

**RAGLAN MINE: ACTION ORIENTED  
SOCIAL RESEARCH PROGRAM**

SCOPING PHASE: ANALYSIS

A REPORT TO  
THE COMMUNITY OF KANGIQSUJUAQ

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## INTRODUCTION

Makivik, in cooperation with the communities and the Raglan Committee, has undertaken a social impact study in the communities of Salluit, Kangiqsujaq, Kangirsuk, Quaqtaq and Puvirnituk.

This project is designed to be a management and information tool for promoting the harmonious integration of the mining activities into Nunavik for the benefit of the Inuit population. Its overall objectives are: to acquire a knowledge of the present social and economic situation of the communities, to assess on a regular basis the impacts of the project, to multiply the positive effects of the mining activities, to adequately prevent or correct potential or actual negative effects of the project, and to support Inuit efforts with regards to economic and social development.

In this first phase of the study, the scoping phase, the goal is to identify community concerns and the perceived positive and negative changes related to the development of the mine. To this end, interviews have been conducted with more than 70 individuals from Salluit, Kangiqsujaq, Kangirsuk, Quaqtaq, and Puvirnituk.

## PURPOSE AND GOAL OF THE REPORT

To keep the community informed of the evolution of the social impact research project, and to make known the concerns as perceived by those interviewed, a document entitled "Action-Oriented Social Research Program: Interviews on Raglan Mine" was produced. The three sections of this document consisted of: first, an identification of those people interviewed; second, a presentation of the interviews in their entirety; and third, a listing of the topics touched upon by each interviewee. This document was circulated on a restricted basis in March, 1999. During the same month, a first report entitled "The Social Impacts of the Raglan Mine Project; Scoping Phase: Kangiqsujaq," was submitted to the community and the Raglan Committee. This report gave preliminary findings and a description of the work in progress.

The present report analyses the interviews conducted in Kangiqsujaq, identifying the issues and concerns that emerged from the interviews. These are found under the three

main sections of this report: The Impacts on the Physical Environment, The Impacts on the Economic Environment, and The Impacts on the Social Environment.

Under the “Impacts on Physical Environment” section, the issues raised are related to wildlife and contamination of water. The “Impacts on Economic Environment” section includes perceptions on economic benefits of well-paying jobs for the community, the potential for Inuit businesses, recommendations as to how the compensation money should be spent, and concerns related to the closing of the mine. Lastly, the section entitled “Impacts on the Social Environment” is divided into two sub-sections: Impacts on the Community, and Employment on Site. The first one deals with the effects of the project on youth, family, alcohol consumption, unemployment, out-migration, education, and culture. The sub-section related to Employment on Site deals with living conditions at the site, work relations, discrimination, and job stability.

We have tried to present all of this information in such a way as to render exactly what people said during the interviews.



## 1.0 IMPACTS ON THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

In this section, the issues and concerns raised are related first to contamination from past and present mining activities, and second, to the impacts on wildlife.

### 1.1 CONTAMINATION

#### 1.1.1 Past Mining Activities

The mining activities undertaken within the region since the 1960's have impacted the physical environment to varying degrees. The Inuit of Kangiqsujuaq are therefore very concerned about the environmental impact of any mining activity. For this reason, there is close scrutiny of Falconbridge's efforts to clean up affected areas. Some Inuit now feel that Falconbridge is not living up to its responsibility of cleaning up the old Asbestos Hill site:

...since we have been having meetings recently, I realized that they were beginning to renege on this commitment...so they will have to commit themselves to following through with this, even if the cost is high.

#### 1.1.2 Present Operation

Despite this type of statement regarding Falconbridge's efforts at cleaning up, many interviewees agreed that the present mining operation is more environmentally prudent than previous exploration and exploitation activities. Moreover, the willingness of Falconbridge to consult and communicate with the local Inuit fosters their favourable review of the company. These sentiments are reflected in statements such as:

As for the present project, I feel that this company is doing much better than the ones that were here first, and they are able to consult with Inuit, and even though they are saying that there should won't be any contaminants, they will probably leave some behind. Since they are more open to consult with Inuit, I figure that they are doing much better in comparison to the ones that were here first, and this includes the ones that were working up at Raglan.

