



RAGLAN MINE. ACTION-ORIENTED SOCIAL RESEARCH PROGRAM

SCOPING PHASE: ANALYSIS

**A REPORT TO
THE COMMUNITY OF:**

QUAQTAQ

MAY 2000

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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 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 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 70 individuals from Salluit, Kangiqsujuaq, 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, 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 December 1998. In March 1999, a first report entitled "Action Oriented Social Research Program: Social Impact Perception of the Raglan Mine," was submitted to



1.0 IMPACTS ON THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

The issues and concerns raised in this section are related to the contamination of the land and its wildlife, the impacts of shipping on the environment, and environmental monitoring programs.

1.1 CONTAMINATION

Interviewees in Quaqtac felt that their community is close enough to the Raglan mine site to feel the effects of any possible environmental contamination. Of particular concern is the mine's potential for atmospheric contamination. Community members expressed concern that mine debris could travel long distances, affecting the land and the animals. The following statement reflects this concern:

...so that's one of my concerns, because we're, we're close enough to the mine, where the debris, that comes from there or pollution if you wanna call it that, can affect the Quaqtac area, surroundings area and the animals being affected by it, like, we're, we eat country food, like caribou, fish, seals and so on, so, that's one concern that I have.

A few respondents felt that not enough attention was focussed on the potential environmental impacts that the Quaqtac area would experience. Citing the prevailing wind patterns, predominantly from the North, interviewees felt that any atmospheric contamination from the mine would travel towards them. In this manner, some interviewees felt that their community was likely to receive more contamination than those geographically closer to the mine site. This perception is expressed in statements such as:

...and when they talk about the most impacted communities, Salluit and Kangiqsujuaq, I question that, if they're the two main impacted communities looking at the weather patterns and we have prevailing winds during the winter time, north winds, northerly



winds and they don't blow or go in the direction of Salluit or Kangiqsujuaq, instead they going the direction of Ungava Bay, like Quaqtak, Kangirsuk, Aupaluk...I feel that was overlooked when they said, okay, who's gonna be the most impacted community.

Interviewees also recognize that atmospheric contamination and dust may affect the waters of Nunavik. There is concern that rivers and lakes will be negatively affected by mine emissions, but also that contaminants will flow from the site into the surrounding rivers. This concern for the region's waterways is seen in statements like:

The question I had is, well, pollution can travel through different means. Through emissions as well, for example, in the south pollution is made through emissions, in like manner, there's probably an emission from the site up there and it's going to end up in the water system where we do harvesting even if it considered to be far, but still it can end up close and this is my concern, so that's my question.

And,

It's that site that I have more of a concern for with respect to pollution being emitted from the site and going to the rivers. The site which is lower than the main site. As the rivers south of that site flow toward Puvirnituq. So this is more of a concern for me.

It is not only atmospheric and water contamination that interviewees spoke about; some talked of the everyday garbage and litter seen around the mine site. It was noted that both Inuit and non-Inuit mine workers have been seen littering. This disregard for the physical environment is witnessed in statements such as:

They throw garbage all over too and, I see that all the time. Not only white guys, Inuit too, that should be looked at, 'cuz everyday they're throwing lots of stuff. Like litter, lunch stuff...

Despite the fears that mine contaminants will travel to Quaqtak, interviewees felt that Falconbridge is doing a much better job protecting the physical environment than did



the Asbestos Hill operation. The following statement affirms this confidence in Falconbridge's environmental efforts:

Well, I understand that they will do their very best and that they will not do only all that they please. In comparison to the project that was at Asbestos Hill, they sound like they are going to be more environmentally conscientious. It's going to be less deep than that pit that was dug up there and from what I hear they will be careful not to inflict too much damage, and it seemed to me that they would really put an effort into this. So I take joy and am assured by this.

