

Impacts of work on marriages and family integrity

One respondent noted how increased individual well-being related to work rubbed off on the family. Others commented on the stresses that can result from daily absences. For some spouses, living at Nanisivik was a good experience while for others it was too isolating:

Before he had work, my husband was not sociable. Having a steady job helped him socially—he is friendlier, less depressed, easier to get along with in the family. He is a good father, able to balance work even when commuting back and forth. – spouse 1 of worker

For families where the spouse is working, I've seen there may be less interaction between husband and wife. Unlike work here in Arctic Bay, spouses working at Nanisivik can't drop by the house during the day. – elder woman 3

There is both a good side and a bad side to Nanisivik. A very negative side is that my daughter's marriage broke up and she left the community. So there are both sides, good and bad. – elder C

Nanisivik was a good place to live. It was quiet. If you were not into alcohol, people didn't bother you—they don't just pop in to visit like they do here. It was good for the children. There were not too many kids and they had a place to play together—play ground, pool, gym. – lived with parents at Nanisivik 2

Our family lived with my parents at Nanisivik. My parents lived there—my mother stayed at home, my father worked. Our two children were too young for school. For my wife, it was too quiet at Nanisivik. – former worker 1

As a spouse, you'd wait all day for them to come back. Then they'd only stay up a few hours then go to sleep. – spouse 5 of worker

I wish there was more time for us to spend together—it's too much work. – spouse 3 of worker

Miners worked shifts, with two weeks on days and two weeks on nights. Families of miners who worked shifts seem to have had to make significant adjustments.

Shift work is hard for the family. My husband works two weeks on day shift, then two weeks night shift. He likes the night shift, but the day shift is better for the family. – spouse 2 of worker

I hated it but it was normal. Night shift was easier for him, he slept more. – spouse 4 of worker

Night shifts were hard on families. – hamlet leader 2



Seemee and Qayaq off to work

A job is a job—if you don't like it, walk out. Our children were used to the routine of shift work. We would talk to them about why I had to work in order to earn money to live. – former worker 7

Several parents commented on how working affected their children. In at least one case, separation from an older son during the day created problems:

I left mine work because of our kids. My spouse and I both worked, and we worried a lot about our older sons. – former worker 5

The kids miss him during the day—they are happy to see him when he gets home. He has a little time to spend with them at the end of the day. – spouse 3 of worker

It's like any normal job. The parents come home every night, so they get to see their families. No, there was no real impact [on the family left behind for the day]. – hamlet leader 3

The positive role model that a working parent can offer their children was also suggested by two people. In this context, the importance of children being able to see their parent actually working at the mine or in the mill was noted.

Work was good for the family. It rubbed off on dependants, who would say 'I should be working too.' – lived with parents at Nanisivik 5

I hope my children learned from my experience. Children learn by watching you do things. They may not decide to do the same thing you do, but they will see that people can do things. I have skidoos but no truck to take the family out to see the mine. The taxi was too expensive. My older sons did not get to see the mine. My younger one went out with the school and got to look in at the garage where I was working. – former worker 5

Impacts of Nanisivik alcohol and 'partying' on family integrity

Many people noted that Nanisivik presented a context where social norms that tended to protect marriages did not apply. This was particularly linked to use of alcohol. While miners are not said to have come into Arctic Bay, the lure of Nanisivik created significant challenges to family integrity. The possibility that children may have been significantly harmed as a result was also raised

There were many different types of whites who passed through there. Some were respectful, some were self-centred. This mix has been the same over the years. There were those who did not respect married couples. They were not living as a community, but were there only to work. They would break up families. They were living without social rules and did not respect existing couples. There was no looking at the past. A man who is working at Nanisivik, his marriage breaks up. This hurts the children. I worry about them. – elder D



Susie Issungangitug (right) with friend

Guy's at Nanisivik didn't care if Arctic Bay women were married or not. ... This abuse was abuse not only of women but of all Arctic Bay people. It was disrespect for the social structure of Arctic Bay, for the bonds of marriage between people. Alcohol was the driving force for all of this and the mine did nothing to put pressure on their employees. — man A

If a man at Nanisivik sleeps with a married woman from Arctic Bay, the woman's partner in Arctic Bay could threaten the guy at Nanisivik, take the situation into his own hands. He wouldn't just let it happen. He might also take it out on the woman, obviously. But when the southern guy leaves, the problem would be over. — elder D

When a man beats his wife everyday, the kids see it. What does this do to these kids? — man A

I have noticed this [lack of respect for marriage bonds] happening. This can cause problems—divorces, separations in families—when this happens it causes problems, but when the other guy leaves it usually gets resolved. This does affect the children, though. They are never the same. They see what is going on but won't talk about it. It is our understanding that these problems must be resolved by talking openly, with the entire family. As long as the parents talk it out together and resolve the thing—with the entire family [children, grandparents, ...]. Cheating causes very bad problems for the family, it may seem like fun, but it will catch up to you. — elder E

Recently the mine has been reducing the number of families living at Nanisivik. This has changed the make-up—it's become more of a mining camp mentality. There have been more problems recently. — professional 1

The underlying cause of these problems was identified to be alcohol.

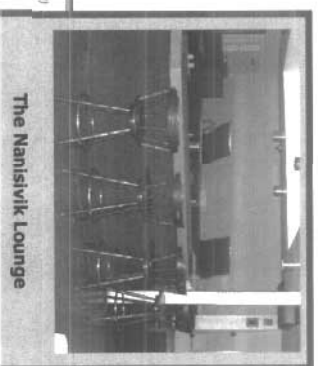
Alcohol and drugs are the things that cause these problems. Bootlegging and selling drugs—it's happening even today. — elder man 2

If alcohol was not there, it would be less of a problem. Initial intention may not be criminal, but after alcohol, it leads to criminal acts. Alcohol is the one way to ruin a life. — elder woman 2

Some miners would get alcohol and then invite Arctic Bay people to come for a drink. Sometimes Inuit employees would bring alcohol into Arctic Bay and drink at their place. Bootlegging was also a problem. — elder

Without alcohol we could get along with each other, but with alcohol there were problems.

