

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

SCOPING PHASE: ANALYSIS

A REPORT TO THE COMMUNITY OF
SALLUIT

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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, Kangiqsujuaq, Kangirsuk, Quaqtaq and Puvirnituq.

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 concerning 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 50 individuals from Salluit, Kangiqsujuaq, Kangirsuk, Quaqtaq, and Puvirnituq.

PURPOSE AND GOAL OF THE REPORT

To keep the community informed of the evolution of the social impact research project and, more importantly, to identify 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 May 1998. During the same month, a first report entitled "The Social Impacts of the Raglan Mine Project; Scoping Phase: Salluit," 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 Salluit, 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 the Physical Environment" section, the issues raised are related to past and present contamination of the land, wildlife concerns, and the importance of environmental monitoring. The "Impacts on the Economic Environment" section includes perceptions on economic benefits of well-paying jobs for the community and recommendations as to how the compensation money should be spent. Lastly, the section entitled "Impacts on the Social Environment" deals with the social benefits and concerns regarding the family, alcohol consumption, the work schedule, out-migration, unemployment, employment, work ethic, education, and the perceptions of the Raglan Agreement.

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

The issues and concerns raised in this section are related first to contamination, from both past and present activities, and second to the impacts on the wildlife. Environmental monitoring activities are also discussed by the interviewees.

1.1 CONTAMINATION

The people of Salluit discriminate between two types of environmental contamination: that arising from garbage and materials left behind from the Asbestos Hill project, and that from everyday operation of the present Raglan mine.

1.1.1 Past Mining Activities

Mining activities undertaken within the region since the 1960's have impacted the physical environment to varying degrees. The Inuit of Salluit are concerned about the long-lasting effects of the environmental impacts of previous mining activities, especially those related to Asbestos Hill. This past experience with mining gives rise to differing viewpoints among the interviewees on the effectiveness of the cleanup undertaken by Falconbridge.

Many community elders worked for Asbestos Hill and witnessed practices they now condemn. They are now beginning to understand the effects that previous mining activities had on the land:

Now I've come to realize since the initial mining activity, since the first mining activity we've seen some serious impacts, negative, we see all kinds of residual impacts like barrels that have been left behind.

One elder who worked for Asbestos said, "At the time, we did not know to what extent the impacts may be, because that was the first exposure we've encountered." Today, environmental clean up is done by Falconbridge, but there is a perception that previous pollution has lasting effects: "...you can see that there's some contaminants flowing from that site already." In fact, some interviewees were dissatisfied with the clean-up that Falconbridge has undertaken. The perception is that the company took money from the provincial government for the express purpose of doing environmental clean-up, but that certain places have not been dealt with:

...they've not completed their work...they'd have to put in a new effort, because they did not do anything at Otter Lake. They did not clean the area of Otter lake at all.

Other respondents, however, were completely satisfied with the clean-up of the materials left behind by the Asbestos Hill mine:

Well, there was a lot of garbage in around Deception Bay and around Asbestos, or Asbestos Hill mine, I can say. I can applaud SMRQ for doing such a good job and cleaning like this.

and,

I have observed and I know that there's work towards developing the project, the cleanup work, which has been going on for some time...and I like that.

1.1.2 Present Operation

Environmental concerns are not only focused on past mining activities; the present mining operation is under close scrutiny also. Issues such as oil spills, tailings disposal, and the daily operation of the mine are all concerns that were expressed in the interviews.

A few interviewees spoke of the 1997 oil spill, expressing concerns that despite the best efforts of Falconbridge, human errors can result in environmental contamination:

...my everyday concerns about that is mostly environmental issues, as most of us know by now, there was an oil spill in the last week of June 1997. Apparently, about nine thousand litres of fuel was dumped into the Bay, so these kinds of activities from human error or from human, uhhh, how do you say, irresponsibility, sometimes would raise concerns, of course, these are the things that I am watching out for.

Mine tailings are also a focus of concern for the people of Salluit. Interviewees expressed concern that the runoff from the tailings may adversely affect Deception River, in turn having an impact on the fish:

The mine is saying that, it [tailing runoff] would be so small that, they wouldn't affect the fish stock down toward Francois Malherbe, but I am very skeptic at the moment about this.