1.2 WILDLIFE

Some community members have concerns that the Raglan mine will negatively impact regional wildlife. There is a perception among some interviewees that migrating caribou will be contaminated by toxic asbestos dust originating from the mine. Caribou are particularly important to the community members because they are a main source of food. The fear of contaminated caribou is seen in statements like:

I am concerned about this if the amount were to be great because a crusher creates dust and because asbestos is said to be cancerous and some of our wildlife travel through the Crater Lake such as the caribou when they are migrating. Last year they were travelling through the Crater Lake quite a bit, thousands of caribou were passing through that area. I believe this will have an affect on the eating grounds when the dust is being created and there was a mountain of asbestos which was probably going to get shipped out and that mountain was a cause for concern especially since the caribou are beginning to deplete their food stocks and this may very well have an impact if dust is being created.

And,



Mainly because us Inuit we eat country food, that's our main source of food and we're worried that the food we eat is...the caribou migrate eh...and they travel in that direction, so they're going to be feeding of the land and the food is being affected I'm sure in the nearby area .

Populations of inland fish are also a source of concern. These populations are a source of food for the people of Quaqtaq, and there are fears that they will be contaminated by the mining operations in the area. These fears persist, despite assurances that there will be on-going monitoring programs of the fish. This concern over fish and the lack of confidence in monitoring programs is seen in the following statement:

I don't usually deal with wildlife issues, but, with regard to the fish, only they are of concern to me with regard to the project up there, even if there are assurances that there will be an on-going monitoring program, because those of us from Quaqtaq go an fish at a certain place along with people from Kangirsuk towards the interior, both Quaqtaq and Kangirsuk to the extent it is even used by the people from Kangiqsujaq. I feel that area is going to get impacted, by the fact that there's a mine operating out of there. I sometimes think that it will be affected despite assurances to the contrary.

Some interviewees realized that it may be too soon to observe the mine's impacts on the region's wildlife, but that negative effects may be seen in the future. The following statements demonstrate this idea of delayed impacts on wildlife:

Yes, we do have concerns and even though we do we don't speak much about them from here. Our immediate area may not see much impact, however, our livelihood perhaps, because the future is not sure, may be impacted and for this reason, we are concerned about different species of wildlife.

And,



...possibly these mines may have an affect on the animal activities. To what affect it has done in a short period is not true, very visible at this point.

1.3 SHIPPING

Interviewees expressed concern about the environmental effects of Raglan's shipping. Upon hearing that a ship would be travelling to and from Deception Bay four times a year, a few interviewees expressed concern that it would affect sea mammal populations. It is feared that the noise and ice damage the ship produces would negatively impact the many species living near the coast. These concerns are reflected in statements like:

...when I said sea mammals or seals, I was referring to the ship that is going to be transporting the nickel twice a year, I've heard. Four times, okay, and with that the beluga and walrus, mainly migrate as does the caribou and my concern with that...I'm sure they're going to take into account that the seasons, like in the spring time and the fall they travel north in the spring time and south in the fall.

And,

Quaqtaq as you can see is very close to the strait, Hudson's Strait here and there's quite a bit of seals around here, that's going to affect the wildlife here eh, this area, seals, walrus, beluga.

And,

I am not so concerned about the ship itself, but in the winter, I understand that it will be going to Deception Bay twice in the winter and I also hear that it is a good size vessel and the Hudson's Strait is a breeding area for some of our beluga whales. The concern that I have is whether it may not impact on the breeding area, especially since it will be making a lot of clamor when it passes through the ice fields.



Due to the prevailing ocean currents, community members are concerned with the possibility of an oil spill or shipwreck. Debris and pollution would potentially travel towards Quaqtaq if the ship went down north of the community. These fears of the ship polluting the water are expressed in statements like:

Presently, I have not been hearing these concerns, nevertheless, the sea current is flowing in this direction and all of the pollution is coming toward the southeast. When the tide turns there's a flow in the opposite direction but for the most part the current is in this direction [towards Quaqtaq] if it is not hindered by the wind. All things that are afloat are coming toward the southeast. This situation...will have to be monitored especially after the boats have traveled through here in the winter.

And,

...if there was an oil spill onto the ice or if the boat were to be in a mishap...if the boat were to be destroyed, the contamination will not be isolated to that area, in fact, that area will be impacted only minutely and the worse of the impact brought here.

