



Kiggavik Project Environmental Impact Statement

Tier 3 Technical Appendix 3B

Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit Documentation

HISTORY OF REVISIONS

<i>Revision #</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Details of Revision</i>
0	December 2011	Initial release
1	April 2012	Inclusion of comments received from the Nunavut Impact Review Board as part of their conformity determination on January 18, 2012

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Attachment A

Anotated Bibliography of Secondary Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit Sources

Uqalurait: An Oral History of Nunavut

Uqalurait: An Oral History of Nunavut compiles a broad but comprehensive account of Inuit life in Nunavut prior to prolonged contact with southerners. The information in this book was compiled and edited by John Bennett and Susan Rowley with the support and guidance of Elders from the three regions of Nunavut. Started in 1993 and published in 1998, the book details numerous aspects of Inuit lives through the voices of Elders who live Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (IQ). Both the diversity and similarities of Inuit lives from different parts of Nunavut are presented.

Bennett, John and Susan Rowley 2004 (Compiled and Edited). *Uqalurait: An Oral History of Nunavut*. Montréal and Kingston: McGill's-Queen's University Press.

Meadowbank Gold Project: Baseline Traditional Knowledge Report

The Meadowbank Gold Project baseline traditional knowledge report was written as part of the 2005 Meadowbank Gold Project Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA). The report discusses traditional land use, primarily around the area seventy kilometres north of Baker Lake. The intent of the report was to identify and document traditional knowledge and predict potential impacts of the proposed development. A literature review, project specific interviews, and consultation were conducted.

Cumberland (Cumberland Resources Inc.). 2005. *Meadowbank Gold Project: Baseline Traditional Knowledge Report*. Prepared for Agnico Eagle Ltd. January 2005.

Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project

The *Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project* was initiated in 1972 by the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada and prepared by the Milton Freeman Research Limited under contract with the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, and published in 1976. The publication is a three volume set intended to provide a comprehensive record of Inuit land use and occupancy in the Northwest Territories [prior to the designation of Nunavut]. The publication attempted to provide an Inuit perception of their relationship with, and use of, the land over a time period spanning the years prior to the local arrival of traders to the 1970s. The IQ information presented in the study has been incorporated in more recent publications such as the *Nunavut Atlas* published in 1992.

Freeman, Milton M.R. (General Editor) 1976. *Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project*, Volume 1. INA Publication No. QS 8054-001-EE-A1. Thorn Press Limited.

Thelon and Kazan Rivers Background Study, Management Planning Assessment

GeoVector Management Inc., in association with EEM INC. and TERRA Geographical Studies Inc., was retained by the Kivalliq Inuit Association (KIA) to conduct a preliminary background study for river management plans of the Thelon River and Kazan River within Nunavut. Published in 2008, the study identifies information gaps that will need to be addressed, as well as proposes a summary of work to be completed. The study includes IQ information relevant to Baker Lake and Chesterfield Inlet.

GeoVector Management Inc. 2008. *Thelon and Kazan Rivers Background Study, Management Planning Assessment, Final*. Prepared for the Kivalliq Inuit Association.

Representing Traditional Knowledge: Resource Management and Inuit Knowledge of Barren-Ground Caribou

Kendrick and Manseau's 2008 article uses multigenerational indigenous knowledge to present traditional knowledge into environmental observations and resource management of barren-ground caribou. Their case study focuses on two Inuit communities (Arviat and Baker Lake) that hunt primarily on the ranges of the Qamanirjuaq and Beverly caribou herds, as well as smaller neighbouring herds. Both IQ of hunters and Elders are represented. The article links caribou hunting patterns between Arviat and Baker Lake.

Kendrick, Anne and Micheline Manseau. 2008. Representing Traditional Knowledge: Resource Management and Inuit Knowledge of Barren-Ground Caribou. *Society and Natural Resources* 21: 404-418. Routledge Taylor and Francis Group.

Climate Variability and Climatic Change: Potential Implications for Hudson Bay Coastal Communities

Laidler and Gough's published a paper in Polar Geography dealing with climate variability and climatic change in 2003. The paper reviews Cree and Inuit land use and resource harvesting along the Hudson Bay bioregion in the context of seasonal cycles and adaptation to climate fluctuations and change. The authors use the information to develop a conceptual evaluation of the potential effects

on coastal communities. Elders, younger hunters, and community members from different Nunavut communities present perceptions of change and consequences in their environments.

Laidler, Gita J and William A. Gough. 2003. Climate Variability and Climatic Change: Potential Implications for Hudson Bay Coastal Communities. *Polar Geography*, 27, No. 1 pp. 38-58.

Inuit Nunamiut: Inland Inuit

Inuit Nunamiut is a compilation of interviews conducted by Hatti Mannik in 1989 and 1990. The interviews were conducted by visiting the Baker Lake Elders Group (Qilautimiut) and recording discussions, and annotating maps with names and places. The result of the interviews was a comprehensive record of the ways-of-life of those members of the Qilautimiut who participated.

Mannik, Hattie (volume editor). 1998. *Inuit Nunamiut: Inland Inuit*. Altona, Manitoba: Friesen Corporation.

Voices from the Bay: Traditional Ecological Knowledge of Inuit and Cree in the Hudson Bay Bioregion

Voices from the Bay includes the reported research of the Traditional Ecological Knowledge and Management System (TEKMS). This was intended to be a community based and community controlled project in which 30 communities were invited to participate. Several goals were set including to share information, to better understand environmental change caused by development and the cumulative environmental impacts of development, to help scientists better understand environmental change and problems, and to promote the use of Traditional Knowledge in environmental conservation and management.

McDonald, Miriam, Lucassie Arragutainaq, and Zack Novalinga. 1997. *Voices from the Bay: Traditional Ecological Knowledge of Inuit and Cree in the Hudson Bay Bioregion*. Ottawa, Ontario: Canadian Arctic Resources Committee, Environmental Committee of Municipality of Sanikiluaq.

Nunavut Atlas

The Nunavut Atlas was initiated by the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut in response to a need to produce high quality land use information and to assist in defining areas of interest in response to land ownership negotiations. The information presented in the

Nunavut Atlas was compiled through previously published material and interview data that was collected from various communities. Information is presented and cross-referenced in both text and map format.

Riewe, Rick. 1992. *Nunavut Atlas*. Canadian Circumpolar Institute and the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut. Edmonton, Alberta: Art Design Printing Inc.

Attachment B

Results of IQ Interviews (2008), Focus Groups (2009) and Community Review Meetings (2011) in Baker Lake

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1 INTRODUCTION

AREVA Resources Canada Inc. (AREVA) is proposing to build the Kiggavik Uranium Project (the Project) about 80 km west of Baker Lake, Nunavut. As part of its community engagement, AREVA began having regular meetings with the Baker Lake Community Liaison Committee in 2006. AREVA also began meeting with the following Baker Lake groups in 2006:

- Hunters and Trappers Organisation (HTO);
- Elders;
- Youth; and
- Hamlet.

As a result of meetings with community representatives, Hattie Mannik was commissioned to undertake IQ interviews with Baker Lake Elders. The information from the interviews will be incorporated into the IQ Baseline Report to be prepared as part of the Project Application.

A series of 19 interviews was conducted with 18 Baker Lake Elders (BL01 – BL18 2008). Hattie Mannik prepared an interview questionnaire to cover a variety of topics relating to locations of ancestral habitation, caribou caching, fishing, archaeological and culturally important sites, moving to Baker Lake, and various aspects of the proposed Project. A copy of the questionnaire is found in Appendix I of this report.

Information from each of the interviews was audio recorded as well as marked on maps. Transcripts of the interviews were prepared by Hattie Mannik, and copies of the transcripts and a single map showing the aggregated results of the interviews were provided to Golder Associates Ltd. (Golder) who has been retained by AREVA to undertake IQ studies for the Project, and to assist in preparing the Project application. Copies of the audio tapes and any original notes have been retained by Hattie Mannik.

Golder applied to the Nunavut Research Institute for a Scientific Research Licence to conduct Social Science and Traditional Knowledge Research for the Project. One of the conditions of research was that the contributors to the report would remain anonymous. For this reason, names of those who contributed information do not appear in the report. Section 2 is a summary of the information obtained during the Elder interviews with Hattie Mannik in 2008.

In March and April of 2009 a series of IQ interviews and focus groups were conducted by consultants (Golder and independent), in order to obtain more information. On March 4, 2009, an individual interview was led by Susan Ross (independent) and Mitchell Goodjohn (Golder) (BL01 2009), as well as an IQ focus group with nine Baker Lake hunters from the HTO (BLH 2009), and an IQ focus group with seven rotational mine workers (BLRW 2009). On March 5, 2009, a focus group was led by Mitchell Goodjohn, Susan Ross and Hattie Mannik with seven Baker Lake Elders (BLE 2009). Also on March 5, 2009, Mitchell Goodjohn and Susan Ross conducted an IQ focus group with three young adults (BLYA 2009). On April 4, 2009, Linda Havers (Golder) and Susan Ross led an IQ focus group with seven spouses of rotational workers (BLWS 2009). On April 6, 2009, Linda Havers and Susan Ross led an IQ focus group with six women from Baker Lake (BLW 2009). Section 3 is a summary of the information obtained from the 2009 IQ focus groups and interview.

In February of 2011, focus groups in the format of review meetings were held as part of the community review process. On February 16, 2011, Mitchell Goodjohn, Barry McCallum (AREVA) and Pam Bennett (AREVA) conducted an IQ focus group with eight Baker Lake hunters from the HTO (BLHT 2011). On February 17, 2011, Mitchell Goodjohn led an IQ focus group with ten Baker Lake Elders. The data obtained from previous meetings was reviewed by the HTO representatives and local Elders, and comments were made. Section 4 is a summary of the proceedings from the community review meetings.

2 RESULTS OF THE INTERVIEWS, 2008

2.1 ELDER INTERVIEW 01, BAKER LAKE, 2008 (BL01 2008)

2.1.1 Camping

I come from around the Kazan River area. As a child, I lived past and to the south of the Kiggavik area, but spent very little time around Kiggavik, mostly travelling back and forth. Travelling back and forth, my family and ancestors camped at Qikiqqtarjuaik Lake (Judge Sissons Lake), Beverly Lake, and the Kazan River. They never stayed in one spot, but looked for places to harvest, travelling by dog team in the winter. The camping areas were also 'catching areas', and where meat was dried. They also were fishing areas. People camped at the Kazan River in the spring, pitching tents on a hill so that they could see all around. My ancestors lived in that area as well, travelling back and forth, but not further north than Beverly Lake (BL01 2008).

2.1.2 Caribou Crossings

Qikiqqtarjuaik Lake is one of the main routes for migrating caribou. When migrating from the northwest, they go through Shultz and by Qikiqqtarjuaik Lake. They don't have a home. They walk anywhere, in all seasons. In early spring, they arrive from the northwest by Qikiqqtarjuaik Lake, because that lake is their route too. Summer is when most of the hunting is done. During the fall, they migrate from the northwest to the southeast, on the south side of Qikiqqtarjuaik Lake. Anigguq Lake is also the main route. Caribou just follow one another and go where they want to go (BL01 2008).

2.1.3 Mammals

Where I came from, I remember there were musk ox, caribou and wolves, but I only started seeing musk ox for the first time after I had children. The musk oxen were past Beverly Lake. They wandered everywhere and were also around the sanctuary, but we tried not to kill in the sanctuary. This was an RCMP protected area. Because we could not hunt in some places during the starvation, a baby died (BL01 2008).

Grizzly bears were hard to see then, but they are close by now, perhaps because the earth is changing. The first time I saw a grizzly bear (it had been killed) was when I was a child, around Princess Mary Lake (BL01 2008).

2.1.4 Graves

There are graves at Murjungni'tuaq, but around the river are my in-laws. Past Kiggavik would be Arnasungaaq's mother, around an inlet (BL01 2008). I lost a child too along the river, and there was also Uvajok's mother, Ittiut, and others, but I don't remember where the graves might be (BL01 2008).

2.1.5 Fishing

In summer fish are caught by braiding caribou sinew into a long rope, baiting it, throwing it out as far as possible, and then pulling it in. Usually you would catch a fish. They also sewed together caribou skin with a bone inside, tied this to a rope and threw it in the water to wait for a fish to swallow it. They would try anything to keep alive. In the winter, they used the same methods, but sunk the bait through a hole in the ice (BL01 2008).

I don't know what kind of fish they caught, but they were really good. Today I hear that the fish are too soft and seem different. There were trout (around the Kazan River) and grayling when the ice started to freeze. When the ice was really thick, they would try to catch anything, to feed the starving dogs when there was no caribou. But at the time of the starvation the fish were hard to catch too. There were also lots of whitefish, but I am not sure how they were caught, perhaps in nets when they had them (BL01 2008).

I don't remember if there were any fish in the small lakes around Kiggavik. The only lake I know there were fish in was Qikiqqarjuaik Lake. The char run around the middle to the end of August, and spawn later, when the ice forms (late October) (BL01 2008).

2.1.6 Food Sources

People also hunted fox and arctic hare for food when caribou were scarce, and I have even eaten ground squirrel when I was really hungry; although I was told not to do that (BL01 2008).

2.1.7 Archaeology Sites

Where I used to live, there are old archaeological sites that are far apart, like inuksuk and old sod houses (some have sunk into the earth). There would be inuksuk lined up at caribou crossings, to make the caribou turn where the hunters wanted them be. Inuksuk were also put up for people to tell where other families had moved. The rock on the top would be pointing to the land

where the family had moved. That would be the way to communicate as there were no phones. Most of these sites are between Shultz Lake and Beverly Lake (BL01 2008).

2.1.8 Spiritual Sites

I am not aware of particular spiritual sites, or places that they could not go, in the areas where I used to camp. But I have heard about one, close to Baker Lake, near the Prince River and another one just before (and close to) Kanngiqluk (Aberdeen Inlet), where it suddenly gets foggy. I heard Nancy Angaktaarjuaq's father was lost and never returned from that foggy place. No one is supposed to go there or get close (BL01 2008).

Just last fall, a friend's son went caribou hunting. He caught one, and then went to go get a rope from the sleds to drag the caribou closer to the sled to skin it. But when he went back the caribou had disappeared. This was somewhere around the Prince River Bridge [reference to stories of caribou turning into humans] (BL01 2008).

2.1.9 Project

I would support a bridge across the Thelon River if it would benefit someone. I don't go there much anymore and young people depend on money now, so I don't think they will travel on the land much anymore. Also, not many boats go up the river anymore. Inuit travel by boat only where it is deep now. If people are still going out hunting, the road and the bridge would be OK. I would prefer the road to go over the Thelon rather than through Hagliq (BL01 2008).

If the project is going to move ahead, I would like to see young people working. Some of the young people have started working at mine sites or with the mining. I know of two young people who are working along the road, and have heard that one of them doesn't even like coming back to town. He was just a babysitter, mostly staying home all the time. Mining is now hiring young people, and she (the interview participant) sees them very happy now. When youth are mostly at home, bored with nothing to do, wanting to do something, they tend to start getting into mischief. Youth don't have hunting gear. It is a lot of help when they are making a bit of money, which makes her (the interview participant) very happy (BL01 2008).

2.1.10 Water

The colour and taste of the water in the lakes past the Qikiqqtarjuaik Lake seemed alright, normal, and the land was a really nice place to stay. The water was good; there were a lot of fish on that lake, and it was a main camping area (BL01 2008).

2.1.11 Move to Baker Lake

I moved to Baker Lake because the school opened and children didn't want to be separated from their families. Also, my late husband wasn't able to do anything very much anymore on the land (BL01 2008).

2.1.12 Memories

I never used to see any white people as a child, and the first time I heard an airplane, I wondered what it was. I saw the airplane for the first time around Princess Mary Lake, before I was married. Someone said, "There's something up there, I think it's a white person" (BL01 2008).

Another time years later, in an area where we used to camp, [two of us] were all alone on our stomachs with our rifles in our hands ready to shoot caribou, because the fur on caribou was really good for clothing. [My friend] started looking around when she saw something, and quickly said, "What is that?" I stood up shouted, "Hiiii..!! There's Jesus!! .. He's going up!!" We never realized that the caribou we were hunting had disappeared. We rushed to the tent and started praying, because we didn't want to be left behind. We had seen a jet with smoke behind it and we thought it was Jesus, who was coming to pick up believers, which we had heard about before. It seemed like the wings were like arms stretched out, and it looked as if it had a head, and the smoke that was trailing behind seemed to be going upwards. We had heard that Jesus would come and take believers through the clouds, so when we saw the jet we earnestly prayed, but never got picked up. So we got so scared and afraid, and thought we didn't believe, and all those times we knew Jesus was the only one who can do anything and everything. We knew that white people can't do such things and never thought they could make things that can fly. We also realized it was just a jet plane, and we just ended up not catching a caribou because we both quickly stood up and the caribou ran away everywhere. We completely forgot about the caribou, and didn't know where they went (BL01 2008).

2.2 ELDER INTERVIEW 02, BAKER LAKE, 2008 (BL02 2008)

2.2.1 Camping

I lived around Kiggavik and between Kiggavik and Baker Lake for some time, and around Beverly Lake. From Beverly Lake, we used to go and get supplies from Baker Lake (BL02 2008). In the fall we used to live around Beverly Lake and around Patigtariarvik. Qikiqqtalik is quite far, but I used to travel pretty fast so that I only camped overnight two times before reaching Baker Lake. We lived in these areas to try to stay alive; hunting wildlife to eat. Being hungry is not good, so we travelled in order to search for caribou to stay alive (BL02 2008).

Qikiqqtarjualik Lake was also where our ancestors had lived before, because there were plenty of foxes to trap. They first started to trap at Marra'tuaq, past Manimaniit and further north by Quglungnili'naaq Lake. My grandfather told me that when he first started trapping foxes, he started at Marra'tuaq. From there, he travelled to Quglungnili'naaq Lake, where there are also a lot of foxes, but where the caribou arrive late. So he started to travel further north to Qamanaugaq, where he didn't see any foxes, and then to Naujatuq, where he did see foxes, so camped there for some time. Then he moved to Qikiqqtalik where he saw foxes and caribou, so he felt content. He lived around there for some time, and then he travelled to Uqsuriaggjuaq, and then he travelled between Qikiqqtalik and Uqsuriaggjuaq, where he passed away and was buried. Inuit used to live in the Uqsuriaggjuaq area (BL02 2008),

My late grandfather had started from past Manimaniit, travelled further north, at times spent summers or winter in an area, camping at Iglurjualik for a long time, and then he went southward again to Qikiqqtarjualik area, and then back to Naujatuq, and there he saw foxes and caribou. You can't starve around there. It is a place where you can easily trap foxes, trade, and buy ammunition. They also travelled to the river, where there were musk oxen (BL02 2008).

We would also keep in touch with our relatives who might be camping somewhere else, to tell them where there were caribou, because there was no high frequency radio. We would have to go to their camps to tell them. If the Inuit around the north side were hungry and without food, then the Inuit who were camping around the south side would tell them about where the wildlife were. That is how we survived (BL02 2008).

2.2.2 Caching

We could cache lot of meat, as far as Aberdeen Inlet (Kangiqqluk). There were a lot of caribou, and we had plenty of meat. The caribou rarely moved anywhere else, but when fall arrived, they started walking away. The main areas for caching meat are around Anigguq and Qikiqqtarjualik Lakes (Judge Sissons Lake). My father and I had many caches and it took a long time for us to get back to our camp (BL02 2008).

2.2.3 Fishing

We use to camp on an island in Qikiqqtarjualik Lake in the winter time. There were quite a lot of fish, but I don't like the fish there anymore. I can make a hole through them just with my fingers now because they are really soft. They are alive, but too soft (BL02 2008).

In the two lakes called the Tahira'tua'naaq Lakes, you can catch fish, but you can also pull out a rock. A rock gets stuck to a hook and you pull it out. I think because the rocks are magnetic (BL02 2008).

There are no more fish in Pointer Lake. Someone said that the fish there are just floating along the shore, I guess from the salt from the quarry or something. The fish have died because rivers are flowing in. The same thing will happen in Qikiqqtarjualik Lake because of the uranium activity. The fish there will be gone (BL02 2008).

2.2.4 Water

Qikiqqtarjualik Lake is not good to drink from anymore. The water is really clear and tastes really good, but it can't quench your thirst, you can drink, drink, drink but it can't quench your thirst. It has changed a lot since exploration started years ago. It's not good anymore. There is a cabin there that belongs to the HTO. I don't want to drink the water, so I take ice from a smaller lake to use for water and it quenches my thirst (BL02 2008).

The water at Anigguq Lake tasted really good, except it doesn't keep you moist anymore. I don't know why. It is a big lake. Before anyone started working up there, the water quenched thirst. It is probably because of the salt they use, because there are small streams or rivers that flow into the lake down river. There are no more fish in the lake now. Most of the fish have floated along the shore and the seagulls have started finishing them off. Some of the dead fish will eventually reach Baker Lake (BL02 2008).

2.2.5 Graves

My grandfather's grave is just past or beyond Qikiqqtalik, around the river, as are the graves of my mother and grandmother (BL02 2008).

There is [a] child's grave on an island, where we camped in winter. And here, there's my late aunt, father's side, Nguangua, Siksigaq and Kivaha. And David Tuluqtuq's adoptive mother's grave is on a small island, on top of Nuvvurikktuq, right on top of the big hill. There is also a grave at Kangiqqluk Inlet. It is the grave of Qaumak. My late aunt, who was my mother's older sister, had a husband buried at Tirittuq (BL02 2008).