However, other interviewees had more faith in Falconbridge, and are not overly concerned about the tailings and their potential impacts. One interviewee demonstrates his confidence in Falconbridge's tailings disposal, saying, "They have an area allotted for this purpose; this being the case, I do not feel I should have any concerns about this."

Daily operations at the mine site are also seen as a potential source of environmental contaminants. Concerns about the pollution from the daily use of cleaning solutions and trucks are demonstrated in comments such as:

...everyday consistently, there's a flow of cleaning substances to the bay, a continuous flow to the water...cleaning substances used in houses may be a cause for concern, because some of the substances used are quite powerful, as some of the contents may make food inedible, this may be the case here,

and,

...vehicles are always leaving traces of oil, because that's what they run on...every spring we see run-off...during that time, everything begins flowing towards the Bay.

1.2 WILDLIFE

As in the previous section, some concerns stem from past experiences with mining activities, while others originate with the present operation. Interviewees expressed concern that the many species surrounding the mine will be impacted by its operation, and that this impact should be minimized. Other people perceive no impacts on the wildlife at this stage of the operation, but there was some recognition that any mining operation will inevitably affect the land and its ecosystems.

Some concern about wildlife stems from the abuses seen during the Asbestos Hill project. Workers for that project were involved in "up-rooting foxholes," and there is a continuing concern that fox dens not be destroyed during excavation or digging by the present mine.

There is worry also about a bed of mussels and clams located at Deception Bay, and the landlocked charr by Francois Malherbe.

One of the major concerns over wildlife impacts focuses on fish stocks. Some interviewees expressed concern about how tailings runoff will affect local fish. This idea is expressed in such comments as:

...we will have to watch out for closely, in terms of our fish stocks at Francois Malherbe and Deception Bay area, especially when the fish has spawned into the Bay and... Deception River will be used for the tailings run off time...I am anticipating that here might be some negative results as far as the fish is concerned. Of course, that still remains to be seen.

The fear is that any contamination of the land will work its way up the food chain: "...there are the caribou and a host of other species that we come to harvest here and all of them tend to consume contaminated substances." Experience with previous mining activities has taught the Inuit that environmental impacts last for long periods of time, and there is concern over the long-term effects on wildlife, even after the mine closes:

...once the mining project is complete, like when the ore's no longer there...that'll be the end of that. The aftermath of this project may not be all that positive. Basically, for our...I mentioned fish and caribou, but there's a whole host of other species that we come to harvest here. For example: rabbits, ptarmigan, geese, and all those species tend to consume contaminated substances. We are not able to block off such areas to these species. We cannot tell animals that they can't come and eat here.

On the other hand, however, to the question of the mining operation's effect on wildlife, one of the respondents answered that the road at the mine site is heavily used and the, "...caribou seem to enjoy the vehicles moving, as if to race with them." Also, there are many other animals in the area, "...and they are not afraid right now."

The people of Salluit don't want to see Raglan following in Asbestos's environmental footsteps. The community members recognize, however, that the implementation of any project means inevitable impact on the land and its ecosystems:

However, now, I know for a fact, whoever takes on a project, we are going to see...in order to suit that project we are going to see an area...the environment surrounding the project is going to get impacted.

1.3 ENVIRONMENTAL MONITORING

Most interviewees agreed that some sort of monitoring of contamination and wildlife needs to be done. These studies should be conducted on a regular basis, and some interviewees feel that there are employment opportunities related to this monitoring.

Deception Bay has always been a hunting and fishing area for the people of Salluit: One interviewee says, "It is a major harvest area. It should be preserved, to some extent, for that purpose." Of particular interest to some people is the population of mussels and clams near the docking facility in Deception Bay. There was concern that the fuel spill in July of 1997 contaminated the population, and one interviewee felt that, "An immediate study should be made to test the quality," of the mussels and clams.

The environmental monitoring aspect of the project is also seen as an economic opportunity, as way to create jobs for those who have not been able to obtain employment at the mining site. This sentiment is expressed in comments such as:

I see other economic opportunities as a result of this mine....there may be different projects that may relate to the mine, such as observing fish, and of course they will have to hire local people to do that.

and,

..... I'm originally from here. I'm here all the time, and I think it would be good for me to be appointed to monitor activities in this area.