The ship is also seen as a potential disturbance to local land use. There were concerns expressed about the winter passage of the vessel, and one interviewee voiced his hopes that the broken ice in the ship's wake would be smoothed to allow easy passage by ski-doo. The following statement is his:

I've heard radio shows, they talk about, I hope they, when they finish passing through to go to Deception Bay to pick up the nickel, they leave a big, ice debris, broken ice and it's really rough and it's hard to travel through that trail eh...I hope that they can at least put a...smooth it, smooth it...

1.4 ENVIRONMENTAL MONITORING



Most interviewees recognized the need for monitoring the physical effects of the mine on the land's ecosystems. They feel that monitoring is essential in deterring environmental contamination, but they also understand that there are difficulties in proving the origin of this contamination. The need for, and difficulties surrounding, environmental monitoring are seen in the following statements:

If monitoring is maintained, this will keep it [contamination] to a minimum. As for us who are using the land, we have no way of determining this, so it is a concern for us, so researchers must be instructed and this way we will be kept informed for this reason I encourage that research and monitoring be continued.

And,

They know what animals and mammals to test. But then again, how are we going to specifically know that, damages are being caused by the mine? And there's so much pollution in the world.

Despite the difficulties in specifying mine-related impacts, interviewees agreed that on-going environmental monitoring is needed. The following statement affirms this need:

And yes, I would strongly suggest that they do the...like, not just periodic, but on-going research, you know, the research party should concentrate more on this area there, area of the mine.

The community of Quaqtac seems anxious to participate in any monitoring efforts. One interviewee said that people wish to assist in the monitoring of fish and other wildlife. This idea is expressed in statements such as:

With regard to fish, well wildlife, I have heard of some concerns, the fact that it should be well monitored. And in this work the people of Quaqtac have expressed their desire to participate.



1.5 PHYSICAL IMPACTS SECTION SUMMARY

Some community members felt that due to the prevailing wind and ocean currents, Quaqaq may be more physically affected than those communities geographically closer to the mine site. There are particular concerns regarding the caribou and inland fish populations. Concerns were also expressed about the effects of Raglan's shipping; fears that the ship would disturb local marine wildlife and disturb local land use were mentioned.

Due to all of these concerns, interviewees agreed that on-going environmental monitoring is needed to quantify the physical impacts of the Raglan mine operations.

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2.0 IMPACTS ON THE ECONOMIC ENVIRONMENT

This section, pertaining to the mine's impacts on the economy of the community, identifies the interviewees' views on Inuit businesses, the economic benefits of mine employment, and the use of compensation money.

2.1 INUIT BUSINESS

There was a feeling among the interviewees that information about potential business opportunities related to the Raglan mine was not readily available. One person spoke of hearing about opportunities in the past, but he had not heard anything recently. The following is his statement:

Well, we're very limited in the information concerning opportunities...I've attended several meetings over the past, you know, years mentioning that there may be opportunities of ventures, but we never got any documentation directly to us. I see many many opportunities that could be looked at.

Despite this lack of information, the people of Quaqtaq have a few of their own ideas for businesses at the mine. One person spoke of how operating a store at the mine would benefit the whole community. Another brought up the idea of selling handicrafts, but wanted to be sure that artists would not be exploited. These ideas are seen in remarks such as:

Yeah, because again, we have native owned stores, if we can offer a cheaper item, price...we should be given the opportunity again to make a bid for it. For example, if the Co-op of Quaqtaq wanted to run a store up there, maybe we should be allowed to do that. Because this will benefit the whole community, if the store runs well.

And,



...this is an example, having a handicraft shop there, you know, who should run that handicraft shop? You know, I think that if I was one that was going to support an idea like this, I would say it should be an association that represents the arts. And they would operate it and sell the...all their handicrafts, everything through them. And that way they'll be protected, not exploited.