There is some recognition in the community, however, that while the present mining operation is doing a much better job working with the Inuit over environmental issues, it will inevitably impact the physical environment. One interviewee foresees an expansion of the present operation, and therefore an expansion of its impacts on the land:

The mine just came about only recently, so the impacts are not yet evident, with regard to the impact on the environment, but I would think that the mine will grow as it progresses more, so the impact will grow as well.

Specifically, some Inuit have concerns that the present mining operation could affect the surrounding river systems. The Povungnituk River, in particular, is feared contaminated:

...[water runoff is] flowing in this direction, so we suspect that the Povungnituk River is being contaminated, because all of the pollution in the river caused by the Raglan Project is flowing towards that direction, and this is our concern.

## 1.2 WILDLIFE

For the impacts on wildlife, some concerns were expressed that animals might be eating contaminated food and other materials left on the land during past exploration activities:

...our wildlife eat all kinds of things, particularly the fox and caribou. All over the land interior stuff has been left behind, I regularly see spoiled food in the old camps haphazardly discarded and our fox having eaten these things have died on many occasions as I know. Also the caribou consume our waste food and other contaminated materials and this is a matter of concern as regard to the caribou and fish.

The added concern, of course, is that hunters and fishermen will harvest animals that are contaminated. While Inuit hunters have become adept at identifying diseased animals, they fear that some contamination will be invisible to them. Speaking of eating fresh, healthy, meat:

...all the while we're thinking that we eating the very best of fresh food, and yet it is infested with contamination which we cannot see, and we have not been able to take this

issue to anyone up to now, the only method of addressing this for us is to encourage us to continue eating and doing the usual, and yet we are consuming contaminated foods.

As for the present exploitation of the mine, impacts on the wildlife relate to the mine employees fishing. Some Inuit have heard that, "People on site do some fishing without authorization," and that concerns the people of Kangiqsujaq.

### 1.3 SECTION SUMMARY

To summarize this section regarding the impacts on the physical environment, we can say that Asbestos Hill left its mark on the environment, and because of this, people are now much more conscious and concerned about the impacts of mining activities on the land. Hence, while Falconbridge is perceived favourably because of the consultation process with the community, its efforts at cleaning up are not seen as sufficient. Moreover, on the long run, in spite of its environmental program, Falconbridge will impact the environment.

## 2.0 IMPACTS ON THE ECONOMIC ENVIRONMENT

This section pertaining to the impact on the economy of the community identifies the views on the potential benefits for Inuit businesses, on how the compensation money should be spent, on the benefits from increased income, and lastly, on the mine closure.

### 2.1 INUIT BUSINESS

The Raglan mine does not only supply payroll cheques to local workers, but it allows for those not currently working on site to plan future business opportunities around the mining operation. One interviewee speaks of rounding up, "...My own heavy equipment operators, the best ones only from each community, and pretty well trained," to offer services to the mine. Other ideas include the opening of a store to sell sculptures, or the hiring of guides to take employees fishing:

...people do the guiding, fishing and take the tourists outside, you know, employees.

If they do that and they organize fishing will be like safer and clean, if they have a guides, right now, just spread like a mosquito eh, they go over there, they do there. It's out of control like that.

The people of Kangiqsujaq feel that the present mining operation is a boon for the young, believing that they are the ones who will be able to capitalize on business opportunities:

I would like to believe that there will be opportunities. The young people have learned skills in schools and they will think of opportunities, of ways to go into business. But older people don't have these skills.

### 2.2 AGREEMENT MONEY

Many Inuit agree that the money their community will receive as a result of the Raglan Agreement should be diverted to projects benefiting the whole community. Facilities for the youth of the community seem to be a popular option for the use of these funds. In Kangiqsujaq there was a request on the FM radio for ideas on the use of the money. "It

was decided to see a benefit for the community as a whole,” one interviewee said, “And I agreed with this intent.” Ideas for the building of a recreation hall, swimming pool, and gymnasium were all introduced, citing the need to keep the youth of the community busy and occupied, “...in order to stay away from drugs and alcohol.”

Referring to the prior distribution of money from the Agreement that went to individuals in the community, one interviewee said:

Although it was very good to receive the money in that way, personally, I don't think this should be always the way the moneys are distributed, especially since our community has to see some growth. For those who are still growing up, the youth, must have places where they can do things, this is something that must be considered as well.

