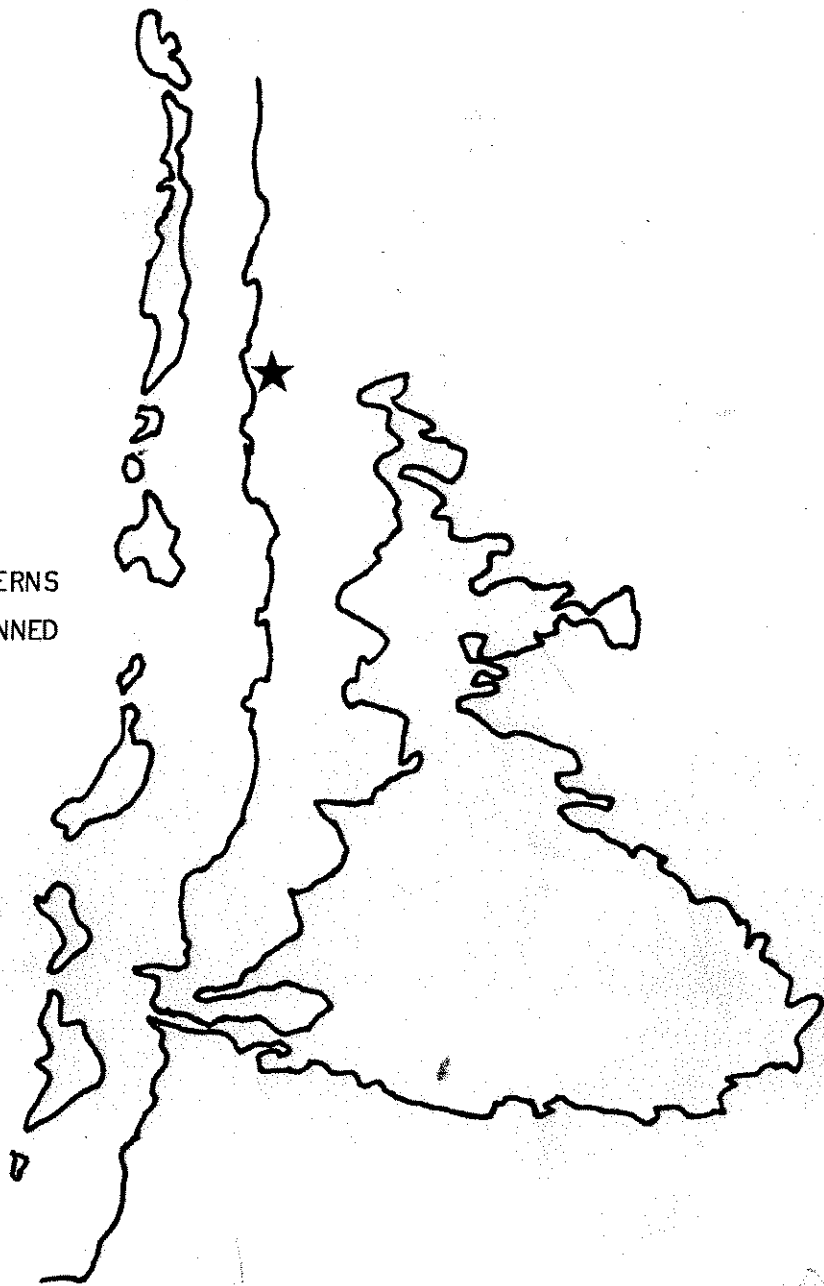


A REVIEW OF INUIT OPINIONS AND CONCERNS
ABOUT PERCEIVED IMPACTS FROM THE PLANNED
UMIUJAQ RELOCATION



Prepared for:
KATIVIK ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY COMMISSION

Prepared by:
WILLIAM B. KEMP
MAKIVIK RESEARCH DEPARTMENT

A REVIEW OF INUIT OPINIONS AND CONCERNS
ABOUT PERCEIVED IMPACTS FROM THE PLANNED
-UMIUJAJQ RELOCATION

Prepared for:
KATIVIK ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY COMMISSION

Prepared by:
WILLIAM B. KEMP
MAKIVIK RESEARCH DEPARTMENT

MARCH 25, 1985

PR

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
INTRODUCTION.....	1
Objectives.....	1
Inuit and the EQC.....	2
BACKGROUND TO RELOCATION.....	6
History and Concerns of Umiujaq and Kuujjuarapik.....	7
UMIUJQA RELOCATION.....	11
The Planning Process.....	11
Summary of Opinions and Concerns.....	13
Family Groups.....	14
Employment and Economic Development.....	15
Cost of Living.....	16
Social Life and Community Institutions.....	17
Resource Harvesting.....	18
Beluga Whale and Other Marine Mammals.....	21
Arctic Char and Other Fish.....	22
Geese and Small Birds.....	22
Caribou.....	23
SUMMARY.....	24

INTRODUCTION

Objectives

This report presents a summary of the information collected from interviews and discussions with the Inuit of Kuujjuarapik about the planned relocation to the new community of Umiujaq. The purpose of these interviews and discussions was to define the issues that Inuit feel are important for determining impacts on both the existing and planned community; to identify Inuit opinions and concerns about these issues and their potential impacts and; to present Inuit ideas and recommendations on how to avoid or reduce certain impacts. The study was carried out in Kuujjuarapik from February 19 to 22 and March 4 to 20, 1985.