Some consequences of alcohol are that children get neglected because parents are drinking at Nanisivik or out there somewhere. Alcohol had a big effect on



The Nanisivik Lounge

our parents (the first generation living in Arctic Bay) it did affect families living at Nanisivik. Some would be drinking for the weekend. But they were in better control. The mine had a strictly enforced "no alcohol" policy in place (at work). Government jobs at Nanisivik created more problems because no one was watching over them. Mine workers would have problems when friends from Arctic Bay came over and started drinking. Southern workers were not a role model—at parties they'd get just as drunk as anyone else. — professional 2

Alcohol was available and ruined some people's lives. Some people have had a rough life because of the alcohol. There have been marriages that have broken up. — elder woman 4

They said there would be no alcohol, but there is alcohol. This continues to be a problem and it created social unrest. — elder man 3

Changing family structure

Two elders talked about change that is happening in family structure and household economies. These changes are related to the impact of living in a comparatively large community setting, in contrast to the former family-based camp settings, and to the impact of school:

Young people now, they will start a family, even though they have no skills or haven't finished school. They are just relying on handouts from people to survive. In the past we would watch out as a family group for our young people, as they were growing, to see if they were ready/capable to get a spouse. We'd watch for them. Today, though, young people in the communities are mingling with each other. There is no limit to say that you've reached that certain point where you are ready to find your soul-mate. There are now no restrictions in terms of relationships. I feel they should have a job or some source of income before they start having children. They aren't using the elders' system today—asking advice from us. Our skills on raising children should be passed on. — elder woman 1

In the old days the family was in one place. Children, parents and elders all together. Elders would provide advice on raising children. Today, children are at school and not with their elders. Elders were the supervisors, enforcers. Today there are no supervisors for children. After school they go around breaking things. There needs to be someone or something in place to supervise the community, to monitor what's going on. Until we have this, we are like people without arms. We are not giving the children direction. — elder woman 2

Impact Of Wages And Benefits On The Household Economy

According to many of those who we spoke with, Arctic Bay has been undergoing a transition to a money based economy. This is a significant economic change that has social consequences. Has Nanisivik contributed to this transition, or has it simply happened at the same time? Comments related to this issue suggest that the shift to a money-based economy is independent from the mine.

The money is good—it's the way we live. It's the only thing. — former worker 7

Money is the same as Food here. Nowadays we work very hard to get money. When I was young, we worked very hard to get food. It's the same thing. – elder man 2

The way money is spent is not entirely outside the traditional forms of sharing between extended family members that has been so important to Inuit survival. Comments were made about how Nanisivik wages allowed extended family members to purchase goods:

Arctic Bay did affect Inuit who were not directly involved. Income allowed the whole family—the extended family—to buy boats and snow machines. – elder woman 2

My brother works at Nanisivik now. When he is off work he goes hunting with me—he supplies the gas for both of us. – former worker 6

Relatives have benefited from income earned at the mine, because this money is shared. It does not stay just in the immediate family. I have a son working, for example. He buys me gas, aeroplane tickets. – hamlet leader 3

In the context of the increasing importance of money, many people noted how the money earned at Nanisivik was used to help the family. Wives of workers tended to see that Nanisivik wages entered into the household economy, in some cases directly going into an account that was accessible to the wife.

Nanisivik has benefited us as a family. Before my husband had work, we were struggling to get by. It was very stressful and depressing. His job let us afford things—the basics plus other things. This was more up-lifting. Life was less depressing after work was available. – spouse 1 of worker

My partner gives me the money—I decide how it is spent. – spouse 3 of worker

The money they earned was very beneficial to our family. We used it to buy clothing for the family, and food. – elder woman 1

The income from Nanisivik is good for Arctic Bay. It helps people buy skidoos, houses, trucks. I like that he [husband] works like he does, at a steady job. – spouse 2 of worker

Most of my earnings would go to the rent, groceries and power. There was not enough left over for major purchases. I don't have all the equipment needed for hunting—no snow machine. – former worker 2

Nanisivik workers were also eligible to receive a freight subsidy from the mine. The annual air freight allocation for a couple with two children would be 500 kilograms. Employees could convert this air freight to sea freight at a ratio of five to one. The use of this benefit seems to have been somewhat limited, focused on large purchases. It was sometimes shared with relatives.

In seven years, we never used our freight subsidy, although we did help our relatives use it for some major purchases. – spouse 1 of worker

My husband only used his freight allocation a couple times over the years. – spouse 3 of worker

Barriers to the use of the freight benefit were suggested:

The freight subsidy is interesting for some, but stores require cash up front or even a credit card—this can be a barrier for many people. Also, if you stock-piled food other people would expect to have access to it. – professional 4

New Opportunities To Socialise

Several people talked about how Nanisivik provided an opportunity for social activities that would not otherwise have been available to a small northern community like Arctic Bay. Particularly for those who lived at the Nanisivik townsite, the ability to get to know people from southern parts of Canada provided social and cultural learning opportunities.

A lot of good came out of Nanisivik. Getting to know people. Realising that not only Inuit eat seal meat. A woman from Newfoundland once came by to ask if I had any seal—I had never realised other people ate seal. Then she told me that the flippers are really good—Inuit don't eat the flippers! Now I know people from Newfoundland, Ontario. We socialised together, with families from the south. We'd have baby showers and picnics together. Our children went to school together. – lived with parents at Nanisivik 2

Nanisivik offered an opportunity for affiliation with other people—a wide cross-section of people from across Canada. There were many social functions held there. People would go from Arctic Bay to the Dome restaurant, the pool, for Arctic Bay-Nanisivik hockey tournaments. Up until unionization, people from Arctic Bay had good access to the facilities. – hamlet worker 1

We had good communication between the two communities—social activities together, hockey tournaments. – hamlet leader 3

This is the only community in Nunavut where you can go out on a day trip to visit someone you haven't seen for awhile. – business person 2

Nanisivik provided a destination outside the community for family outings or for recreational opportunities. This ability to 'get out' seems to have been valued by many. Eating out at the Dome restaurant was specifically noted by elders and youth as a favoured activity. Recently, however, this seems to have become less accessible to Arctic Bay people.

We used to use the pool. The recreation program at Nanisivik was great. We'd go there on the weekend. They should move the playground equipment here. – spouse 3 of worker

Keep Nanisivik open—it is nice to be able to get out of town. There are some people who never get out. Spring is the only time to go out on the land. With Nanisivik we have someplace to go all year. – spouse 3 of worker

People would go from Arctic Bay to the Dome restaurant, the pool, for Arctic Bay-Nanisivik hockey tournaments. Up until unionization, people from Arctic Bay had good access to the facilities.
— hamlet worker 1

Many people expressed appreciation for Christmas gifts given out by the mine company to all households in Arctic Bay.