There is a grave at Qikiqqtarjualik Lake, but the story is not scary. There is a white person's grave there. When he found uranium, he wanted to be buried there so he's got a grave there. There was a monument that fell to the ground and was pushed by the ice onto the shore. The writing on the monument was in English and Inuktitut, for all to see and follow. It was even made in cement, and engraved or something. Since the grave is just outside the cabin, when the door is suddenly opened (it's just fun for me), I think that dead white person does it (BL02 2008).

2.2.6 Musk Oxen

We had been seeing musk oxen for a long, long time, but we were afraid of white people because the musk oxen were protected that time. We used to be scared of non-Inuit, but now we are not. Today, we just copy people who are not afraid now, so we too are not. White people were scary years ago (BL02 2008).

2.2.7 Caribou Crossings

In spring we camped around Kangiqqluk to catch spring caribou that would go through the north side. The caribou go through the Anigguq area -- one time we saw a herd while we were flying over the area. Anigguq Lake is all crossings everywhere. Caribou would cross everywhere and they would stop for a while not knowing which way to cross (BL02 2008).

2.2.8 Food Sources

Our main food sources were caribou and fish. That is all there was. Bannock was a main treat. My grandparents were crazy for bannock. Even before I was born, people bought Bay food. They used to go up the Thelon River by boat, like the army and RCMP did with motors, where you wind a rope

around a cylinder to make them go, and were they ever loud. At Kavisililik Lake, the prospectors have really nice axe tools (BL02 2008).

2.2.9 Fishing

The places we camped or lived at were all fishing areas too, including Anigguq Lake. The whitefish there were very large. You can fish there using nets and catch whitefish and trout. While we were camping there, Suvaaraq and I tried to shoot over the island, where caribou were, to make them cross over to our side, but they never did. They just ran away. We shot for nothing (BL02 2008).

2.2.10 Wildlife

The wildlife at Qikiqqtarjualik and Anigguq Lakes are the same as anywhere else, but the fish at Qikiqqtarjualik will die out or float downriver to Qikiqqttaujaq. As they go down river, their meat will become so soft (BL02 2008).

2.2.11 Archaeology

The only archaeology site I know about is really close to here, just past Anaqtalik. It is a very old boat with an old rope. There is also a very old storage, still set up properly and standing upright and high. There are more old storages and an old sod house at the inlet at Kangiqqluk (Aberdeen Inlet). These sites are very old. The Inuit of long ago made these, and set them up. There are lots of inuksuk too (BL02 2008). The area between Kangiqqluk Inlet and Kiggavik has been used by our ancestors who travelled back and forth (BL02 2008).

2.2.12 Spiritual Sites

I don't know if there would be any special spiritual sites, but I know an area where you can die. Because the place is of our ancestors, I don't think it's going to change. [Someone] climbed the hill and died there, although that was in summer time. You don't get lost in summer time (BL02 2008).

It is said that a thick fog forms as you go on top of that hill, and you start to get really happy, and start playing while you are getting lost. [Someone] was there and started jumping up and down all by himself, and when he realized what was happening, he quickly turned around and started to run as fast as he could. If you go there, you can start playing, even though you are alone (BL02 2008).

There was an incident with a helicopter. It was going to land there, but as it was coming down a thick fog formed, so it lifted up again without landing. When it was high enough, the fog too lifted (BL02 2008).

There is another place, on the east side of Baker Lake, on Tunngaqtalik Island, where you start losing your things. When you sleep overnight there with a dog team, you lose your leader. During summer, when items large or small have drifted there, they are placed on land tidily. When a boat was washed away from land and drifted to that island, the owners found it on Tunngaqtalik Island, upside down and set up properly (BL02 2008).

There doesn't seem to be anything like that around Qikiqqtarjuaik or Anigguq; just a special place that can be used anyhow. The only danger I know of is that hill (BL02 2008).

2.2.13 Weather

I don't think that I know of any areas susceptible to fog or other weather events. Except in the winter time, this area always seems to have bad weather. It is always stormy, but you won't get lost, and there is nothing to be afraid of. That whole area of land you can use or travel on any way you wish, because I have travelled and used it, but nothing ever really happens to me. I use to travel all around this area, except I never used to camp for the night searching for caribou and fish (BL02 2008).

2.2.14 Project

Go ahead and build a bridge across the Thelon so that those who don't have a boat or other transportation can cross the bridge and hunt, especially when it is time to cache meat. People without transportation have to have an easy life too, and once they have crossed the bridge to hunt, they won't bother with the bridge (BL02 2008).

I would prefer it if the road is built through north side of Anaqtalik (Thelon), where the ice isn't really pushed on land. I really don't want any activities going around Hagliq area because if they build it through Hagliq, it will be hard for us to go fishing. That area is a fishing area, and is precious to me. There are going to be many people working there and it will be kind of scary if they don't want you crossing over time and time again, but I don't think we would mind if it goes through Thelon. I wish that the bridge and the road will go through the Thelon, not by Hagliq. The Thelon area is not very important to me. I would be very pleased if there would be a bridge, but I have mixed feelings on a road going through Hagliq (BL02 2008).

2.2.15 Move to Baker Lake

When the Inuit from north of us became hungry and were transferred to Baker Lake, we too were told to come, even though those of us on the south side were not hungry or starving. We moved to Baker Lake because the white people just started moving us to the settlement, even though we were not hungry out there on the land. The RCMP kind of forced us to move to the settlement. We used to try and obey, but now we don't. Our older children were also entering school (BL02 2008).

2.2.16 Memories

I was told that, just before I was born, the first time my grandparents saw an airplane, my grandfather excitedly said, "There's an airplane," and his companion said, "There's white people. How can a man without wings fly?" and then aimed his rifle at it and gave a shot. Suddenly, they started hearing the sound of the airplane and got really scared. Seeing the plane flying, it seemed that the end part was like a human. They said that white people have no heart, so they can fly. The plane was there because this happened at Ikkpigjuaq, Beverly Lake, where the police had their cabin. But the cabin is now in shreds because the grizzlies ruined it (BL02 2008).

Years ago, when there was demand for antlers of caribou, I was following caribou whose antlers were a good size. I caught two large ones, and then ran out of gas. I was going to walk to my sleds, but saw they were very far away. Then I saw a ski-doo coming, passing, and then stopping ahead of me. He probably thought that I wanted to get on. I ran to him. His headlight was on, which I could see clearly. I must have looked away for few minutes when I was just about to reach him, because when I looked back to see him, all I saw was a small rock, and small piece of wood on a small area of earth. The white person I was just about to reach had turned into a small rock and piece of wood. When I reached these, I thought to myself "What is going on?" I started walking again and realized my belongings were way behind me. When I tried to calm down and think properly, I started getting scared. My sleds and belongings were far from me, but I didn't realize I had past them when I started walking towards them. I had to go back again to my belongings, and then spent the night there. I was almost taken by a being (BL02 2008).

There was also one time when I was travelling to Qikiqtaalik, I met a woman out in the tundra, where there are no women at all. Using my ski-doo headlights, I remembered I shouldn't pass on the lee side of her, because if a person does that he stops breathing. So I started going by north side of her and almost turned back, and remembered that I didn't have anywhere to run for safety. Even if I went into an outcrop I would not be

safe. Without turning back, I drove to Qikiqqtalik as fast as I could, not even thinking about the fox traps anymore (BL02 2008).

I had never heard about that woman being because it was just plain tundra and there's not a woman out there, just out on the lake. She was standing on my trail, wearing caribou clothing, not designed with white fur, although it was sewn like women's clothing. I recognized it, because I was aiming the ski-doo lights on her. She must have been that woman who takes people in her amauti. I don't know who she is. When I reached the cabin, since I had caught a lot of foxes, I skinned them. When I was going to sleep, I kept the Coleman lantern on, but I almost didn't make it alive. My heart was starting to stop, and I could not breathe, so I started pounding my heart area and I even wet my bedding. I barely was going to live and I got scared. Just when the light of the lantern was going dim, I suddenly breathed, and the lights got bright again. When I woke up the next day, forgetting about the fox traps I headed home because I saw a woman where there was no woman around (BL02 2008).

Somewhere around here, beside Sigalausivik Lake, I saw a little flag standing in the snow. It was a red flag, and moving in the wind as I was closing in on it. I thought to myself, "That must be Pamiugaaq's ski-doo," but when I reached it, it just disappeared. I started walking around to look for it, but found nothing. Then I went back to my machine and started heading home again. Later on I found Pamiugaaq's ski-doo (BL02 2008).

There is also, around a small lake, there is an open hole in between the rocks with hot water coming out. Even in the winter time, it's open and warm water is coming out of among the rocks. The edge of the ice is not thin either, and you will not go through the ice. [A friend] was following behind me, so I was waiting for him to see it too because I didn't expect to see a hole where the water was boiling. When I touched the water, it was hot. It is probably still like that today because we left it like that. It is probably a volcano, the ice is thick everywhere, but there was a hole with hot water in it. I could see the rocks clearly at the bottom (BL02 2008).

2.3 ELDER INTERVIEW 03, BAKER LAKE, 2008 (BL03 2008)

2.3.1 Camping

We lived in the area around Kiggavik, Judge Sissons Lake, and the area between Baker Lake and Kiggavik, but some of the area where we lived is missing on this map. I don't know where Qairattuq Lake is, but that's where I was born. Quglungnili'naaq is where we use to live too. We used to live around all that area. We lived there during winter and summer because most of the time we were always on the move in search of caribou. I was

told that if this is Qikiqqtarjualik, I was born here, at Qairattuq (BL03 2008).

We would travel by foot all through here in the summer time. I don't know the names of these small lakes, like Sik Sik Lake, Pointer Lake, Rock Lake, etc. The only time we would camp with some other family is when they came to our camp. My father was good at everything, at times travelling through thin ice, but we were hardly with other people (BL03 2008).

When my parents were young, their parents probably lived in that area as well. If we saw old tent rings there, or if they had been [from?] our father's camp, we wouldn't know if that were true or not (BL03 2008).

2.3.2 Archaeology Sites

My father was angry with miners a long time ago. He wanted to cross a lake because prospectors with their plane landed there; the first time prospecting started here. My grandfather told my father to be stingy and greedy on land, and he can't even speak a word of English. When he asked to be taken across by boat, some of us were scared. We had outboard motors that you manually get the engines started. When my grandfather wanted to go and complain to those prospectors, my father reluctantly agreed, because my grandfather was his father-in-law. When we crossed to the other side, we found lettering nailed onto a rock. It is still there, and you can't break it or remove it. It is even hard to pound on it to remove it. This was around the middle lake past Pitz Lake. On the south side, there is the notice on the rock, so the place was named Qanaalugvik, meaning a place where someone argued. Up to today, I still don't know what the lettering might have been. All I know is that it meant no one could do anything around there (BL03 2008).

There are a lot of inuksuk everywhere, even rock pointers for fish. There are quite a lot of fish pointers at Quglungnilik Lake and at a lake called Iqalulik, where you can jig all around it and catch fish (BL03 2008).

2.3.3 Food Sources

Our main food sources were only fish and caribou. That was all we had. The one time my father caught a musk ox, the RCMP wanted to arrest him. A sanctuary was formed around that Thelon area for the musk oxen (BL03 2008).

2.3.4 Fishing

Where we lived, we also had fishing camps. Even small lakes have fish. They have fish that don't belong to the sea, like trout and whitefish. The only fish those lakes don't have is arctic char (BL03 2008).

There were fish at Anigguq Lake too, but during our Ranger trip there, I caught a trout there, and it was awful. It tasted bad. It looked different too. It would have come from Qikiqqtarjuaik Lake. This is because this river is flowing through there. They were already drilling there, and probably there could have been cleaners drained (BL03 2008).

2.3.5 Caribou Crossings

The caribou would be walking through this way and return towards the southeast, or the other way around. I wish the map would show more of Beverly Lake. The area of where they walked is not visible on this map. The herds don't take the same routes anymore. The wildlife and people are now different today so it's hard (BL03 2008).

2.3.6 Caching

The places my parents or ancestors lived were caching areas too (BL03 2008).

2.3.7 Water

I wasn't really aware of the colours and tastes of the lakes until after I caught fish that tasted different. That's when I noticed the water was different. The water was yellowish. It wasn't always like that but all I know is that the earth grows and shifts. As it moves, it's a living earth, and things change (BL03 2008).

2.3.8 Spiritual Sites

Spiritual sites scare me. Somewhere around the Thelon River there are spiritual sites that even white people know about these. People are afraid to go. You don't want to go there being an Inuk, you don't even want to see the place (BL03 2008).

2.3.9 Weather

I don't think there are areas susceptible to fog because it is mostly heath tundra all around, and there are not hills or outcrops around (BL03 2008).

2.3.10 Project

I would support the bridge across the Thelon as long as the people who want to go there would give me some money. I would be happy and grateful. Regarding the man I was living with for over 20 years, and married at his deathbed, he wanted me to have what he had found to get a share of that money. For that reason, he wanted to get married on his deathbed. He had worked around Kiggavik and worked hard to make a living. He told me that when he was gone, I could have the share of what belonged to him, and I agreed. There was to be a written agreement on that too, so there would be people who knew him as one of the employees, and that he had found a rock of some sort (BL03 2008).

They have tried searching for a long time by air, but couldn't find minerals. When prospecting is done, they search by air, for you can see what's on earth or under it by flying around. But they could not find what Paul found. We were told during our course that although we can find minerals by flying, it is a lot easier to find them by foot (BL03 2008).

Whenever there's a meeting regarding mining anywhere, I attend and speak my concerns, and most of the time my speech is cut short because of the time limit (BL03 2008).

2.3.11 Move to Baker Lake

We moved to Baker Lake because our children had to go to school in 1969. During that time we were living in an iglu and tried to send our children to school, even on blizzard days. Today, even when the weather isn't too bad, the schools are closed (BL03 2008).

When we were living in an iglu in 1969, I had to try so hard to send my children to school. At times the entrance of our porch would be almost closed due to snow getting in. It wasn't supposed to have been like that, and I feel the government has to know about this, that our children used to try and go to school. When I remember that, it hurts me and still touches me. I suggest now that the children go to school because the schools are really close and there's transportation. I wonder why the schools are not open when the weather isn't that bad. I start remembering what we had to go through, where we had to shovel our entrance, when the children were

trying to get out, when the snow was too soft, and our iglu was cold (BL03 2008).

2.3.12 Memories

I had two husbands, and both have passed away. My second husband had found something there. It was uranium that was seen clearly while flying by air. When the other exploration team tried searching for it, but couldn't find it, my second husband found it. I was asked if I wanted to send it south, because it was a piece of rock. I was also asked why I didn't send it out, so I could get money for it. But when I was in Winnipeg, I think I saw the exact same rock that I had. It was inside a glass (BL03 2008).

After my second husband found the rock at Kiggavik, he was sleeping and he got beaten up by two people because they were greedy and wished they found the rock instead. His face was so swollen that he could not open his eyes anymore. So he was sent home by helicopter. When he came, he tried to go to the health centre, but kept going in different direction, so I had to hold his arm and bring him to health centre myself (BL03 2008).

If the work at Kiggavik is going to go on, I would like to get a share of the money. I have been told by a number of people to go after a share of the money that my second husband would have gotten, for he had found the mineral first (BL03 2008).

I too, have some kind of experience in prospecting. The only thing I have a problem with prospecting is that I cannot speak and write English. I just learned a lot about prospecting, because we were taught about mining before. During the course we took, we had someone interpreting for us too. We were trained about how the earth looks when there's something in it. I have also heard that they're doing prospecting at those big lakes, where my fathers and others have camped before. In most of that area, my parents and others along with me have travelled and camped (BL03 2008).

2.4 ELDER INTERVIEW 04, BAKER LAKE, 2008 (BL04 2008)

2.4.1 Camping

We lived at the end of Beverly Lake, and then around Piqqi'tuaq; getting closer to Baker Lake and the Thelon River. We also used to camp around Qikiqtaalik in the fall and winter time. We trapped foxes around a lake called Halummaqsautitalik Lake (also the name of the area), and camped there in the fall. These were our main camps (BL04 2008).

My ancestors have lived in that area for a long time. My grandparents camped around Beverly Lake area and that was where I was born. I was born around Killiniq area, so there had been Inuit before my parents, who had been living around there (BL04 2008).

In winter we also camped at Murjungni'tuaq, Salummaqsautitalik, and Uqsuriagjuaq area, and at the end of Beverly Lake, where I was born. We also camped closer to town, around Kingilik's camp ground, near Uniq. We also camped before Qikiqqtalik, when we all started getting closer to Baker Lake (BL04 2008). During the winter, trapping was done around Kiggavik, and then around near a place called Qingaq (BL04 2008).

In the spring and summer we were mostly in the same places, sometimes we were near the Thelon River. We would mostly try to be where the caribou will be crossing. We would be camping mostly around crossings in the spring when they are shedding and we could have enough meat to dry, and in the fall when the skins are good for clothing. Caribou have to cross at times through Beverly and around Schultz Lakes because part of all that is a river (BL04 2008).

We camped almost all along the shore of Anigguq Lake, even at Nuvvuriktuq where there are graves; and around the islands called Qukittqutariakturiit. At the time, I was with Tatanniq's family (BL04 2008). The area of the three big lakes was where we use to camp along with other families. It is a beautiful place, with lots of caribou. We also camped at some places like Ulu'tuaq and Tiritquq when I was younger (BL04 2008).

We also started camping at Qikiqqtarjualik Lake, when I was close to having a baby and afterwards, and we spent most of our time there. The fish we caught there had nice reddish meat on them. We had our camps beyond and before Kiggavik camp. There is a grave of my baby son close to the area where the river starts flowing down. There would be many tent rings there. Some were on the shores of Qikiqqtarjualik Lake, and some more inland, close to the grave of my son (BL04 2008).

We lived and camped at Anigguq too. It was from there that we started coming closer to Baker Lake. When we lost our Elder, he had told us to stay and get close to Baker Lake, so we would camp around Anigguq for a number of years because there was fish there. We were mainly coming from Akiliniq, and had moved to Aberdeen, and then to Shultz Lake, moving closer to Baker Lake (BL04 2008).

2.4.2 Fishing

These places were also fishing places, mostly trout. When we went to Uqsuriagjuaq and there was school of fish there. Some fish were big and some were small, and they all seem to gather on top of each other. I sometimes long to go back there, but my family won't let me after my head bled. When I had a good running ski-doo I would go there, but not anymore (BL04 2008).

2.4.3 Caribou Crossings

Caribou would migrate at a place called Qikiqqtalik. In the spring time, through Qunnguq, the herd would start crossing without stopping. Just when I was to get married, and we were at Quunguq, there were dead caribou when they were trying to cross. Without fear, the herd would just start crossing. They came from northwest and they were around the shore of Qunnguq. When the caribou were shedding, the ice was breaking up (BL04 2008).

2.4.4 Food Sources

We mostly got our food around Murjungni'tuaq, mainly caribou and fish. We would use dog teams to go fishing and trapping. People moved so that we always had plenty of food. Shultz Lake, Qinngaruq and Piqqi'tuaq were places Inuit would camp. We would go to Baker Lake, but we always longed to go back up there. I don't know why (BL04 2008).

2.4.5 Caching

We would cache meat in [Murjungni'tuaq, Shultz Lake, Qinngaruq, and Piqqi'tuaq] and, because we lived in iglu, we would go and get our cache (BL04 2008).

2.4.6 Graves

I also knew of the graves of Arnasungaaq and Arnatqiq's children, somewhere at Qikiqqtarjuaq Lake, but I'm not sure exactly where (BL04 2008).

2.4.7 Birds

I don't know of places for geese and other birds to nest, but I remember that gulls would nest on any island. We almost drowned trying to get to and from

an island at Anigguq Lake, but we landed on an island. We got scared when the canoe ripped open (BL04 2008).

2.4.8 Water

The water was really good [Anugguq Lake]. The water still seems OK to me. We made tea from that water, after leaving my son's grave. It was OK drinking it (BL04 2008).

2.4.9 Wildlife

Between Kiggavik and Baker Lake there were caribou, wolves, foxes, and arctic hare (BL04 2008).

2.4.10 Archaeology

There use to be a lot of tent rings at around Qamanaarjuk. I only know of old sod houses and tent rings, but I cannot read maps. Fish pointers were along lakes, but I have never seen very old ones (BL04 2008). There could be some archaeological sites near Halummaqsautitalik (BL04 2008).

2.4.11 Spiritual Sites

I have only heard of areas where people get lost, not spiritual sites. Not too far from here, there's a place a man was found in a 45 gallon barrel; a place called Tammarvik (BL04 2008).

2.4.12 Weather

I don't know about areas with special weather events. There's winter when it arrives, and summer when it comes, but it's not too long now that the weather seems to have changed. We had good weather before, but now it is different (BL04 2008).

2.4.13 Project

I'm not sure about a bridge across the Thelon because we mostly go up river by boat, and what happens if we are not allowed to go up river anymore by boat (BL04 2008)?

Baker Lake will appreciate it if a bridge is built, because we travel up river every summer. It will be up to the people of Baker Lake. As for me, I won't

want it, because we go up the river by boat, and what happens if we are not allowed to go up river anymore by boat (BL04 2008)?

2.4.14 Move to Baker Lake

I was the reason my family moved to Baker Lake. I was pregnant and the children were asked to go to school. The twin engine plane arrived to get the children and myself. We were told to be in town, for I was going to deliver soon, although I could have delivered out of town. I was sent down to Churchill Manitoba to have my baby (BL04 2008).