Interviews included both Inuit who plan to relocate and those who will remain in Kuujjuarapik. The methodology involved non-directed interviews that were not structured by a standardized set of questions, or the use of a prepared questionnaire. Most of the interviews took the form of "conversations" that allowed each individual to determine the specific topics or points of view to be discussed. Within this format, however, specific questions were asked in order to clarify particular comments, expand on certain topics or to establish relationships between the information given in different interviews.

The response of each person, or of the group discussions, were translated into English and recorded in written form. This report attempts to present the statements of Inuit ideas and concerns in the first person whenever possible, using the words and expressions as given in translation. The written notes have identified both the name or names of the people interviewed, but anonymity has been respected in this report.

Both older and younger men and women were interviewed, and a total of 31 individuals participated. From this group, 14 people had strong opinions or were prepared to discuss specific topics or points of view in detail; six other participated in more formal discussions about the resource ecology and hunting patterns of Richmond Gulf and; the remaining 11 individuals provided either background information or more focused comments about a specific topic. Comments on potential ecological impacts created from intensification of hunting in the marine areas adjacent to Richmond Gulf were also received from the Inuit of Inukjuaq. The opinions and concerns about perceived impacts that resulted from the interviews were then reviewed in formal meetings with the Municipal Council, the Relocation Committee and the local Anguvigaq Wildlife Management Committee.

Inuit and the EQC

Before the study began, the community was contacted to explain the purpose of the work and the application of the findings with respect to the scheduled "sitting" of the Kativik Environmental Quality Commission in Kuujjuarapik on March 11 and 12, 1985. In this, as in other impact assessment studies recently carried out in northern Québec the Inuit are reluctant to trust a process that is not yet well understood. A wide range of comments about the EQC and about impact assessment were given by the Inuit of Kuujjuarapik. In particular the roles, jurisdictions and interrelationships between the Commission, the project proponent, the government agencies and the researchers or consultants that carry out studies is confusing. Consequently the Inuit of Kuujjuarapik questioned the chain of responsibility and authority that controls the process of project review and assessment. For example one individual questioned:

Who does the EQC, really represent? I know that they are to be independent and there are Inuit members, but I don't know what is meant by independence: Does this mean they only represent their own ideas? It takes a long time to understand what happens in our communities and Inuit can

not get all of their ideas out at one time. People think different ways and Inuit do not always agree with each other, so it takes time to understand each other, especially when we must talk to a group like the EQC.

The EQC has to recognize this problem and work more closely with the communities. Don't come here and expect us to have all the answers. We could do that but we need funds and we need to have our own research carried out for us. We have to be part of the entire process.

Another Inuk stated:

The environment is not the same to everyone. It may look different to us than to an outsider. Even the rivers up here - Hydro-Québec sees a river one way and a hunter sees it another way, so how can we decide what are the real impacts. In our culture there are special ways to understand what things mean and what is important. It would not be fair for the EQC to take southern ideas as being most important that is why there visit here was very helpfull.

First they must try to understand our world and the way we see things. Then it should be possible to decide what is an impact from the way we see it and from the way they see it...

We always are fighting for our life and it is not easy to keep up with the pressure this causes. ... I think for something like the EQC it can be an important job but for a community it is the future. We must live with this future because life is longer than a meeting.

The "sitting" of the Environmental Quality Commission in Kuujuarapik, seemed, at least in the short term, to provide a needed support for the expression of community interests and concerns. The sitting of the EQC provided a focus that helped to define and clarify many of the issues about relocation and this enabled people to comprehend better the entire situation. For example it was said that:

The problems we face in our communities are never easy to solve. There is never enough information to make good decisions it is almost impossible for us to know who is supposed to do what.

Maybe the EQC can help because they seemed willing to listen and they might have power to make sure all of the parties listen to what the community has to say. No matter how hard a community tries, it is still hard to make people listen, and then to be sure that they remember what we told them...

We always were told that the EQC had to approve the relocation, but I don't think any of us understood what this meant. It is too bad that they must wait until the very end to give their opinions. I think that if this happened before the project got started, everybody would have a clearer picture about how to plan. This would also help us solve problems earlier.

I know that while listening to their meeting I really began to understand things much better but... we have absolutely no power to act or to follow up on good ideas. Once people leave here by plane we don't have any control over what they do or what happens next. If the EQC is going to help then they should try to change the situation before it is too late.