The mine gave a box of fruit and a turkey for every Arctic Bay family at Christmas. Also they donated gasoline for hunting for a community feast. — elder man 3

We'll lose the Christmas boxes, turkeys, fruit that the mine gave to every household.
— business man 3

Nanisivik parties

Nanisivik also enhanced opportunities for socialising with southerners. These parties also, however, frequently involved access to alcohol. While parties at Nanisivik created problems, there was clearly some interest amongst people from Arctic Bay to participate. Personal or parental responsibility to avoid problems was suggested as well:

There was a good aspect to the parties as well. The New Years parties had prizes.
— hamlet worker 6

At Nanisivik they used to have dances. That gave guys a chance to blow off steam. That was better than drinking at home. — business person 2

I'd personally go and haul my daughter back if she went out there! — spouse 1 of worker

One person noted that there were significant cultural differences between Nanisivik and Arctic Bay that had the effect of reducing the level of social and cultural interaction between the two communities. Still, a shift from families to more single workers at Nanisivik was associated with an increase in trouble:

Arctic Bay was a traditional community. Nanisivik was strictly Qallunaq, so there wasn't much influence. — professional 1

I see problems with drugs and alcohol getting worse—I also see young girls getting into trouble at Nanisivik parties. — professional 4

Access to alcohol

When speaking of Nanisivik, many people volunteered concerns about the problem of alcohol. While Arctic Bay attempts to restrict alcohol through an Alcohol Committee that issues import permits, the Nanisivik mine site was an "open" community in terms of access to alcohol. Although the mine had policies designed to prevent the effects of alcohol at work, there was, according to people we spoke with from Arctic Bay, no control of alcohol use when off the job.

Part of me is happy that Nanisivik is going to be closed, because of its impact on alcohol. I've seen people trade polar bear skins, carvings, sewing for Nanisivik

alcohol. There has been less illegal alcohol coming into Arctic Bay since the RCMP set up here. — professional 2

Alcohol and weekend parties at Nanisivik led to marital problems. — elder woman 4

[Did people buy more alcohol because they had a better income?]: No. If people want it, they'll get it. Other needs become secondary. — business person 2

Once a year the mine held a Christmas Party. It was very stressful for us. It was a drinking party.
— spouse 1 of worker

The only negative impact was the alcohol. Occasionally at the New Years parties alcohol created problems. Arctic Bay is restricted, but people would bring it in illegally from Nanisivik.
— spouse 5 of worker

While some blame the availability of alcohol on the mine, there is also a sense that individuals can learn to manage alcohol better. Some people have learned to overcome the problems associated with alcohol:

People who are hired should follow company policy and should not abuse alcohol. It leads to self-destruction and breaks up marriages. The community's social life is affected. Both whites and local people need to be careful. Southern workers need local workers, so they should be careful in offering alcohol. Locals should be careful in accepting it. — elder woman 2

The problem was alcohol. I was not a good drinker. But I put that behind me. — former worker 7

There have been some successes as well. Some people have stopped drinking, either on their own, or with support from friends, or with counselling support. The key thing is when they realise that alcohol isn't helping them or when they see the effect on their children. — professional 2

Individuals are learning from experience—passing on experience to their families and are able to advise young ones how to behave toward alcohol. - elder

Further, although the effect of alcohol was pointed out by nearly all of those we spoke with, it was also noted that Nanisivik was not the only source of alcohol:

Arctic Bay is not really a dry community. You can get a permit to import alcohol. However, you could buy it from Nanisivik faster. It would cost more though—\$100 for a 40oz. — hamlet worker 4

Economic Impacts

In addition to comments on the mainly social impacts that Nanisivik wages had on household economies that were discussed above, the mine is also said to have had impacts on the Arctic Bay labour market, the traditional economy sector, and the business sector. Observations about the impacts that Nanisivik infrastructure has had on

Arctic Bay—cost of transportation, development of Arctic Bay infrastructure and so on—are presented here as well.

Impact On Employment

A key research question related to employment was whether people who wanted work were able to find work at Nanisivik. Responses from Arctic Bay suggest that although some people feel they were able to get work at the mine when they wanted it, many others found that jobs were not available to them. Other observations suggest that the worker profile desired by the mine changed over the life of the project. There is a clear perception amongst people in Arctic Bay that the mine did not make every effort to ensure work would be available to Inuit from the community.

I don't agree [that the mine did what they could to hire local people]. Maybe that's what they see, but from here, if you apply and you don't get a response, you will feel they are not doing enough. They should have initiated training programs. Don't require school levels to get in, but do it on-the-job. — hamlet leader 3

Nanisivik was strictly focussed on business. They never really made accommodations for the local workforce, the way Pan Arctic had. — lived with parents at Nanisivik 3

The agreement said there would be 60% Inuit employment. That never happened. I worked during the surveying and townsite construction period. After that, I got a job with the hamlet. I applied for work at Nanisivik later on. I was told I'd receive an answer but never got a response. I used to go up to Nanisivik on my own to look for work. I'd be told all the openings were full and that they would let me know. I never got a response. Lack of education was probably why I was not re-hired. So, people need to be more educated. There are people who are very good workers but who don't speak English. We don't have high school education. — elder man 2

The mine never met the employment target. There was someone hired to help hire people — help people with applications etc—but he was only there one year. Nanisivik never had an Inuk in management. Most permanent jobs are filled by people from the south. Most of the summer students hired at the mine were children of employees. There have been lots of complaints over the years where the mine was supposed to hire 65% Inuit workers, which the mine never lived up to during the life of the mine. Lots of people here fill out applications for jobs at the mine. They'll fax them to the mine but never hear back from them. — hamlet worker 4

At the beginning, people with physical skills were hired to provide labour. In the past ten years, it has been mostly people with better education who got hired. People with physical skills, but who don't have education have been less able to get work in the recent past. For a period of time, in the early 1980s, we had a good liaison person who was a long-time resident of Arctic Bay. — hamlet leader 1

They are now mostly hiring young people for casual work. Most of the casual jobs are for guys, not women. — lived with parents at Nanisivik 5

Promotion into supervisory positions was generally unsuccessful. This was related partly to lack of education to carry out their new responsibilities. If they were

promoted—and a few were—people would tend to drop out or seek other work. — hamlet worker 1

My partner worked steady for several years. Then the mine wanted to shift him to a 12 hour shift and he would have had to move to Nanisivik. They would not have let him bring us along. — spouse B

Some people perceived that work at Nanisivik was available, and that at least some could find work when they wanted it. Comments suggesting that available work opportunities were not always taken advantage of were also heard.

Nanisivik was important as a way to earn money, but there was not much opportunity. Some people would not be hired when they tried. For me, though, they always gave me work when I called them up. I'd decide to work when I needed money to support my family. — former worker 2

Anyone can get money by working at the mine. Those who are less fortunate can go and work and get equipment, like a boat, that they wouldn't have been able to get otherwise. — elder woman 4

Opportunities for jobs and income weren't exploited as much as possible — professional 1

They had the choice to move to Nanisivik. Bill Hughes was the employment counselor—they had the choice and from Nanisivik it was not so easy. — elder man 3

The Mine is a long way off from here. The bus leaves early in the morning. If you miss it by even a few minutes, you miss the day. If the mine was closer, more would have kept their jobs. — hamlet leader 3

Impact On The Traditional Economy Sector

The important link between employment at Nanisivik and the traditional hunting economy was made repeatedly during conversations with Arctic Bay residents. Of particular interest was an account of Isaiah Attagutsiak's role during the early days of the project.