2.5 ELDER INTERVIEW 05, BAKER LAKE, 2008 (BL05 2008)

2.5.1 Place Names

As a child I lived around the Kiggavik area, but when I grew up, I never really lived there. This lake is Qikiqtarjuaik Lake (Judge Sissons Lake), and I lived north of there. I don't know the names of the smaller lakes. Schultz Lake is around there, and this one is a long inlet (BL05 2008).

When we started travelling south, I remember vaguely being told that I was born around a place called Uumannaq. It was called that because this island is shaped like a heart. Years ago Inuit lived around that area for a long time (BL05 2008).

I don't really remember anything much about camping around Anigguq Lake, or around Qugglungnili'naaq and that river flowing into Anigguq Lake. At that time I was too small. This small lake is called "Muriittuq", since the lake is mostly heath tundra with no hill and no lichen. I really start remembering things around "Kaniqluarjuk" area. I remember travelling by boat or canoe (it was pointed at both ends) towards the north. These lakes called Skinny Lake and Kavisilik Lake I don't know. I only can recall camping north of that place (BL05 2008).

2.5.2 Camping

Years ago I guess my parents camped anywhere like Tahilugjuaq Lake (Pitz Lake going towards Baker Lake). Even before I was born they had been camping around Tahilugjuaq Lake (BL05 2008).

I was born in 1934, when Inuit hardly ever gathered together in one place. They would spread around, camping in different places. The one I remember was around Anigguq Lake. There were other families there who came from

around the Kazan River area. I was born at Uumannaq at Anigguq Lake. I also remember camping at Qikiqqtarjualik Lake (Judge Sissons Lake) on the southeast side of the lake (BL05 2008).

Sometimes we camped south of Schultz Lake at the mouth of the inlet, because it's a caribou crossing there. There are a lot of trout and whitefish there too in the spring, up to the month of August. When the water level got low, rivers started to flow on both sides through the mouth of Kangiluarjuk (BL05 2008).

We use to camp around Ariaq (mouth of Thelon River), because this was also a crossing. It is where we would cache meat for the winter. We did the same at Qinniguraujaq and Kangiluarjuk. We would cache meat anywhere around the mouth of Kangiluarjuk, sometimes in the month of August, when the meat won't be ruined by larvae. If we wanted seasoned cache, we would cache meat here. We would just catch caribou and dry meat. Kangiluarjuk and this other area were the places we went to when we wanted to dry meat with fat on it, when the caribou were shedding and walking to the northwest from the southeast. When we were camping near Thelon River and didn't catch any caribou, we would travel to Atgaktalik, Iglurjualik, Aggiria'tuaq or Qunnguq. We would travel back and forth around Shultz Lake, and towards Aberdeen Lake (BL05 2008).

2.5.3 Food Sources

There were no food sources besides fish and caribou. Even geese and other birds were rare. There was also ptarmigan (BL05 2008).

2.5.4 Wildlife

There are different kinds of species in the Thelon area, like caribou, arctic hare, wolves, foxes (BL05 2008).

2.5.5 Fishing

There were fish in Qikiqqtarjualik Lake (Judge Sissons Lake) like trout and different kinds of whitefish because a river is flowing from Shultz Lake. You can catch trout anywhere you fish. You can catch whitefish with nets also (BL05 2008).

There are also different kinds of fish in the Thelon area. Wherever the shore of a lake doesn't freeze, there are usually fish. But at most places, fish have times of their arrival, like June, August, November, and January. Sometimes

there would be no fish at all. But with nets, there would be fish in bigger lakes (BL05 2008).

2.5.6 Nesting Birds

Because the Kiggavik area is mostly tundra, I don't know if it would be a place for nesting because birds mostly have their nests along a river or where there is an island (BL05 2008).

2.5.7 Caribou Crossings

Anigguq is a crossing for migrating caribou going south or southeast from the northwest in the summer time. The meaning for Anigguq is that all of the lake is a crossing for the migrating caribou because anywhere through that lake the migrating herd would be crossing, and they won't go around it. I knew of two caribou crossing including this lake (Anigguq Lake) and around the mouth of Kazan River, especially when they start migrating southeast. It was like that years ago, but it's different now today. It seems today the herd starts arriving from southeast towards the northwest (BL05 2008).

Caribou go through Qikiqqtarjuaik Lake too when they start walking towards southeast, and also through Qamanaarjuk Lake (Schultz Lake). There is even a crossing through this long inlet from the south going northwest, when the caribou skins are very thin, and when they start shedding sometime in the month of July (BL05 2008).

The area called Atgaktalik is a crossing for migrating caribou. In the spring the herd would start walking towards the south from the northwest, and turn eastward towards Baker Lake. Long ago, there used to be a lot going southeast from northwest, even towards Baker Lake. Later they would migrate back. Today, it is different because there's herd in the winter rather than spring. There used to be a lot of caribou in the spring across from town around Aprujaq. The herd would start from Igluujat, Aprujat, Kinnga'naaq, and the mouth of Kazan River (BL05 2008).

2.5.8 Graves

The area where we use to camp had a lot of graves. Around the mouth of this river, on a point, is my father's grave. The grave where he was to be placed was already empty. He had said that when he breathed his last, he didn't want to be on the earth, so he asked us to leave the place where he died right away. It was spring when he passed away, so my mother told us to pack and leave right away, and we travelled further north. The rocks of that

grave are there, but his bones are not there. Close by that grave at Aulatsivviarjuk is my late brother's grave. And on this point is a grave of my late sister. She passed away in 1948. And here is my nephew's grave. Then, on this island, on the south side of Atgaktalik, where the land is kind of high, is the grave of Apaapak, so they named the island Apaapak. Then, around the high ground, is my late brother's grave, and close by is his late wife. And here at Turaariaq is the grave of Millallaaq. My other late brother's grave is not shown here. Beside him is a white man's grave. He was one of the people who paddled down the Thelon from Yellowknife but drowned (BL05 2008).

I have forgotten about archaeological sites around south of Atgaktalik. The bones are recognizable because there are three graves there. There are inuksuks there, and in between them are the three graves. Nobody knows who they are. That site is very old (BL05 2008).

2.5.9 Archaeological Sites

I'm going to start from the north, beyond this island called Amaruqturvik and its high ground. Not too long ago, Atausituaq spent a winter at Beverly Lake. He started going down river in the summer time in a boat. He stopped at this point to overnight and slept outside. Because it was spring, he had brought five dogs with him. Further from the shore, where the ground was dry, he fell asleep. As he was sleeping, these beings known as ka'tat (wolves, but not wolves) had come upon him. He was known as Atausituaq. Qalunaaq and I have heard of his other name, but I forgot it. That time, the Inuit who didn't have jobs use to trap foxes. While he was sleeping, these beings came upon him. He heard some noises and noticed that he seemed to be in a crowded place. His dogs had come to him to get away from these beings. He saw a multitude of wolves really close by. He had his rifle right beside him. He got up and fired towards the wolf beings. The one he shot got eaten right away, just like that. Every time he shot one, they would gather and eat it right away. There were too many to count, so he stopped shooting at them, knowing he was just making them stay there longer. I have heard that these ka'tat can't see far. They only use their sense of smell. That is one of the reasons why they called that place Amaruqturvik (a place where a wolf ate a wolf). This Qablunaaq, who was a trapper of foxes, named it that. His real name is Atausituaq, and he was Barnabas Arna'naaq's father. The reason he was called Qablunaaq was because when he was young, he looked like a white person (BL05 2008).

Around Aggiria'tuaq there are some storage areas for dry meat, and some for other things like skins. There are also some old shelters at Aggiria'tuaq, further inland. Some sites from long time ago, because of the shifting of the earth, cannot really be identified. Some may have gotten smaller from sinking into the earth, some seem bigger, and some don't seem to have

hollow areas such as graves. I remember seeing one along our river, on the south side of Kinngaarjuk, close to the shore on a hill. There's quite a bit of thick earth there, so when you are on the shore the site is visible. It is a storage site, and you can easily recognize it. It doesn't have an entrance, but it's an old storage. When Inuit would leave dry items such as caribou skins and winter caribou clothing, they would put them in a rock formed storage. There's another storage site past Anaqtalik on the south side of Kinngaarjuk. It's clearly visible passing by while you are in the boat. The old archaeological sites that belong to our ancestors were usually made or formed inland from the lakes and rivers. Maybe years ago the water level was high, or the land was too wet, so they built these on a hill (BL05 2008).

I don't know of any archaeological sites between Kiggavik and Baker Lake. Perhaps there are some, or maybe I just haven't seen them, since there were people who camped around that area (BL05 2008).

There was something I had forgotten to mention about pointers towards lakes. During the winter around a lake with fish, you can see a rock placed upright just beyond the rocks that are gathered together along the shore. This rock would be somewhat thin on the edge. The thin part would be facing towards the lake. Some of them would be placed on top of a boulder rock, and the pointed part would be facing the lake, and that's where you should try and jig to catch fish. If the pointer doesn't have a small rock placed under it, it would be pointing close to the shore. Sometimes in some seasons, there would be no fish at all, and in some seasons, it would be easy to catch fish. We use to catch a lot of fish at Iglurjualik, in the fall in an area where herd of caribou go into the water. There's a pointer around where Iqqaalaaq's grave is, on top of a boulder rock. There are other pointers I know of around the river and around Anigguq on the shore of the point. These pointers for fish have a lot of uses in the winter, but are less used in the summer. Tahiluggjuaq and Timangiqtuarvik are also lakes where you can fish, and you can catch fish anytime. There are also fox traps made of rocks there (BL05 2008).

2.5.10 Weather

In 1954, the weather was so hot that the caribou were dying from the heat. While we were camping at Iglurjualik, all along the shore were dead caribou, trying to cool themselves in the water, where they drowned. We could smell the odour of dead caribou. The dead caribou even floated down to Baker Lake. The policeman at that time said, "I think Aliqtiksaq is killing too many caribou. I want to go up river to see his camp". But Ujummngat told him that the caribou were dying everywhere. Because it never was hot like this before, it was said, even the birds were dying. At times where we were, it usually got very hot in the summer time. It got hotter than this town. We had to cover our canvas tents with caribou skins, so that our tent didn't

burn from the intense heat. It was so hot that we could not even touch the tent. There were a lot of dead caribou. We would see standing caribou on ice flows drifting by our tent, because we would have our tent entrance wide open. Sometimes they would crouch down on ice flows passing by. When the ice was breaking, the caribou would climb on ice flows to keep cool. Since after that, a lot of herd has not since been seen, and most of all just around the main land, more caribou had died. The people from Garry Lake started going through starvation and some Inuit died of starvation. That was in 1954, when the heat was so intense. After that, we never saw a lot of caribou, especially around Baker Lake. We had to travel all the way to Quich River and Beverly Lake to catch caribou (BL05 2008).

The lakes past Pitz Lake, Saqqi'naaq's Lakes and the three lakes never really have good weather in the winter, from the fall up to December. In the months of January, February and March, they always have bad weather, and in the summer they get strong winds. That's the only place I've heard about, and I know since we use to travel from there. It always seems to have bad weather because the whole area is higher than other land. Where we use to camp around Shultz Lake and past there, we would get at least five days of blizzards. If the blizzard starts one day, it will not weaken for five days. It was like that years ago, but since the climate changed it's hard to tell now (BL05 2008).

When we lived out in the tundra long ago, it was kind of dangerous not to be prepared for a blizzard. When a blizzard arrives and we were without food supplies we started to get hungry, because you cannot go out until it subsides. So we would go get cached food, or have meat gathered before the blizzard arrived. It was even hard to fetch water although a water hole could be close by. In the years 1945 and 1936 [?] we were told by Canon Rev. James that for three years, we were going to have very cold weather and lots of blizzards (BL05 2008).

2.5.11 Project

The HTO committee would know about the bridge across the Thelon, because they are taking care of the land. All I can say, is that if things are going to be okay with the bridge, which would be fine. But it could be dangerous along the river, due to earthquakes. That would be the only problem, because we never know when there might be an earthquake. It would be better if the HTO are asked too (BL05 2008).

When the first uranium exploration was to start, the only thing we understood was that uranium was something dangerous. But today, there are people who help us understand about uranium and we understand clearly now. There had been a uranium mine down in Saskatchewan for many

years, so uranium mining probably won't have much effect on wildlife. Since 1935 is a long time for Saskatchewan to have a uranium mine. If it's going to be done properly, I won't mind it., because we hear about what goes on in our environment now, like about smoke from factories and where that smoke may have more effects than what goes on in the ground. But once the uranium is mined, if nothing goes wrong, I guess it's not going to affect our environment. That's my thought now, and yet I don't know. As for the exploration, they have new equipments now. They can identify what is invisible, so I tend to believe them, and think that it won't be much danger. Now, we also know about the changes of the environment (BL05 2008).

2.5.12 Move to Baker Lake

I moved to Baker Lake because I had lost my older brother. I was the only man in the family who would hunt, and I was too young to do all the hunting and couldn't hunt very well yet. Another reason was that a lot of caribou died during that time. While camping at Iglurjualik, although we barely could survive there, I had lost my father and older brother. The only way we could survive was to move to Baker Lake. We were near starvation, and Pirjuaq came and brought all of us to Baker Lake, including the family of Kigjugalik, Qallrulaaq, Natsialuk, Iqqaalaaq, Hannah and myself. We were just in town to get supplies, but we never returned to Iglurjualik. That was in 1958. Since then, we never left Baker Lake. We tried to live on child tax, and I myself had 5 dogs and could hunt, but today I cannot do that anymore. In later years, our adopted son was a baby, so we would go hunting to Quich River, or to Pitz Lake, and for at least for a year I was trapping fox. That was a lot of work! (BL05 2008),

2.5.13 Memories

There is an inuksuk that was placed on the shore of Atgaktalik, just near a small stream and an inlet. That inuksuk is called Tikirataq. Long ago, people from Arviat would travel up there. While spending a spring there, Aulatjut was walking around trying to search for caribou. He brought a being back to camp as he was in a trance or under the influence of a shaman or something. It became Aulatjut's shaman helper after it was named Tikirataq. I think it was also a ghost or an evil being that Aulatjut brought. It was a human. It had a head like a wolf, and on its hands, the nails were very long. As it was very strong, and feared, more than one shaman tried to fight it, but they could not beat it, they could not get close enough to reach it. It didn't want to leave the tents, wanting to take Aulatjut. When Aulatjut brought that being into camp, even Inuit who were not shamans would see it (an Inuk who is not a shaman cannot see these beings or ghosts). Since the shamans could not beat it, they started trying to deceive or tempt Tikirataq saying, "Aulatjut will have you for his helper, and enter him only if you won't take

him.” As the shamans were trying to say that, it became less aggressive, and wanting to be a helper and become big, it finally gave in. So it became Aulatjut’s shaman helper and he made an inuksuk for it at Atgaktalik. That inuksuk is going to be there for a long, long time. While there, if you make fun of it and don’t believe in it, it can become scary, but if you respect it, and don’t make fun of it, or just ignore it, it won’t be dangerous. Even for us who used to be there, I never knew about it. The shamans were trying to deceive it, by telling it that only if they tied something around its mouth, could it enter Aulatjut. It didn’t want anyone to tie anything around its mouth, but, because it wanted to become a helper it agreed, one of the shamans tied something around its mouth. When Aulatjut returned to his home in Arviat, Tikirataq’s mouth had loosed and the thing around its mouth had been removed. So when Aulatjut was doing his shamanistic rituals, his helper killed him. He probably didn’t follow what he was supposed to do when Tikirataq became his helper. He was just going in and out of his house under the influence of a shaman, and he just fell dead. That’s how I have heard about it, if that is the truth. (BL05 2008),

When a story is told about shamans, the people telling stories were always to tell it exactly as it happens, and not to add anything or leave anything out. I heard the above story from my father. In that place you have to be careful. Part of spiritual significance is that these things were told to us because people wanted us to live a good life. That inuksuk may just be a pile of rocks, but you can’t destroy or damage it. (BL05 2008).

There’s another one, around this area, a spot called Qaqquijuq. There are a lot of high hills all the way down to the shore, and just before those hills is another hill, a kind of a high hill by itself, not connected to the other high hills. The front of it is hollow, and on the lee side is a shelter. I myself have seen it. It is kind of a high hill, more like the houses we see as two story ones. On one side it was steep. One time, I was on top of that hill, looking through binoculars in search for caribou. We had our tent pitched not too far away. I saw a caribou coming towards me. As it came near I could see the antlers, but when it went behind close to the steep area, it disappeared. I knew it was going to appear in front of me, so I waited for it. When it didn’t appear, I walked. Since I didn’t see the caribou I was trying to catch, I started thinking, I have heard that these beings appear to be caribou, I guess that caribou was a being. As I was walking along the side of the steep wall of rock, trying to see what was there, I could see through a crack in the wall of rock. I started thinking, I guess this is the being (ijirag, human that turn into caribou) house. My rifle was loaded and I had it in front of me ready to shoot, because I was feeling scared. I started looking around, and looked to the ground and noticed the ground was sandy and there were some small pebbles on it. On the gravel were footprints of a caribou going in through the wall of rock. As I was feeling scared, and I thought of firing through the wall of rock, but I knew the bullet was going to go back to me, so I didn’t

fire. I slowly started to back away, and as soon as I was far enough I ran home as fast as I could. That time I was in my late teens (BL05 2008).

My older brother and I saw the same thing twice before. The first time was during the summer. There was a herd of caribou around, and the caribou were starting to get new fur. We saw it coming towards, so my brother and I started rushing ahead of it so it wouldn't pass us. At times we would be running. As we were trying to rush ahead, right ahead of us stood a caribou. Its antlers were straight and wide, with hair. The other caribou antler skins had fallen off. It suddenly stood up, made noises just like caribou, started running towards us and then kept on running around us in circles, counter clockwise. I had a 250 rifle and my brother had 25:35 lever action rifle. We were both tried very quickly to remove and load our rifles. As I was trying to load my rifle, the bullet got stuck in the hole and bent as I was trying to push the bolt forward, so I could not do anything. My brother did just the same thing. He too was rushing and quickly tried to load his rifle, since it was a lever action. The same thing happened (as he was loading it). His bullet got stuck in the hole. He could not pull it out, so we both just end up going home. As this caribou was running around us in circles counter clockwise, not clockwise, it was going further and further away from us. When it got far from us and saw the herd, it turned and ran towards the herd. When the herd saw this caribou running towards them, it fled like it had never ran before. My brother and I just went home to fix our rifles, because we had to use tools to get the bullets out. ((BL05 2008).

Perhaps a week later my older brother and I saw the being again. We were in the same place, on high ground, as it was a route for migrating caribou and a crossing. We were both hunting for caribou, since it was summer time. The caribou were migrating towards the southeast. Qaqquijuk wasn't very far from us. It was as far as the blueberry hill or even closer. We saw this black caribou, even its feet were all black, running towards us from Qaqquijuq, where I saw a house. We both thought it was different from all the other caribou. We both said, "I guess that is the caribou we saw the other day." Since it was summer, we were skinning our catch. We waited and kept looking at the caribou that was running towards us. As it neared us, it was going around us. As the caribou was running around us, we could feel the wind on our faces. The speed of the caribou was so fast. Since my brother and I were around the lichen rock area, we were throwing rocks at it, but the rocks couldn't touch it. When we threw rocks at it, it looked as if the rocks were going to land on the caribou, and then they just bounced upwards. My brother used to get scared easily. He had his knife in his mouth, biting on it. He had big rocks in both hands, and was standing on a small rock yelling like crazy. I was close by him throwing rocks. When I heard him yelling, I turned and saw his little moustache and upper lip, and teeth, all white. So I started laughing at him. Then I threw a rock just anywhere, not even trying to hit the caribou, but I somehow hit it. I heard the rock land on its chest. When the rock landed, there was a loud sound. The animal almost fell from

the hit. So it started back to that place called Qaqquijuq. When it was walking back, it was walking very slowly. When it got to the heath tundra area (we could see it clearly) it stopped and looked as if it was leaning forward, like a human when they crouch down. So it just disappeared to that Qaqquijuk house. There had been people who used to see a caribou entering that wall at this house or shelter at Qaqquijuk, so they named it Qaqquijuk, (meaning rock or crack opening and closing). They thought that when the caribou was going through, the rocks crushed it and didn't appear again. At Kangiluarjuk, there is a house that we call "Ijiraq house" (caribou which turns into a human). My father use to tell us to be very careful about that area. It is a place you cannot destroy. The place is a hill and part of it is slanted towards the lake. These Kangiluarjuk hills, the south side ones, are connected to this hill where this Ijiraq house is. I myself have never seen it, but especially the children were not allowed to get close to it. The late Arna'naaq encountered one right there, while we had our tent pitched just across from it (BL05 2008).

During the summer time, we went to town of Baker Lake to get supplies. Sometime in August, as we were heading back up river, we had Arna'naaq with us in our boat. He had his camp northwest of Schultz Lake. When we got to our camp, he started walking towards his camp. As he didn't know about the ijiraq house, he came across it. Someone started throwing rocks to him and then just right behind him, someone was laughing. He thought it was us, so he wasn't afraid. Many times, he had encountered those beings there. And when you go right on top of that hill a little further north, it gets really foggy. A thick fog would appear so that you couldn't see your feet (BL05 2008).