### 2.3 BENEFITS

The wages that Falconbridge and contractors pay their employees at the mine site eventually make their way back into the community, and the benefits can be seen throughout town. Some workers have new ski-doods, some have cleared rent debts, and some have helped their families. Clearly, incomes earned at the mine don't simply benefit the individual worker; the whole community is enriched.

There has been an observed increase in the purchasing of major items such as vehicles and furniture, with interviewees saying:

...those people are buying Hondas, canoes and ski-doods. This has been a quite good for the economy in this community, and this is what I've noticed,

and,

All kinds of things like television, chesterfields are being obtained now.

Others, however, do not spend their money on material goods, they often save their wages, pay debts, or help their more unfortunate relatives:

...trying to spend money in a positive way, in a manner that is responsible like meeting

payments for rental of housing and making sure their relatives are lacking nothing. These people are doing right, earning incomes and spending it in the right way,

and,

...some people start buying bikes and skidoos and things like that, but us we paying bills, you know, and we have to get our rent first. Then we start investing money after, so I'm trying to help her too, work out here and so she's, she can have some money in her bank when she come back.

## 2.4 MINE CLOSURE

The closure of the Raglan mine is a complex and important subject with the Inuit of Kangiqsujaq. There are fears about the impacts of the mine closure, some of which deal with the ownership of the mine's infrastructure on site. Some interviewees expressed a great interest in the Inuit taking ownership of the site, saying:

I hope they won't just take everything away and ship them out, in my mind, I've been thinking that it can become a university or training centre or something like for place up there.

But there are concerns over the operation of the site after Falconbridge has moved away. Some people believe that this task would cost too much:

I would prefer to see remedial measures done to the site and not try to give the infrastructure away to us, because we are going to be given an enormous financial burden. ...I am thinking that perhaps we can save the compensation funds so that we can use the funds to operate and maintain the infrastructure.

There is talk here of saving money now in the eventuality that the Inuit are stuck with the ownership of the mine's infrastructure. Others believe that the government should be at least partially responsible for the financial burden of running the site:

I am convinced that the government has to have a role to play. No matter what is started up they must provide the funding to go with it, because they are the ones that gave the permit to mine in and exploit in this area. They did not consider the surrounding communities in providing their permit, when they said to the company that they could go up there and mine for minerals, since they have done this and if they will continue to do this, then if the complex is being written off by the company and we become the recipients of it, then the government will have to help us in this.

Another major concern over the closing of the mine is that it will happen much earlier than its 20-year projection. If this early-closure does happen, some Inuit fear that they won't receive the full amount of compensation that has been promised to them:

Even if the Agreement will cover a period of twenty five years, when they find a mine that can be extracted at a cheaper cost, yes, this mine will close and we left behind. And this means that the amount of 75 million dollars which we were to receive will not come to that amount when the mine closes. When it closes, the amount that we have come to expect to receive and have made plans to use, when the mine closes, you can kiss the 75 million dollars good-bye. Plus, if the cost of operating the mine in the next two years became too high, I think that it would eat away at the profit that we considered we'd be getting a share of.

## 2.5 SECTION SUMMARY

To summarize, the interviewees agree that there is an economic benefit in town since the opening of the mine site. The income filtering from individual mine workers through the whole community is sometimes saved, used to pay debts, or spent for the purchase of major items such as vehicles and furniture. Also, people are very optimistic about future business opportunities for members of the community, especially the young. There is concern, however, related to the closure of the mine. If the mine closes earlier than expected, the Inuit will not receive the compensation money stipulated in the Raglan Agreement. Also related to mine closure, there is concern over the foreseen costs related to the maintenance of the site's infrastructure after Falconbridge closes the mine.

To the question of how the compensation money should be spent, the consensus is that the money should be used for community purposes, especially facilities for youth.

### 3.0 IMPACTS ON THE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

The social impact section of this report is divided into two sub-sections: those impacts affecting the community of Kangiqsujuaq, and those affecting employment at the mine site. The impacts affecting the community can be organized into specific subject areas in the following way: Youth, Family, Alcohol, Unemployment, Migration, Education, and Culture. The sub-section of the report pertaining to employment at the site is similarly organized into subject areas. These are: Living Conditions, Work Relations, Discrimination, and Job Stability.