Isaiah was the first person hired. He was then responsible to hire other local people. He would hire the most desperate people, that are most in need, without equipment like a skidoo or a boat. He would hire them for a while until they would get a boat and then he would hire another person to replace them, so that they could get hunting equipment. The people who were orphans in Arctic Bay, who normally would not have anything for themselves, they were able to get money out of it and get their own equipment. — elder woman 1

When Arctic Bay was starting to form people were hungry most of the time. I left Arctic Bay to go to Pond Inlet in the 1960s. After I returned in 1982, I saw that people were less hungry. People who worked at Nanisivik could buy gasoline and snow machines. They could hunt more caribou and that would be shared with the whole community. Today, caribou is still shared, but the caribou are not so much in the region right now. Nanisivik did affect Inuit who were not directly involved.

Income allowed the whole family—the extended family—to buy boats and snow machines.
– elder woman 2



Koonoo Ouyakalik worked at Nanisivik during the early days. He now hunts.

Balancing work and hunting was a challenge. When pelt prices were good, some would quit work.
– hamlet leader 2

At that time [during the early days], it had a big impact for the entire community. It seemed like we were making lots of money—maybe 10 of us earning \$6 per day. I used money I earned to buy a canoe and rifles. – elder man 2

Nanisivik has been one of the few ways for people to earn some money over the winter, say, so they can go out on the land later in the year.
– business person 4

Even though there were both negatives and positives, we will miss it. The hunters will have no way to earn income to support their hunting.
– elder woman 4

In the earlier days, when we used dog teams there were fewer rifles. Nanisivik allowed for the purchase of hunting equipment, which was shared with other people. – elder woman 2

People used the money earned very well—buying boats and outboard motors. At that time [during the early days] there was no store in Arctic Bay. People used their money wisely to buy harvesting tools. There are more things now to waste money on, illegal things for example. Some are not wise in spending money. Things are more available now than in the past. The real benefit is for those who are careful with their spending. Mine work is very good for them—spouse 5 of worker

When I get paid, then I go out hunting. That when I can buy the gas. Right now it takes 35 gallons to go where the caribou are. At ~\$20 for 5 gallons [equals \$140].
– former worker 5

Women who were unemployed were able to get money by sewing things for sale to people at Nanisivik. – elder woman 3

Not everyone focused on the ability of Nanisivik wages to purchase harvest tools however.

Money goes to rent instead of hunting tools. Some ignore their rent payments and they build up a big debt. They don't pay rent through payroll deductions — they should. Perhaps that could be arranged. We used to get a reasonable net pay. Now the rent increase defers some people from working — spouse 5 of worker

Impact On The Business Sector

Comments about the impact of Nanisivik on the Arctic Bay business community indicate a that this impact was fairly limited.

The mine helped the co-op at that time. They bought lots of things back at that time, and that helped the store. – elder man 2

We see that people mostly spend their money locally. Nanisivik cheques help the local economy—especially the retailers. They will have less revenue when the mine closes. – spouse 1 of worker

Nanisivik has had relatively little impact on the local business community. Things could have been different. The mine should have been more visible in the community so opportunities would be known. Would need government assistance too. – hamlet leader 1

Over six years I have seen only a few [tourism customers] from Nanisivik. – business person A

Our sewing group hasn't really benefited—we had no connection to the mine. Besides, we did not have enough time to do more work. We make things for local demand and for HTO sports hunts.
– spouse 5 of worker

One area of business that seems to have grown to rely on Nanisivik, however, is the carving sector.

Arctic Bay Carvers will be impacted—they are selling 90% of their work to Nanisivik people. One guy has a Nanisivik worker who serves as a dealer for him at the Nanisivik site. – business person 2

Nanisivik has been important as a market for carvers. – hamlet worker 3

Impact On Infrastructure And Services

Nanisivik has had some influence on Arctic Bay's infrastructure development and on local services:

Transportation

Of particular interest to many people has been the impact on regional transportation—jet service and frequent cargo ships. These services are seen to be directly dependant on the mine for their on-going viability. They have reduced the cost of transportation, while increasing convenience.

Cheap transportation costs benefited everyone. The income earned benefited families, the money was spent in Arctic Bay. – professional 1

We used to have to travel to Resolute by plane to get out. It's much easier with jet service. It also means we have fresh produce. Also, we can order more equipment on the



Many believe that if jet service is lost, grocery prices may increase.

ships that come in for the mine. It is also important for medical travel. Other benefits are more directly for the workers at the mine. – hamlet leader 3

With the mine bringing in cargo, we were able to ship things for a lower rate than it would have been. – elder woman 4

We've been spoiled. Whenever I need something I can get it quickly through Nanisivik. We are a lot richer because of Nanisivik. More money here, say, than Gise Fiord or Pond Inlet. More snow machines. The freight is cheaper. – former worker 7

Store merchandise is cheapest here vis-à-vis other communities—prices will go up when the mine closes. – hamlet leader 2

In addition to the benefits of lower cost and better service, the jet and port facility was identified by one person as contributing to tourism potential in the region, by providing important services to cruise ships. The shipping activity associated with the mine also brought in Canada Coast Guard personnel.

Cruise ships start in Greenland—people fly to Greenland, cruise to Nanisivik then fly south on the jet and a new group flies in. Probably a total of 400 people passing through here each summer, but not much impact in Arctic Bay. Last year there were none. Ice conditions are finicky up here, so I don't know if cruises will prove viable over the long term. – professional B

Hamlet safety

Over the past quarter century, Arctic Bay has been unique amongst Baffin communities in having road access to back-up power and other emergency services. This situation was noted during the community research.

Nanisivik has provided an important safety valve for Arctic Bay—they have trained disaster response people and back-up power sources. The GN only has one back-up generator that it can mobilize. Sankiluaq was lucky that its generator went out when it was the warm season. Here in minus 40 weather, you'll have 4 hours before everything is frozen up. – hamlet worker 1

Housing

Surplus housing at Nanisivik was moved to Arctic Bay at a substantial cost.

We moved 11 GNWT units from Nanisivik here (along the road and across the water) and used the process to train people in the trades. – hamlet worker A

Access to capital projects

Some concerns were expressed that Arctic Bay infrastructure development may have been suppressed due to the proximity of Nanisivik infrastructure, while others note that lack of infrastructure is a barrier to achieving development goals.

We have no infrastructure for business development—inubator mail, tourism centre. We expect that the closing of Nanisivik will galvanize government attention and bring some of our projects forward on the agenda. – hamlet worker C

Fifteen years ago we didn't get accepted in the community pool program. Because Nanisivik had a pool we were not eligible. [Reference to a program that established portable pools inside municipal buildings when they were not required for water truck storage in the summer]. – business person B

Arctic Bay was marginalized because it's a smaller community. I don't see that it got short-shrift because of Nanisivik. – professional 1

Government treats people unequally. Arctic Bay gets nothing while Igloolik and Pond Inlet get nice things. They focus on the large communities. Small community have nothing at all from government. – elder man 3

2.0 IMPACTS OF CLOSING NANISVIK

The closure of Nanisivik mine raised considerably less comment than its operation has. People spoke of the uncertainty surrounding the shut down; the loss of income and business; and, the impact of loss of transportation services related to Nanisivik.