Part of the problem that Inuit perceive to be related to a body such as the EQC and to the process defined as impact assessment is that they feel it is always the community that must justify their actions. It was clear from the beginning of the interviews in Kuujjuarapik, that most Inuit felt it was impossible for the community to have any real influence on relocation through impact assessment. For example it was stated that:

We really have said what is important time and time again. There have been meetings about relocation for over six years and every time some new group comes in we start to tell the story all over again.

We have decided long ago why it is important for us to move away from Kuujjuarapik. Some want to go very bad but other families will stay here. That is their right, but now we have to start looking after the details. It gets really complicated because this is when real things begin to happen and all the soft words start to cost real money.

Another view of impact assessment is that it may slow down what Inuit want, for reasons and values that are outside of Inuit control. One person commented that:

I wonder if any group can really help or if these things are just to slow us down or stop us for reasons we do not understand or cannot control. People can ask the question what will happen because of relocation, but I would like to ask the question if anybody thinks about what will happen to many of us if we are not allowed to relocate.

The need to seek some type of understanding is a constant and repetitive theme when Inuit state their views about the assessment of projects and their impacts. Some individuals are very suspicious about everything involved with understanding; almost seeing it as part of a conspiracy of professionals.

Do people from the south really understand us and try to figure out what we are saying? We don't like to be suspicious but what chance is there when everybody thinks they know better. When the lawyers and government people ask us for opinions we try to explain and they say that they understand, but I don't think they really do. It's probably said because they are professionals that get paid for saying they understand.

How can they really understand when we don't even have a life of our own and a tradition we can call ours.

There is, however, a more moderate approach, one that considers the complexity of understanding a problem and the need to learn the meaning of impact from different perspectives:

Impacts are never the same for everyone. I think people from the south want to protect us from problems they have with things like pollution, and problems of never having wildlife left. That is OK and we need help or even someone to show what can happen to our

water or our animals, but other impacts will be very difficult for outsiders to really understand. I think that people in the south don't know what our culture really means to us and why we have to keep our families together. That is why we can learn from each other about what change really means and that will help us understand why we Inuit may see impacts in a different way.

BACKGROUND TO RELOCATION

Many of the opinions and concerns about the perceived impacts from relocation are best understood in light of the historical events that influenced the development of Kuujjuarapik and brought about the decision for part of the population to relocate. Five factors must be considered. These are:

1. The distribution of people and the pattern of land use before the establishment of "Great Whale River" in the early 1950's.
2. The movement of people into the government created center of "Great Whale River" and the artificial association between Crees, Inuit and between the Inuit north and south of the Great Whale River.
3. The establishment of the proposed hydro-electric complex and the expression by some of the population to relocate and thus consolidate their cultural and territorial identity as a new community in Richmond Gulf.
4. The subsequent selection of Category I and II lands in Richmond Gulf in anticipation of relocation - a process that did not represent traditional interests in the territory south of the Great Whale River.

5. The prolonged delay of hydro-electric development, the formal selection of the Umiujaq relocation site and the recognition of the hunting lands and community infrastructure requirements by the Inuit who have chosen to remain at Kuujjuarapik.

History and Concerns of Umiujaq and Kuujjuarapik

The following statement from an Inuk of Kuujjuarapik provides a clear summary of the historical roots of this problem:

I wonder why it always seems so important to have our feelings written down by others. I don't think people would want to change their life and the place they live if they did not have strong feelings. The way we think about our past and the future is important, but we should not pass some kind of a test before we are allowed to make such an important change. All of the responsibility is put on our backs. No-one bothers to ask the Government what they did or how they treated us. Even Hydro Québec is always changing their mind about what they want to do but no-one really seems to care or say that they don't know what they're talking about. It just seems to be the Inuit people of Kuujjuarapik that must always know what they are doing.

This general attitude is also emphasized in the interpretation of more recent events. Another Inuk noted:

About thirty years ago, all of us had to start really changing our way of life. The Government just came up here and took over everything, telling us where to live and what to do. We could do nothing for ourselves since we never had any power and we never had any kind of a budget that we could use for our own ideas. I guess I can't say that some things didn't get better. We were really sick sometimes in those days but things probably couldn't have got much worse anyway.

We still don't have much control over what happens up here in our community and even with relocation, it all started so fast and almost all the final decisions were made before we even knew what happened. I don't want to say that the James Bay Agreement is not going to help us but even that

came fast and had so many people involved that we just got lost. I know this because I was always at those meetings when it was getting started. Even today, I am still going to meetings. Whenever I went south, everyone was usually talking except the Inuit from the communities. Most of the time they were talking in French and we could only try our best to figure out what was wanted but that was hard to do when you are asked to rush everything. Now we have all of these decisions that have been written down and sometimes people say you have to do this because it's in the James Bay Agreement and sometimes they say you can't do something else, even if it's written down, because it doesn't mean what it says. Now we have all of these decisions, like where our Category II land is located, and we decided long ago to move our village away from the Hydro Québec project. If we try to ask questions about all of this, or change our mind on certain things, or see some mistakes, the white people don't like it.