#### 3.1 COMMUNITY

##### 3.1.1 Youth

The mine, through job creation, is contributing to the well being of the youth, and consequently to the well being of the entire community. It gives the young people an opportunity to obtain jobs, taking them off the unemployment or welfare roll, and offering them a bright future:

Our youth who are given the opportunity to work up there are a big help to us, as to the chronically unemployed in the community, they seem to put all their energy into causing problems in the community, so the project up there has really contributed to the well-being of our youth and this has been a big help for us elders even though we can no longer ourselves work up there, because our grandchildren and children are given the opportunity to work up there and this project is really appreciated.

##### 3.1.2 Family

Working at the mine has had, in many instances, negative impacts on families. The first ones to feel the impact are the children. These impacts, as well as factors like jealousy, loneliness, and difficulty of adapting to work or home life, are all reasons for leaving employment at Raglan.



Often, it seems, children are left at home without proper care when their guardians go to work at the mine. In some cases, the authorities at the mine and the social services in the community have had to intervene:

There were a few cases where a number of young people had to be let go (from the mine), because the Social Services were going after them saying that their kids, their small children, were not being properly being taken care of.

Many reasons are given to explain these situations. For example, "some workers do not have wives and yet have children," or a person does not have "an adequate sitter." These problems often seem to be the burden of young couples. Young couples usually have young children, and this creates particular problems. Also, young couples are often seen as "less stable," and they tend to "have sex with other people," creating problems within their relationships, which in turn affects the children.

These factors sometimes make people quit their jobs. There are also other factors that may come into play, like jealousy and family pressure. For example:

Little wonder, when either of the couple leaves, whether it is the man or woman, they get worried about their partner being committed to maintaining the relationship, in a sense of fidelity.

Jealousy due to infidelity, or the fear of it, by either of the spouses "is one of the major reasons for persons quitting their work."

Other family-related reasons for quitting are loneliness and the difficulties of adaptation to life at home. Adaptation to the home environment after working a rotation at the mine often poses some difficulties. Interviewees often stated that there is a certain adjustment period that workers need to re-orient themselves to living at home. During this period, the workers' families are wary of them, and family routines are changed to minimize stress on the returning worker. For example:

When he gets home from work, he does not even give us a glance. He begins to behave like he is all alone and without a family. Even though we are home and should be demanding some attention he ignores us and just sleeps, eats and he is on the phone.

Also,

Right now, and when she come back, I don't want to push her, because she's not all there yet and take about seven good days to settle home, real tired wanna sleep and get angry or from when I see that on my wife...I try to take care of her good, I try to do a lot of cooking, give her, feed her, give her relax a relation, 'cause she work very hard up there .... It's not just her, everybody's like that when they come back.

### 3.1.3 Alcohol

Those workers who choose to stay with their jobs at the mine site earn the benefits of increased income, but even this has a downside. There has been a marked increase in drug and alcohol use in the community since workers have started bringing home their paycheques. Increased income is seen as a contributing factor to this alcohol consumption, but job-related stress is also blamed. There is recognition, however, that social problems did exist before the mine opened.

The mining site, even if it is officially a drug and alcohol free environment, is a place where some trafficking of drugs exists, "...people from Rouyn, they bring a lot of drugs, so when [Inuit workers] come here they sell a lot of drugs". This is not a new issue. It seems that the same practice went on at the previous mine site of Asbestos Hill,

...due to the trafficking of alcohol and drugs at the Asbestos mine site, some of them who are now in their middle age and even those who passed away were greatly affected by these things.

A direct link is made between the increase in income and the increase consumption of alcohol. "They spend money on alcohol and drugs," one interviewee says, and this increased consumption is the source of many personal and community problems. One interviewee observes that, "...family problems have increased."

Interviewees see that increased alcohol consumption has an impact on the whole community. Mine workers return home from their work rotation hoping to meet the alcohol they ordered a few days previous. Sometimes eight or nine workers have gotten together for a party on their time off, and:

...it affected the whole community, and what's happening more and more as I was told that it was creating some problems. I know that some of our employees had gotten into problem with the law as a result of that. But I can't really say that it's because they're working at the mine site, you know, well, I guess they have more money to spend or to spare or maybe they have some stress they have to release or whatever, like I said earlier, we had this problem already before.