A PERIOD OF UNCERTAINTY

Much of the impact is subject to various factors that are uncertain. People mentioned possible alternative uses of the townsite that could provide work and ensure that key infrastructure such as the airport and the port facility remained open. Reference to a diamond exploration project in the region was also made. Other people showed a perspective that suggested Arctic Bay's future is not seriously tied to the mine:

*I'm not sorry its going—I'm not glad its going. I do think there will be an effect.
— lived with parents at Nanisivik 3*

When the mine shuts, it will be hard for the first couple of years. As if we've lost someone important. But people will get over it. It will become a memory. No lasting effect, except for whatever takes over the site. — former worker 6

We have not made plans yet for when the work ends. — spouse 3 of worker 1

Much of the impact of closing the mine won't be determined until we know what the plans are for the future of the Nanisivik infrastructure and site. — hamlet leader 1

In terms of the impact of closure—it's too soon to tell. It depends what, if anything, will be done with the Nanisivik townsite. Also there are diamonds being explored at Brodeur Peninsula. We'll know in a couple years if this will lead to mining - business person 2

LOSS OF INCOME AND WORK

People recognise that loss of income will be a significant impact following the mine's shut-down. This will involve not only workers and their families, but also extended family who may now receive income or goods from workers. Local businesses will also be affected, including carvers who have sold their art to southern workers at Nanisivik.

*When the mine closes people will suffer because there will be less money to earn.
— elder woman 2*

When the mine closes, their first priority will be to find a job. Even if it's not in the community, they'll look for a job, anywhere they can. — elder man 1

Elders who rely on income from family members will have less to distribute. Adult workers who earn money give some to elders who distribute to other family members. Plus, for an elder who owns a house—they get money from adult

*children who are working to help pay the bills.
— spouse 5 of worker*

When I think about it closing, I feel lost—I will have no place to sell my carvings. Right now I plan to spend time making carvings to sell to the mine guys before they go. After that, I plan to start making large carvings to send to galleries in Toronto. — former worker C

Carvers will lose an important market that paid good prices. The EDO's art thing is improving sales level to tourists. — professional 1

The layoffs will lead to an increase in clients for us. Some will get [EI] benefits. The number of jobs in Arctic Bay is only increasing slowly. - professional D

Guy's who are working there now will experience a big impact. They'll be back to hunting and welfare. — hamlet worker 5

One comment noted that turnover has meant individuals have experienced job loss before, suggesting a level of psychological and economic resilience to loss of income and loss of work. Another person told of how his family came together to help him after he left his job at Nanisivik.

*Loss of jobs is going to affect people and their families since there is no alternative work here. People have always lost their jobs—turnover—so it may not have that big an impact. They also have options. But families have depended for a long time on their parents' income from the mine.
— professional 2*

My father and relatives really helped. People with few relatives will have more problems when they lose their jobs. — former worker 5

In addition to loss of income, loss of a significant number of jobs will be a serious blow to Arctic Bay, according to one person. Loss of productive work may lead to other impacts, as another person noted:

*I expect that when people lose mine jobs, they may suffer from feelings of inadequacy.
- business person 2*

When the mine closes, 12 to 15 people will be out of work. That will hurt. - former worker 5

Loss of income combined with increasing costs are impacts that are widely anticipated when Nanisivik closes. This raises some concern amongst Arctic Bay's social agencies:

We do think about the impact of closure on our work—decreasing income and increasing costs are known to kick-start trouble. Still our situation may be a little unique, since many people have alternatives. — professional B

Several people spoke about the lack of jobs in Arctic Bay and how people who have developed good skills at Nanisivik will now have difficulty applying them in the

community. It is felt that when the mine closes, some people may need to leave Arctic Bay if they are going to use their skills.

Its closure will affect them [mine workers]. They'll have to look somewhere else and may have to leave Arctic Bay in order to maintain their job experience. For those who are half way to getting their job experience/skills, they will have to do something to complete this. - business person 4

When the mine closes my husband may look for some other mine work—he has heard about something around Rankin. - spouse C

POTENTIAL LOSS OF INFRASTRUCTURE AND SERVICES

Many people link the closure of the mine with a threat to the First Air jet service. Some note that even if the Nanisivik airport remains open, there may not be sufficient business generated without the mine to make jet service feasible. Others, however, expect that this will be possible and that jet service can continue.

Loss of jet service

Most people we spoke with noted the importance of the jet service that has been associated with the Nanisivik mine. Many believe that jet service may be suspended when the mine shuts down, because of the amount of business the mine generates for First Air. This concern is expressed regardless of what decision is made about the Nanisivik airport.

Loss of jet service will affect groups [hunters, tourists] coming in. It may also increase air costs. This will also affect other people in Arctic Bay because freight costs will increase. – business person A

We are going to miss the fresh food when the jet is gone. Vegetables, fresh bread won't travel well on the short-hop flights - spouse 4 of worker

The impact will be the loss of jet service and an expected doubling of freight costs. That will be of concern since anything that doesn't come up on the sea lift in the summer has to be flown in. Also, you can't get fresh food in decent condition through food mail now and it will be even worse with prop planes. - business person B

The loss of jet service will impact people going to the hospital – hamlet worker 6

The closure will mean loss of the jet. This has been our lifeline in getting people out for medical reasons. We have already lost Kenn Borek service to other northern communities. We used to have the Pond Inlet doctor come in using that service. The doctor was stable over a long period. Now we get whoever happens to be in Iqaluit—it seems to be a different doctor every time, so there is little continuity in patient care. Used to have a flight 4 days a week (when Canadian North was here in the mid-1990s). If we end up on the milk run, then we'll need more medivacs. - professional A

With both mines shutting, the jet service won't stick around. That'll increase freight costs and grocery bills. – professional 1

The mine probably accounts for half of the freight flown in. Other important clients are Canada Post, the school, Co-op, Northern, Nunavut Power Corp., the hamlet, local businesses and food mail. The mine also probably accounts for half the passengers. Baffin Health Board is likely the second biggest customer. It is possible that jet service could continue without the mine. If Nanisivik airport is closed, there will be major capital costs to improve the runway and build a terminal building. Its probably more cost-effective to upgrade the Nanisivik runway and pay the on-going operating costs of the road to Arctic Bay. – business person C

Shipping

People also noted the impact that will occur when the frequency of cargo ships is reduced following mine shut-down. As previously noted in Section 1.0, the potential that the port itself might close was connected to the importance of the port—and the jet service—to the development of cruise ship tourism.