1.4 SECTION SUMMARY

To summarize this section regarding the impacts on the physical environment, we can say that due to past experiences with mining activities, the Inuit of Salluit are scrutinizing the

present operation closely. There are differing views on whether Falconbridge's cleanup efforts are sufficient, and there are concerns over the daily operation of the mine, especially with tailings disposal and its potential for fish contamination. Environmental monitoring is seen as a necessity to protect the surrounding wildlife, but it is also identified as a possible source of employment.

2.0 IMPACTS ON THE ECONOMIC ENVIRONMENT

This section pertaining to the impacts on the economy of the community identifies the views on how the compensation money should be spent, and on the benefits of increased income.

2.1 AGREEMENT MONEY

The majority of the interviewees agreed that the money they will receive as a result of the Raglan Agreement should be diverted to projects benefiting the whole community. Creating facilities for the youth of the community seems to be a popular option for the use of these funds. Others thought that the money should be held in "trust" for future investment, and a small minority believed that individuals should receive the money directly.

Asked about the money that communities will receive as a result of the Agreement, many of the respondents believe that the money should "...be directed towards benefits for the whole community." Some people have no recommendations for the money's use, but say, "...it is pretty sure that the whole will not be distributed to every individual. It will be directed towards benefiting the community in some form." Another comment is, "It can be invested in community matters." While some respondents are vague with their recommendations, others are direct, saying, "Many projects can be done," referring to the teaching of music or sign language, or for teaching school drop-outs to make traditional goods like kamiks. Another recommendation is for Salluit to use the money for a playground, as the existing one is seen as insufficient, or for upgrading the arena.

One respondent also believes that the money from the Agreement should be held in a "Trust," and invested for future use:

From earlier days, Inuit have been promised money, and with the Agreement they wanted to see some money. The money came and went. For the future would like to see a "holding" or "Trust" so that the money will generate more money. That is expected by most. Then money could be given out to members of the community. Also services that benefit all should be established.

However, not everyone agreed on the community use of the money coming from the Raglan Agreement; some said that they wanted individuals to receive it. The one stipulation, however, is that they want all people to receive the same amount. There is a perception that

some community members got more than their fair share of the money when it was previously distributed:

...the people should get exactly the same amount, the exact same amount, with persons not getting more than the other this time, with this set up like that, that's what should be done.

2.2 BENEFITS

The money that mine workers bring into the community is seen as a major benefit of the project. The mine is perceived to have increased the economic activity in the community. Some mine workers give money to their families, while others either save it or purchase expensive items like skidoos, ATV's, and canoes. The buying of vehicles such as these is seen to have a beneficial impact on the amount of hunting that community members undertake. An indirect impact of increased income, therefore, is an increase in traditional activity.

One interviewee says that money has, "...an enormous impact on persons working up there, and it seems to be more of a benefit to their relatives." But business in town is also affected:

...there's money being moved around here. There's been a real boost to the economy, because of the project, and this will continue to improve in the future...the economy is made better, by and from those who are now working.

One institution specifically helped by the influx of money is the Co-operative. It was not succeeding financially, but with more money coming into town as mine wages, "It has received quite a bit of help. If this were not so, it would just go bankrupt."

Mine workers bring their paycheques back to the community and purchase major items, but they are also saving some money for future use and retirement:

I know that most of the regular workers coming from the mine has already bought some expensive items such as skidoos, and economically speaking, it is helping the community locally...one of the things that I am proud of, for the people that are working

at the mine are the fact that they're saving, making...mutual life savings, such as RRSP.

Not too many people in the north are getting this opportunity.

This purchasing of vehicles --skidoos, ATV's, canoes-- is seen by many as an opportunity to increase hunting activity. In turn, the workers can then pass on their knowledge and teach the youth to hunt and fish, valuable skills in the Inuit culture. More and more people are buying snowmobiles and canoes, and the elders who were interviewed think that increased hunting is an "...inevitability. The harvest of wildlife is the mainstay of an Inuk, so it will be, I expect that." It can then be said that an indirect benefit from the mining project is an increase in traditional and cultural activity.