Others note that problems existed in the community for a long time:

We had social problems before this project started, and some of these social problems have been building up with some people, not all of them though, I mean family problems and drug and alcohol consumption has increased as a result of more money in the community, more money to spend.

#### 3.1.4 Unemployment

Being dependent on the outside world for income, the community was affected both economically and socially by the crash of the fur market. Kangiqsujuaq is a community with a high rate of unemployment, and many community members are dependent on welfare and social assistance for income. The mine helps revive the economy, and it changes attitudes toward work, even if sometimes the situation in the community does not discourage people from quitting their jobs.

It is said of the town,

There were very many people depending on welfare, due to the lack in money to trade with. The fur market used to be very good when there was a demand, but since the demand is gone, then Kangiqsujuaq was greatly affect by this. Even those people who could afford canoes, skidoos and Hondas were not able to afford these things. And when they were getting ready to go out hunting, they used to take their kids along, and the kids were able to tag along with their mothers and fathers as they went hunting, and this helped in their growth in no small terms, but when the market fell, we saw an increase in crime due to lack of things to do here. so in the same way, even though it was not all

of them, the Inuit who received work when the mine re-opened, we can see that there is more to be done.

Perhaps partially due to this unemployment, many community members wish that more Inuit were hired at Raglan. One interviewee was quite adamant about what is seen as a lack of Inuit at the mine site,

The people being taken to work up there is still much too few. There is still a long line-up of people waiting to work up there. So, I don't think that the labour force is being depleted here anytime soon.

There is a recognition in the above statement that the pool of employees in Kangiqsujuaq is deep, and that Falconbridge could hire many community members without depriving the town of needed employees.

For those people fortunate enough to have obtained employment at the mine site, the dismal lack of jobs in town does not seem to be a deterrent to quitting. Some workers leave their jobs at Raglan knowing that they will return to Kangiqsujuaq and unemployment. One interviewee surveys this situation and says,

From what I have seen, on the positive side, Inuit are receiving employment. Where there were no jobs available here. This has been a help for many, but on the other hand, even if the help, people have quit the jobs they started, and this is on-going.

Some Inuit are encouraged by the prospect of jobs at Raglan, however, and the community of Kangiqsujuaq has seen a difference in the behaviour of those seeking jobs. Of the community's unemployed, it is seen that:

...they are just idle, especially the younger generation even though the older ones can be in the same situation. Lack of jobs, I have seen a benefit in that they know there are jobs available up there so, I have seen people become more mobile.

### 3.1.5 Migration

As for out-migration is concerned, there is some question of whether or not the Inuit who have obtained qualifications and completed training for specific jobs at the mine will leave the community --and even Nunavik-- in search of further employment in the mining sector. There is some dissension on this issue. Some community members interviewed responded positively to the notion of out-migration, saying:

Absolutely. I hope that, I hope so. I would like, I don't think that Inuit should just be stuck on the coast and I think they should be spreading out into other parts of the world. The world as well eh, and they can, I believe that they can do it, I believe they work in...do well in mining or in industry, you know, if they really go for it.

and,

If they receive the necessary certifications and if they can take their families, I believe they can go... these people who are now working, when the mine closes, we don't want to see them just sit back down... we want to see them receive certifications to be able to go and work in Chile, Rouyn-Noranda, and receive tickets to work and this is something we discussed at length, and if it's possible to relocate with their families, yes, I believe that they would be able to relocate elsewhere.

Other interviewees in Kangiqsujuaq were not so supportive of out-migration, or even employment at the mine site, saying that fellow community members wanted only to stay in town. Of the possibility of Inuit leaving Nunavik to work as miners, one person responded:

Perhaps some of them will want to do this, but the majority may not want to do this. If they can find any job here, they don't seem to want to go work up there at the mine, because they like being close to their relatives and their children and if they can have any old job here, they aren't looking anywhere else, in fact the people working up there [at the mine site] tend to envy the ones who are working at the home.