The other spiritual site that would have been close by is not visible in this map, in a place called Qakkiaq. There's an unseen evil being (ghost). Our ancestors knew about that place, and I think it took two lives, including my late older brother's daughter and the late Arna'naaq's wife's oldest daughter. They had camped in that place and it was spring, when it doesn't get dark anymore. During the night, the little baby was found dead. Two of my brothers and their families also camped for the night in the same spot, and one of their sons, a boy of about four or five years old, died. They never wanted to believe the traditions of our Elders, saying that we don't need to bother with these traditions, such as shamanistic rituals. But my father use to say that the shamans were real, just like God is real. Shamanistic rituals are to be feared, although we don't use them anymore. If we don't believe, things can appear, and we can experience something unusual. That place is haunted. When you camp there and you don't know what's there, nothing is going to happen to you even if you spend the night there. But if you know about it and want to spend the night there, you must say something like this as you stand outside, "I cannot move further from this spot, so I'm going to rest here for the night, but I will leave again." When you say this, nothing will happen (BL05 2008).

It was in the spring that my brothers camped there on their way to Atgaktalik. During the day there had been some caribou bulls around the area. My brothers left to get caribou so that they could return to their families after killing caribou (there were two dog teams). While the men were out caribou hunting, the wife and children were at the camp. Since it was spring, the tents entrance was wide open. There in front of the tent was Ajapia'juk playing with rocks, piling them up to make inuksuk, and at times throwing rocks to hit rocks to make them fall. As the ladies were sewing the soles of the kamiks, they heard loud crying of a child. Knowing her son was close by, one looked up to find her son gone. When she went out to look for him, he was so far from the tent that you could barely see him, standing there crying. He had a lot of mud and lichen all over him. After that incident, he cried for three whole days nonstop, not aware of anything anymore. The rest of us had been left behind with my father's family, but we started travelling straight to Arviqtaalik passing by my brothers' families since the ice was starting to melt. One brother came to tell us that my nephew Ajapia'juk was not aware of anything anymore and was crying day and night without stopping, because he saw a big face. When we heard that, we camped at Arviqtaalik, and I noticed Ajapia'juk crying all the time, not in his own right mind. He was my favourite nephew. I would say something to him to make him special. When he saw me, he started staring at me and probably was starting to recognize me, but instead, as he turned away, he started crying again. And during the night, he passed away, so sad. So that place is haunted, and knowing what could happen there, and not believing what might happen, you shouldn't go there to spend the night. But if you know what could happen, and believe what is there, and you can't leave it due to weather, you can just say right then and there, "I can't travel anymore from here, so I'm going to spend the night here to rest, but I will leave right away the next day." Then, nothing will happen to you. Or, if you are there not knowing anything, nothing will happen (BL05 2008).

Another of the land areas where you have to be careful is this place called Apsalik. Long ago, people encountered unseen things, because under the ground, there's a fire burning under an outcrop there, reaching the shore, there's a fire burning. When hunters would stop there for the night, they would start hearing things and the ground where they were standing or sleeping would be warm. Long ago, it was said that there would be ghost sliding on that outcrop down to the shore (BL05 2008).

It is okay to be there, but you can start hearing things from under the ground. So when you build an iglu right over the spot or really close to it, you can spend the night and sleep, but it's hard to go to sleep because the sound becomes annoying and the iglu is warm. You know how chains sound, that's how the sound is from that place (BL05 2008).

My oldest brother could not walk very well because one of his legs had no meat on it. All of his calf and foot, all the way up to his ligaments, had no flesh. He was like that from birth because someone had made a mistake. An old woman, someone's grandmother, wanted to make him to be a very fast runner, but one of the Inuit in the camp didn't hear this. The old woman said, "Today no one is to break bones with a metal object when they eating bone marrow." If anyone was going to eat bone marrow, they could only break the bones with a rock. Since there were quite a lot of people in the camp, one had not heard about not breaking bones with a metal object. He used an axe to break a bone and ate bone marrow, and that was why my older brother's one leg had no flesh, just bone. So, he was always limping and could not carry a load on his back. She wanted my brother to be a fast runner, but he couldn't (BL05 2008).

I have another spiritual story to tell. Around the high ground and at Atgaktalik/ Iglurjualik area were places where you could easily see a multitude of wolves (not real wolves). They were just larvae, which came out of under the ground and turned into wolves. The places Iglurjualik, Atgaktalik, and Aggiria'tuaq were where you could easily see these beings called Ka'tat. One time at Atgaktalik, around the place called Tingaujaqtuuq, Pirjuaq, and Paunngat had gone to get supplies and were coming back. There at Tingaujaqtuuq, there's a hill and a lake that was not too big. The weather was not clear. Pirjuaq and his companion both had dog teams, and had split up, although they would meet again. They both had gone around this hill Pirjuaq going one direction and Paunngat in the opposite direction. As Pirjuaq had gone on the lee side of the hill, he came upon a multitude of wolves eating one of their own kind. The visibility was poor, but on the lake, he saw those wolves (ka'tat) eating. When he saw them, they had started to leave the carcass. Then, Pirjuaq saw something dark on the lake and went to check what it was. There on the lake was a huge head of a wolf, which had been eaten by other wolves. Pirjuaq was in some kind of a rush, but when he started again, his dogs ran back, afraid to move forward because they saw just ahead of them this multitude of wolves, and with no space between them. At times they are clearly visible and at times they become almost invisible (BL05 2008).

Quinangnaq would have told a story about these too, but he's not living anymore. He had said that when he came upon these wolves, he tried shooting them, but could not kill them, even though they were really close (BL05 2008).

2.6 ELDER INTERVIEW 06, BAKER LAKE, 2008 (BL06 2008)

2.6.1 Camping

I have never lived around Kiggavik or between Kiggavik and Baker Lake. We lived around Quunngurjuaq for many years when I was a child, and then we moved to Ferguson Lake, since there was exploration going on there in 1950. Then we moved to Baker Lake in 1966. Ferguson Lake was my ancestors' main land too. They also camped around Kangirlugjuaq. My late father also lived around Ferguson Lake area, sometime close to 1944. My wife's parents were wintering at Qikiqqtarjuaq Lake/Anigguq Lake while I was at Ferguson Lake, so when I was going to take a wife from them, I went there by dog team (BL06 2008).

2.6.2 Food Sources

Fish was the main food we had. There was hardly any caribou when we got to Baker Lake. We always used to crave for caribou meat (BL06 2008).

2.6.3 Caribou Crossings

The caribou would walk through Anigguq Lake while my wife's father had his tent pitched around here in the spring. In later summer, they would go through the other side. Through these islands, they would cross, but although they were like that then, there is a big difference now. We notice that the herds don't use their main routes anymore. I don't know what changed. I cannot really talk about the route of migrating caribou after their main route had changed (BL06 2008).

2.6.4 Spiritual Sites

The only area I have heard about is at Qangiqluarjuk. There's a hill you cannot go to or go through, because something starts happening. If the mining is going to start here they should be aware, because I have heard Arna'naaq talking about an incident that happened to him in that area about himself. I also have heard Killulark talk about it, and because there's a grave of Killulark's father there too (BL06 2008).

2.6.5 Graves

There's a grave on a hill beside Tunuhuk. The grave is a very old one. I have seen it, but I don't know whose grave it might be (BL06 2008). At the

end of Anigguq Lake, on the lower front of Nuvvuriktuq, there are at least three graves (BL06 2008).

I never really heard of spiritual sites around Qikiqqtarjualik or Anigguq Lakes, or between those and Baker Lake, but I heard there's a grave at Qikiqqtarjualik Lake of a white man. There was a white man, who passed away around Qikiqqtarjualik area. He wanted to be buried there, so his grave is there. He wasn't sent down south. That's how I heard it (BL06 2008).

2.6.6 Project

The only concern I have about the bridge is that if it is going to be built, the ice floating down the river will be pushed way up on land. If the bridge is secured and built properly, it will be okay that I know of. But during the spring time when the ice breaks up and drifts down river, the ice flows are pushed way inland, far from the shore at times (BL06 2008).

To me, using a ferry would be better than a bridge, but I can picture how it would be. It and would be a big one, but still when the ice is very strong too. I am concerned about this too. So I would prefer a bridge to cross the Thelon, because they will just cross over and then go to Kiggavik (BL06 2008).

I don't like the idea about a dock being built at Hagliq, because the other side of Baker Lake has a lot of shallow areas. When the ships are loaded with heavy things, there's a possibility that there could be an accident. I would prefer a dock at Nunariaq, but then you will have to search for a deep area of water because there are also shallow areas there too (BL06 2008).

There are people who go to Hagliq to fish, so it would be good to have the dock at Nunariaq Island. After making a dock, they will want to build a road. There would be fewer disadvantages to build the road here. But through Hagliq, the road would block people from going fishing and stop people going to Qikiqqtarjualik to pick goose eggs. Although personally I never went there to pick goose eggs, I know that around Mihaluk there could be a lot of goose eggs because that's the nesting ground for geese. The caribou also usually walk through this area in the spring (BL06 2008).

I have negative feelings about a road across the Thelon River, but I still prefer that to Hagliq. I prefer a bridge across the Thelon River. It would be good for the hunters, but I don't think they will be happy about a bridge, especially for those who like to go hunting during the summer time. Instead of a road going through Hagliq Island, it could go near it. I think that would

be possible. I think a winter road to Kiggavik seems okay and alright (BL06 2008).

I believe that things around us are changing, and know myself that every year things are changing. We heard a meeting yesterday. My wife said that the wildlife are not afraid anymore. We also know that mining will not affect wildlife. It would be okay by me if the mine happens, because we have to think of our young people and our next generation. Because, like us, when we lived out on the tundra, they will not survive and will only eat store bought food. Unlike us who used to live out on the tundra eating nothing but caribou or fish, they will be different. For us parents, when we should have been teaching our children the traditional ways, we never moved away from Baker Lake, and didn't teach our children anything. This is why they don't know anything. That much is understandable. Our youth will have to live like white people now, which makes me support mining. It is also very hard trying to live out on the land, where there are no other people around. That's how I was raised. Then, when I got married, we both lived alone with our daughter during the whole summer and winter. I realize now that my adopted parent was teaching me how to survive on my own, and how hard it was to live out on the tundra. I had thought that he was neglecting us, trying to leave us alone, isolated from everyone. Because we were not with other families, these things I had to learn (BL06 2008).

Another thing is that now there are more people speaking English. I don't want the Inuktitut language to be lost. I have heard that, during the building of the road the Inuit were not allowed to speak their own language, and they preferred English speaking drivers. The reason is that if a truck is broken, they needed a driver they can understand. I don't know if that was the rule at Meadowbank, but I didn't like the sound of it. We want to use Inuktitut because it's our language. I don't believe English was ruled by the MLAs or the Government, because this is our land (BL06 2008).

2.6.7 Move to Baker Lake

My reason for moving to Baker Lake was that while we were living in Ferguson Lake, the RCMP came to fetch my grandmother to move to Baker Lake. Then, we too would come and get supplies. During the spring, while we were in town, my grandmother told me, "Don't go back to the land, you're just going to make your children suffer." At the same time, my adoptive father was going back to Ferguson Lake. I didn't know what to do because I wanted to go with my adoptive father and help him, and at the same time my grandmother told me not to go back to Ferguson Lake, which I was supposed to obey. "Which one do I listen to?" I asked myself. Again, my grandmother told me not to go back, so that's when I started staying in Baker Lake. So when spring came, as I was getting ready to go fishing, Nipiha'naaq came and said, "Your grandmother wants to see you, so you

should come with me.” I replied saying, “No, I’m going fishing, so I will go see her when I come back.” Then Nipiha’naaq scolded me and said, “Listen for change, and come with me!” It was because that same night, she was going to breathe her last breath. She knew she was going to go, and that was why she didn’t want me to go back to Ferguson Lake (BL06 2008).

2.6.8 Memories

The only area I know of with foggy or bad weather is the one that I pointed out. They say there’s something on that hill. The way I have heard it, when Arna’naaq was there, he started hearing sounds, so he tried to look for who it might be, but never saw anyone, so he got an eerie feeling and started walking. Although I don’t know myself, I believe those things that our Elders have told about from the past, and that these things do happen. For example, I have heard that you cannot spend overnight at Tuunngaqtalik Island. The story goes: this person, although he knew about the island, spent the night there. The next day, he found his lead dog had died. These things are real, and I don’t know what makes them this way, but the words of Elders in the past have power. For those who are going to be walking around, be careful about that area at Tikirarjuaq. Even if you are a white person, I urge you to be careful (BL06 2008).

Even though our Elders never had written papers, I cannot help but to believe what they say because they seem to see the future. I wondered how they knew all this. When my adoptive father told me that he didn’t want to die in a hospital or nursing station or even at home, I realized that once they say something, they really do what they say. To my amazement, I wondered how they knew things when they didn’t have rules or any written papers around them. Another thing is, although they know things ahead of time, they don’t talk about it, and that makes me wonder why. Knowing would make us understand more if Elders would say things ahead of time. After they leave this earth, you would finally understand what they meant, when what they said comes true. It is very hard for me not to believe the words of our Elders (BL06 2008).

2.7 ELDER INTERVIEW 07, BAKER LAKE, 2008 (BL07 2008)

2.7.1 Camping

As a child I didn’t live around Kiggavik, or between there and Baker Lake, only when I started living with Tuluqtuq, so I may not know the area too well. Most of my life lived and grew up around Kazan River area. I started living around Qikiqqtarjuaq and Anigguq Lakes later. I can only remember the Kazan area as a child, and I cannot really talk about further north (BL07 2008).

Not too long ago we were camping at Tirittquq. Then we moved to Anigguq Lake, at the end of the lake. We camped where there were crossings. Sometimes, Inuit travelling to Baker Lake to get supplies would stop by our camp. We also would camp at a crossings in summer, and then at Nuvvuriktuq in the spring. The reason Inuit call this place Nuvvuriktuq is because of a hill that is almost pointed, on the south shores of Anigguq Lake (BL07 2008).

At Nuvvuriktuq, there are three graves there of a child and two adults (of Arnasungaaq's daughter; Nanautuaq's father's adopted child), Nanautuaq's father (Martha Nukik), and Nguanguaq, who was David Tuluqtuq's adoptive mother, and my aunt Nguanguaq were younger than Qaqimat, but she died first. She died too soon, when David Tuluqtuq was just a little child, because at that time we were caught in sickness. There was some kind of sickness going around. There was a person who might have been his uncle who died too (Manngili'naaq), and so did Iji'tuaq's father; both in the same spring (BL07 2008).

This lake is Anigguq, but there is also a crossing (Nalluq) through here by the narrow area. It's a crossing for caribou that are migrating north and south; they go by there and back. Inuit used to camp there too, so there should be some tent rings (BL07 2008).

Around the crossing there were caribou, wolves, and foxes. The lake also has fish that you can catch with nets in the summer and by jigging in the winter. You can catch trout in the lake, and you can catch white fish there. You can catch trout and whitefish at Qiliqqtarjualiik Lake (BL07 2008).

2.7.2 Project

I start feeling compassion and sorry for those who don't have a boat or motor. I have relatives with children who are not married. They have a hard time getting meat to feed their children. I know they wish to go out and get meat. I can't always give them. If there were a bridge just north of Anaqtalik, those who have ATVs could just go over the bridge. I would feel very much obliged. But if the road were to go through Hagliq, a lot of people are not going to be happy because most people go to that area to go camping, fishing, and hunting. In the spring people go out there to hunt (BL07 2008).

In the early spring, the Thelon River takes a long time to open. People go the Hagliq area to hunt caribou in the spring because there are still no caribou around the Thelon (BL07 2008).

2.7.3 Memories

One time we were up the Thelon River and wished that we were around Baker Lake, because we heard that other people were hunting caribou there (we had high frequency radio) while we didn't see any. But if we had left our camp to head home, we wouldn't have any more gas. And when we woke up the next day, we saw caribou on the other side of us. As usual, we woke up early and my husband went out early (we had brought my daughter, and [another child] with us). My husband had told us to wake up, because there was a herd of caribou across the river. He said, "They are just right across from us". The broken ice was drifting down the river, so we ended up packing our things without having tea to drink. Since we would have difficulty in returning to our tent, we packed everything and brought it with us. This was at Aliqsiqtuq (up river, where there are rapids at the end of the Thelon River) (BL07 2008).

Last spring we found a very hungry white person there. He was a man coming from Gjoa Haven. We reached the rapids at the same time as that man, luckily. Both of the soles of his kamiks had holes. He started explaining quickly to my daughter that he was hungry. We had my daughter, and [another person's son] with us. We wanted his son to keep my daughter company, and because my daughter is stronger than me, she was be able to help her father when he caught caribou. We saw a person, and shouted, "There's a person there!" I thought it was a ghost so I got scared. Tuluqtuq took his binoculars and said it was a person. We had just put up the tent, and were still bringing our belongings from the boat to the tent. Then, Tuluqtuq said he would cross with the kids and see who the person was. Then, I was all alone in the tent, left to fetch water. As I was boiling tea, they got to the shore, and then started coming right back, and that man just started walking inland. I started thinking, 'what's going on?', When they came back, the kids rushed and said that the man was very hungry. I said, "Maq!" I didn't expect to hear that. The man said that he was going to go get his kayak. This was in July. We had brought some soup and a bit of flour with us, and the kids brought a little bit of junk food. So the kids also gave their junk to the man and we also fed him, with those soups you just add boiling water to, which we brought so that the kids wouldn't be eating only bannock. I started calling Baker Lake by HF radio. I said to someone who answered, "You should talk to this white person in English, who came to our camp and now is inside our tent". That person talked to the man, but said he could not understand him because he talked funny, so that person said he would call the RCMP. They thought he was dead, but he's alive. The man said he never saw a person in 60 days. Because he had a qajaq (kayak), he managed to cross rivers and lakes, and then on the south side of the rapids he walked. When I offered to take him to town, he really started rushing around (BL07 2008).

2.8 ELDER INTERVIEW 08, BAKER LAKE, 2008 (BL08 2008)

2.8.1 Camping

We lived around Quglungnili'naaq Lake and Qikiqqtarjualik Lake. Just when I was to be married, I got picked up from Qamanugaq Lake (I had lost my mother) and we went to Kangiqluk, a long inlet. We spent winter and summer at Kangiqluk, and then by foot travelled to Quglungnili'naaq Lake to spend the summer there. We camped at Quglungnili'naaq for while, and then travelled to Qikiqqtarjualik Lake. At that time we were hungry. We would try to catch fish with rope while the men would go out in search for caribou. We would use a rope, and at the end put bait for the fish to bite (BL08 2008).

My grandfathers and others use to live in that area as well. We were always on the move to get to the winter, summer, and spring camps. They used to travel back and forth to the camps where the caribou would be arriving to, moving to and fro between winter, summer and spring camps (BL08 2008).

The places we camped were caching areas too. We would camp in one place, and where men found caribou they would cache. When there were no rocks around, they would just cover the meat with earth, lichens, twigs, shrubs, and moss (BL08 2008).

At Quglungnili'naaq Lake and Qikiqqtarjualik Lake we would fish during the winter time, but I don't remember if there were a lot of fish there (BL08 2008).

2.8.2 Food Sources

During the early spring, our main food sources would be caribou and ptarmigan. We never really tried to fish so much, as long as caribou were plenty. We fished most in the winter. Maybe because we didn't have fishing rods, no one really tried to catch fish in the summer time (BL08 2008).

2.8.3 Weather

When cold air and hot air combine, they form fog. Where there's more water around (the coast) there's more fog. During the winter, the water is very cold, and when the air comes together, it gets really smoky or foggy. Then in early spring, there would be fog forming, and then in the early fall, there would also be fog forming (BL08 2008).

2.8.4 Project

It is a very hard decision to make about the bridge across the Thelon. When it comes to people who don't want a bridge, they are those who don't have much, who don't have ski-doo's, who don't go out camping etc. If there were no accidents or mischief going on, the bridge would be fine. I won't be doing anything and probably won't say do this or that. I have heard that we use uranium in medicine or in lasers. The doctors depend on these things to keep us alive longer, so it doesn't really matter to me if there's a bridge or not. I may be wrong about how the uranium is used, but at least we live a little longer than before and it's used for medicine (BL08 2008).

2.8.5 Move to Baker Lake

We were moved to Baker Lake when I took a husband; maybe because of our being poor. When I married, there were quite a lot of us who were taken to Rankin Inlet. That was the time (in the spring). There were people who died of starvation. The wildlife was scarce, so we moved down the Rankin Inlet. My husband started working at the mine there. While he was still working, he got TB and was sent down south to a hospital for two or three years. Just when he got back, he started helping Tagoona build a church, rather than working at the mine. That was in 1959. We returned to Baker Lake in 1960, and haven't moved anywhere since (BL08 2008).

2.8.6 Memories

One night my step mother told me to put bait in the lake, saying, "Go into the water and throw this line and bait as far as you can throw it. Then, place a small rock upright on a bigger rock, pull the line a bit, and put it around the upright rock, so that we'll know when there is a fish on the line." When she told me to do so, I walked down to the lake. My waterproof caribou skin kamiks were short. I tried with all my strength to throw the line as far as I could, it probably didn't go very far. The next morning, knowing the small rock fell, my step mother woke me up, telling me "You have to go see your line". So I got up without being lazy, and went to see my line. When Iji'tuaq and Aqittgaaq heard, they got up and followed me. As I was pulling the line, it felt so heavy that I realized there were two fish. With one line I caught two fish and I was so happy (BL08 2008).

Aqittgaaq, being the youngest, he kept saying, "Taviniq should be the only one with line and bait, because she catches more than one fish". He wanted me to be the only one to go see my line, but at times I didn't catch fish at all. We survived, and the caribou started arriving again. This was at the end of Quglungnili'naaq. I can visualize the land where we use to be, but I'm not a map reader and can't point on the map where it might be (BL08 2008).