Now we have our Category I land in Richmond Gulf, but some Inuit still want to live here in Kuujjuarapik. No-one really looked after their interests when we selected the land and other things because we weren't knowledgeable about the future at that time. That's what I mean, even at that time, we didn't have much power over what was happening.

These comments are important because they illustrate the roots of the confusion and they also indicate that the Inuit do not look at the process of change as being frozen with the decisions made around the Agreement. They seem to feel that everyone but them has a right to change their minds and to reinterpret the situation in light of new concerns and conditions. It is also obvious that in matters such as relocation, the Inuit cannot be expected to speak with a single voice or to make a consistent argument. They simply do not always know exactly what they want.

Within recent months, however, there seems to be a more decisive move towards eliminating some of these problems. In particular, the Relocation Committee has finally been given the power to represent the interests of the Inuit that are relocating and the recent community council elections have recognized the development of a structure for those people who will remain Kuujjuarapik.

The "sitting" of the Environmental Quality Commission in Kuujjuarapik was particularly important as a means for focusing attention on the impacts that will affect the population of Kuujjuarapik who have elected to remain living in that community. One person stated:

I am glad that the EQC came to our community because it gave us an opportunity to find out what is going on and to tell our (the non-relocating Inuit) side of the story. Until now we felt that everything was only for the Umiujaq people not for the rest of us who will stay. Our rights seem to have been lost, but the EQC is interested in what will happen to Kuujjuarapik.

The background to the Kuujjuarapik situation that now exists can be summarized from the comments of several Inuit:

Our land was always south of Kuujjuarapik. That is where I grew up and there were many generations before me that called this area home. We were not happy to start living in a community like this (Kuujjuarapik) but it was very difficult at that time and the people moved closer to the store ant to look for work...

...This place has now became our home, but we always return to the south to get the best hunting. There is everything down there and we love all the little places that we use. Every season has animals and birds. There are fish, seals, whales and polar bear. I feel much better hunting there because even now the land is very good except for caribou. I couldn't leave these places and move to Umiujaq because it has never been my hunting area even though I go there now for caribou.

...We never thought about relocating back south, but I am not sure why that never happened. I think those people that came from there can still get back easily. It is not as far as Richmond Gulf and the travel is not dangerous if you know the trails. I have been glad to work in Kuujjuarapik and even if there are problems because of the Crees and non-natives it is OK to live together and for everyone to use the same place but to keep our own cultures...

... If I had to move to Richmond Gulf I would feel very much like a stranger to that territory even though I know it well for hunting.

The problems are not simple ones, however, and there is a sense of loss and perhaps even desparation that is stated by the Kuujjuarapik Inuit as they view the future. There is also, however, a sense of struggle.

... We know that there are many problems facing us but we will try to continue our life here in Kuujjuarapik. People have to remember that only half the community is going to relocate and that means half of it will not move. I think we have been too quiet, but that can change... We do not want to loose our history or just to have it stop because of the problems we now face.

The biggest problem as presented in the interviews is that of the unequal distribution of category I and II lands between Richmond Gulf and Kuujjuarapik. The essence of this problem was stated in a discussion between two individuals who plan to remain in Kuujjuarapik.

.... The big problem for us is getting our land protected, since the people who selected the land put everything in Richmond Gulf. I know that people will come from the south and say it is too bad but the Inuit did it, not us. But we really did not understand what was happening and it is not fair to say we really had a choice. We really did not have a choice with Hydro-Québec and the Crees, everybody wanted us out of the way, so if we had said there are two communities they would not have listened.

... We are left with nothing and that is what happens when you ask people to make a choice when there really isn't any choice. Its always that way. What could we really do. All of a sudden we were expected to be organized. All of these things were going on and we could not keep track of everything.

... Look at this (hunting) map we just made and you tell me what it means. Here is all this hunting territory (south of Kuujjuarapik to Long

Island) but where is the category I and II lands to protect it?

... Everyone else had their own ideas and the Inuit came last. Hydro-Québec came first and took what they wanted. Only a crazy person would say we could fight them.

The Crees were also very strong and had started to select land from the south so there was not much left and if we had said we want land in the south someone would say we gave you land in Richmond Gulf.

... When I think about this it makes me mad because we were forced to make bad decisions and no one was allowed to protect the hunting lands of Kuujjuarapik. The people did not know what was happening back then, but now we are just supposed to live with it. There is not any control of our future if we don't try to change things.

UMIUJAJ RELOCATION

The Planning Process

The right to develop one's own community and traditions is expressed through the Inuit interpretation of the planning process which relates to questions of independence and self government. The idea of one's own community after three decades of life in Kuujjuarapik is the major theme stated in all interviews.

The move to Umiujaq is part of a process of community planning. This whole business has always been controlled by professionals, but this does not always have to be in their hands. We can always use special technical help but it doesn't take a professional to make a by-law or decide the best place for the things in a community. We don't complain about those professionals if they do their part, but they should not just take everything over.