The quote above demonstrates that family ties may be a major reason for Inuit to remain in their community or region, but other reasons exist. Some interviewees believe that the land and lifestyle of the Inuit are forces strong enough to stop some people from leaving their

community for work. For example, one elders of the community says, of Inuit leaving the area:

No, I don't think they will. Well, if they are responsible and try to think this through, because we consider this land as a big part of our lives, having grown up on this land and if they are cognizant of the land, I don't think that they will move away to other lands, if they are going to maintain their lifestyle.

### 3.1.6 Education

Education is seen as the main tool to get employment and advancement. The interviewees have identified concerns with the education system and presented some solutions. They also expressed concerns regarding the difficult situation that the un-educated generation has to face.

Interviewees felt that the School Board should establish courses offering candidates a specialization in one particular field of study: "We are not becoming anything, when people have studied accounting we know that they sometimes get hired in that field." Some community members feel that students are not being taught trade-specific skills, and are graduating without the ability to enter the skilled workforce.

A person often has to be certified to obtain employment. "More education is needed," some say, as are permits like driver's licenses, for which training is required. Some community members want their young to become professionals like "geologists, miners," and for this, "people have to understand that university degrees are required." There is a recognition here that the workers of the future need to be properly trained and educated. The Inuit of Kangiqsujuaq call for more training and higher education of the community's students.

The need for qualified workers, however, excludes the older generation from employment. These people, lacking formal education and qualifications, cannot readily obtain employment on site. This is a concern expressed clearly by many of the interviewees. For example:

As it stands right now, only the young, only the early middle aged, the ones that can speak in english and those that can speak french are considered for hire. Even though for

some jobs this is entirely unnecessary. For example, during the mining at Asbestos Hill, hiring of workers was not limited to those that could speak in english.

Or,

...they (elders) like to work too very much, but they don't have the proper paper, but they know they can do better job than the person who get a diploma

A proposed solution to remedy this situation was to hire bilingual foremen to oversee unilingual elders. This action is predicted to bolster morale and create a more positive working environment:

...old people who don't speak english, only inuttittut and you give them a job, you give a machinery in their own language, in their own understanding, in their own group, I'm sure they make the best job... they got more muscle than these people [non-Inuit], they do hunting they do boating, they do skidooing in cold weather, they know how to survive, it's their country, it's their land, they understand where they are.

### 3.1.7 Culture

Some interviewees felt that the mining project was having a negative effect on Inuit culture. Working at the mine is sometimes seen as a threat to traditional culture:

...life in general is going to be worse, this project can not be compared to other job situation. Once a person goes to a mining operation, his whole culture changes and that's the only way and he has to adapt to a very foreign culture.

There is the threat also of a clash between two cultures at the mine, with the Inuit potentially being the losers.

It is difficult to communicate with outsiders, with other cultures. There are no bridges between the cultures. If anything this project is going to become a deteriorating thing for the Inuit culture. We are taking in from the other, but they don't take from us. The only time we can speak in our language is at supper. During work English is the language used.

Finally, the issue of keeping one's own language was mentioned by quite a few interviewees. One interviewee put it in the following terms:

Our values are going to be compromised. I don't have problems with the sales of carving, that is the extent of our contribution. Our values are sort of blotted out, while the others take over. It's only 45 miles away and its like going to a foreign country. On site no where is there a sign in Inuttitut. I would like to see signs in Inuttitut, then I would feel right at home. It would be something of ourselves, and I would feel better...I feel strongly about keeping my language, there is nothing else left. Look around this house, there is nothing Inuit. To go hunting we use 4-wheelers, Inuit did not do that before. When you measure everything, language is the only thing left.

### 3.1.8 Sub-Section Summary

To summarize, the Raglan project has had positive and negative impacts on the community of Kangiqsujuaq. On the one hand, community members are benefiting through increased employment. The youth, in particular, are taking advantage of job opportunities, earning an income and gaining a sense of purpose in life. On the other hand, some negative impacts on family interactions and alcohol abuse in the community have been identified. Families, especially young ones, have had problems adjusting to the absence of a spouse from the home. In some cases, children are left at home without adequate supervision while their guardians go to work at the mine. Alcohol and drug abuse has increased in the community, but there is recognition that these problems did exist before the opening of the mine.

Regarding the out-migration issue, there is some dissension. There is some question of whether or not the Inuit who have obtained qualifications and completed training will eventually leave the community. Finally, community members want to see a change in the way that their children are educated, calling for more specialized education and training from the school board, as well as urging their children to go on to higher education.