Some interviewees felt that communities were competing against each other for business contracts. This competition is perceived negatively, and there was encouragement for all communities to work together. One interviewee suggested a way to enhance cooperation between communities: form a joint venture with Makivik in which profits are returned to the participating communities. The following statements reflect these points:

...when we started to discuss about mines and economic development and different major projects, we're always end up fight each other and who's going to get what, I'm the closest one, I should get more than you. I think we should stop this bickering and everybody'll be able to have an equal, an equal opportunity, so that way it would eliminate a lot of unnecessary discussions.

And,

...I would like to see that Makivik look into the possibility that maybe joint ventures could be easier accepted at the community level and investments could be distributed from Makivik to form these companies and any financial benefits in...on the long term, could be returned to the communities.

Even if the specifics of mine-related businesses differ, most interviewees agreed that all contracts should be given to the Inuit. One person affirmed this idea in the following manner:

Now all these contracts, since they are in our region, I think should be given exclusively or jointly with, to the Inuit, you know, on the whole.



the activity that's going on, Quaqtaq is one of the closest communities to the site, and it's going to be one of the most impacted.

2.4 ECONOMIC IMPACTS SECTION SUMMARY

Interviewees expressed a few ideas regarding businesses that could be developed at the mine site, and they want to learn more about potential business opportunities. There was agreement that all business contracts be offered exclusively to the Inuit.

There is an overwhelming sense that community members were appreciative of the income and employment that could be gained at the Raglan mine. However, there are some people who feel that the mine's economic benefits are marginal.

Concerning compensation money arising from the Raglan Agreement, community members spoke of needing a fair share of the money because Quaqtaq's environment is perceived to be significantly impacted by the mine. Interviewees felt that any funds received should be distributed to individuals, with the poor and unemployed of Quaqtaq benefitting the most.

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3.0 IMPACTS ON THE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

This section of the report deals with issues and concerns that were raised in relation to both the social environment in the community and that at the work site.

Community issues include those related to families, youth, alcohol and drugs, out-migration, education, and inter-community relations. Issues related to work at the mine site include discrimination, having a counselor on site, the work schedule, and wages.

3.1 THE COMMUNITY

3.1.1 FAMILY

Interviewees in Quaqtac had heard of instances in other communities in which children had been left at home while both parents went to work at the mine site. There was clear condemnation of these actions by interviewees. They were quick to stress that no one from their community left children alone during work rotations.

Now, the people that go to work from here, there are those without children and others with some, but, we don't face any situation where both parents are gone at the same time.

Some interviewees felt so strongly about this issue that they said they would confront parents who left their children alone:

...there are those I have a concern about especially when both parents together go to work on site leaving all their kids, hearing of this situation, those people and if we were to face this situation here, perhaps before the circumstance arose if a couple wanted to do this, I think that I would not keep silent about it.... Not at the same time, because their children have to be fed well, go to school regularly, and be brought up in a responsible way.



Looking at these things, this must be so. I would not be able to accept a situation any other way.

Others point to the fact that young families are the ones leaving their children at home:

...we Inuit know from our up bringing that we need either the father or mother to care for us and they never used to leave at the same time to go out hunting and because of this, when they were to leave their children they never went together, but when I was on site I felt alarmed for parents that left their really young children and with little wonder because they're a young couple.

Younger couples are also perceived as being more prone to spousal problems than older ones. Speaking of some discord between spouses, one respondent says:

I think it would have been milder if, if, if, the spouse was here, because also they're young, young couple. I think it would probably be different too if they were older couple.

Spousal problems that exist prior to employment at the mine may also be exacerbated when one person leaves for work. Having a counselor or social worker available for mine workers may alleviate these problems. Statements like the following support this idea:

When a person is altogether living in a fractured life, even before leaving the home has already the recipe for creating problems. They are not happy with one another, they fight one another and the spouse on the one hand does not enjoy being alone at home and they do this when they are not already secure at home, therefore, if there could be someone on site that could help them out, someone they could talk to, a person working in the capacity of a social worker... I think this could be of help.



A major benefit of the mine's operation, as expressed by interviewees, is the employment that it offers to young adults. There seem to be few work options for these youth, and there is a concern in the community they will get into some sort of trouble if they are not employed. In this respect, the mine gives the youth something to look forward to, and saves the community from dealing with potential problems:

They really like the project, it's creating more jobs, for young guys. Because it's hard when there's not much jobs, the young guys, they get into mischief.