With closure of the mine, there will be fewer ships—maybe only one government and one Northern ship. Now there are maybe ten per year. – hamlet leader 3

The ship that brought in supplies helped people bring in equipment—trucks, boats, snow machines. Arctic Bay will still be able to bring in boats, but the freight rate will be higher.

– former worker 6

People could order equipment by sealift. In the past it took a whole year, with Nanisivik equipment came sooner because the cargo ships came earlier. – elder woman 2

Loss of mine cargo ships will mean less sea lift. Fewer Canadian Coast Guard people passing through too (they accompany the cargo ships). Nanisivik gets the first sealift for mine supply. Then there are three ore ships, two/three more cargo sealifts. Arctic Bay gets two cargo plus an oil shipment. Arctic Bay people have used the mine sealifts to get things in. –professional 1

Schools

Will closing the Nanisivik school lead to increased crowding in classes at the Arctic Bay school, as students transfer back to Arctic Bay? This is not anticipated, given the small number of students currently at Nanisivik.

The impact of closing the Nanisivik school will be minor at this point. There are now only 2 or 3 families with children who may return to this school. It won't have a significant impact on student – teacher ratios. Currently, we have between 16 and 22 students per teacher, with a high of 29 students for one Grade 9 teacher. – professional C

Housing

When Arctic Bay people currently living at Nanisivik return to Arctic Bay, they will need housing. This is expected to put some additional strain on an already tight public housing situation, however the number of families involved is small.

I expect three families at Nanisivik will want to move to Arctic Bay and will need a house. They'll be on high priority. Arctic Bay is already 60 to 65 housing units short - hamlet worker A

Moving back to Arctic Bay from Nanisivik may be a problem for some families who owe significant back-rent to the Housing Authority. - professional 4

3.0 LOOKING TO THE FUTURE

Many people offered insight and suggestions about what has been learned through the Nanisivik experience, and how this knowledge might be used to improve future relationships between mines and Nunavut communities. Some also commented on how Arctic Bay might seek to develop new economic sectors to replace lost Nanisivik income.

Learning From Experience

A wide variety of wisdom was shared about the Nanisivik experience as it relates to Arctic Bay. Many of these have to do with the relationship between the mining company, under changing ownership, and the community. In addition, comment was heard about the decision to build infrastructure at Nanisivik rather than in Arctic Bay, and about the benefits that may have arose from support for spouses.

Arctic Bay has been growing and evolving. The mine, on the other hand, didn't change - lived with parents at Nanisivik 3

Other communities need to set out an agreement with the company that would stay in place regardless of who the managers were from time to time. That's what we did wrong here. The Agreement was only followed by some managers. - former worker 6

In future agreements, we need to be involved in negotiating the agreement and in its subsequent enforcement. These agreements should be geared toward improving the community and skills. We don't want to repeat past mistakes. There should be training on the job. The Agreement needs to be assessed and evaluated. Efforts could be made to involve more women e.g. office administration. We never came close to the 60% target. - hamlet leader 2

Mining companies need to be more concerned about safety. There should be zero fatalities. There have been some deaths of Gailunai and some serious accidents involving Arctic Bay people. - former worker 6

Way back in the mid 1970s, Brian Pearson—then MLA—argued that the Nanisivik infrastructure should be built at Arctic Bay, not Nanisivik. Then it would have been available to benefit people today. - business person 2

I wish there was a support group for spouses. - spouse 3 of worker

One person provided a summary of how local outfitters use a range of local human resources to meet labour needs as well as to develop future skills. This approach might be used as a model for industrial human resources development as well, perhaps:

We hire local elders as well as young people. We use three groups of people: elders with knowledge; youth to help out; and youth who want to learn traditional skills. This ensures we are able to maintain a high level of knowledge and the ability to look after people out on the land. - business person A

Several comments suggested that the level of communication between the mine and the community could have been improved

If there is another mining situation, I would want to ensure that we have a seat on the Board of the company. That would ensure that our voice is heard right at the top level. The problem with the Nanisivik agreement was that it seemed to get lost during the various changes in mine ownership. - hamlet leader 1

I don't know of any public meetings to resolve these sorts of issues. Maybe the hamlet met with them. - hamlet leader 3

We should have had more access and input to the company, so we could suggest how they could relate to Arctic Bay. The company should have restricted or controlled alcohol. People from Arctic Bay got their alcohol from Nanisivik. - spouse 1 of worker

I am happy for this opportunity to talk about this. I sometimes feel like I should talk to the mine manager—the best way to iron out these wrinkles is by talking. - elder woman D

We should have had more access and input to the company, so we could suggest how they could relate to Arctic Bay. The company should have restricted or controlled alcohol. People from Arctic Bay got their alcohol from Nanisivik. - spouse 1 of worker



Atagotak Ipeelle enjoys riding her 4-wheeler up the road to Nanisivik.

Commemorating The Legacy

When asked if there should be something done to mark the closing of Nanisivik, a variety of suggestions were offered. People generally feel that commemorating this experience, and the people who were involved, is important for their community.

We should have a celebration at the Dome to recognise the long-time workers and do some celebration, traditional events. The Mine could give out plaques to employees who worked there over the years. -former worker 6

There should be a mention of the names of people who worked there in the early days. It is important for us. - professional 2

I would support the idea of a celebration to recognise workers and Nanisivik as well. To thank them for their contribution over the years—gasoline, bringing in boats for us, Christmas meals. Nanisivik also helped to clean out boulders two years ago on a part of the trail to Pond Inlet. — elder man 1

When I heard all the buildings will be removed—I will miss this—we need to leave the buildings there, empty, to remind us of the place. At least there should be a memorial. Advise future companies that they must plan the construction so that buildings can be used after the operation shuts down. This should be planned in advance. — elder woman 2

Options For The Future Of Arctic Bay's Economy

Recognising the impact that will be felt due to lost Nanisivik income, a number of comments were made suggesting ways in which Arctic Bay might develop new economic opportunities. Some people, however, also suggested that economic development is not going to be easy:

Our culture is unique. People around the world are becoming interested in us and our wildlife. Just look at the 'Discovery Channel.' Tours will be important. Young people need to prepare to take on the tours that will be travelling here. - hamlet leader 2

The new mine owner got out of the [Midnight Sun] marathon, so we took it over. When the mine sponsored it over 100 people took part each year, but there was little benefit for Arctic Bay. In 2000 we ran it ourselves. We hoped to provide some cultural entertainment for the runners and they were very keen. But in July everyone is camping over at Victor Bay. People don't understand this interest people have in Inuit culture. - business person B

We need to find good opportunities for the young people who are graduating from the high school. They need to be able to use their skills. What can government do to create opportunities in small communities? We need the facilities—government



Arctic Bay carvings

needs to make these available. Business mnl, recreational facilities - hamlet leader 2

I don't see what will replace it—I don't see tourists coming down here to Arctic Bay. - spouse 2 of worker

There are significant barriers for small business start-ups here. e.g. setting up stores or restaurants require approvals from Department of Health—you need the appropriate spaces, separate kitchens and so on. These spaces are not available, and require money. - hamlet worker 3



"Muktaaq capital of the world"

Arctic Bay is the muktaaq capital of the world. The Japanese in British Columbia are willing to buy narwhal meat, but you can't legally sell it to them. - business person 3

Use Of The Nanisivik Site

Several comments were volunteered about the future of the Nanisivik townsite.