## 3.2 EMPLOYMENT AT THE SITE

### 3.2.1 Living Conditions

Early in its construction phase, the lack of recreational facilities at the mine site was a cause of worker dissatisfaction. Presently, however, mine workers seem genuinely pleased with the many recreation options open to them:

At the time [during construction]when the site was very ill equipped, in the beginning, some got discouraged to be up there and not wanting to return because there were very little facilities; it was even said that it was worse to be up there than it would be in prison. That it was better to be in jail. Now, with the presence of all kinds of things, like, recreation areas, with the installation of these things, there are more and more people desirous to work on site.

Indeed, some interviewees who worked at the mine found living conditions to be, “Extremely good.”

The only suggestion that emerged on ways to improve the conditions at the mine was to work out some sort of system whereby children and families could live on site with workers. This action is seen as a potential solution to the family and social problems that develop when a worker leaves the community for a work rotation at the site.

### 3.2.2 Work Relations

The people of Kangiqsujuaq have stressed many times ways in which the present mining operation is superior to those of the past. The area of work relations on site is no exception. Interviewees praised Falconbridge for keeping lines of communication open on the job, saying:

Whenever we have a concern, we do not hesitate to talk [to them], whereas prior to this project. there was none of this available, so now it is a much better arrangement.

One worker explains his attitude for working:

You have to know one thing, if you want to work you work, you don't look somebody else's job, when somebody asks you, the boss tells you something to do, don't ever argue with him, you do the job, even if he will make a mistake or not mistake, follow him, it's not you who make a mistake, it's your boss. If he do it right, you do it right, what he said, do it even if you like it or not, it's a job.

### 3.2.3 Discrimination

It is recognized that there are inherent difficulties in working with people from different cultures. Many interviewees stressed that problems between cultures have decreased since the beginning of the mine construction, and those problems that do occur are not instigated by only one culture.

One topic that arose frequently with this issue was the province's Bill 101 on the referendum for separation from Canada. Many Inuit talk of feeling targeted at that time by francophones working at the mine, saying:

...the french especially having lost the referendum began to target Inuit as scapegoats because the Inuit were vocal about not wanting to separate. Then when they had to work together they became condescending towards the Inuit and started making enemies of them, after they had lost the plebiscite.

There is recognition that different cultures have to work side by side at Raglan, and that there are generally fewer problems with this now than there were in the past:

...there also may be cultural differences between them and the [non-Inuit] on site which result in strife. The [non-Inuit], due to this same difference cannot associate too well with Inuit. Along this line. At the beginning, this was very apparent, but now, they may have gotten used to each other, there's less and less talk of problems faced.

There is also recognition that racism and discrimination is not the domain of only one culture; it is perpetrated by all cultures. One Inuit interviewee says:

No, Inuit are pretty racists as you know...It's not as bad because they have less direct control over others. If they had more direct control, they would probably enforce their ways of doing things, which are different from the ways others would do it, but they have less control, it's not so bad although on the communication or chitchat type kind of, well like that, it's an on-going thing, it's not, racism is not just one side, it's all around.

### 3.2.4 Job Stability

There is a history of high turnover of Inuit employees at the site, and it is useful to identify the various reasons workers give for quitting. One interviewee recognized the state of Inuit employment history at the mine, and said:

Although we had quite a high turnover, we still believe that we we're going the right direction and that we still believe that we were doing not so bad, our success rate was building, you know, building up.

While there may be less employee turnover today than there has been in the past, it is still important to look at the potential causes of worker instability. One interviewee points out what he sees as a difference between younger workers and older ones:

...younger people are ready to split, because they have a girlfriend or....most of the problem that I saw such as a missing out going to work after working the 4 weeks or after their 2 weeks was a family related. Yeah, and we had a lot of those people missing 1 week missing 2 weeks missing in action quite often. But the older people there they're the ones that, well, they're going to make a big difference in having a stable, more stable work force for Inuit work force not only in the eyes of Inuit workers not in the eyes of the Inuit communities but especially for the company it's very important at this time for the first couple of years that Inuit are recognized as capable employees.

Other reasons for quitting include a wish to work closer to home and family: "Some of the reasons indicated are due to family pressures, too many children, and they don't want to leave their kin behind."