The people who camped with us were Tuluqtu'tuaq and spouse, who were Qaqimat's parents, and my adoptive parents. These people would camp together. My adoptive mother and I got fetched, because we were alone and isolated from everyone (they had left us). During that time, we were hungry, because the day light was getting longer. It would have been sometime in April, although it was still kind of cold. I went out to get water from the lake, since my adoptive mother could not walk because her legs could not fully stretch, so she always crawled. That evening, she told me to go get water, saying, "Daughter, go get water, but first remove ice particles from the bucket, and put them in here". So I removed the ice particles from the bucket, and put them aside so that we could melt them again for water. She said that the waterhole was probably freezing. She wanted to have water ready. Both the bucket and the pail were made out of caribou leather. I removed the ice particles properly and went down to the water. I was trying to reach down to get water, because the water was hard to reach for me. I had to go on my stomach and wait for a long time for the water to go up to fill the other pail. When I stood up, I saw a dog coming from the lee side of me; it was very close to me and at the same time smelling the ground. When I saw the dog, I dropped the pail, went to the dog and tried to take it. Whenever I tried to touch it to take it, it would just jump from me to get far. I wanted to take it and chain it so that I could have a dog to keep me company. My adoptive mother had started putting her kamiks on to crawl out to check up on me, because she got worried about me. When I got home, my mother asked me, "What took you so long? Did you have trouble drawing out water?" I said yes at first, and then told her, "There's someone's dog out there, and I was trying to take it for a long time". She suddenly said, "Don't try to take anything; that was a wolf!!" When she said that, I got scared. I never visualized how wolves looked and had never seen one at that time, although I had heard of them. I knew foxes for I had worked on them, and caribou, but I had never seen a wolf, or what they looked like. I was thinking that if I could take it, I was going to chain it up, because the chains were very clearly visible from where I was. If I had it chained up, I was going to talk to it when I went out, but I never took it. It started to walk away from me. There was a rocky shore on the other side from where we were, not too far. When the wolf reached that shore it crouched down, and then it got dark. I kept going out to see it, but when I could not see it anymore, because it was too dark to see, I didn't go out again. Then, my adoptive mother told me to go to sleep, so I went to bed and went to sleep. When I woke up the next day, I still could imagine the wolf where it had been crouching and resting, so I went out quickly, and had my eyes fixed on the area where it had been, but there was nothing. That was the very first time I ever saw a wolf. When I was trying to take it, it would get close but kept its distance. I even removed my mitten, and threw it for the wolf to smell, but the wolf left it alone. I really thought it was a dog (BL08 2008).

The man who was my adoptive father had passed away earlier. At the time I really started to remember things. He had some kind of skin disease. He lost all his nails, and lost all his hair, and even his skin was gone. He was scary to look at, but I didn't feel scared, so I used to help mom with him. My mother would sleep with him, but at even a little touch, my father would cry out in pain (BL08 2008).

At the time my mother got lost, I started remembering things while we were camping at Quglungnili'naaq Lake. We were with Nattsialuk, Mannik, and Nusuktagaq before they took husbands. I was staying with Nattsialuk's family, and Arviqtaalik was married to Nattsialuk, and same with my mother. These sisters were married to one man (BL08 2008).

My father didn't have a wife anymore, so while we were at the shores of Ikpigjuaq, and the Nattsialuks were at Quglungnili'naaq Lake, my father used to take me and Arna'naaq to Nattsialuk's camp in turns. This was because without my mother, he could not take care of both of us at the same time, and didn't really know how to raise us. He used to carry me on his shoulders because I could not walk long distance. I don't know how old I would have been (BL08 2008).

One time, he was taking me to Nattsialuk's camp, in summer. We were just about to cross a river, when a musk ox appeared ahead of us. I used to try anything. So as I was standing beside a large rock boulder, I put my arm up to pretend to measure how big the rock was. My father then babied me, and told me to stay on top of the rock boulder, until he took a shot at the musk ox. It might start coming towards me, wounded. My father told me not to get down from the rock boulder because the musk ox couldn't reach me there. Then my father took a shot at the musk ox, and sure enough it started running towards us, and here I was starting to go around on top of the rock boulder, trying to remember what my father told me to do. At the same time, I wanted to get down and run away. I have never been lectured by my father. The only time he says something to me is when he is babying me, so I thought if I don't listen he might scold me, and for that reason I was trying to obey. I was really worried, and then when the musk ox got really close to us, it fell dead and I was very happy. In the same spot, my father skinned it. I took the hind leg of the musk ox and said to my father, "Dad, shall I put this on top of this rock boulder?" With a slight smile he said, "Yes". So I tried to take the hind leg, with all my strength, to put it on top of the rock. Where the meat was, it could not be held; although I could hold and lift the foot (it was hard). The next day, my father brought me to Nattsialuk's camp, maybe because it was closer than our camp. The next day, he was going to go and fetch the skinned musk ox meat. He carried it on his back and brought it to Nattsialuk's camp. I started hearing questions about how my father brought the meat back to camp because the meat was very heavy. I started to be proud and happy about my father for being so strong. When the

meat was brought to camp, Arviqtaalik cooked it. At that time, Qabluttsiaq was a young lady too. When the cooking was done, Qabluttsiaq and I started fighting over the tongue and fat that is on the stomach. As usual, since my father was visiting Nattsialuk, I ran inside where he was for protection, but maybe he loved her too because he didn't defend me for the first time. I thought to myself what is wrong with him, and I was so angry with him (BL08 2008).

Where I grew up, we camped in both winter and summer. It was there too, that my adoptive father found my biological mother's body. I have heard it is at Ikaaqtalik, but I don't know where that would be and have never seen the place. I never really asked people who know the place to take me up the. Long ago, Inuit used to go to Beverly Lake to pick up drift wood. My adoptive father went there by dog team to get drift wood and found the body. He took a piece of her dress or part of her shawl, and came home looking so unhappy. Although we children never really were aware of much, that time I noticed he didn't look happy. Perhaps because he was my father, I noticed. He removed snow from his clothing, then lay down on the bed and reached down between his caribou socks and pants to take out pieces of what he brought. He then whispered to his wife "You should take these and see if they can recognize them." He wanted her to take the pieces of material to my grandfather's iglu. Then my adoptive mother left. A few minutes later, they all came in, both my grandparents and my mother. They all started saying thank you and weeping at the same time. Being the only child, I didn't understand what was going on. I could hear them talking to one another, so I didn't know where to turn to look, and just stared at them. My father had found my biological mother's body and someone came to Baker Lake to send a message about that, so the RCMP, with Louie as a guide, went to pick up the body and bury her there. I have heard she was buried at Ikaaqtalik, somewhere around a point on a hill (BL08 2008).

I don't know exactly where my adoptive father might have been buried. It could be across the lake from where we were camping. Some people passed away after I started residing in Baker Lake, so I remember clearly when my adoptive father and my biological parents were buried. I also remember Qallut and another person were struck by lightning and died, but I don't know the name of the place where they were buried (BL08 2008).

Nipi's father and brother were struck by lightning and died one summer. At that time, there were four tents in our camp. My mother's tent was more like a teepee in shape. We were all in our tents when the two men were struck by lightning. We had pitched camp not too far from the main caribou crossing. We had a boat at that time. Aanaguniah, Nipi's father had a boat (BL08 2008).

I used to have bait at the end of a rope to catch fish. I even caught a pike with homemade bait. My adoptive mother said to me, “Daughter, run down and get the fish, but be very careful because they have teeth all around, and make sure you don’t put your hands in its mouth”. When she said that, I ran down to the shore, took the rope, and pulled it as fast as I could. I realized it was a pike. It was skinny and long. Because I just had caught it, it was still moving about. I threw rocks at it for a long time to kill it. The rope I had was made especially for me -- it had a knot that I could untie, so I untied the rope and carried back to the tent. My adoptive mother told me that nobody eats pike because there’s hardly any meat on them, only a lot of bones. But I always wanted to find out about everything, so once I took the fish inside. I took an ulu and started cutting the meat. As I was cutting the meat, it felt like I was cutting into sand. I cut off a piece of meat and chewed on them because I wanted to eat fish. But as I was chewing, it was as if I was feeling needles poking in my mouth. Pike really don’t have any meat at all; even the dogs don’t want to eat it (BL08 2008).

I only know of caribou crossings further up, to the northwest of Kiggavik. The herd used to cross on both sides of Qikiqtaalik Island. In mid-summer, further up the channel where the area is narrower and the weather is getting cool, the migrating herd would cross. In the early spring (July), they start crossing through the wider lee side of the island (maybe because they feel the heat). During that summer, the caribou were crossing through the north channel from northwest going southeast. As soon as we stopped to camp, our men rushed to go hunt caribou. We pitched our tents on that northern channel close to the crossing. Our Elders were saying, “I think there’s going to be a thunder storm tonight, so let no one pitch their tent on the shore, because if the lightning starts to flash, a fire could start.” My adoptive mother and Talurijaq who was Qaqimat’s mother were telling everyone about the thunderstorm. The men, even before they pitched their tents, rushed to go hunt caribou and killed a lot of them, with Qallut using a kayak and spear to catch caribou. As for us, we were many who were to do some work; myself and my adoptive mother, Taaluk, and Kanajuq. We pitched our tents right away. Someone pitched a tent for Talurijaq, because the tent was sewn out of caribou skin. We had pitched our tents close to each other. While we were still doing things, it started to rain, and we could hear the clash of the thunder. That night when we went to sleep, it really started to rain and thunder very loudly. Qallut and his wife, with their children (Haqqi and Nipi were just small girls), had pitched their tent on the shore the evening before. I guess they got lazy to carry their belongings further away from the shore, because the area close to the shore was kind of steep too and they didn’t have anyone else to help them too I guess. That’s when father and son Sivuraq’s late younger brother Tunguaq, and his father Qallut got hit by lightening and died. Sivuraq and his mother got pretty burned too, but they lived. These people are on Qikiqta’tuaq Island on the south side. I am not sure, but it would have been on a smooth area (BL08 2008).

What I remember is that the caribou mostly used that crossing when they started arriving from southeast, going northwest. That same crossing seems to be used all the time; like the herd tracking the trail. I don't know of any other route or crossing. No one really tells anything to me (BL08 2008).

We camped at Anigguq Lake. The time my first husband got sick we were camping at Nalluq, meaning "a crossing". That was the place we camped in the winter. It was also here that he was buried. A priest came to our camp to pick him up. While camping there, I had taken a husband. My oldest son had passed away there, and then the daughter I bore the spring my husband got sick. When winter came, my first husband and Aanaguniaq both got sick. Someone probably went to Baker Lake to send a message that there were people sick in a camp. The priest and Arnarjuinnaq came to our camp. My husband was Catholic. Arnarjuinnaq was a guide and working for the priest. Arnarjuinnaq had small sleds and maybe about four dogs. When they came to pick up my husband, Taaluk was sick too. She was Arnarjuinnaq's sister-in-law, so they took her as well. He didn't want to leave her. Tying the two sleds together, both the adults who were sick got on. There was no more room on the sleds so the priest and Arnarjuinnaq reached Baker Lake running all the way from the camp. When they got tired, they would rest for few minutes on the edge of the sleds. They made every effort to bring those sick people to Baker Lake, and made it. They spent the night at the Catholic mission, because the priest brought both into his house to sleep. The next day, when my husband was able to get up, because the house was too hot for him and hard to breath in, he wanted to go into an old iglu. Arnarjuinnaq had caribou skins, so he lent some to my husband. When Inuit leave an old iglu, they close the entrance for someone to use if needed. Arnarjuinnaq had an old iglu shoveled out, and my husband and his brother moved into it. They were also given a primus stove and filled it up. They were also given at least four pieces of biscuits, and other useful things for the night. Kingiligalaaq was just a boy that time, and he moved into the iglu with his brother. That night, they both went to sleep. The next morning, when Kingiligalaaq woke up he noticed his brother's had been sleeping for a long time. He then started saying "Brother, I'm getting hungry. Brother, I'm cold, you should light the stove." He was dead, but his brother didn't know anything about death. When he realized his brother wouldn't wake up or answer, he went to the priest and told him what was going on. The priest then went to go check, and found my husband dead. They buried him right away. The next day someone came to pick me up from our camp. I didn't know that my husband was dead because nobody told me. I have been here ever since I got picked up then. I have never returned to Anigguq (BL08 2008).

I don't know of any archaeological sites between Kiggavik and Baker Lake because after I lost my first husband and resided in Baker Lake, I never went anywhere or travelled anywhere anymore (BL08 2008).

I have never really watched anyone do anything at Aberdeen or Shultz Lakes, but I remember my adoptive father making a trap for wolves in the winter time. I use to go with my father when he went hunting, to take care of the dogs, but I didn't go with him during the summer. I only did chores when he came in from a hunt (BL08 2008).

The wolf trap would be shaped like a square. It was like the sled size shelter them men used to build in the spring to keep the mud runners on sleds frozen. My father would use his snow knife to measure how wide the trap should be, making it the size of a wolf. He then would place a piece of meat inside it, and somehow place the rifle facing the entrance and tie a rope somehow to the meat. When the wolf bit the meat, the rope pulled to pull the trigger. That's how the wolf would shoot itself. That's what I remember him doing (BL08 2008).

I have heard about places where there are beings that turn into caribou. There was one at Isukliarusiq that I, myself, have encountered. The place is just before Aaprujaq. At Isukliarusiq, my first husband and I pitched our tent on top of that place, and we were all alone. Sandy Lunan (Hudson's Bay manager and clerk) used to tell us to leave town, so that spring, my husband and I left town on foot and dragging the sleds. The first night we camped along the river at Anigguq Lake. We pitched our tent just beyond Aggiutit where the snow melted. When most of the snow had melted, we moved our tent on top of Isukliarutit. Maybe because of the mosquitoes that got in our way, we were just trying to be on a higher ground (we didn't have many belongings). We usually went to get our water from the south side of our tent, from between and under the rocks, but I didn't know what was around that place. Since my husband had left to throw rocks at ptarmigan, and I wanted to have water ready in case he caught a ptarmigan for me to cook, I went to go and fetch water. After I had filled two buckets with water, I started walking but stopped on the edge of a slope. I started to hear someone whistling, so I tried looking around to see who it might be. At first, the whistling seemed to start from my right side, and then I started hearing it all around me. I stood up to look all around me but I never saw anyone, so I just started walking back to our tent again. When my husband came back I asked him, "Were you whistling?" "No," I said, "I wonder why I heard a lot of whistling, but didn't see anyone." He said, "Hey! You almost got taken by Ijiraq!" and I said, "By what, how?" He said, "Those beings you cannot see. They can only whistle, that's how they communicate, and they take lives." When he said that, I didn't even get frightened or anything, because I didn't know what they were and had no knowledge of them. He also told me that these beings turn into humans, so I just started thinking, "I wish I could see one so that I will know what or who they are, but I never saw one." You can hear them whistling, but you cannot see them. I also have heard that when they reach a person, they become visible, or turn into humans or dwarfs (BL08 2008).

To me, the color of the water in those lakes seemed to be bluer than here, and I liked drinking it. There were caribou at these lakes, but they seemed to be smaller than the ones we see around Baker Lake, especially in the winter time. When we started living here in town we were given meat of caribou. I am not sure where they caught it, but I know it was from north side of the town. I asked Kaluraq, “How come this meat is small? Is this a calf?” He just said that the caribou up there are smaller than caribou around here (BL08 2008)

My mind keeps going back to Ikpikjuaq. There at Ikpikjuaq, Atauhituq had a cabin, and on the other side there’s an inlet. Since there is a river flowing from the inlet passing by Ikpikjuaq onto Ikaaqtalik, my mother had tied a rope around a log and herself, to try to cross. She was going straight to Ikpikjuaq, but the island was on this side and because Ikpikjuaq is sort of a point, she flowed through the lee side then got to Ikaaqtalik. She must have been in the water for such a long time and we never even looked to the water to notice her. She was trying to cross because she was trying to leave, but she drowned because this was when it was getting colder, and the caribou skins were starting to be good for clothing. She was my biological mother (BL08 2008).

2.9 ELDER INTERVIEW 09, BAKER LAKE, 2008 (BL09 2008)

2.9.1 Camping

We didn’t live around Kiggavik, but we used travel through Anigguq Lake, just passing through with my parents going back home (my parents were from around Qikiqqtalik) from getting supplies and spending some days there. I am not sure exactly where because I’m not into maps and don’t know how to read them. I remember fishing around one of the islands, with Avaalagiq, when we were also trying to get a cache of meat. We were fishing just at the edge of an island and trying to get cache travelling by dog team. But when we got to the cache, we could not flip it off, so we ended up fishing instead. We just went back to the camp empty handed. There were other people who were there just passing through on the way home to Harvaqtuuq. We just got together at Anigguq Lake (BL09 2008).

Qikiqqtalik is before Tipjalik. Tipjalik’s other name is Napaaqtuarulik. While we were on the southwest side of Napaaqtuarulik, to get logwood, my father pointed to an area to show me. After we had landed to the shore, he pointed to a hill that was far, like Mamautit and told me that was where I was born. The hill is on the south side, the other side of Tipjalik Lake (BL09 2008).

I think one of the reasons I really start to remember things was because my mother was going to pass away. During that time my mother and grandfather were both sick at the same time. There, at Murjungni'tuaq, we all were camping during the winter and still there in the spring. My mother and grandfather both got sick at the same time, and lived in one iglu where the beds were across from the other. My mother passed away, that was when I started to remember things, because at that time I was afraid (BL09 2008).

My grandfather was still alive. The other people we were camping with were Ittulukaq's family. This was in the winter time. Then, the person who I was named after became sick, and then her son too. Then, the person I was named after passed away, and then others passed away. They were my close relatives. So those graves are up there still. Then, later that spring again, Tatitga'tuaq passed away. We don't know what really happened to him, because he was out hunting. I think he had a heart attack. He was brought back to camp by dog team (this was in the spring). After that I don't remember anything, but I started remembering again when we started travelling closer to Baker Lake, to Qikiqqtalik. When we were not far off Qikiqqtalik, around Ikiarmi, my grandfather passed away. That day was just a beautiful day. There at Qikiqqtalik, around Ikiarmingmi, my father went to get wood and started making a box or bag for my grandfather. At that time too, there was no one camping with us except Qaqimat and his wife, and some of their children. Before he passed away, my grandfather told us not to stay in the camp too long, so we moved to another area, Hi'tat, which is not too far. We camped there for while, and then in summer my father and Tuluqtu'tuaq went to Qikiqqtalik, on the north side of the big island. My uncle's family was still at Hi'tat. We travelled not too far to Qikiqqtalik. The skies were really dark. My father told me to go get paddles for the entrance of the tent, from the boat on the shore of Ikipigjuaq. I said I was scared, because the clouds on the south side of us were very dark. But I went anyway. When I saw the lightning strike, I ran back to our camp. My father and Tuluqtu'tuaq were inside the tent, so my father didn't try to make me go again. Since the whole sky was getting really dark, and my grandfather's and Qaqimat's camp was far like Mamautit, we just started walking to their camp. We just tried to get together with them, because it was dark. I didn't know what was going on, and it was getting scary. We stayed there for some time. I don't know how we started moving to another camp. When we started to move closer to town, my father and Tuluqtu'tuaq went to Baker Lake to get some supplies, but they didn't come back as soon than we expected. I think we were camping at Unurniqtalik. When they didn't return, we moved on the other side of the Lake, to south of the big island. While we were there, since it was early spring and most of the snow had melted, we kept hoping they would be back but they didn't come. I'm missing some things here (BL09 2008).

Qa'pikpajaaq had passed away during the winter time at Unurniqtalik. That is a small island at the end of Qikiqqtalik, and that island is beside Unuktat,

the place where Haqqi'tuaq murdered many people, so they called it Unuktat. Qa'pikpaujaaq had become my stepmother, but then she passed away. We stayed where we were, and then we travelled on the other side. When summer came, my father and Tuluqtu'tuaq hadn't returned from getting supplies. Then, Qallut and his young son got struck by lightning and died. We had started camping with Aanaguniaq's family, Qallut's family, and my uncle and family. When they had just stopped from travelling, they said they were going to my grandfather's to drink tea after they finished pitching up their tents. When they said that, I agreed to baby this small child. As I was taking care of the child, sitting outside their tent, we saw someone sitting beside a large rock boulder, crouching down. Whenever I start thinking about it, it gives me creeps. I was the only big person and this child was just a little one. I quickly started walking very fast along with this little child I was taking care of. Because these people had pitched their tent on the shore where there was gravel, I started walking fast further inland where my grandparents were. So holding the child's hands I fled to the other tents where the people were drinking tea. When I reached there, my aunt and Qallut started asking me, "What happened to the child?" And because I was frightened, I said, "He\she is scared because we saw a human sitting beside your tent crouched down beside a rock boulder!" And knowing there was nobody else on the shore, my aunt, Qallut's wife and Hivuraq's mother said, "Don't cry! I will avenge you!" to the child that I was taking care of. But the same night, the child got struck by lightning and died. At that time, there was no avenging, and no one could do anything about it (BL09 2008).

My ancestors lived there too -- because they had lived around there, we lived there too. I don't know why we started living closer to town; maybe because we were trying to make it easier for those who go to town to get supplies, and maybe because our relatives were dying. We started camping closer to Baker Lake (BL09 2008). After I got a husband, I started living around Pitz Lake (BL09 2008).