2.3 SECTION SUMMARY

To summarize, most interviewees agree that the compensation money from the Raglan Agreement should be used for community purposes. Specific uses for the funds include upgrading the arena, building a new playground, and hiring staff to teach youth music, sign language, or traditional skills.

There is a real increase in economic activity seen in town as a result of the mining project, with the Co-op, in particular, benefiting financially. Workers are spending their wages on major purchases such as vehicles (skidoos, ATV's, canoes), and this is seen to increase the amount of hunting and fishing done by community members.

3.0 IMPACTS ON THE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

The social impact section of this report describes the impacts of the mining operation affecting the community of Salluit. These impacts can be organized into specific subject areas in the following way: Family, Alcohol and Drugs, Work Schedule, Out-Migration, Unemployment, Employment, Work Ethic, Education, and Perceptions of the Raglan Agreement.

3.1 FAMILY

The people of Salluit recognize that the Raglan Project is economically beneficial for the community, but there have been negative impacts on families. Young couples experience the negative effects, and their children are the first ones to feel these impacts. In some cases, family breakup has resulted from a spouse working at the mine, but there is a recognition in the community that family problems did exist before the mine's opening. Some interviewees suggested that having a counselor or social worker at the mine site might help workers deal with family problems.

The children of workers are sometimes left in the community on their own while their parents work at the mine. Without parental supervision, the children "...smoke, do drugs, and are awake all night." In some cases, Social Services have been called upon to intervene and take care of the children. There is, however, a feeling that male mine workers resent the interference of Social Services, and that a counselor specifically for men would be beneficial. This counselor could perhaps work at the mine site to help workers cope with problems at home.

Having children left alone while their parents work at Raglan is only one concern the community has about the site's demanding work schedule. There is also stress placed on couples in which only one partner works at the mine. Young couples, especially, tend to miss each other during the long work rotations. One interviewee comments:

I have noticed the fact that the young ones, if they are living with a girlfriend and they have kids...they are not used to being family orientated individuals. This type of thing could cause...or has been known to cause social friction.

It is often observed that, "...social friction between the two couples," exists. It is not clear whether this problem exists when the worker comes back to the community or leaves to go to the site, but the feeling is that the friction in the family unit spills out into the community at large. Familial problems can become so bad, in fact, that there is a breakdown of the family unit. While the mine may have some negative impacts on the families of Salluit, there is recognition also that spousal problems existed before the mine opened:

Personally, I just know that marriages or relationships, this has become a problem not just once, that I know about. I have come to know about couples separating, and not just one, even only in the last few years since the development of the mine, this circumstance has become a problem, that couples are finding difficult to stay together is something that I have realized. When either member of the couple is gone to work, then the opportunity arises and becomes a problem. Even then, I cannot say that it is the fault of the project, because this problem exist between the couple, it is not prompted by the mine.

3.2 ALCOHOL AND DRUGS

One of the concerns the people of Salluit have is the mine's impact on alcohol and drug abuse. The mine is an alcohol- and drug-free work place, which is seen as good. However, there is concern regarding drinking going on in the village when the workers come back after rotation at the mine. The concern is not only for the workers, but also for the community as a whole:

Now, these guys are in a drug free, alcohol free environment, I don't have any problem with that, I think it is good for the mine, but when they come back from the mine, they are thirsty, they want to get back to the mainstream type of thing and then the community of Salluit gets the loose end of it. That is one of my concerns, mostly because they usually have something [alcohol] waiting for them by the time they come back.

The community of Salluit, like most Nunavik communities, is "dry" *i.e.* one cannot purchase alcohol in the village. However, individual workers purchase alcohol from the South and have it mailed to them. This practice is expensive, but the workers have a lot of cash. Many workers even order alcohol by mail before leaving the mine; this way, it arrives in the village at the same time as them.

3.3 WORK SCHEDULE

Working on long rotations is difficult for families, but also for individual workers. Even if the mine offers better wages, most interviewees would prefer to get jobs in the community. While the benefits of having 2 weeks leave after a work rotation appeals to some, the opportunity for daily free time in the community is still seen as preferential.

Some interviewees expressed the notion that workers in town have weekends off, and are able to enjoy the weather and free time, while Raglan workers have no such time on site, as they are always working:

...these guys [in town] are able to go out...at their free time, over the weekend, and enjoy nice sunset, whereas they have to work up at the mine seven days a week, twelve hours a day, so there's not too much free time...they're strictly up there for a job.