The language barrier between workers and the drastic adjustment to the lifestyle at Raglan contribute to a feeling of unease with some workers:

...they deal with people who speak another language, for these reasons, like they, easily become paranoid in a sense of being spoken about, even though they may not be at all.

and

Maybe also due to a culture shock. You leave a situation where you can sleep whenever you want and then discipline. White's culture creates a bit of a shock. People are unprepared.

It can be noted here that what this interviewee labels as "culture shock" may be the adjustment that one feels going from leisurely unemployment to active employment. A few interviewees state that, "Mining companies do ask a lot from the employees," and these high expectations and rigid work schedule may be a shock to new employees.

Another shock that causes employees to quit is the realization that the job they applied for and the one which they actually got are not the same. Sometimes this realization only comes when they arrive at the site to work:

Another thing is that, the company begins advertising a vacant position to fill, for a example, they advertise the availability of a particular trade, and I go on the air to broadcast this, then a person is selected, but when the person arrives to the site, the person is given a job for which he was not selected. This is another reason for quitting.

### 3.2.5 Sub-Section Summary

To summarize, living conditions are better now than during the construction phase. Work relations have improved, discrimination seems to be less pervasive, and worker turnover has decreased. Despite these improvements, workers still quit their jobs, giving various reasons: missing one's family, the language barrier at the site, the shock of adjusting to the work schedule, and obtaining a job other than the one expected.

## SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The analysis of the environmental, economic, and social issues and concerns as expressed in the 11 Kangiqsujuaq interviews can be summarized in the following manner:

The mining activities undertaken within the region since the 1960's have impacted the physical environment to varying degrees, and may have contaminated some of the local wildlife. The Inuit of Kangiqsujuaq are therefore very concerned about the environmental impact of any mining activity. For this reason, there is close scrutiny of Falconbridge's efforts to clean up affected areas. While Falconbridge is perceived favourably because of the consultation process with the community, some Inuit now feel that Falconbridge is not living up to its responsibility of cleaning up the old Asbestos Hill site. Furthermore, in spite of the environmental program, which seems to be good, Falconbridge will impact the environment on the long run.

Concerning the economic impacts, interviewees agree that the village is benefiting from the opening of the mine site, with incomes filtering from individual mine workers through the whole community. Also, people are very optimistic about future business opportunities for members of the community, especially the young. There is concern in the community, however, over the foreseen costs related to the maintenance of the site's infrastructure after Falconbridge closes the mine. Interviewees also spoke of their concerns about the mine closing early, they fear that they will not receive the full amount of compensation money stipulated in the Raglan Agreement.

To the question as to how the compensation money should be spent, the consensus is that the money should be used for community purposes. Ideas for the building of a recreation hall, a swimming pool, and a gymnasium were all mentioned by the interviewees, citing the need to keep the youth of the community busy and occupied.

The Raglan project has had positive and negative social impacts in the community. On the one hand, community members are benefiting through increased employment. The youth, in particular, are taking advantage of job opportunities, earning an income and gaining a sense of purpose in life. On the other hand, some negative impacts on family interactions and alcohol abuse in the community have been identified. Families, especially young ones, have had problems adjusting to the absence of a spouse from the home. In some cases, children are left at home without adequate supervision while their guardians go to work at

the mine. Alcohol and drug abuse has increased in the community, but there is recognition that these problems did exist before the opening of the mine.

There are different views regarding out-migration. There is some question of whether or not the Inuit who have obtained qualifications and completed training will eventually leave the community for further employment.

Education is seen as the main tool to increase the benefits coming from the mine, and to minimize the negative impacts identified above. For these reasons, community members want to see a change in the way that their children are educated, calling for more specialized education and training from the school board, as well as urging their children to go on to higher education.

Finally, concerning the issue of employment at the mine site, Raglan employees have seen many improvements over the last few years. For example, living conditions at the mine are much better now than they were during the construction phase. Work relations have also improved; discrimination seems to be less pervasive; and worker turnover has decreased. Despite these improvements, workers still quit their jobs at the mine. Major reasons for quitting include: missing one's family, obtaining a job other than the one expected, the language barrier at the site, and the shock of adjusting to the work schedule.