Self government involves making your own plans and doing things by yourself. This way if we are wrong we can understand why and how learn from this.

We start with the little things. It is the little things that can work, but it took us a long time to understand this. The little things make day to day life comfortable and it grows from there. It grows into what is our traditional way of life at a new community which is the first one the people from Kuujjuarapik really have as their own.

So the professionals can make their plans, but they have to understand what we mean by planning. This has never really been done for our community so there has been no way to create what is ours. Building a community is interesting work and there is lot for us to learn and experience.

Its not just the professional people that don't understand. Many others also have problems knowing what the situation is because it is so complicated. This puts pressure on the people involved in planning for the new community.

Inuit people keep complaining about non-natives taking over the communities and these non-natives keep on doing it because complaining is not a real act. It is what we do and not what we just complain about that is going to establish our future. When we act on our own, it means that we do things we think to be correct but it is our action based on our own decisions not just following orders, or having the non-natives act like their decisions are really ours.

When this process of planning and developing a community really starts happening non-native people are really going to have difficulty with us. I mean lots of difficulty because they do not understand our way. But look how complicated and difficult it has been for us always having to figure out what it is the non-natives want and what they expect from us.

These comments illustrate the general mood of the Umiujaq community with respect to relocation, and they indicate a certain type of priority that must be addressed. Questions about specific details of the community infrastructure are viewed as important, but technical. The emphasis of the Inuit is not on the infrastructure but rather on what will go on within this physical infrastructure.

It does not mean that there are no concerns over how a community will be built and organized, but at this point in time, most people seem to be looking beyond the physical relocation and responding to much more important issues. They feel that they have talked long enough and waited long enough. They are not interested in further explanations about why they want to relocate or stating and restating what they consider to be obvious. This was clearly stated in the following comment:

The non-natives have never stopped trying to control us. It used to be the Company and the administrator we always had to please in order to be allowed to live our life. Now they call this consultation and we just keep explaining why we should be allowed to do what is really our right.

In summary, the relocation process is viewed as critical to the social development of the people of southern Hudson Bay.

The concern is to get our life back. When people from the south came here they put a cell around us. We were really locked into a place (Kuujuarapik) that was not ours. There is no freedom when you are in this cell. Freedom of living one's life is what is most important. We are asking for the right to finish our way of life.

Summary of Opinions and Concerns

In the course of the interviews and discussions, many topics were raised. Those set out in this particular section represent those issues that were most frequently commented on. Some of these help explain why relocation is important in terms of general background to the problem, while others are more concerned with the implementation of life in the new community.

Family Groups

The interviews with both older and younger people clearly indicated the importance of the relocation for re-establishing a more traditional relationship between family groups and territory. A basic distinction between the people planning to relocate and those who will remain in Kuujjuarapik, is based upon the location of their traditional social and hunting territory. In particular, relocation is for those families who lived to the north of the Manitounik Sound, while those planning to stay in Kuujjuarapik lived in the Sound and south to the Long Island area.

The Inuit feel that Great Whale River was never their home and, because of this, they felt very little attachment to the place and they were reluctant to participate in running a community that was really not theirs. The new community will provide a place for these families to regroup. An indication of the importance for this regrouping is shown in the following statement:

Many years ago, I had no choice but to leave my land in Richmond Gulf and move here (Kuujjuarapik). I did not want to come but we could not stay where we were at that time. I always kept trying to go north, but that got harder and harder because we never had enough food here to keep our dog teams healthy and it was a very long trip when we just had kayaks or canoes without any motors. Now we have the skidoo but it's very expensive and it's not very satisfying to always be going and coming.

My family is spread out all over the place but we don't live together because Kuujjuarapik is not our community. When we move to Umiujaq, things will be different. A few years ago, Inuit could move all over the place because they had no place to call their own. Now I think they will all be coming back.

The problem with the regrouping relates to the number of people who are committed to return or to take up residence in Richmond Gulf for the first time. Over the last twenty-five years, the families have grown so

that the new population of the region will be significantly greater than those who lived there in recent historical times.

A second factor related to the regrouping of families is to the distinction in generations. The young people in Kuujjuarapik were born here and it is this community that they know best. They will be relocating but with some hesitation, and ambivalence. For example, a woman twenty years of age states:

It is my parents who want to go back to Richmond Gulf much more than I do. I feel that my friends and all the things I enjoy doing are here in Kuujjuarapik, so I am not as anxious to go back. I know that I will go with them because I cannot be away from my family for very long.

Employment and Economic Development

The general opinion held by most individuals is that employment will be a problem in Umiujaq but since it is also a problem everywhere else, they are not too concerned. They think that there are many jobs in Kuujjuarapik, but they usually don't have an opportunity to get these jobs because of all the Cree Indians and non-natives. At the present time, they feel that about 100 jobs will be required for the community, and the Relocation Committee has identified 25 permanent positions. The remaining employment will simply come as the community starts to develop. For example, an Inuk stated:

I don't mind going up there, even if we don't know about the jobs. It's like everything else around here, you just can't count on them. It's going to be better once we get there because we will have an opportunity to hire our own people and this will help those families that are able to work. For the others, there's going to be good hunting and we will try to start our own program for economic development.