One way to get these unemployed youth interested in mine work is to offer them the opportunity to see the mine site firsthand. This suggestion was made by one interviewee who mentioned that youth might "envy" mine workers if they visited the site. This idea is seen in the following statement:

...there's those who are idle and loafing around, members of our community who have quit school and do not have jobs and there doesn't seem to be any effort to establish jobs for them. I wish that they would be given the opportunity to go see the site to see if we can instill an envy in them.

The mine is also seen as a potential benefit for the youth of the community who are too young to work. There is a hope that Falconbridge will divert some profits to projects that will benefit the youth of the community. There were no specific projects named, but one interviewee states his views in the following manner:

Like, if they were concerned and would like to maybe help the communities, maybe they can look at their budget, okay, we're gonna make a profit this year, why not help the...why not devote it to the youth?

Yet the mine is not always seen as a positive force in the lives of youth. Some community elders spoke of concerns that the youth are investing themselves in



something that is far from the traditional ways of life. There is no condemnation of the Raglan project, just perhaps a mistrust. Speaking of his traditional upbringing, one elder makes the following comments:

Today, my descendants are not living in this way. Some of them are depending on food which comes from the white man and they do not want to eat Inuit food and I am just hoping that they are not somehow restricted by the mine operating. I do have a concern for them in a sense that what they are putting their trust in is not kept inaccessible.

3.1.3 ALCOHOL AND DRUGS

Alcohol and drugs are seen as incredibly destructive forces by some interviewees. They point to mining activities in the past, like Asbestos Hill, and the fact that substance abuse was rampant. This abuse was seen to have an extremely negative effect on workers' lives. One interviewee spoke of the situation in the following way:

In the first mining activity, people were terribly ruined, those who had great potential and would have been excellent in their work have lost out since that time, because of the effect at the mine at Asbestos Hill. This was due to the trafficking of alcohol and drugs at the mine site, some of those who are now in their middle age and even those who have passed away were greatly affected by these things.

The strict ban on alcohol and drugs that Raglan enforces is seen as a good thing. However, Falconbridge cannot enforce this ban in the community, and some interviewees spoke of mine workers returning from the site and indulging in substance abuse. The issue of drug and alcohol use in the community is a concern that some people feel needs to be addressed. This idea is seen in statements such as:



...but when they leave the site and return to their home, when they are in a place where they can pretty much do what they want and the fact that they have in their mindset that they're home now and that it's now considered a free for all, this then develop into something that I've become concerned about if we don't address it.

3.1.4 OUT-MIGRATION

According to some interviewees, most people in the community would prefer to work in town rather than at the mine site. There is not much work available in town, however, and monetary needs force workers to look for employment at the site. One interviewees speaks of this situation in the following way:

I would say right now, with desperate, a desperate choice to find employment, if there was employment in the community and they were guaranteed employment, I think they would prefer to be in the community. But since there's no jobs and the increase in the pressure to leave...you know that they have to pay for things and they're tired of being in a no job situation...[so they work at the mine]

Asked about the possibility of mine workers moving away to find further mine work if Raglan shut down, many interviewees spoke positively. They said that they would learn to adapt to new lifestyles, and would not want to miss the opportunity to travel. The following statements reflect these ideas:

Yeah, I wouldn't want to miss an opportunity like that.

And,

Yeah, I think so, I think, I think we can learn to adapt to flow with our new knowledge.

And,

If there was a mining operation anywhere, I believe they [workers] would look for opportunities...after receiving experience up there, if there was a mining operation somewhere, I believe they would be able to move.



Other interviewees disagreed, saying that workers would prefer to stay in the community if the mine closed. One person spoke in the following way:

I don't think that even if they receive a trade in heavy machinery, after the mine ceases to exist, if, if that's what we're talking about, that they would just go and find employment somewhere else...

