuit women and families. This will allow the research to be easily shared among Inuit communities and will facilitate discussion.

Public awareness of the research report will also be raised through newspaper articles. Pauktuutit maintains a relationship with *Nunatsiaq News*, the primary northern news source. This will facilitate public dissemination of project results. National southern newspapers will also be contacted so that the results of this project may reach a broader Canadian audience. The research team has connections with Canadian Press and through it, with all daily newspapers in the country.

The Community of Qamani'tuaq

This research was carried out in the community of Qamani'tuaq. An essential step in releasing the results is to share them with community members. The research must be available in an accessible format, in plain language and available in both Inuktitut and English. It must be considerate of Inuit as a predominantly oral culture. A lengthy academic report is a barrier for Inuit women wanting to understand how mining is affecting them. For this reason, a public event will be held in Qamani'tuaq to communicate the research results back to the community. The results and recommendations will be presented by the research team at this event, using

PowerPoint, fact sheets and other materials to engage the community. Members of the research team will be available to answer questions on the results and the project process. A local interpreter will be contracted for the event to ensure participation is accessible for all community members. The community will be engaged with regard to ongoing research activities including quantitative data collection using a questionnaire developed by participants in the training workshop.

A summary fact sheet of the research results will be prepared for the community presentation. This document will present highlights from the full report, with an emphasis on challenges raised and recommendations for action. The fact sheet will be available in English and Inuktitut. This will be provided to the community at the public event and will include contact information for a member of the research team to allow follow-up by community members. The fact sheet will also be posted to Pauktuutit's website for public access.

The workshop was filmed. Depending on the availability of funds, the research team will collaborate with Arviat film makers (Konek Productions) to produce a short digital video in Inuktitut and English. This will describe the project, the results and their significance. A multi-faceted approach that includes a community presentation, fact sheet, Facebook page and digital video will help increase accessibility and the audience reached.

Political Stakeholders

In disseminating the research report, political organizations responsible for decision-making around the challenges and recommendations identified are a key audience. The research report will be directly shared with the mayor and Hamlet Council of Qamani'tuaq to increase awareness of the social programming required to address the impacts of resource extraction on the community. The Hamlet Council lacks detailed information on the social impacts on women of the Meadowbank mine. At the same time, it is primarily responsible for the design and implementation of programs to address these effects. Many of the concerns raised in the research point to interventions that are the responsibility of the Qamani'tuaq Hamlet Council

The research report will also be shared directly with the Government of Nunavut (GN), as it has responsibilities related to the research results. These include gaps in health care services, increasing incidents involving the RCMP and strain on criminal justice workers, effects on families and children and the need for further support from social services. Issues with school attendance need to be brought to the attention of the territorial government. At the same time, the GN participates in the Kivalliq Socio-Economic Monitoring Committee, a group responsible for overseeing, measuring and reporting on the socio-economic impacts of industry in the region. This includes attention to employment results and training, as well as the general development of Kivalliq society. The GN also coordinates socio-economic monitoring committees in the Baffin and Kitikmeot regions of Nunavut. Given the GN's role in supporting regulatory regimes for the mining industry, in programming to ensure that maximum benefit is derived from mining and that

services are in place to reduce social challenges in the community, this report will be shared with them.

The IIBA for Meadowbank does not include any clause specific to Inuit women. This research clearly shows the gendered impacts of the mine and the unique experiences of women in relation to it. Inuit women have not experienced the same level of economic benefit from the mine as men in the community. They are a limited part of the Meadowbank workforce and are generally employed in the lowest skilled, and therefore lowest salaried, positions. At the same time, Inuit women and girls have experienced an increase in violence and abuse, along with other gender specific impacts. This research will be directly shared with the Kivalliq Inuit Association (KIA), the regional organization responsible for the negotiation and implementation of the IIBA. We believe that an increased awareness of the impacts of Meadowbank on Inuit women in Qamani'tuaq and recommendations for action will assist KIA's decision-making in the disbursement of funds received through the IIBA, including royalties and funds dedicated to the Community Economic Development Fund. These research results will hopefully highlight the necessity of the consultation and direction of Inuit women in the negotiation of future IIBAs by KIA. The research report will be disseminated to other Inuit organizations involved in the negotiation of IIBAs, including the Kitikmeot Inuit Association, Qikiqtani Inuit Association and Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated.

Given the increase in resource extraction activities across Inuit Nunangat, the research report will be directly shared with the three other Inuit land claim organizations responsible for the negotiation of IIBAs in their region. These include the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, Makivik Corporation and the Nunatsiavut Government, as well as all other relevant political organizations in these regions.

Finally, the research results and recommendations will be provided to Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK), Canada's national Inuit organization. ITK works on a variety of issues related to the outcomes of this research, including addictions, mental wellness, health and the promotion of Inuit culture and language. In particular, ITK's Department of Health and Social Development includes a focus on Inuit Human Resource Development, with current work on promoting Inuit employment in the resource extraction industry. This research report can provide ITK with a context relevant to better understanding the work environment experienced by Inuit, women in particular, at mine sites and the resulting implications for employment, training, social issues and policies.

Industry

The report will be presented to the IIBA coordinator at Meadowbank, as well as other staff. The report will also be shared with extractive industry representatives currently in negotiations with the community of Qamani'tuaq and those prospecting around the community. The researchers intend to share the results with representatives of the mining industry focused on northern

development, including members of the Canadian Institute of Mining, Metallurgy and Petroleum and other national industry organizations.

There is likely a wider interest in this work to be found in Aboriginal communities across Canada and internationally.

Presentations on the results may be organized at venues such as the UBC First Nations House of Learning, the UBC Learning Circle and the Liu Centre. With permission from Pauktuutit and the women involved in the research, the research content may be shared through academic conferences, journal articles and discussions relevant to the topics of Aboriginal peoples and community well-being, resource extraction and social/environmental impacts and community-based research.

Future Work

There is still research being conducted in relation to this project. A quantitative survey of the community will be completed by March 2014. Ongoing qualitative analysis includes youth perspectives and the content of filmed interviews at the mine.

Pauktuutit may wish to pursue similar and related work in other communities of the Kivalliq region affected by employment at the Meadowbank mine. They may also wish to conduct similar research in other regions where Inuit women are being or are likely to be affected by mining development and exploration activities.