The approach that is being taken by the Inuit is that the economic opportunities will be best developed through independent organizations. For example, they are prepared to have an independent co-operative store and to create an economic development program that will reflect the specific needs of the Inuit, once the relocation has taken place. This program will be created through an Economic Development corporation which they expect can help finance and coordinate business activities in the new community. Although this corporation is to be established for the purpose of commercial development, it will encompass a wide range of objectives that have been clearly defined in a document entitled "The Development Corporation of Umiujaq".

Again, the Inuit cautioned that it is impossible to specify what will happen for employment and economic development. They have defined the base of this process and the rest must come later.

Cost of Living

The Inuit of Kuujjuarapik are, like the Inuit of all other northern communities, very concerned about the high cost of northern living. They view the move to Umiujaq as having the possibility to eliminate some of these costs, particularly those associated with hunting activity and through the greater availability of local food.

There is some concern that some costs will be higher, especially for those items that will have to be shipped out of Kuujjuarapik by Air Inuit. Nevertheless the prevailing attitude or opinion is that the day-to-day costs will not be as high once the relocation is completed. Inuit cite, for example, that it takes approximately 25 gallons of gas to travel from Kuujjuarapik to Richmond Gulf, which means they must spend over \$200.00 just to arrive at the hunting area. When travelling by boat

or canoe, the expenses are even higher and the Inuit estimate the cost to be approximately \$340.00 that must be paid simply to get into an area of good hunting. These costs will be greatly reduced with relocation and it will also mean that the Inuit can spend much more time in effective hunting.

Many other aspects of the cost of living were casually noted but one theme that reoccured was that once the people moved, they would not be spending so much money at the bar or on other activities that were directly associated with life in Kuujjuarapik.

Social Life and Community Institutions

An important topic that was raised in many of the discussions was that the relocation would provide the Inuit with their first opportunity in more than twenty-five or thirty years to re-establish their own social and political institutions and to have their traditions respected at the community level. They indicated that the great number of Crees and non-native people in Kuujjuarapik reduced their ability to make decisions even within their own family units. One person, for example, argued that once his family unit is strengthened because of it being together, everyone will be better off and, especially, his children.

Individuals cited a number of factors that they thought would become very important in the near future. These are the improvement in the use of Inuktitut as the most important language, the disappearance of the bar as a source of social problems, the ability of the Inuit to be consolidated so that they do not have to make decisions about Umiujaq and Kuujjuarapik and that they will be able to express their concerns specifically for issues that affect their life in Richmond Gulf. They also noted that the leadership would now come from Inuit that had chosen

to live in this region and that the children would have a much better understanding of their own family groups and of the land that their families once occupied. One person stated that the leadership of the community would be much stronger and, for the first time, they would be able to make independent decisions.

Finally, the Inuit are looking forward to the opportunity to re-examine some of the community programs and northern institutions that they have been living with over the past few years. They feel that it was impossible to make clear decisions, for example, on resource management when they always had to consider the Crees in relationship to harvesting rights. They also feel that they can now be much stronger in their understanding of the land and of its value for resources. The general approach that will be taken by the community is to re-establish those institutions that are relevant to their needs, but not necessarily to simply "bring everything with us" from Kuujjuarapik.

Resource Harvesting

The Inuit state that one of the most important benefits from relocation will be a significant improvement in resource harvesting. There is however, a range of opinions and concerns about the impact of the new community on the resources of the region. The prevailing ideas and opinions are summarized in the following remarks:

I have been living here for almost 20 years, but I never stop thinking about the hunting and fishing up around Richmond Gulf. When I first left for Great Whale I didn't know how long we would be staying, but it became a trap because I got rid of my dogs and then it was very difficult to travel. My father and older brother came here for work and even though they had jobs it was difficult to buy enough supplies to return north, although we could get there by canoe in the summer. The skidoo really helped out

at first. Even though we thought they were very expensive, we were able to get them and then travel in the winter. Now even though we make better money it costs much more to travel than it did earlier. We can get to Richmond Gulf OK, but if we can't stay long it isn't worth it.

Once we relocate things will be different. Hunting every day won't be a problem, even if the weather isn't so good there are still resources close by. We will not have to spend all of our money on gasoline or beat up our machines just on the trip from Kuujjuarapik to hunting. I know that we are going to have to be carefull about the way we hunt, because the animals can move away very quickly and then we won't be better off. The Inuit know what the problems are and we will have to figure out what to do to make sure that the animals are not overhunted. We have already started to think about that and we can work out a plan with Anguvigaq.

There are other opinions, however, and more specific problems have been recognized.

I am looking foreward to being back in a place that I enjoy. I always liked travelling to Richmond Gulf, but the trip was very expensive for us, and sometimes we could travel all that way and not get good hunting. And in spring and fall it was impossible to get there.