3.1.5 EDUCATION

There are Inuit in Quaqtan who are skilled, but who are not formally certified to do specific jobs. There are also some people who are not highly educated. Both of these groups of people are seen to deserve employment at the mine site. There is a perception that there are positions available for workers without formal education, and the interviewees felt that Inuit should occupy these positions. This idea is seen in comments like the following:

Jobs that can be done even by those who are not highly educated, I would [wish] that more Inuit be employed in those positions.

And,

Since most of Inuit people usually don't have certificates to be a specific like a, for example, to be myself, I'm able to cope but I don't have a certificate to be a cook, maybe they should give more chances to people like that. Because I have one example who is a...who is very good in heavy equipment but has no certificate.

Some of those community members who are not highly educated are now motivated to return to school in hopes of jobs at the mine site. Raglan therefore has a positive impact in people's choices to return to their education. Speaking of those that have little formal education, some interviewees speak in the following way:



But, I learned that they're more interested in taking any courses now, since the Raglan...Raglan file was opened...like, going for up-grading or taking courses, secretarial courses...ummm....I think they're starting to realize that they need education

And,

...the project is going to be in operation for quite some time, so, I believe this is the opportunity to start training people for career positions.

Some community members believe that it is not good enough for people to go back to school, but also that schools should give current students more information about mining. They feel that it's important for students to learn about the minerals that are present in the region. These people call on the Kativik School Board to include information about mining and minerals in the curriculum. One person voices this idea in the following way:

...they have to learn about our region and its' resources and it's usually when we, when they learn about their region and its' resources...so maybe they should also know about its', what type of minerals is in their land.

3.1.6 INTER-COMMUNITY RELATIONS

Some interviewees from Quaqtac felt that better cooperation and communication was needed between communities, especially regarding mine-related environmental issues. There was some dissatisfaction expressed by interviewees about the kind of communication that has taken place between communities thusfar. In particular, when Quaqtac representatives inquired about environmental studies, they were not given the information they wanted. One person explained this situation in the following manner:

We contacted the people there for environmental impact studies, because we want to try to get some form of compensation, they said well we got our environmental impact study,



get your own, they're not very co-operative on that. So, I'd tell those communities to work more closely with other communities. To share information.

Quaqtaq residents also feel that open communication between communities can be beneficial in case of an environmental accident. Using an oil spill as an example, one interviewee stresses the need for inter-community cooperation:

...let's say...for a ship, shipwrecks or...oil leaks into the ocean...we need to have good communication in between four community [Salluit, Kangiqsujuaq, Quaqtaq, Kangirsuk].

Perhaps this dissatisfaction with inter-community communication stems from the feeling that communities farther from the mine may experience environmental effects that the closer communities do not. There is a perceived need, therefore, for open communication between all of the communities. A need for environmental studies on these farther communities was also expressed. One interviewee voices this notion in the following way:

There will be some fallout, and I think most of the problems are going to be the communities further away from the project than actually close by, you know. I think we're going to see them...the fallout, you know, from the mining itself. Yeah, I think will have more dramatic impact from the mine...mining operations than the closer...and those that are closer are being studied...but the ones that are very far not, so this is part of the reason why I'm saying this.

Quaqtaq interviewees also spoke of feeling discouraged from mine employment because other communities get hiring priority. This discouragement can set up an adversarial relationship between those communities with a priority for hiring and those without. One person spoke of this situation in the following manner:

In the beginning yeah, in the beginning when...two years ago they were very much interested in applying to Raglan jobs, I had maybe twenty people apply in the beginning



then they started to go down saying that they'll never be hired since they're not priority, so they stopped applying for jobs.

3.1.7 COMMUNITY IMPACTS SUB-SECTION SUMMARY

Having a family member work at the mine can present many problems; interviewees spoke of children have been neglected by workers, and spousal discord intensifying. A social worker employed at the mine site was suggested as a solution to some of these familial problems. These family problems can be so pervasive that some community members try to convince their relatives not to work at the mine.