2.9.2 Food Sources

Caribou and fish were the only food we had (BL09 2008).

2.9.3 Caribou Crossings

I only know of two, from the south of Ikiarmi where my grandfather is buried. The spring herd of caribou would really start crossing going northwest. That is the main crossing area. The other one I know is, when the herd starts returning we call them qivirait. They would appear from the east going by the shore by the north side of the river travelling west (BL09 2008).

2.9.4 Caches

We used to cache meat for the winter on the north side of the river where we lived between Shultz and Aberdeen Lake (BL09 2008).

We fished to survive. We were starving, but survived at Nurrarnaq Lake. I have never heard of anyone fishing in the small lakes at Kiggavik. Mostly I know of an area that is called Uqsuriak. It was a place to survive during starvation times (BL09 2008).

I guess Anigguq Lake is a fishing lake. There must have been people there before. There were other iglu built there and Inuit living there, and it must have been a main fishing lake if Inuit were living there (BL09 2008).

2.9.5 Water

The water in these lakes was okay, maybe because we never smelled something terrible. When it comes to water, at that time, there were no other chemicals added to it (BL09 2008).

2.9.6 Archaeology Sites

I don't know any archaeological sites between Kiggavik and Baker Lake, but on the south side of where we lived (I don't want to say anything that is not true), around those big lakes, I heard about some archaeological sites after I took a husband. They may have dated to my husband's parents. They are very old ones that I have heard about, but I never have seen them. Can you tell me about the archaeological sites between Baker Lake and Kiggavik (BL09 2008)?

2.9.7 Spiritual Sites

The only spiritual site that I have heard about is the one close to the Thelon River. There's a hill that gets very foggy, I heard of it as Kinnga'tuaq. I have heard that you cannot go there or pass through. Thick fog starts to form on it when you go through there, you cannot see anything (BL09 2008).

2.9.8 Project

If the Thelon River with a bridge will be open to the hunters to travel up river that is fine with me. The only thing I don't want is to have a road built around the south of Baker Lake because we like to go there to do some fishing and camping. The road seems to be talked about in an area where we

go through to camp. But it is possible to have the bridge built over the Thelon so that the hunters who go up river will still be able to travel it. I wish they will not build a road through Hagliq area, because we go there all the time during the spring. Since non-Inuit are able to build a road, they can just build one through the north of town and just change the route towards southward. I would be happy if they can do that. But to the south of us, I really don't want things going on there, especially for the mine, like near Nunariaq, Qikiqtaujaq, and especially the river (BL09 2008).

I really don't want anything going on the south of town or across from us. I really don't want anything going on around Hagliq. It gets really shallow around there and any barge or ship cannot pass through there. It gets so shallow that even travelling by boat, you have to stop the motors to get to the deep part of the water. It gets very shallow on the shores of the island (BL09 2008).

Hagliq is also very much a camping area. It's the main route for migrating caribou so we don't want any activities going on around there. There were people camping around there this spring, to wait for the caribou and do some fishing, using nets to catch fish. There are some cabins around the island now. Even now that we live in Baker Lake, we like to get out on the tundra, so there are people camping there. The river there, flowing from Pitz Lake, also has some cabins, especially during the spring (BL09 2008).

I don't know where a ferry across the Thelon would land. I know a ferry cannot go up river, so I don't know what to say about a ferry. It would be impossible when the water level gets low (BL09 2008).

What is on my mind is that when the road was being built to Meadowbank, people were given strict orders not to use the road. If we will not be given strict orders not to use the road that will be built to Kiggavik, I would support it more because I would want to use it too after it has been done. I have heard the local people were scolded about using the road to Meadowbank. I never tried using it, although I have an ATV. I don't want to be scolded, when I don't understand English. If people who had lived here for long time are not going to be given strict orders, and because we want to go out hunting by a good road, we would support it the road. It is not good when someone is trying to stop you. If we are not going to be stopped at something, we too won't try to stop the mining from going ahead. But if we are not allowed to use the road, it will not be good for us to say yes to it because it is our land. If the road is going to be my road too, I would even be anxious for the bridge to be built. If any mining company doesn't want to meet our needs, it is going to be more difficult for them to go ahead. If both sides come to terms of agreement, it would be good (BL09 2008).

2.9.9 Move to Baker Lake

My guess is that the reason my family moved was because of the schools opening. The children had to go to school. They would be brought to town from out on the tundra. And when the Nurse Station was built, we had to come to town to have our lung x-rays. Although some men tried to go back to the land, they ended up returning because of the children. For the rest of us, when there was no school we were taught by a minister, who didn't have a ring finger. Also, there were people like Aksarniq, Kangirjuaq and Murraaq who we went to school with, and Angangai and Tupirjuaq, who were living in Baker Lake. When we first started moving here, there were no teachers at all. We didn't come to Baker Lake by our own will, but we moved here because we were told to. Some tried to go back and forth to the land, especially the men, while women were here with our children. But when dog food and cache were scarce, people started living in town more. Hunting was also getting less and less (BL09 2008).

2.9.10 Memories

We had been camping a little north of the river somewhere. We were more inland, that much I remember. I don't know why, perhaps my father and others were out somewhere hunting and were not around. Iji'tuaq and I were alone at the camp. It was really beautiful outside, sunny, and calm. Suddenly, we saw three or four caribou, and there was a rifle with us. Iji'tuaq wanted me to go caribou hunting with her, so I followed. We were trying to hurry to get close to the caribou. They were lingering and eating, and we were closing in on them. They were really nice August caribou, with dark fur, and really nice. When we were closing in on them, we crouched low, so that they would be close enough to shoot. I had to look up to look around because it was a beautiful clear out. Then, there up in the sky, I saw Jesus coming, really bright and shining. Quickly moving, I got up from crouching. Iji'tuaq saw too. As soon as she saw, we quickly stood up and rushed to the tent and really started praying. We didn't even try to look at the one we said was Jesus, and we just ended up praying really hard inside the tent. I don't know why we were really praying, and if someone had been watching us, they would find us really funny. Looking back now, we wished we got the caribou instead of the stupid airplane with just puff of smoke behind it and no sound at all. It was just shining so bright, we were dumb. Whenever I look back at that incident, I wish we had ignored it. It was the first time we saw a plane and we both got scared because we both thought it was really Jesus. Why did I have to look up and look around, and for what?" (BL09 2008).

I guess the caribou ran off somewhere. We completely forgot all about them, stood up, and rushed home. We probably frightened them, and they were close enough to shoot. We just ended up praying, and now I don't even

pray anymore. I was really frightened that time, thinking that Jesus was returning (BL09 2008).

2.10 ELDER INTERVIEW 10, BAKER LAKE, 2008 (BL10 2008)

2.10.1 Camping

We used to live around a lake before Kiggavik, at the end of Anigguq Lake. At the edge of that hill there is my father's grave. There are many other graves there too, and I would like people to be aware of that and be careful around those areas. It's the only place I start remembering things. I grew up there. I don't remember if there were any other places, because I grew up at Anigguq Lake. I really can't say where else we travelled to. But after living around Anigguq Lake, we travelled to the shores of the Kazan River during the summer, which I remember. But I never really tried to be aware of what was going on. We never even thought of years. When it is time to cache meat for the winter we would travel to the shores of Kazan River and spend summer there. We also roamed around Itiplirjuaq, which I still can see in my mind. The hill is on the shore of Kazan River (BL10 2008).

I don't think our ancestors lived around Anigguq Lake. I heard our ancestors only used to live mainly around Kazan River area, because there was more wildlife and it was a good place to hunt. They mostly lived there during the summer. They also lived at the end of the river, all the way up there (BL10 2008).

I am not sure how we ended up at Anigguq Lake, but what I remember is we lived around Kazan River during the winter, and when spring came, we travelled to Anigguq Lake. We travelled with my uncle Ikisiktaarjuk's family to the end of the lake, and built our iglu around the sandy part. They would make a fishing hole right close to the shore and catch fish. During that spring when there were a lot of mosquitoes, I remember there's a hill that is not too big, which is called Nuvvuriktuq hill. Just right on the edge of the hill, a herd of caribou would appear, walking through at the end of the lake, as if they were walking towards Baker Lake. Since most of the edge of the hill is gravel, we always used to hear them walking. Sometimes they would get close to our tents, because they were so many (BL10 2008).

The people said that the caribou came from southeast, and when they don't come from that area, they somehow make a slight turn and then come to our area. I also remember that at the end of Anigguq Lake, around the south west, I used to see calves being born because it was the calving ground. I even used to follow calves because I wanted to have their skins (I used to be told to leave them alone). But I was also told that, when they grow up, they will be our food (BL10 2008).

In the early fall, at the end of Anigguq Lake, when the snow was enough to make an iglu, we would build one, and put a skin over it. That much I remember (BL10 2008).

2.10.2 Food Sources

Caribou, fish, and ptarmigan were our main food sources. Not musk,, because we didn't know people can eat them too. Later, we found out that people had been eating the musk oxen for a long time. When I was a young girl, I had thought that fish, caribou, and ptarmigan were the only food sources (BL10 2008).

We cached our meat at the end of Pitz Lake. My uncle and his family were camping there, and would start caching their meat there. We travelled southward to my uncle's camp to cache meat for the winter. Our land didn't have many caribou when it was time to cache meat (BL10 2008).

The only time Anigguq Lake would have a herd passing was in the springtime, so we had to travel to my uncle's camp to try and cache meat. We also would go across to the other side of Pitz Lake by boat in the summer time to cache meat (BL10 2008).

2.10.3 Fishing

We fished at the end of Anigguq Lake, and on the north side close to the shore. We would travel not too far to Aimaukata'tuaq Lake, across from Baker Lake, and to a smaller lake at Aimaukata'naaq Lake, where I was born. That smaller lake was also a lake where my parents use to fish. There were mostly trout, and a lot of whitefish at both Aimaukata'tuaq and Aimaukata'naaq Lakes. We also fished in the mouth of the Anigguq River (BL10 2008).

2.10.4 Nesting Areas

Hagliq is not a nesting ground for geese, from what I know. Geese are further away from there. But I know that on the side of Qikiqtaujaq River, there are some nesting grounds, and further inland at Mihaluk area there is a main nesting ground for geese. It has been like that for years (BL10 2008).

2.10.5 Water

In the middle of summer, when Inuit start to cache meat for the winter, the end of Anigguq Lake got really dried up. Almost half of the lake dried up because that area is shallow. The other end of the lake is okay, as the water

level stays the same. The water seemed to be okay. Even the color of it seemed okay (BL10 2008).

2.10.6 Archaeology Sites

The only archaeological site I have heard about is on the south side of Qikiqqtarjuaik Lake. There are lots of bones of musk ox, or of something else I don't know. There must have been other people who use to live there, maybe our ancestors. I don't know (BL10 2008).

2.10.7 Graves

I know there are graves at the end of Anigguq Lake, and somewhere at Timmangiqtuarvik is where my grandmother has a grave. My grandparents probably lived there (BL10 2008).

Whenever we have meetings, I keep forgetting to mention about something I have wanted to say for so long. It's about the end of Anigguq Lake. I want the people to know that there are graves there. There are hardly any crosses on any of those graves. It would be good if they would be crossed, to mark the graves. My father's grave had a cross, but it cannot be found anymore. Even the box was broken up and cannot be found. His bones could not be found either. I started thinking, 'I wonder if the white people may have taken them down south'. From what I saw, my father's box had been moved to a different location and broken up. I don't know who or what has done this to it. For those who will be working, I want to ask if they can at least check things out, especially at the end of Anigguq Lake. There's a hill there (BL10 2008).

2.10.8 Project

I think I'd not like to see a bridge over the Thelon because the ice is very strong. I think something might go wrong. Even big boulders of rocks are moved or turned over by the ice flows, and that's how strong they are. So I'm kind of scared if the bridge is to be built there. It would be good to see one where there is no river (BL10 2008).

If they would use a ferry where the water is deep, like at Nunariaq Island, the ferry can just cross to the island and that would be good. If it were to go by Mamautit, there are a lot of shallow areas around there. It's not a good area when we have stormy days. If it were to go through Nunariaq Island, trucks can make trips to Hagliq and that way things should go smoothly (BL10 2008).

A dock and causeway would be okay by me if the dock is built at Nunariaq Island. When we go fishing across the lake, we hardly go by the north side of those islands because it's very shallow there. We have to make a long turn by boat passing Nunariaq Island to go hunting caribou or go fishing. I don't think it can go from Nunariaq Island through the smaller island, through Hagliq area (BL10 2008).

2.10.9 Move to Baker Lake

I used to always obey what was expected of me. When I got married, I had to obey my mother-in-law. It was okay by me that we were asked not to leave Baker Lake. We had no choice. We were also told that since my mother-in-law was an old woman, she wouldn't have much time to live. We were told to obey her. It was okay by me (BL10 2008).

All I can say is that I want to thank you, because when I want to talk about my childhood or anything, I never know who to turn to. I am grateful that you have recorded what I said, and again thank you (BL10 2008).

2.11 ELDER INTERVIEW 11, BAKER LAKE, 2008 (BL11 2008)

2.11.1 Camping

I guess my mother and the person who I was named after (my father just got a wife from just past Blue Berry Hill) travelled to the Kiggavik area from Kazan River, after moving to the Kazan River. This was when white people, French people, and people from Palliq arrived. People started a shamanistic ritual there at the Kazan River. There was a lot of blood around them (BL11 2008).

I don't quite remember if I lived between Qikiqtarjuaik and Baker Lake, but travelling with my father, I had reached Aberdeen Lake many times. We were bringing food to a family because they were hungry, and were checking things out there, after Kuunnuaq married Qaqimat. When I saw Kuunnuaq, I thought she was fat, and then realized she was expecting. By the time we reached them, they were just so skinny (BL11 2008).

They were in an area where there are graves of Talurijaq and Tulugtuq, and that area is close to Dubwant Lake. We went through Beverly Lake. There's a nice big hill there that you can see way from a distance. The lower part is very smooth, with a lake. That's where my name sake is buried. That much I know about his or her grave (BL11 2008).

We would just pass by Qikiqqtarjuaik and Anigguq Lakes, because Amaruq and Kigjugalik use to be at Hupimmivik. Killulark's relatives were also my relatives. My father and I passed through their camp at Hupimmivik. We stayed there waiting for the snow to freeze for travelling. Three of us started sliding down a hill using big sleds. Killulark still had a dog harness around him. Natsialuk and I started sliding and went quite far. When we finally stopped and the sleds were turned around, Killulark (he was a young man then) said, "Or else I choke, or else I die." It was hard to stop the sleds from sliding (BL11 2008).

2.11.2 Archaeology Sites

I remember some archaeology sites on the shore of a river. There's an island called Unurniqtalik at Aberdeen Lake. This is Thelon River. On the north side there's a long hill, and on the edge of the hill there are very old bones gathered together. Someone will probably find those bones gathered into one pile, because they use to put the bones together in one pile. All those times the Inuit always use to try and keep clean. They were not just Inuit bones; they were also the bones of animals because, when there was a big family, they would camp in one camp together (BL11 2008).

2.11.3 Spiritual Sites

At one of the big lakes, the farthest big lake, there's an area called Kuu'naaq. I don't want anyone to go there because there are people there that you cannot see. You can hear people there. I think there are even things there; in a place we call Alaniq. There is another place on the other side we call Kuu'naaq too. Where there is an inuksuk, on the south side, is the area where I don't want any exploration if possible. Also I don't want anyone or anything at Immnalik, because there was a gold mine there before. I stopped them from doing more exploration in 1960, by just approaching them. There is something like diamonds there too. There are really nice rocks there; we used to play with them (BL11 2008).

2.11.4 Project

I don't want the water emptied out of the Thelon and the river blocked, because this could kill the hunters and because if you don't know the water, it can move very fast. They can easily build a bridge that is above the water. I would prefer they built a bridge above the water, if they are to build one even after I am gone. All I don't want is a dam built because the Inuit will keep going everywhere and it's not going to stop (BL11 2008).

If there is a ferry, then I guess the proper place would be around Mamautit, because it's quite deep there. If the ferry were before Kinngarjuk, it would

ruin an old camp by this small stream. It's very shallow here, so a ferry would be impossible unless they are going to do something to make it deeper. If they want to use a ferry, it would be better to go through Mamautit, where it will be easier (BL11 2008).

Regarding the dock at Hagliq with a causeway to the land, it would be better to have a meeting with Elders and a lot of people to decide what is best. People need to think about their relatives in the future. If there were no danger, I would support the dock at Hagliq (BL11 2008).

I cannot stop them from going ahead with the mine, and if they follow regulations, I would support them. And if they are going to build a bridge, it should not be a dam (BL11 2008).

If a winter road is used only in the wintertime, then I rather not have it changed. When the winter road is in use, have someone put names on it, like naming a lake just before entering and before leaving the lake. If they are going to build a road, it would be good if the road is high and directed towards the north. If the road is facing north, then there would not be any snow on it. I would prefer a road through Thelon River (BL11 2008).

2.11.5 Weather

When the weather is hot, all the lakes get foggy, even the shores. When there is fog, and the sun is supposed to shine, it doesn't shine for two or three days at most (BL11 2008).

This Kiggavik area is not going to be the only one that is going to be explored, so all I can say is that my father's grave is at one of the big lakes around Princess Mary, or Mallory, or another big lake. I sure don't want any exploration going on there if I am not going to work with them. I don't know where they will be working. I'm sure there is someone with a map. I know that there will be exploration going on and I would like to join, so please look for me and bring me there (BL11 2008).

I really would like to be brought to our land by helicopter just to see it. There was a rock that is really round, with a hole, and it would be good to see it by helicopter (BL11 2008).

2.11.6 Memories

When Pukirluk (the leader at Kazan River) walked to the coast to get his relatives (he was probably young and strong then), he walked to Churchill Manitoba. This was before he had any children. He brought white people

with him, and was carrying big bags of flour and sugar. They reached Churchill with only matches and tea. They left in the springtime and came home in the fall (BL11 2008).

Pukirluk (Pukirlu'tuaq) had been camping at where people get soap stones today. The white person was called Isumata'naaq. Although he was a white man, he lived like an Inuk, and I think he was also David Ford's grandfather. After staying on an island, they started searching for a main camp in a boat with a sail. Around the area where there's usually a lot of snow, just before the Prince River, the captain lost his binoculars, and his old house probably sunk under the earth. This was at Big Hips Island. There, the boat just disappeared under the water. Some of the people got out on dry land and lived, but the whirlpool swallowed up the big boat (BL11 2008).

Pukirluk had a daughter named Kuunnuaq, and she was the oldest child, but he raised her like one of the boys, making her work like boys. He didn't want to give her up, so for many years, she didn't get married. Then she was given to Itiut from Akilinniq for marriage. But when she could not have children, she was knocked with a rock on her head and fell dead. So there at Kazan area, there was a lot of blood, for there was a shamanistic ritual going on between Indians and Inuit and they were competing. So when Indians wanted to start a war, they adopted a child from Inuit. The native man had only daughters, and the Inuk man had only sons, so they both traded a child, a native gets a son, while the Inuk gets a daughter. So it's easy to tell who came from where, and just by looking at them you can tell they are mixed (BL11 2008).

The late Amaruq, and Iqulik's father Mungilik hunted geese at Kinngait in the spring. Pukirluk gave one of them a woman for a wife (my father's sister), but later took her back, because the man didn't do anything. While everyone worked on things, he would just kneel down and watch people, so his wife was taken away from him. The people around the Kazan River, natives and Inuit, would fight over the river. When they started fighting, Pukirluk told his relatives and started travelling around. He also brought some relatives to Gjoa Haven, so I guess I would have relatives there too. Most of the time, the people were fighting over the river, and then some went to Dubwant Lake, and the population grew. Some travelled to Pitz Lake. There is a place there called Itqiliqtalik, on the south side of Princess Mary Lake. When natives started a war, saying the men would fight, and moving the women onto an island, the Inuit would hide around the land along with their women. So the Inuit women were hiding on land, and the island that the native women were on was full of bones, and now is called Arnakkuvik. That small island is so white, and it's full of bones. It is on the south side of a lake that has a big island. When you see the island, it is very white, and full of human bones. The natives lost the war against Inuit, and for that reason they named that area Itqiliqtalik. They were still moving back

and forth, and while they were at another small river, on the west side of Dubwant Lake, south side of Aberdeen, then from Yellowknife the Americans arrived through the Thelon River, they had help from them. Dubwant Lake is a beautiful land. It was my relatives land, but they were told to move away from that area, because it belonged to Queen Elizabeth. Because of the written order (they must have had an interpreter) they started travelling closer to what we call Kuu'naaq, at the farthest big lakes there. Then, there were Cree who live around Churchill, who tried following Inuit towards the north. Because they didn't know how to build an iglu, they were told to be down where there were trees, so they started living around the tree line, and that's where they ended up at Churchill (BL11 2008).

I think it was in 1952, after the day had become dark. There was a famine. Iqulik's father passed away. Since he was Catholic, they were taken care of and were sent down to Rankin Inlet (BL11 2008).

We were still going back to our land then when my father passed away. The RCMP came to pick me up. Both my older sisters had just gotten married, and my second older sister didn't have any children yet. Even though both my parents had passed away, I keep thinking that our land was my home and I kept trying to return there. But the RCMP would pick me up by dog team, and I was brought here (Baker Lake). I would cry to go home, not realizing that there was no one on our land. When I started trying to walk back to our land, and was found, they would tie me onto the sleds to bring me back to Baker Lake. I was dumb and didn't think because I always longed to be with my older sister Angaliktaaq, who got married when she was about 16 years old (BL11 2008).