But I really worry about what is going to happen once all of us arrive. We could have many problems even if we are careful. I don't worry about the seals and the small game and geese. I know that the hunting is going to be much better and very important for us. What worries me most is the arctic char and the beluga whales. Already the Crees are in Richmond Gulf fishing for Arctic Char and last year the beaver built dams in the river that could destroy the fish. If we are not carefull the fish could dissapear very fast from all the fishing activity and nets.

The beluga whales are the other problem. I have been meeting with people from Inukjuak about how we can work together, but now we are going to be very close to where the whales go. I really don't know why the beluga dissapeared from the river at Kuujjuarapik but they left once there was a lot of activity. Its those two resources we have to think about carefully and make plans for, but maybe even with plans all of the movements and noise can have an effect.

Another hunter commented on the problem of noise and activity from a different perspective:

I don't really worry about the noise and disturbance up there because I think we can really plan to keep the whales coming. After all the community isn't at the places where the whales come, it is just closer to them. We don't have to be there anymore than we are now. Maybe send a small group to hunt for the community and set limits. And you have to think about other resources like caribou and seals. We will travel for those and if the community gets a large boat we can travel further away for our hunting. This should really help around Kuujjuarapik because the hunting activity will not be as great and this will let the animals come back.

Finally, it should be noted that the concerns for resources are not limited to Kuujjuarapik. An Inuk from Inukjuak stated:

The whales are already in trouble and we have been trying to plan how to manage them better. The agreement with Kuujjuarapik probably will help, but all of a sudden there will be lots of people living very near the Nastapoka. That's when the trouble could really start. We are going to have to work together, but it will be like other things trying to find the money we need to look after the problem.

The Inuit stated that Anguigaq will have to work closely with them to help solve some of these problems. When the need to create a program to manage certain resources was raised, the Inuit felt this process should begin as quickly as possible and a distinction should be made in order to assure that the hunters who will stay at Kuujjuarapik can participate in discussions and decision-making.

In order to clarify the resource harvesting patterns for the Umiujaq region the hunters drew a map of their expected pattern of seasonal activity, and commented on the characteristics and behavior of the animals. The following descriptions represent but a brief summary of their statements and of the information they have provided on this topic.

Beluga Whale and Other Marine Mammals

The Richmond Gulf area is critical habitat area for Beluga whales, and it appears to be part of a larger system of movement and estuary use that extends from the Little Whale River north to the Nastapoka estuary. The whales first appear in early summer, when they move south along the outer shore of the islands. They move into the Gulf sometime in late June or July depending upon the extent of the ice cover. The movement is with the tides and the concentrations at the southeastern part of Richmond Gulf are comprised mostly of females and calves. These concentrations remain in the region until mid August. The whales are no longer in the region after the end of August since they leave very quickly, but not in large groups. Some whales move south (probably overwintering west of Long Island) but most travel north. They depart from the Nastapoka later than Richmond Gulf, usually in early to mid September.

The most important subsistence resource for the Richmond Gulf area will be the ringed seal. Although this species is not plentiful near Kuujjuarapik, it is found in the coastal waters, both north and south of Umiujaq. It is available in all seasons, although the best hunting is said to occur in the spring and early fall. During the winter, it is hunted along cracks that develop in the ice or at the breathing hole. In their discussions on the behaviour of the ringed seal, the Inuit described a very detailed pattern of seasonal shifts in numbers and distribution and in the characteristics of their behaviour. Finally, the Inuit note that the strong currents at the mouth of Richmond Gulf and around some of the island clusters maintain open water and important hunting areas for seals during the winter.

They also noted that the bearded seal, though available in the region, is not nearly as abundant as the ringed seal. The Inuit also state in their description of the bearded seal ecology that the Nastapoka

Islands are important in the fall since they are concentrated in specific places and move towards shore in larger groups by November. Bearded seals are not as important during the open water season but they do tend to move into Richmond Gulf and up the fresh water rivers to feed.

Arctic Char and Other Fish

Umiujaq is at the southern extent of the distribution of arctic char in Hudson Bay. Almost all of the reported harvests in the past have been from this region and, in particular, one well-defined river and lake system. This same system is regularly exploited by the Crees of Kuujuarapik and there is a general feeling on the part of Inuit and some biologists that this system cannot support a significant increase in fishing activity. Arctic char are also netted along the shore and they are available in spring along small leads on the shore. The Inuit state that they intend to exploit new areas for arctic char but their main concern is with fall fishing on the river itself or in the lake.

In this area, many other fish are also exploited and, in particular, brook trout and whitefish are most important and they will be harvested in the river and lake systems noted on the map. Some pike are taken but major fish species preferred by the Inuit of this area is the cod which is caught along the coast.