In this regard, there is a feeling that the people of Salluit would rather work for the municipality than at the mine site. In fact, interviewees say that even if the mine offers a better income, the tradeoff with more free time in the community leads people to stay with municipal jobs. It is recognized, however, that the mine is the place to work if the goal is to "...save some money." When asked if municipal workers will leave town to go to work at the site, the response is:

No, they won't leave, and this has been like this for a long time. Even if they could make a substantial income up there [on site], they work here.

While the busy workdays at the mine are accepted, it is also acknowledged that the 2 weeks between rotations have their benefits. People see these breaks in schedule as opportune times to hunt and fish. There is a tradeoff, however, because the rotation schedule is not flexible; workers have to go back to the site when their 2 weeks leave is over. They often find it hard to return to the mine site when the weather and hunting are good. Strong feelings about hunting and fishing, spending time on the land, emerge here. There is a sense that the workers are being forced to adhere to a schedule that is in conflict with their cultural activities:

Only when it is nice time for hunting season and so forth for different animals...the men have a hard time enjoying that short period of time then having to go back to work right away...That's one of our cultures, that has been rubbed into our blood.

3.4 MIGRATION

The ties to the community and the land are strong in Salluit. In fact, it is seen as unlikely that people will move away from Salluit once they obtain skills and money from Raglan. One interviewee says, "It's going to be a long while before an original person of Salluit leaves to find a job or something like that." However, some may leave to find employment, but it is believed that they will return to the community:

...One or two may want to go to school or go out on a job at Nanisivik or Voisey's Bay later...even if they go out, they always come back for holidays, to be with their families, to be with their community, to see the landscape, the environment.

In line with the Raglan Agreement, SMRQ has a policy to give priority in hiring to people of Salluit and Kangiqsujaq. The subject of people migrating to Salluit in order to get a job at the mine was mentioned by one of the interviewees in response to a question. This is a not a concern to that person, in fact he would welcome people to Salluit, saying, "I don't have any problems with someone coming to Salluit in hopes of finding a job with the mine." But he added, "...we welcome them, but they will have to come at their own expense."

3.5 UNEMPLOYMENT

Unemployment is identified as a problem in Salluit. The unemployed of the community would like to gain employment at the mine, but at the time of the interviews there were few jobs available. The interviewees, however, saw other opportunities to create their own jobs.

One interviewee says that for the people living in Salluit, "There is not a job available for them at the moment." This being the case, it is observed that people currently unemployed in town would like to start working at the mine site:

...they have a dream of working at the mine, of course. I understand that they are keeping their fingers crossed and hope that they will get their names picked up so that they go to work up there, up at the mine.

At the time of the interviews, there were few jobs available at the mine site, but there were no negative feelings in the community towards Falconbridge for not creating more employment opportunities. In fact, there is a prediction that Inuit can create their own jobs around the mining project:

...I don't see any frictions as to those who are not even hired at the moment, because there's other...economic opportunities as a result of this mine, besides being hired at the mine.

3.6 EMPLOYMENT

As mentioned in the section entitled "Impacts on the Economic Environment", employment is seen as an economic benefit. It is also perceived as a social benefit to the youth and the entire community. The overwhelming belief is that work at the mine is a positive choice, especially for the youth of Salluit. Work is seen as positive because it keeps the young people busy; it gives them something to look forward to. One interviewee believes that mine employment is good for town youth, saying, "...if they were just living in the community and not getting out, they would just make trouble around town."

3.6 WORK ETHIC

Some interviewees observe a poor work ethic in the community. Older interviewees believe, however, that the Inuit lifestyle and work ethic is changing, and that Inuit can be successful in this new lifestyle.

Some community members believe that there is a poor work ethic in the town, and even when some community members obtain mine jobs and are trained to work on site, they choose not to work there. This is attributed to a dependence on welfare, and workers being laid off. The dependency on welfare has created a "welfare mentality" of not wanting to work to make a living. This mentality is described in statements such as:

There seems to be a lack of desire to work. Having made an income without having to work, chronically, this is the situation sometimes.