When we found out they would be closed, we don't want to see things in the town moved away. It should remain, so the town can be used for other purposes. There is talk of a diamond mine that will be set up in the next few years. There is also the park—Simiilik Park—nearby. Nanisivik could be a departure point for this park. There should be things set up to do over at Nanisivik. Even though there are now lots of dangerous equipment there, we know from experience with Pan Arctic Oil that these things will be buried. The site will be safe for other uses. This would help to maintain the jet service. We want these things not for ourselves, but for our grandchildren. – elder man 2

If something goes in at Nanisivik there could be other issues. Some alternatives could create problems like those around Fort Smith—lots of single people, away from the social order of home. If it's a training centre, there would be more interaction with Arctic Bay. – professional 1

4.0 SUMMARY

During the interviews with residents of the community, comments were raised on many issues relating to the Nanisivik experience. These include: recollections of the early days of the mine; changing skills and experience; impacts on families; impacts of wages on the household economy; new opportunities to socialise; impacts of alcohol; employment creation; the traditional economy; business; and, implications of the mine for local infrastructure and services.

Comments were also made about the anticipated impacts associated with closure of the mine. These related to three key areas: loss of income and work; potential loss of infrastructure and services such as the Nanisivik airport; and, the uncertainty currently surrounding the closure process and future use of the Nanisivik townsite.

Residents also had important observations to make about the implications of Nanisivik for the future. Suggestions for how to learn from the experience were made. These included the need for mines to undergo cultural growth and change alongside the communities near which they are located. "Arctic Bay has been growing and evolving. The mine, on the other hand, didn't change." Other suggestions included establishing support groups for spouses; linking elders with youth for training and skills development; and, a stronger community voice in mine related decision-making. Many residents support the need for an event that would serve to commemorate the legacy of Nanisivik in their community and the contribution that Arctic Bay people have made to this period of northern mining history. Comments were also made about the future of Arctic Bay's economy and the need to take advantage of—and invest in—the significant opportunities that exist.

This Chapter begins by presenting a brief profile of Arctic Bay in terms of available social and economic data. This is followed by looking at the contribution of Nanisivik to Arctic Bay income, and then putting this contribution into the context of total income.

Arctic Bay, like other Nunavut communities has undergone rapid population growth. Over the Nansivik era (including exploratory period) the population has increased from 49 people (1961) to 716 people (1999).

Year	1966	1971	1976	1981	1986	1991	1996	1999
716	123	123	388	375	477	543	639	716

This increase in population has played a key role in the availability of jobs for those who want them. Table 2, below, presents labour force data for Arctic Bay. The table shows that despite job opportunities at Nanisivik, high levels of unemployment have been a common experience in Arctic Bay. Job creation has not been able to keep up with the demand for work. This demand has been caused both by an increase in the population, as illustrated in Table 1, as well as by an increase in the proportion of the population interested in work (the participation rate). For example, while the number of jobs doubled between 1984 and 1999 (from 93 to 186), the number of people seeking work more than doubled (from 118 to 260) during the same period of time.

Table 2 Labour Force and Employment, 1989-94						
	1989	1994	1991	1989	1986	1984
	LFS	CP	CP	LFS	CP	LFS
Labour force	260	213	154	170	146	118
Employed	188	144	124	130	121	93
Unemployment	28%	32%	19%	24%	17%	22%
Participation rate	63%	69%	57%	60%	---	53%

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	Population aged 15 and over	Labour Force	Participation Rate	Employed	Unemployed	Unemployment Rate
Arctic Bay	410	260	63.4%	188	72	27.7%
14 Small Communities	4,489	2,652	63.5%	2,174	678	23.8%
8 Medium Communities	6,214	3,997	61.1%	2,696	1,101	29.0%

Estimates of the numbers of businesses in Baffin communities were carried out by two GINW departments, one in 1994 and the other in 1996. This data provided an estimated growth rate for Baffin communities of 18% per year. The aggregated rate of business growth in Baffin communities with 1996 populations under one thousand was 9% (increasing from 76 to 90 businesses). The average rate for these communities was 11%, ranging from a low of 0% (Resolute and Hall Beach) to a high of 30% and 20% (Sankiliq and Qikiqtarjuaq, respectively). The rate of business growth in Arctic Bay was amongst the lowest of all Baffin communities, including other small hamlets, at only 3%. There were 14 Arctic Bay businesses listed in 1994 and 15 two years later in 1996.

Table 4	NUMBER OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENTS AND SERVICES	1996	1994	Annual growth rate
Arctic Bay	15	14	3%	
All small hamlets	90	76	9%	
All Barfin communities	390	286	18%	

Source: NWT Statistics Bureau Community Profiles

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as a proportion of the total population seem to be comparable between Arctic Bay and other Baffin communities. Data from the GNWT Community Profiles, though, suggest that in 1995/96, a much smaller proportion of the Arctic Bay population received social assistance at some time during the year (Table 5). Unfortunately the available data may not be comparable over time, so one cannot confidently draw any firm conclusions.

Table 5 Population collecting social assistance

	% of Population collecting any social assistance		
	Dec 2001	Dec 1999	1995/96
Arctic Bay	12.9	16.1	13.2
Average for small hamlets	12.6	13.2	22.2
Average for all Baffin communities	11.4	11.3	21.9

Source: GN Income Support (2001 and 1999) and NWT Statistics Bureau Community Profiles
 Note: The 2001 and 1999 data is not comparable with the 1995/96 data. It is for the month of December only. It is un-audited and "should be viewed with considerable caution."

Levels of school education in Arctic Bay are typical of smaller communities in Nunavut. As Table 6 shows, nearly one third of Arctic Bay's population aged 25 and over have not completed grade nine. These people have sought their knowledge outside the school system. Clearly, knowledge acquired through traditional forms is very appropriate to many of the challenges facing people in Arctic Bay. However, to access and gain promotion in many of the jobs created by the formal economy such as Nanisivik, higher levels of formal schooling are required. It should be noted that people who were resident in Arctic Bay at the time of the census, but who had grown up and pursued their education before moving to the community are included in Table 6 data.

Table 6 Education levels for Arctic Bay in 1996

Highest level of schooling for population age 25 and over	Arctic Bay	NWT and Nunavut
% with less than grade nine	32.6%	21.5%
% with a high school certificate or higher	52.2	65.3
% with trades or non-university certificate or diploma or higher	34.8	47.3
% who have completed university	10.9	15.1

Source: Statistics Canada Census 1996 Statistical Profile.