Geese and Small Birds

Canada Geese are important in the Richmond Gulf area as they are for the entire coast of Hudson Bay. They occur in both the spring and fall and the Inuit have noted specific areas for their concentration in each season. They also explain that the pattern of their behaviour and

distribution may vary from year to year, depending on the intensity and duration of the wind and upon the time in which the small lakes begin to freeze.

The area is plentiful in ptarmigan, both rock and willow ptarmigan, and also in grouse. This is especially important in the northern sector of the Gulf, but they can be found, and are important, throughout the region.

In the northern sector the ptarmigan move from the shores of the Gulf towards the Hudson Bay coast, and then return inland at night. Another concentration occurs near Cavin Island especially in December and they move from this area towards the coast south of Castle Peninsula in March. The ptarmigan are anywhere around the Gulf from December through February, and then they begin to move, forming greater concentrations in particular areas.

Caribou

The map shows the travel routes for caribou hunting that will be used by the residents of Umiujaq. At times in the past and even today there are caribou in the Richmond Gulf area, but the hunters note that the major concentrations are in the Lake Minto area and further north towards Inukjuak. In many regions the caribou are moving close to the coast, but even with the increase in numbers there has not been a noticeable change towards increasing numbers along the north and east shores of the Gulf. The Nastapaka river appears as a divide, with the best hunting being to the north and east of this river system. The trip for caribou takes four to five days from Kuujjuarapik, but it will only be a single day's travel from Umiujaq. A new route has now been found for travel from Umiujaq to the Lake Minto region.

SUMMARY

This report has attempted to describe some of the topics which the Inuit of Kuujjuarapik consider most important for determining the potential impacts from the Umiujaq relocation. The issues do not deal with specific elements of the new infrastructure, or of the relocation itself. These are important, but it was also obvious from the start of the work that the planning is part of another set of activities that calls for its own evaluation of consultation, site selection, structure and community plans. As well the details of employment, economic life and of community organization have not been considered, since Inuit feel that they can not contribute to resolving these problems until they are better identified.

What the Inuit have said is that the relocation has called into question some of the basic principles of northern social and economic development in northern Québec. These principles involve the participation of Inuit in setting the priorities, in the planning of new institutions and in the creation of the social, economic and physical structures that are relevant to today's world, but which also address the issues of history and of cultural tradition or identity.

It is obvious from the first person comments that problems exist. It is also evident that Inuit have been clear in the identification of concerns. It should also be clear that many of our questions and concerns are not theirs. This may be caused by a difference in perception or by a difference in experience. No one should expect that a community such as Kuujjuarapik can deal effectively with all of the demands placed upon it. Nor can it be expected that the Inuit must speak as one voice. There are differing points of view and contradictions as well as strong agreements about certain problems and their solutions.

The history of repression in the north has been long and very real. There is a "gloss" of social services and infrastructures that tends to

disguise some of the impacts on the people. The message that came through in the interviews is that there is a struggle to gain control over the process of social and economic planning. This involves the things people do, the places they live, the thoughts they think and the opportunities they create. The Environmental Quality Commission and the act of impact assessment is one approach that can provide perspective and at the same time provide an important tool for gaining a measure of control over the forces that Inuit must now confront.

The case of Kuujjuarapik and Umiujaq illustrates both the issues and the process. It involves basic principles about the way people choose to live. It addresses issues of the past and of the future, tradition and change, bureaucracy and self government. The new community is part of the process and so is the community that will remain. Both communities will exist, and the decisions must recognize the complexity as well as the quality of that existence.

The following ten points summarize the primary findings from the Inuit perspective:

1. The Inuit view the problem of today as part of long historical process that broke down traditional groups and territories.
2. The Inuit view the James Bay Agreement as creating a protection for Umiujaq, while at the same time not solving the land, resource and infrastructure needs of Kuujjuarapik.
3. The Inuit of Umiujaq view the relocation as a means for reestablishing historical, social and territorial unity for the area north of the Great Whale River.

4. The Inuit of Kuujjuarapik view the relocation as a right of this group, but they feel that their own problems of social and territorial unity are not yet addressed.
5. The Inuit view the economic development of Umijuaq to require new approaches to problems of employment and income that must be created through a community development program that is independent from present structures.
6. The Inuit view the community development plan of physical infrastructure to be the result of a process that they were not part of, and which relates to long term problems of effective participation in housing and other planning issues.
7. The Inuit view the physical development plan as not reflecting new ways to organize a community and provide employment, so that physical facilities such as garbage and water are not modernized because there are no new initiatives to create other types of municipal service employment.
8. The Inuit view resource utilization to be critical to maintaining a long term economic base and reducing the cost of living, and they realize that management programs must be initiated both for economic and conservation reasons.
9. The Inuit view that as the two communities develop new links will be created, new hunting patterns will emerge and a wider range of social economic and cultural opportunities will be created for both older and younger Inuit of southeastern Hudson Bay.

10. The Inuit view the role of the Environmental Quality Commission to be very important, but they request that the mandate and orientation be changed to make sure that they are involved throughout the assessment process, not simply at the end.