Another reason for a poor work ethic is the fact that some Inuit are hired, but then either laid off, fired, or just not re-hired. This practice creates negative feelings toward the mine: "...it would probably cause a negative feeling towards the Project itself." The practice also creates negative feelings toward the leadership in the community, or, as one interviewee calls them, "...those who are in charge of the Project in Salluit."

Some older interviewees recognize that the lifestyle of many Inuit is changing. One interviewee says that *qalunaat* have always trained themselves to work for a living. The perception is that people from the south are, "...trained to work.. They have fixed in their heads that this is the only way that I am going to be able to make a living." On the other hand, he observes of the Inuit that,

...in our day, it was our fathers who passed down their knowledge to us on how to make a living. Now the governments today can give us the training required.

He believes that Inuit can be successful in this new lifestyle if "...the idea of having to work was instilled into them, to make a living."

3.7 EDUCATION

Education is seen as the main tool to get employment and advancement, and is of primary importance to the youth of the community. The interviewees have identified concerns with the education system and presented some solutions, such as making it easier for students to get scholarships. They also expressed concerns regarding the difficult situation that the uneducated generation has to face.

The Raglan mining project does not have a direct impact on the education of the people of Salluit, but education is seen as a mitigative measure (*i.e.* a tool to adapt to a new way of life.) For many of the interviewees, education has a priority over jobs at the mine:

I'd like to see students finish their education and not be limited to working there all the time, this is what I'm trying to say. Not having finished school and just going to work that person would have nowhere to go.

With better education, students will get better jobs and, moreover, after mine closure those with education will be able to get employment elsewhere. Some interviewees are grateful for employment at the mine, saying, "...It is very good that income is being made up there," but they also recognize that the mine will close someday. In light of this finite nature of the project, it is stressed by some community members that, "...Education has a higher priority," than Raglan jobs. Education is generally seen as a lasting accomplishment, while jobs are perceived as temporary. Older interviewees agree that it is important to educate the young, but feel it is equally important to teach them to live off the land for those times when jobs are not available. This notion is expressed in comments such as:

...they [mine workers] will get children and make grandchildren, and will have to teach their children and their grandchildren how to hunt wildlife, because these jobs will not always be available for them.

Some people recognize the importance of education, and are staying in school in order to brighten their future with the mining project. In fact, some youth are going back to school and, "...Upgrading with the hopes of finding jobs with the mine."

There is some dissatisfaction in the community with the way that the Kativik School Board (KSB) is handling these students. Some community members are dissatisfied with KSB's seeming inability to orient students to mining jobs. They feel that there is too much "red tape" in getting scholarships for these students. These scholarships, seen as the first step in building a career in mining, are perceived to be complicated to attain, as seen in comments such as:

I'd like this scholarship issue to be resolved sooner than later...the reason why I'm saying that, I like to see more people, more young people to get this opportunity of upgrading in mining...and one of the concerns that I have is the fact that our education system placed, namely KSB, is not really readily involved enough with this process.

It is believed that students should be easy to, "...Coax into getting good jobs, good paying jobs such as engineering." Some interviewees also believe that training for mine jobs takes too long, and that, "There should be a quicker way of producing more qualified persons."

Not everyone, however, is qualified to work at the mine. Sometimes elders are not considered to be candidates for training programs and jobs because they lack formal schooling and official qualifications. In these cases, they feel that they have "...not been taken into adequate consideration by the governments." Their extensive work experience is not often recognized as valid, but they feel like they would be valuable employees: "I'd like to say that the older generation were really good at things, even in the absence of papers to qualify them."

If young people do stay in school and obtain jobs at the mine, they are seen to gain more than just economic benefits. A few interviewees believe that youth learn valuable life skills by working at the mine, like, "...being responsible, tight schedule to respect, a trade, and exposure to other people [other than Inuit]. They are also learning individual management: how to spend money, how to manage their finance[s]." It is recommended, therefore, for young people to stay in school and then pursue work at the mine. They can then take advantage of the jobs the mine offers, but will still be able to find skilled employment when the mine closes.

3.8 PERCEPTIONS OF THE RAGLAN AGREEMENT

We are not sure of the relation between the mine and the perception of the Agreement. The purpose here was to assess the level of knowledge and the perception of the Agreement. Some community members have great faith in the Agreement, and are very happy that it is in place, while others feel that it is unrealistic, and are skeptical that it will be followed.