Conversely, the mine does alleviate some potential social problems in the community. It offers employment to otherwise unemployed youth, thereby keeping them occupied and out of trouble in town. The drug and alcohol ban at the mine is also seen as a good thing, although interviewees expressed the need to address the issue of mine workers drinking in the community.

When asked about the possibility of mine workers searching for work outside Nunavik, several interviewees responded positively, while one stated that is migration was unlikely.

Concerning the education of community members, there was a recognition among interviewees that there should be jobs for Inuit despite the fact that they might lack formal qualifications. The mine is also seen as a motivating factor in getting community members back to school; they upgrade their education in hopes of gaining mine employment.

Finally, the need for better communication and cooperation with surrounding communities was expressed.



I feel that they must have access to this type of service. A social worker, whether the person is Inuk or Qallunaaq doesn't matter, if it was an Inuk with the proper qualifications it's more desirable, yes. That's what I have considered based on what I have heard to the extent that there were people who needed to talk to someone on site.

There is a belief that offering mine workers the services of a counselor now could prevent future problems. The following comment demonstrates this idea:

I wonder if there's some kind of a structure like a social...social worker or something that these people if they have a problem in a work place that they have a place or someone to say something to them. Because during the beginning stage when you hear a small commotion somewhere down the line, further down the line few years time, you could have bigger problems, social...social.

3.2.3 WORK SCHEDULE

The present work schedule at the mine, with the choice of either a 4- or 2-week work period, is seen by some to be much better than the schedules kept by previous mining activities. When put in the perspective of the past, Raglan offers a fair work schedule. One interviewee spoke of the schedule in the following way:

It's a...it's a lot better now, it's a interesting, I guess...because some used to stay there two months and a half and the time, and that time, they was mention that, it used to be there in the winter time...so there's...(indiscernible)...in the wintertime. Old days...and I think it's a...quite fair now that they could have a choice, two weeks on or a month.

Despite the feeling that the present work schedule is better than those offered in the past, many workers find it difficult to be separated from their families for extended



periods. In particular, interviewees mentioned how hard it is to be separated over the Christmas holidays. One person spoke of this in the following way:

December in north is a very special time. The communities are enjoying themselves as a community...participation of everyone is important, all the relatives everybody gets to together, putting them in an isolated area and how are they, how are they going to go through the holidays?... it's the only time that we really have...that where we can have people on a one to one basis and everyone enjoying themselves and to take this away to an isolated area underneath these conditions, with long hours...I would consider and really consult with the workers, that's what they really want. Money is not the most important to them, this time of the year. You know, the joy of being with your family.

3.2.4 WAGES

While there was recognition among Quaqtaq interviewees that Raglan workers make a good income, they also said that employers in town pay competitive wages. Given this competition, interviewees speculated that most community members would choose to stay in town rather than work for extended periods at the mine. They said that more Inuit might be enticed to work at the mine if the wages were increased. One person put this idea in the following terms:

I would really like to see them earn a greater income, because the people employed in our community receive competitive incomes, even if it's not all of them... so if the employees on site could be given good salaries, I'm sure the workers would have more of an incentive in their work and there would be more people trying for jobs on site

Despite their attractiveness, these larger salaries also present their own problems. Some mine workers have not made large incomes before working on site, and they might need assistance with taxes and financial planning. One interviewee suggests that mine employees get some sort of help with their finances:



3.2.5 MINE SITE IMPACTS SUB-SECTION SUMMARY

Interviewees felt that racism is not to be tolerated at the mine site. There was agreement that racist workers should not be allowed to work on Inuit land, because they poison the work environment. Interviewees also spoke of the need for a qualified social worker or counselor at the mine site to deal with workers' social problems.

Concerning the mine's work schedule, many interviewees acknowledged that it is much better than those of past mining operations, but some still experience difficulties accepting separation from their families.

Finally, interviewees recognized that mining wages were good, but that more Inuit may be enticed to work there if the wages were increased. These high wages, however, mean that workers may need assistance with financial planning and taxes.

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4.0 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The analysis of the environmental, economic, and social issues and concerns regarding the Raglan mine, as expressed in the 1 group and 11 individual Quaqtac interviews, can be summarized in the following manner.