2.12 ELDER INTERVIEW 12, BAKER LAKE, 2008 (BL12 2008)

2.12.1 Place Names

This area near Hagliq is Qamanaugakuluk, not Qamaugaq. Also, the name of this lake written in English is wrong. It's supposed to be Qinnuq. This is Tahi'tuaq, and this is Tunuhuk (BL12 2008).

2.12.2 Camping

Qikiqqtarjualik was my main land. I started remembering things while living there, and we were always there. Murjungniq, and Qamaugaq are where we also used to live most of the time. This Kiggavik mine camp is too close to my land now, because this whole area is my land. Here is also my land, called Quglungnili'naaq Lake. We used to camp around its river. That land

seems to be my own because I grew up there. We mostly lived at those three lakes. I don't have other places (BL12 2008).

We camped with many others, but they have all died. Arnasungaaq is the only one alive, along with me, who would know this land well. Arnasungaaq can't talk well anymore, but he could give good information about the areas where we used to camp. My ancestors also lived there, even the ones I don't know. There are a lot of tent rings. My father knew the land well, so we lived there all year round, at times in one place or another around there. We went back and forth to find caribou. We knew which way the caribou went (BL12 2008).

2.12.3 Food Sources

[Our food sources] were caribou, fish, and ptarmigan (BL12 2008).

2.12.4 Caribou Crossings

We tried to camp at where the caribou crossed in spring and summer. We camped and lived there all the time because we knew where the caribou passed. We mostly spent our time at Quglungnili'naaq Lake when the caribou were crossing. We also returned there in the fall, to fish and cache meat for the winter. We only cached here, on the east side of Qikiqqtarjualik Lake, but on Quglungnili'naaq Lake we hunted and cached meat all around the lake (BL12 2008).

2.12.5 Fishing

This lake, Iqaliulik, was where we used to fish. We used to camp there in the winter time, trying to survive catching fish. We fished at this lake too, Tahilugjuaq Lake. I became an adult here. The other lakes were also fishing areas. We never went to the smaller lakes around Kiggavik (BL12 2008).

2.12.6 Water

The water level at Qikiqqtarjualik Lake was high then, but it's more like just earth now, and not a pleasant sight to see. The water level went down. I have seen it recently. Within the last four years, I went up there to see the land and go fishing. It is gross now, since the uranium mines started. The water was OK when I was living there, until we moved to Baker Lake in 1961 (BL12 2008).

The water hasn't changed, but the fish have changed. They seem to be fish from smaller lakes. When we left the area, something must have happened.

The fish we caught are not good and very skinny. I don't know how or what made them become like that because Kiggavik hasn't really started working yet. Maybe it is because the water level is getting low (BL12 2008).

The taste of the water is still alright, but the water level got low. When we jig through the ice where we used to jig, and the ice is touching the land, we have trouble making a hole (BL12 2008).

2.12.7 Wildlife

In the area we lived, the caribou have changed. When we lived around Qikiqqtarjuaik Lake, caribou, wolves, and grizzlies were around. But the caribou have changed a lot. Long ago they used to run away right away, but now they linger around close by (BL12 2008).

2.12.8 Archaeology Sites

There are old sites around the land where we use to live [Qikiqqtarjuaik] because Inuit have lived there for long time (BL12 2008). There are also old storages there (BL12 2008).

2.12.9 Graves

There are not many graves, but my father is here where we used to camp. There are graves here too, which are Siksigaq and others who died there. There are other graves at Quglungnilik, but I don't know who they are because they are very old, but I know they are graves (BL12 2008).

2.12.10 Weather

In Qangirluarjuk, fog forms (BL12 2008). One time we were going back home. It was a very clear and calm day, and then it suddenly became foggy. The only thing for four of us to do was turn back. We could not see anything anymore. I guess that's how it has always been. I guess there's something around that area, not just land or ground. It's a very uncomfortable place. We just turned around and started walking, and then just went out of the fog. We have heard that it's like going out of something, and that is not a lie; it's like going outside. Not knowing anything about it, something tragic probably would happen (BL12 2008).

2.12.11 Project

It's very hard for me to say about the bridge across the Thelon since it's a hunting area. Knowing the mine is going to go ahead and the bridge is the only way for transportation, they will have to be prepared and not ruin the land. I'd rather the bridge be built than have a ferry because there will be Inuit going out hunting and travelling by boat. The non-Inuit most of the time don't follow what they say. Most of the time, when they plan something, they go ahead anyway (BL12 2008).

It is hard to say anything about the dock at Hagliq. It is a fishing area. For the Inuit, it's going to be very uncomfortable because Hagliq is part of our fishing areas. It would be better if they had a winter road to transport items during the winter. I think I am going to support the road through Hagliq because there's no more water around there and I would want to protect the Thelon. Hagliq is a fishing area. I don't know why they picked that spot. There are other options (BL12 2008).

2.12.12 Move to Baker Lake

When the Inuit started to die of starvation, we too were hungry. Also, the children were going to school. When the government said something, we had to say yes, so we gave in and moved here. In fact, we could not go back to our land, so we felt it was okay (BL12 2008).

2.13 ELDER INTERVIEW 13, BAKER LAKE, 2008 (BL13 2008)

2.13.1 Place Names

I used to live around Anigguq Lake. I don't exactly know where Kiggavik is located, but when I was a member of the Hamlet Council, I think we went there. I know the area just before Shultz Lake very well, and all the way up. Also, I know Kangirluk Inlet all the way up to Qaqimat's land. We built a cabin for the Water Board at Avalittquq when I was working for them. The place they call Avalittquq is around the river of Tulimaalukjuaq and the Uqqsurriak area. We stayed there for while, and then we travelled to Tipjalik (Beverly Lake), and past to a river when I was working for them. That was in the winter. We would use an auger to drill through the ice (BL13 2008).

2.13.2 Camping

After Siksigaq passed away, we started living around Anigguq Lake. Even our ancestors' ancestors had lived there too, because it is the main crossing

lake for the migrating caribou in spring when they start to shed, and in summer when they return. So our ancestors use to camp there in the winter time (BL13 2008).

2.13.3 Caribou Crossings

I knew where the caribou would be during the winter; around Shultz Lake, Killulark's land, Iglurjualik area, and Arviktalik area (BL13 2008). During the winter, Qikiqqtarjualik Lake was a lake where you could easily see caribou (BL13 2008).

The herd crosses around the middle of the Anigguq Lake. There's an island in the middle part of the lake. Through there, the herd would cross to the other side of the lake, going through narrow parts where it would be easy to cross (BL13 2008). Wherever there is a large herd of caribou, any river would be a crossing (BL13 2008).

In the spring, the caribou come from the south, through the west of Pitz Lake. Then, they would go through Anigguq Lake, by Nuvvuriktuq, and cross towards the north. Because Anigguq Lake is the main route for caribou during the summer, the herd would come from the north, using the same route through Anigguq Lake, going south and north on each side of the place where I was born (Thom Lake). They also go by west of Pitz Lake, coming here, through Mihaluk Lake and reaching Igluujat area (which is the point near Mamautit, all the way down). The caribou coming from the northwest would arrive even to Baker Lake when we had moved to Baker Lake (BL13 2008). When it is time to cache meat during the summer, the caribou would start arriving from the northwest. Anigguq Lake is their main crossing route in the fall (BL13 2008).

The land where there are routes for migrating caribou is all important to me; but people want uranium like I want the land, which makes it hard for both of us to be on one side. Most of the land that might be destroyed is very important to me (BL13 2008).

2.13.4 Food Sources

Fish and caribou were our main source of food. When there was hardly any fish or caribou, there was ptarmigan and even arctic hare. My adoptive mother and I ate arctic hare when there was no food and we were alone. I don't know where the rest of the people went then, or why we were left behind. When I caught a rabbit, my mother cooked it, and we ate, but it tasted like moss. At the first taste, the taste was different, so for me it tasted like moss or something (BL13 2008).

Because of the caribou, there were people most of the time during the winter at Qikiqqtarjualik Lake. I haven't really spent time there at winter, but my wife's brother used to camp there. While we were still living at Anigguq Lake, they were camping around just before Qikiqqtarjualik Lake, near Sigalausivik area on an inlet (BL13 2008).

2.13.5 Caches

When we are camping at Anigguq Lake and there was hardly any caribou, Arnasungaaq and I would go (in the summer) between Anigguq Lake and the Thelon River in search of caribou to hunt, to cache meat, and to spend some days around there (BL13 2008).

At times we would go on the shores of Shultz Lake on the south side because you can easily see caribou there in the summer time. And sometimes, we went between Shultz Lake and Qikiqqtarjualik Lake (BL13 2008).

2.13.6 Fishing

We fished at Qikiqqtarjualik Lake and at Anigguq Lake. We would fish with nets. At Tahilugjuaq Lake (Pitz Lake) there are a lot of fish around the south side of the big point called Quijuq. Also, near Quijuq and this place that was Tunguaq's mainland, at the end the Pitz Lake, called Timanngiqtuarvik. You can easily find fishing areas at Timanngiqtuarvik in the winter (BL13 2008).

We went to one of the small lakes near Kiggavik to fish but the ice was very soft, and different from the other lakes. We caught fish there but I don't know what was wrong with it. It was too soft when we were jigging through it. It was at that lake that has gathered rocks on the south of it, and kind of lot of earth around it. There seemed nothing wrong with the fish. We cooked it and we ate it (BL13 2008).

At the time we used to go fishing, I never even thought of trying to remember how the water might have been, but it seemed to be okay for me. It has been a long time since we were there before the mining started (BL13 2008). There were other lakes there that had fish too, but I've tried them (BL13 2008).

2.13.7 Weather

The area I talked about, where there are caribou that are not real (near Shultz Lake), is a place you cannot go alone. If you climb there on a beautiful clear sunny day, as you walk half way up that hill, you will suddenly be in the

middle of a thick fog all around you. There was even an incident that happened to Iglurjuaq. He wounded a caribou there and the caribou climbed that hill. At that moment it got really foggy. He lost his caribou, and almost got lost himself. He turned back and almost didn't make it. And when he died, it got really clear and sunny again. That hill is a big problem in every way (BL13 2008).

2.13.8 Project

I have thought about the bridge across the Thelon. It is a very good idea for me personally. It would be good if the bridge were built at Anaqtalik because both sides of land at Anaqtalik are hard and high. Also, if it were to go through Kinngarjuit (Half Way Hills), both sides of the land are hard too. Those two places are the good options. There's also a crossing for the migrating caribou just beyond Half Ways Hills (BL13 2008).

The Kinngarjuk area just past the Anaqtalik rapids is also one of the main caribou crossings. The outcrop is called Kinngarjuk hill. On the north side, the ground is not too good unless they plan to build the bridge slanted, which I doubt is going to happen. And on the lower part of the land near the shore, they would barely get it high enough, unless they go through the island. If it is Anaqtalik, I'm sure they can think of some way to fix it because non-Inuit try anything to make things work (BL13 2008).

I don't know how a ferry would float around the mouth of the river because it is very shallow there, and I don't think a ferry would move up river. At the furthest rapids, I don't think it would pass through. The flow of the river will not slow down. The coastal waters usually stop at the Murjungni'tuaq area when it's high/low tide, but the Thelon River doesn't have a slow down or stop flow of water point, and I doubt the ferry will pass through the Aliqsituq rapids (BL13 2008).

A winter road would probably go through Tahi'tuaq Lake (Thom Lake) to Kiggavik. That route goes to the end of Anigguq Lake. The Hagliq area is also a place where caribou linger during the winter. They are there most of the winter. Because the Hagliq area is their main food area, if activities start around there, I don't know if there will be anymore caribou around, so I would like to be informed where and which way the road will go (BL13 2008).

I have been wanting to talk about that mining camp that is at the lake where I was born. While we were at Kinngait Haangat, the mouth of Kazan River, we never had a caribou come our way. While we were there, there was a helicopter flying really low around so much. It might have come from the mining camp at Thom Lake. The caribou from southeast would appear for

while, but then turn back before reaching our camp. Atangalaaq told Utuqaq and Qaummaqsiaq when the next caribou appear they should go to meet the caribou rather than waiting for them to come, so when the caribou appeared again from the east Utuqaq, and Qaummaqsiaq went to meet the caribou, they caught them. Then Philip Putumiraqtuq and others came to bring naptha and food to Atangalaaq's camp. Another time, when we were going back home, a herd of caribou were going by the shore near Niaqunngut area, and were probably going to reach our camp. But someone had gone on the radio, so some hunters went out to get those caribou and the caribou turned back again. This time, it was not because of the helicopter, but because of hunters (BL13 2008).

2.13.9 Archaeology Sites

You could see inuksuks everywhere you went. They are very old. Our ancestors said not to break them down. I am thinking about the Inuit before our ancestors. The place where they use to camp has some other things, and there are graves there (BL13 2008).

2.13.10 Graves

We use to just fold the dead into the skins and bury them. When we lived out on the tundra, we didn't have anything at all that, so when we prepared a grave, rocks would be placed properly, even when they place a dead person in skins they try not to make the rocks too heavy. They would also nicely fix the ground for the body. Around the head, they tried not to place rocks on the face. They tried to block the holes between the rocks because they could not afford boxes or bags for their dead (BL13 2008).

I have heard there are graves somewhere between Qikiqqtarjuaik Lake and the long inlet at Aberdeen Lake. There's kind of a hill there where Ikuutaq's parents use to camp (BL13 2008).

2.13.11 Spiritual Sites

The only spiritual site I have heard about is around the area where we cached meat, on the south side of Shultz Lake, at a high hill. You cannot go through the lower part of the hill because there is a mud area that can catch and kill caribou. A mother and calf had gone through that mud. They got stuck and no one could take them out, so they sank underneath the mud. They say you can really get stuck there, you could disappear (BL13 2008).

There's another one around near Anigguq Lake where you cannot go alone. When I was travelling by dog team, I went there, following the tracks of

caribou, not knowing they were not real caribou. There are caribou that are not real on that pointy hill at the end of Anigguq Lake on the west side, at the mouth of Kangirluarjuk. The top of the hill has sandy gravel on it. They call it Ijijalik (caribou that are not real) (BL13 2008).

2.13.12 Move to Baker Lake

Social Services were starting to help people then, so the Inuit who lived out on the tundra were starting to be gathered into towns because at that time there were Inuit who were starving, especially the Inuit from around Hanningajuq area (Garry/Pelly Lake). So starting from around Garry/Pelly Lake, the Inuit started gathering to Baker Lake to be helped by Social Services. The time we started gathering must have been in the year 1960, or 1959. Qaqimat's family, my family and Iksiktaarjuk's family may have been the last ones to live out on the tundra. When we needed to be helped by Social Services, we became Baker Lakers, and up to now we live in Baker Lake (BL13 2008).

I don't think anybody is really ever going to live out on land anymore, but this spring I was living out on the land, at the mouth of Kazan River. It is a very joyous times as long as you are not hungry and not worrying about anything at all. It was joyous for me to be out on the tundra. When we moved to Baker Lake, I never used to be in town for long periods of time (BL13 2008).

2.13.13 Memories

While we were camping there, during the fall when the ice formed on lakes, I wounded a caribou, when it had stopped right on the shore of a small lake. I left it there because it was getting dark. When I woke up the next day, I went to go pick it up, but realized a wolf was eating it already. Since there was still no snow on the ground, I went down on my stomach and crawled to get close, so I could get the wolf. I guess the wolf heard me, because there was no wind at all. The wolf, facing me, sat down beside the meat it was eating and started licking itself, as I was watching it. Then, I aimed straight at its neck to shoot it, but I missed, so the wolf started running right towards me. Then, I really started to shoot at it as fast as I could. I got so scared when it started running towards me. It was after I shot at it, that I quickly got up and started shooting at it as fast as I could, and when it turned, it sort of started jumping to and fro, side to side away from me. I lost it. I didn't catch it. I couldn't miss (but I did) because it was very close, just like from the hospice to our house or even closer. The caribou that I had caught had lot of fat on it too, but I ended up using it as dog food. That was place for wolves, around Tahitian's (Thom Lake) highest hill, and it's called Qallihaaq (BL13 2008).

Iksiktaarjuk and I went to her brother's camp to bring some dry meat for them when it was kind of stormy out. When I saw Michael Aliq, he didn't even have mittens when he was told to fetch water, so I took over. Iksiktaarjuk and I were just there to visit and to bring dry meat, and I saw their water hole. It was full of snow, and I had taken a shovel with me, so I removed the snow from inside the water hole, and fixed it up. Aliq was going to fetch water, but I took over and fetch water instead because Aliq didn't have mittens and didn't have warm clothing on him when it was kind of stormy out (BL13 2008).

One time, Michael Amauq, Arna'naaq, Hiturat (Michael Aliq's younger brother), and I were around Half Way Hills caribou hunting. We never caught up to a caribou that was crossing the river. There were hardly any caribou around and on the other side of the river from us was a wolf. I guess that time the wolf got the caribou instead of us. We saw the wolf across from us and the swimming caribou was on its way across (BL13 2008).

2.14 ELDER INTERVIEW 14, BAKER LAKE, 2008 (BL14 2008)

2.14.1 Place Names

I started travelling between Kiggavik and Baker after I became an adult. I was mostly raised and lived around Deep Rose Lake area (BL14 2008). Only after I became an adult did I started living around the Kiggavik area. We used to live around Qamanaugaq Lake (Aberdeen Lake). This point is called Aggiria'tuaq. And this is Tinngaujaqtuuq. This area is called Immnaarjuk, and I think this is called Tikirakuluk, because this is Qikiqqtarjuaq (Big Island). There are areas with no names (BL14 2008).

This lake is called Qalgitalik Lake, and this one is Aariaq. Here along the river is called Aliqsiqtuq rapids, and this island is called Qikiqqtarjuaq (BL14 2008). The real name for [Audra Lake] is Anigguq Lake. Maybe because there's caribou crossing there, they call it 'Nalluq' sometimes (BL14 2008).

2.14.2 Camping

We found a grave of Haqpi's mother at Sigalausivik. She died while they were camping there. I think Inuit from the Kazan River area lived there too (BL14 2008).

Ikuutaq's family used to live and camp at Quglungnili'naaq Lake all the time (BL14 2008).

Our ancestors used to live around the Hanningajuk area (Garry/Pelly Lake). From where we lived, my older brother and my family were asked to go to Baker Lake. In the summer time we always used to camp at Atgaktalik because that was the place that caribou crossed to the other side. I don't really remember how many winters and summers we camped there when I was a young man (BL14 2008).

After my father died, we started moving southward. While my father was alive, we would camp around Aberdeen Lake and never travelled back further north. During the summer time, we would camp at Tasirjuaq, and then on to Qikiqqtarjualik Lake, going back and forth, when I started remembering. For instance, one year in the summer we would camp in one area and the next year travel to another. We did this because we need to cache meat and I think my father knew where the caribou will be (BL14 2008).

2.14.3 Caribou Crossings

Years ago in the spring, there would be a herd of caribou at Tasirjuaq Lake. It seemed like they came from across Baker Lake because, when the weather started getting hot, they walked towards north, and in August they returned. That was their routine (BL14 2008).

The caribou would cross the river through Atgaktalik, and also through Qiurarrviit. The reason they named that area Qiurarrviit is because, while crossing, the caribou died of hyperthermia. Here, during the summer they come from the north and migrate towards southeast. At Atgaktalik it's the same as at Qiurarrviit. Either way, the caribou cross at both when migrating towards southeast (BL14 2008).

When the caribou return, they go through Qikiqqtarjualik. There are two Qikiqqtarjualiks. One is Harvaqturmiut Lake (Kazan River), and the other Qikiqqtarjualik is Inuit, who live further north around Aberdeen area (BL14 2008).

2.14.4 Food Sources

Caribou and fish were the only main food sources we had because they were the only wildlife. In the early or mid spring, there were hardly any ptarmigan around, or maybe sometimes we would catch at least two, but we only survived on caribou and fish (BL14 2008).

2.14.5 Caches

It is to cache meat that people camp in specific places. All our camps were places to cache (BL14 2008).

2.14.6 Fishing

All the places we camped were fishing areas. During the spring and summer it was easy to catch fish at Aqiarurnaq, and while we were here, we would go and fish there because once the ice starts to open there are usually a lot of fish there. For that reason it is named Aqiarurnaq. During the fall, it's easy to catch fish around Qikiqqtarjuali Lake and Anigguq Lake, including around these islands (BL14 2008).

2.14.7 Wildlife

There are usually caribou around Kiggavik. I worked at Kiggavik in 1973. I was picked up for work in the summers, but for how many summers I don't remember, it might have been for over five years, but I know it wasn't ten years. I was always picked up. I stopped working when they started searching for uranium. I was asked to work in another area all by myself for \$90.00 cash each day, but since I wouldn't know what to do if I was asked to do something, I refused (BL14 2008).

2.14.8 Archaeology Sites

I don't remember seeing any [archaeology sites], but I remember we found a qulliq made out of a stone; a square one. It was broken, but the archaeologist put it together and placed it back and marked it. I don't remember where it was, but it was around here (BL14 2008).

2.14.9 Graves

The only grave I saw was at Sigalausivik Lake where Haqpi's late mother was buried. When I found it we were walking around looking for uranium, with Tularialik and one white person (BL14 2008).

2.14.10 Spiritual Sites

I know of an area where you are not allowed to go to, all around [north end of Long Lake] including the whole hill there. While we were working, I told them about that area. I told someone that if he wanted to find out about it, he could go there, but he didn't want to go because he was afraid (BL14 2008).