The comment, "With the excellent way the Agreement is set out, if it will be kept that way, there will be benefits," exemplifies the faith that some have in the Raglan Agreement, but also shows a fear that the Agreement might be changed.

Others, however, spoke of a distrust of Falconbridge and the Agreement: "...the Agreement with all the possibilities for contracts sounded too great to be true." One interviewee went on to say that, "If we are not on top of things, the Agreement would not be respected by

Falconbridge.” There is a fear in the community that the Raglan Agreement will either be changed or not followed by Falconbridge.

3.9 SECTION SUMMARY

To summarize, the Raglan mine has had both positive and negative impacts on the community of Salluit. 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. The mine also presents workers with the opportunity to hunt and fish for extended periods on their time off.

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 alone when a parent goes to work at the mine, and Social Services have had to intervene. 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 is a sense that the workers are being forced to adhere to a work schedule that is in conflict with their cultural activities. This has an impact on their family life, and creates a negative perception towards working at the mine. In fact, it is highly favourable to get a job in town compared to working at the mine site, even if more money is made on site.

On the issues of migration, most community members agree that mine workers probably won't leave the community in search of further mining employment.

Education is seen as more important to getting a job with the Raglan mine; it is a tool to adapt to a new way of life. Interviewees agreed that education is the key to obtaining a good job at the mine, and it also allows students to find skilled employment once the mine closes. Older interviewees spoke of feeling left out of the hiring process because they lack the education needed to qualify for training.

Finally, interviewees had mixed reactions to the Raglan Agreement. Some were very happy that the agreement is in place, while others expressed skepticism that Falconbridge will follow the agreement. To some interviewees, the agreement seemed too good to be true.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The analysis of the environmental, economic, and social issues and concerns as expressed in the 10 Salluit interviews can be summarized in the following manner:

Concerning the impacts on the physical environment, the mining activities undertaken within the region since the 1960s have impacted the environment to varying degrees, and may have contaminated some of the local wildlife. Due to these past experiences with mining activities, the Inuit of Salluit are scrutinizing the present operation closely. There are differing views on whether Falconbridge's cleanup efforts are sufficient, and there are concerns over the daily operation of the mine, especially with tailings disposal and its potential for fish contamination. Environmental monitoring is seen as a necessity to protect the surrounding wildlife, but it is also identified as a possible source of employment.

As for the perceptions of the economic impacts, there is a real increase in economic activity seen in town as a result of the mining project, with the Co-op, in particular, benefiting financially. Workers are spending their wages on major purchases such as vehicles (skidoos, ATV's, canoes), and this is seen to increase the amount of hunting and fishing done by community members.

Concerning the compensation money from the Raglan Agreement, most interviewees agree that it should be used for purposes benefiting the whole community. Specific uses for the funds include upgrading the arena, building a new playground, and hiring staff to teach youth music, sign language, or traditional skills.

The impacts of the Raglan mine on Salluit's social environment have been both positive and negative. 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. The mine's work schedule also presents workers with the opportunity to hunt and fish for extended periods on their time off.

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 alone

when a parent goes to work at the mine, and Social Services have had to intervene. 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 is a sense that the workers are being forced to adhere to a work schedule that is in conflict with their cultural activities. This has an impact on their family life, and creates a negative perception towards working at the mine. In fact, it is highly favourable to get a job in town compared to working at the mine site, even if more money is made on site.

On the issues of migration, most community members agree that mine workers probably won't leave the community in search of further mining employment.

Education is seen as the main tool to get employment and advancement, and is of primary importance to the youth of the community. The interviewees identified concerns with the education system and presented some solutions, such as making it easier for students to get scholarships. Interviewees agreed that education is the key to obtaining a good job at the mine, and it also allows students to find skilled employment once the mine closes. Older interviewees spoke of feeling left out of the hiring process because they lack the education needed to qualify for training.

Finally, interviewees had mixed reactions to the Raglan Agreement. Some were very happy that the agreement is in place, while others expressed skepticism that Falconbridge will follow the agreement. To some interviewees, the agreement seemed too good to be true.