In relation to physical impacts, interviewees in Quaqtac felt that their community is close enough to the Raglan mine site to feel the effects of any possible environmental contamination. Indeed, some community members felt that due to the prevailing wind and ocean currents, their community may be more affected than those geographically closer to the mine site. Of particular concern is the mine's potential for atmospheric contamination. Other environmental contamination, however, has been witnessed at the mine site. Despite these concerns, Falconbridge is perceived as being more environmentally conscientious than previous mining operations.

Some people spoke of concerns about the wildlife of the region being negatively impacted by the mine. There was particular concern for caribou that migrate through areas close to the mine. Populations of inland fish area also a concern. Some people observed that the mine's potential impacts on wildlife will only be seen in the future.

Interviewees also expressed concern about the environmental effects of Raglan's shipping. In particular, they are concerned about the ship's impact on the sea mammals. The possibility of an oil spill or shipwreck may also represent a threat to Quaqtac's physical environment. One interviewee expressed his hope that measures would be taken to smooth the ice after the ship broke it up during its winter passage.

There was agreement among many interviewees that environmental monitoring is needed to quantify the physical impacts of the Raglan mine on the surrounding



ecosystems. They recognize the difficulties, however, in determining which environmental effects are due to the mine's operation. Despite this difficulty, community members want on-going monitoring projects to focus on the region's waterways and animals. Interviewees even wanted to be involved in the monitoring of fish stocks.

Concerning the economic impacts of the mine, interviewees spoke of a lack of information about possible business opportunities they could pursue. However, there was talk of running a store at the mine site, and one person suggested the idea of selling handicrafts. Interviewees mentioned that there seems to be competition between communities for business contracts, and there was a suggestion that Makivik could form a joint venture with these communities, then distribute the profits accordingly. Most interviewees agree that all business contracts should be given exclusively, or jointly, to the Inuit.

Most interviewees are also very appreciative of the employment and income that Falconbridge offers. In contrast to past experiences with other mining operations and government, Falconbridge is commended by the interviewees for treating the Inuit well. There is a perception that the Inuit of Nunavik are finally getting the good treatment that they deserve. Some interviewees, however, feel that there has been little benefit from the mine.

Considering the compensation money set out in the Raglan Agreement, Quaqtq interviewees had a few ideas about its use. Some thought that the money should be distributed to individuals in the community, and others agreed, specifying that it should be given to the poor and unemployed. Still others felt that the compensation money should be distributed to all age groups. Another idea was that the communities that would be most affected by the mining operations should get the money, depending on the level of impact. In this regard, Quaqtq is seen as a community that may be most affected.



The impacts of the Raglan mine on Quaqtaq's social environment have been both positive and negative. Having a family member working at the mine can present many problems. Interviewees spoke of cases in which workers left their children neglected in the community while at the mine site. Yet even families without children can feel the negative effects of mine employment; spousal problems may be exacerbated when one person leaves for work. Having a social worker available to mine workers may alleviate some problems. Interviewees stressed the idea that Inuit families are closeknit, and that problems experienced by one family are quickly felt by the whole community. Because mine employment can negatively affect families, some community members try to convince relatives not to work at the mine, or workers cut back on their work hours.

The Raglan mine is generally seen as a good opportunity for the youth of the community to gain employment. It is also seen as a potential benefit to those youth who are not old enough to work at the mine. However, some community members have concerns about Raglan's role in the perception that youth are straying from more traditional ways of life.

Raglan enforces a strict ban against drugs and alcohol on site, which is highly acclaimed by most interviewees. However, once workers return to the community, they have access to these substances. While this was not directly identified as a problem in Quaqtaq, it was addressed as a concern to watch for in the future.

Interviewees stated that, given the choice of municipal or mine employment, workers would rather stay in the community. With few town jobs available, however, mine work is an attractive employment option. Many interviewees said that Raglan workers, after gaining experience at the site, would consider moving to other mining operations outside of Nunavik. Others disagreed, however, saying that even experienced workers would not move from the community if the mine closed.