Some indication that formal education may be increasing can be found by looking at trends in schooling over time. High school graduation in Arctic Bay, for example, has begun to increase in recent years (Table 7). Prior to the mid-1990s, Arctic Bay did not have a high school program. Students from Arctic Bay wishing to attend high school had

to move to Iqaluit to achieve this. As the data in the following table indicate, this was a significant barrier to education. While this data does not indicate the quality of a high school education in Arctic Bay, completion of high school is a major first step to educational advancement.

Table 7 High School Graduation for Arctic Bay, from 2001 back to 1990

2001	2000	1999	1998	1997	1996	1995	1994	1993	1992	1991	1990
6	11	4	5	3	0	0	3	0	1	0	0

Source: GN Department of Education

Much of the socio-economic data that is of interest in developing a profile for Arctic Bay is not available in a community-by-community format. Of particular interest would be data from the 1996 NWT Alcohol and Drug Survey. That survey involved interviews with a people from communities across Nunavut, including questions on incidence of heavy drinking, and frequency of alcohol consumption. In Nunavut, 58% of people 15 years and older consumed alcohol in the previous 12 months, while 24% said they drink more than five drinks when they drink.

A second survey of interest is the National Population Health Survey conducted in 1994/95 and 1996/97. Areas where data was collected included alcohol consumption behaviour, and mental & emotional health attributes. This data is not, however, available on a community-by-community basis.

2.0 NANISIVIK'S CONTRIBUTION TO ARCTIC BAY'S ECONOMY

The impact of the Nanisivik mine in Arctic Bay must be seen within the context of the above community profile. This section will set out data that can be used to assess, first, how important Nanisivik has been to Arctic Bay's economy. Secondly, it will help to address the question of what Arctic Bay's economy will look like once the mine closes.

Nanisivik has had both a direct impact and an indirect impact on the economy of Arctic Bay. The direct contribution has come in the form of wages paid to workers, and money paid to businesses for goods and services. The value of Employment Insurance (EI) transfers made to Nanisivik workers following job termination is also considered as a direct impact of the mine.

Indirect impacts of Nanisivik to Arctic Bay's economy includes business activity and wages that have been generated by the increased income available in the community due to direct effects of the mine, decreased costs related to improved transportation infrastructure and services and so on. Both these contributions are discussed below.

DIRECT CONTRIBUTION

The major direct economic impact of Nanisivik were the wages paid to employees. The table below shows the numbers of northern resident employees at the mine during various years from the late 1970s to the present time. The numbers and relative

proportion of northern workers has declined by over one half between the late 1970s/early 1980s and the last three years. The cause of this decline has not been identified in the course of this study.

Table 8 Employment at Nanisivik

	2001	2000	1999	1980	1979	1978
Total	179	185	190	203	207	213
Southern	162	165	170	156	158	163
Northern	17	20	20	47	49	50
% Northern	9%	11%	11%	23%	24%	23%

Note: Numbers indicate the number of employees (excluding temporary employees) at the end of the year. Source: 1978 to 1980 data is from Hicking-Partners, 1999 to 2001 data is from Nanisivik mine payroll data.

The total wages paid to northern residents have declined from 1976 to the present. During the late 1970s, wages paid to northerners ranged between \$2 million and nearly \$3 million (adjusted for inflation to be comparable to 2001 dollars¹). In recent years, these wage payments have declined to between \$1.2 and \$1.3 million.

Table 9 Wages paid by Nanisivik to northern residents (\$ millions)

	2001	2000	1999	1980	1979	1978	1977	1976
Wages	1.18	1.19	1.23	1.16	1.18	0.71	0.76	0.47
Inflation-adjusted wages	1.18	1.23	1.30	2.67	2.98	1.95	2.28	1.49

Source: 1976 to 1980 data from Hicking-Partners Inc.; 1999 to 2001 data from Nanisivik mine payroll records. Dollar amounts in first row are not adjusted for inflation. The amounts shown in italics on the second row have been adjusted for inflation to 2001 dollars, based on Canada's Consumer Price Index.

Most of the wages from Nanisivik in recent years have been paid to people from Arctic Bay, as illustrated in the following table. For example, in 1999, \$1.01 million of a total \$1.23 million to northerners—or 78%—was paid to Arctic Bay workers. This increased to 82% in 2000 and to 86% in 2001.

Workers at Nanisivik were primarily men. In 2001, for example, only 13% (five of forty) of the Arctic Bay workers were women, and they earned 7% of the wages paid to people from Arctic Bay, or \$72,800. The involvement of women changed somewhat from year to year. For example, in 2000, eleven women worked some time at the mine, contributing 28% of the Arctic Bay workforce at the mine, and earning 13% of the wages.

¹ The adjustment to 2001 dollars was made using the Bank of Canada's CPI calculator that can be found on the web at: http://www.bankofcanada.ca/en/inflation_calc.htm

Table 10 Wages paid by Nanisivik to Arctic Bay residents (\$ millions)

	2001	2000	1999	1986*
Wages to Arctic Bay workers	1.01	0.98	1.01	0.920
Inflation adjusted wages	1.01	1.01	1.06	1.38
% of total northern wages	85%	82%	78%	
Number of workers	45	40	37	
- men	40	29	29	
- women	5	11	8	
Wages to men	\$937,200	\$855,397	\$940,417	
Wages to women	\$72,800	\$125,225	\$72,823	

Source: 1976 to 1980 data from Hicking-Partners Inc.; 1999 to 2001 data from Nanisivik mine payroll records. Dollar amounts in first row are at face value, not adjusted for inflation. The amounts shown in italics on the second row have been adjusted for inflation, based on Canada's Consumer Price Index.

* Note: 1986 wage data is for Arctic Bay only, as reported by DIAND "Profiles of Baffin Communities" 1986.

Average income in Arctic Bay is amongst the highest in the Baffin communities. In 1995, the average income in this community was \$26,345. As Table 11 illustrates, only incomes in Nanisivik, Igloodit, Resolute Bay and Gise Fiord were higher than this amount. Of these, Resolute Bay and Nanisivik also gain income from mines. Incomes in many small Baffin communities are considerably lower than those of Arctic Bay. People in Clyde River and Igloodit, for example, were earning on average \$18,817 and \$18,240, respectively,—or less than three-quarters of what people in Arctic Bay earned on average.

Table 11 Average Personal Income in Baffin Communities, 1995 Tax Year

Community	1995 Income (\$)
Nanisivik	54,626
Resolute Bay	37,645
Igloodit	37,630
Gise Fiord	30,786
Arctic Bay	26,345
Pangnirtung	21,911
Pond Inlet	20,535
Okiqarluq	20,052
Hall Beach	19,785
Kimmirut	19,426
Cape Dorset	19,016
Clyde River	18,817