During the summer, Innakatsik and Mumnguqsualuk landed on the shores of Tikirarjuaq. Mumnguqsualuk went to go and kill caribou close by. As soon as he got there, it got very foggy and he couldn't see anything even within a short distance, just like that. The wind was calm, and where he was, was the only area that was foggy. Innakatsik started to make sounds to make Mumnguqsualuk follow the sounds. When Mumnguqsualuk reached Innakatsik, the fog lifted. I guess some few years ago now, Arna'naaq went through the same incident in the same area. He was on his way home by foot. He stopped to rest because he was carrying a load. When he started to hear sounds, he thought someone was making fun of him. He started looking around to see who would that be, but no one was around. He also kept hearing someone whistling. I don't know how it is now, or if it has always been like that (BL14 2008).

2.14.11 Project

I think a bridge across the Thelon is okay, but the uranium, when it is transported, has to be tightly packed. I have heard that a white person working with uranium for a good number of years, had his hands ruined (BL14 2008).

I think I would prefer to have the road built through the Thelon River because the water is shallow around the Hagliq area. I don't think Hagliq is a good choice. Hagliq is also an area where people go fishing (BL14 2008).

2.14.12 Move to Baker Lake

We moved because of a shortage of food and lack of wildlife. We were starting to get hungry. My older brother didn't want to come here, but we couldn't fight the government. The plane brought Hagpi and Nurraujaaqtuq to Baker Lake, and us as well. We didn't want to come here, but since there were social services at that time, we all started to gather in town in 1960. This was after the starvation, that we still had dog teams with us (BL14 2008).

2.14.13 Memories

During the starvation, when people were dying, I had at least one dog. My older brother and I started travelling to town with Haqpi and Nurraujaaqtuq (who was pregnant at the time so she would fall behind as we were also pulling our sleds and walking). My older brother and I were trying to walk ahead of this single dog that was also starving. When we reached Aariaq, we camped and fished, and started catching some fish. We were camping there for some days because I got very sick too, but when I got well, we started travelling to Baker Lake. That time my older brother almost died of

starvation. We had left behind Inuksuk and my mother, along with Atutuvaa and his wife. They too had travelled to Qikiqqtarjuaik Lake and started catching fish, and on fish they survived. While they were still catching a lot of fish, Oosuaq's mother with her children came to their camp. Then there were no more fish. You could not even catch one. My older brother and Ujummngat were special constables, so the RCMP brought food to Inuksuk and my mother's camp, but realized they had a lot of fish and that their dogs were walking well. They had survived on fish (BL14 2008).

2.15 ELDER INTERVIEW 15, BAKER LAKE, 2008 (BL15 2008)

2.15.1 Camping

I lived just for few years at Quglungnilik Lake. I also lived beside Sigalausivik for maybe a year. At Anigguq Lake I walked all along the shore, because I didn't know the area, to get tea from another family. I walked a whole day, and because the lake was so long, I had to stop for the night and sleep overnight out in the open on one of the islands. Then, the next day I reached the other camp (BL15 2008).

The only place I really know is the land around Aberdeen Lake, Akiliniq area, and Ikiaq area. I know that area very well. We used to camp at Ikiaq all the time during the summer and winter (BL15 2008).

In the spring time, I think sometime in the month of June or July, the caribou would appear from the southeast and come towards our area to cross the river. The caribou would be hunted by kayak and killed only with spear. My grandmother would dry the meat out. When there was hardly any caribou during the winter, we would split up and try some fishing in our own areas. At times, we spent few days away from our camp to fish, or in search for lakes that might have fish (BL15 2008).

My grandmother and I would go to Qikiqqtalik Lake to fish, while another lady, Kuunnuaq, would go to Nurrarnaq Lake. We would stay at those lakes for at least three or more days to fish. I really don't remember what the men did; I can only remember men hunting caribou with kayaks and spear. Although we got together to help each other and travel where there might be caribou, carrying loads on our backs. The dogs too would carry packs or pull sleds during the winter (BL15 2008).

There was also an area called Si'tat that I remember well, around the east side and an area beside Patiqtariarvik. We also lived on the shores of Hu'jailaq because Taalluk's family also use to live there, and because I was

living with them. I would move from one family to another and live with who I wasn't afraid of, or felt comfortable with (BL15 2008).

Most of the time the families would split up to go fishing or travelling to an area to cache meat for the winter. Even the women knew how to cache meat and help the men do some hunting, we never used to just leave any meat around. As long as it wasn't Sunday, we worked and did what we needed to do, trying to finish our chores, keeping ourselves from becoming poor and caching meat for winter (BL15 2008).

My grandmother always used to cut up meat and dry it. Before travelling, we would gather dry meat and place it onto the skins, fold the skins, tie them together and cover this with rocks. We returned to pick the meat up for winter food. The meat that was dried out had been caught by stalking caribou in the water with qayaq and killed with spears, not rifles, although some would be shot with a rifle. People tried to save ammunition as much as they could, including matches. That's why caribou were hunted with qajaq and spear (BL15 2008).

The hunting was done beside Ikiaq, beside Hi'tat, beside Patiqtariarvik, beside Hu'jailat, and beside Qikiqqtalik. That's how we lived up there. We would move from one place to another and we were not always together with other families. When winter came one year we had hardly any more cache or meat, and we got hungry. For that reason we would split up in different directions. Most of the time I was with my grandmother and she would go to Nurrarnaq by herself, where we had our main camp because she had two small children. At times we'd be out for at least three days or for a whole week to do some fishing. When we didn't catch any fish, my grandmother and I would return to our main camp at Nurrarnak. After spending a few more days at camp, we would go to a different place called Nuvukuluk on the west side. There, we would go spend a few days because that time I remember we were pretty hungry (BL15 2008).

There were many of us when we got together. We all used to share whatever we had, giving food to who needed it. While living out there, we never had to pay for what we got, but here we are starting to (BL15 2008).

I even remember during the winter old Quuqsuut came to our camp trying to head home from Baker Lake. He had made a mistake along the route, so he came to our camp. He had gone to Baker Lake (where the white people were) to get supplies and was on his way back home. There was also the old man Inuksuk, who also used to come by our camp. There was also Nuhuktagaq, Airuq, Hu'jailaq family, and Havaa family, that I remembered when I was a child. Except I used to be scared of Havaa when I was a little girl because she always wanted to take me for her child (BL15 2008).

There was this person who was murdered, who has a grave up there, which I remember too (BL15 2008).

My parents had lived around Qamanaarjuk Lake, while others lived around the Back River area. I guess my ancestors lived there too. My grandmother would cry when she remembered the ones who had passed on. She would sing first, and then start crying. She would then say something, just to make herself feel better. She also didn't want me to be scared. That might have been in 1947, or 1948, and perhaps I was seven years old. The places I most remember are Qikiqtaalik, Nurrarnaq, Hi'tat, and around Patiqtariarvik (BL15 2008).

I moved back to my mother's family, after my grandmother passed away. They were at Qamanaarjuk, Uqsuksiniq, and Piqiq'tuaq. I lived in that area for maybe two years. But since it wasn't my land where I grew up, I ended up trying to walk back to where I grew up, all the way up there. Because I wasn't happy where I was, I tried to go back to the land, but I ended up getting stuck because of a large lake and big rivers, which I could not cross. Realizing too that it was part of the land where I grew up in, I started liking the land I ended up at, although I was angry at first. So as a young girl when I tried walking back to the land where I grew up, I would start early in the morning and walk until in the evening just before it got dark. I walked two days and two nights out on the tundra. At that time I was wrong (BL15 2008).

I think it was very hard that time finding something to eat. When my grandmother and I went pass Nurrarnaq to go fishing, and didn't catch any, she removed hair from the caribou skin and cooked the leather to feed me. At times the leather was hard to get too, and with that I realized that you can keep alive by eating cooked caribou leather skin. Although the skin was tough, I must have good teeth because I ate them. Then, when my grandmother caught a fish, she fed me again. She was a light eater, and she was always helpful when we would take walks or travel distance to sleep over outside our camp (BL15 2008).

As for my grandfather, who had injured his leg with sleds so he could not walk anymore, he spent most of the time at home. He must have worked hard that he got injured. I thought he didn't love me, but I realized he loved me very much because I was named after one of his relatives (BL15 2008).

2.15.2 Food Sources

We would try and go fishing when caribou were scarce, because when there's hardly any caribou we can only survive on fish and ptarmigan, I guess. Trying to get food must have been hard. It must have been very hard.

My grandmother gathered old bones and something from where the dogs had been chained, to feed me. Fish, caribou, ptarmigan, and geese were our main sources of food, and maybe rabbit too because they have meat (BL15 2008).

2.15.3 Caribou Crossings

While we were living at Ikiarniq, the caribou herd would appear from the southeast across from us. They are walking towards the north, some crossing the river. Iji'tuaq's husband used to hunt them with his qajaq, and spear caribou, and my grandmother would dry the meat (BL15 2008).

Ikiq was one of the main crossings; they would start crossing in a line on the lower part, going north. Then, they would disappear for while. Then, they would return from northwest to cross to the other side. When they returned from the northwest, we call them qivirait, because they returned after they had left (BL15 2008).

2.15.4 Caches

We cached meat near or beside Ikiarmiut, Hi'tat, Patiqtariarvik, and Hu'jailat (BL15 2008).

2.15.5 Fishing

We did our fishing at Nurrarnak, Nuvukuluk, Hagli, and around Ikiq. It took a long time to catch fish at Hi'tat, and around Qikiqqtalik Lake. In the lakes we fished at, we would usually catch big ones. If I were to go fishing up there, I would catch fish right away (BL15 2008). I also remember living around Quglungnili'naaq Lake with my other grandparents. We would fish there too. We would catch trout when we didn't use nets, and white fish. I don't know the other white fish, cisco. All I have heard is that they have small mouths (BL15 2008).

2.15.6 Weather

When the land is foggy, it will be like that for a day, and then it will clear up. When we got thunderstorms where we used to live, it sure could thunder, and got scary (BL15 2008).

2.15.7 Archaeology Sites

I don't remember any [archaeology sites] that would be close by (BL15 2008).

2.15.8 Graves

Where I came from there are quite a lot of graves of our relatives and of some who are not our relatives. At Ikiarvik, there's Tulugtu'tuaq and Talurijaq who are husband and wife buried together. There was Iji'tuaq's late daughter, Kuunnuaq's late daughter. Then, at Murjunngni'tuaq, there are the graves of Tatitga'tuaq, Ittuluka'naaq, and probably others I don't know of. Then, at Qairniq across from Nurrarnaq, there was Airut's grave, and then at Qikiqqtalik, there were Qallut and his son who were struck by lightning, and across that area is late Haqpi's grave (BL15 2008).

2.15.9 Spiritual Sites

The area where I use to live is a special place for me. I would like to go back to some areas, just once while I'm alive, by airplane, helicopter, boat, ski-doo, anyhow and anyway I can. As long as I could see special sites like Shultz Lake and Aberdeen Lake area, I would be very happy (BL15 2008).

I don't know of any spiritual sites, except the place where Angaktarrjuaq got lost just beside where the mining is going on. It is an area where you can get lost because he got lost and never returned. I also have heard about a place on the north side of the Prince River; a place that is eerie or where you can get lost (BL15 2008).

2.15.10 Project

A bridge across the Thelon would be okay as long as the young people are properly supervised. I don't know the Kiggavik area. Maybe because of this I guess a road would be OK because some of our young people don't have any jobs (BL15 2008).

A ferry or a dock at Hagliq or a winter road would be okay I guess. I don't think mining is going to stop now, and there's no way I can stop that (BL15 2008).

If someday mining starts where I once lived (knowing that mining is not only going to be around Kiggavik) it should be known that there's a sanctuary just past our land. The areas where my mother once lived like at Shultz Lake Ikiarniq, Nurrarnaq, and Aberdeen are areas that are very

special and important to me. I wish nothing would be disturbed there (BL15 2008).

Just have someone take me to my land, without having problems. I want to see that land and I can explain and talk about some areas, teach someone something I know about. Think of me (BL15 2008).

2.15.11 Move to Baker Lake

When Kingilik became very ill, we started travelling towards Baker Lake. Because I was living with them, and not with my mother anymore, I moved to Baker. After that, the Kingilik family travelled back to where they were, but I stayed behind. Within a year I was to move down to Rankin Inlet. My mother had told me that I would marry a handsome man. When I got to Baker Lake, my mother said she was going to point out the man she wanted me to marry. That's when I moved to Rankin Inlet. She said it would be okay if I got a husband, to take care of me, so that I would not be moving from one family to another. My mother also told me that an ugly person or a handsome person are the same, and told me to look at the person's life rather than their looks. She also told this so that I wouldn't be hungry anymore, or live a poor life. It's like that (BL15 2008).

2.16 ELDER INTERVIEW 16, BAKER LAKE, 2008 (BL16 2008)

2.16.1 Camping

I would camp at Anigguq Lake and Baker Lake when I went hunting. When we camped there, we would go to get supplies in the summer time and on our way home, travel up river by boat. When the boat couldn't make it any further, we would walk the rest of the way to camp. At times we would cache meat in that area. They also used to camp at Nalluq (crossing) (BL16 2008).

When we travelled through Anigguq Lake during the winter, we mainly went by the mouth of the Anigguq river, but during the summer time we would go up river by boat. Quglungnili'naaq Lake is also where they camped during the summer. The area is also a summer camp and caching area. All through this area people camped. When people camped here, they also were fishing. There's a little river here. And in the spring time, the herd of caribou would arrive. At the end of the lake, there's a fishing area, even during the winter. After Inuit started residing in Baker Lake, that's when they stopped living there (BL16 2008).

Taalluk and Tuluqtuq used to spend the summer around there too -- they were from around the Akilinniq area. When they were taken to Baker Lake by airplane, they started camping not too far from the hamlet. Ikuutaq's family had always lived around Quglungnili'naaq, Anigguq, Nalluq, and those three big lakes. They would travel back and forth to these places for hunting caribou, and fish. All those areas have always been used by those Inuit for survival, and I know those areas too because I came from one of the big lakes, but I started living around Qikiqqtalik after Haqpi'naaq passed away.

My ancestors also used to travel back and forth around this area, before the white people started coming around. Like animals, they never lingered in one spot, but travelled all the time following wildlife. The people that I grew up with were from around Akiliniq, Beverly, Aberdeen, Kazan River, and the coastal areas. They were always on the move before they started using white people's equipment (BL16 2008).

I started remembering when they were using rifles, but before all that they used bows and arrows and spears. They needed to be around caribou crossings in order to hunt caribou. That would be in the summer. During the winter they would dig out a snow ditch just big enough for caribou to fall through (BL16 2008).

When I was a young man, I never thought of these dates and times. The only thing for me was playing around and hunting. We never even owned a calendar, although we were given Bibles. I cannot say exactly what years we lived there. It might have been close to 1960 to 1970 or even before. I cannot say the exact year because I never really thought about these things (BL16 2008).

Mallery Lake had been my main land (BL16 2008). I was mainly raised around Mallery Lake and before I became an adult we moved to Qikiqqtalik. Before I really started to remember things around me, we were living around Mallery Lake. I really don't remember living around Anigguq Lake. After I moved to Baker Lake, I started going to Anigguq Lake and on the river to go hunting (BL16 2008).

2.16.2 Food Sources

Fish and caribou were mostly the main food sources. We tried not to hunt musk ox, to be obedient to the law about the musk ox. Sometimes we hunted ptarmigan, and geese, but we rarely had geese to eat because the caribou arrived earlier. There used to be so many caribou in the early spring, years ago. But now, the caribou we see are just in one round spot. When we used to live out on the land, caribou used to cover the whole land. They would be

walking for at least a week, but today's herds can't even last a week anymore (BL16 2008).

2.16.3 Caribou Crossings

Qikiqqtarjualik Lake is very close to Princess Mary Lake and to Mallery Lake, and the third lake. That area would be filled with herds of migrating caribou in the spring, going that way, and in the summer they would come back this way (BL16 2008).

In the spring, we would go to the end of the Mallery Lake, and move back and forth to our summer camp. Kazan River was also a camping area. We would wait for the caribou to arrive (because it was the main migrating route). For that reason, the crossings were always checked, like Kazan River crossings, our river crossings, and those big lake crossings (BL16 2008).

It is because of caribou crossing that they call this area Nalluq, especially in the summer. The caribou would arrive from the north, and travel towards the east. In the spring when they arrived from around the Kazan River, they call them kanngalat (shedding), and when they come from around north side of Baker Lake, they call them qivirait (returning) (BL16 2008).

2.16.4 Fishing

We mainly fished at one of the big lakes south of Qikiqqtarjualik Lake and in the Qikiqqtalik area. You can only catch fish easily at Qikiqqtarjualik Lake in the spring time. It's hard to catch one right away during the winter. Any lake, like Kangiqluarjuk, just past Aariaq Lake, was also a place where there were people and fishing. All of the lakes around us were all fishing areas, and there had been Inuit living around those places. As long as there have been lakes, it has been a tradition to fish (BL16 2008).

2.16.5 Water

I remember the water seemed okay in these lakes. We never even thought about checking the water, although we have heard about it (BL16 2008).

2.16.6 Archaeology Sites

The land has been used by Inuit. The Inuit, who we lived with and grew up with, used every part of the land, and talked and sang about it (BL16 2008).

2.16.7 Graves

Sevoga's mother is buried at Aberdeen, and there are more graves at Anigguq Lake, around Nuvuriktuq hill (BL16 2008).

2.16.8 Spiritual Sites

One I never forget is beside the Kangirqluarjuk area. I think they call that spot Kivvaat. You can get lost there, and I think you are not allowed to go there. When Arna'naaq went caribou hunting there, he tried looking for the meat he had caught, but could not find it. There was someone talking to him, yelling at him, so he quickly turned to look and saw no one. That hill gets really foggy too. While you are there, you just go in circles and can get lost in the fog, although you can get out of it. There are other areas that are dangerous, but this one you cannot go to, for you will get lost because it's got something that has been there for so long (BL16 2008).

2.16.9 Weather

When it is not spring or summer, there are days when it gets foggy, but it's not that bad. Our land is not near salt water, so it doesn't get foggy, or maybe because it is too cold. There's no open water anywhere, except in the Murjunngni'tuaq and Aariaq areas (BL16 2008).

2.16.10 Project

I know there's quite a lot of caribou in the spring time near the Thelon. There are caribou along the river in the spring and sometimes in the summer there are people who go out hunting by boat and ATV's now. When we had a public meeting with Cumberland Resources, there were some natives here. They said that in their community, there was a mine close by their town and said the caribou were lingering close by, not affected by the mine or anything. For that reason, we agreed to have the mine at Meadowbank open. We now see there are caribou around the sewage lagoon area. I don't know if there would be any affects if this mine went ahead. It's hard not to think that the caribou have learned too. There are even caribou around the airstrip area all year round, when there's lots of noise (BL16 2008).

I cannot make a decision on supporting the bridge across the Thelon because I know that we are still going to go out hunting in the future. I was working for this mine for while at Qikiqqtarjualik Lake. They had a committee and said they are very careful about everything (BL16 2008).

Looking at the road across the Thelon, it doesn't seem to be going through where Inuit go hunting to, so I don't think there would be any problem with that. Because while they were building [the winter road] the wildlife weren't too affected. Some even walked over the road. The wildlife seem to know before us, maybe even more than us. They may even know more than us because neither the wildlife nor the mine stop working or moving, and the wildlife don't seem to mind at all (BL16 2008).

The road through Hagliq goes through the end of Tunuhuk Lake, and we go there to hunt caribou in the summer. As long as they don't go into [the Tunuhuk area] Inuit can still hunt caribou there. I prefer they build a road through the Thelon River (BL16 2008).

There are a lot of shallow areas along the Thelon, especially around the entrance of the river (unless they are going to bring a ferry around Anaqtalik rapids, where it's always deep, near the Kinggarjuk area). As long as it's before Half Way Hills it's pretty deep there. It's kind of narrow, and the current isn't too strong. If the ice starts to drift down, it doesn't stop there much. In the whole area around Anaqtalik, the snow takes a long time to melt that some overhangs are ready to fall. Most of the time ice is stuck to the snow for a long time. So when you are travelling up the river by boat, when there is still melting snow, you cannot be close to the shore because there will be some snow hanging against some cliffs ready to fall (BL16 2008).

Hagliq is really close to Qikiqtaujaq. We go there in the spring time to hunt caribou because the herd goes through there. It's very shallow around this area. You could probably try to find a way to pass through because the water around there is fake. It is not deep, and will eventually dry up. Then, around Hagliq, there are some rocks, and it's deep around there. And if they are planning to build a road here, it's one of our main routes because we would have to go through here to get to Qikiqtaujaq (BL16 2008).

I am not sure about a dock at Nunariaq, because we use that for camping and hunting. There are hardly any caribou where the winter road would go in the winter. Looking at the map and seeing the route for the winter road, mining exploration and the caribou know each other more than us now. In the winter, the caribou are not around the road, we can just approach them by ski-doo and search for them. During the summer time, going by ATV, the route is so rough where there is no trail. By boat, we mostly go to crossing areas (BL16 2008). [The implication is that the winter road won't be of much use to Inuit?] .

2.16.11 Move to Baker Lake

This wasn't our choice to make. When we were living out on the tundra and were trying to cache meat, we had nothing. The town and the jobs started taking us. We started gathering to the settlement. For us who were young that time, we started longing to be in town. But for our Elders, including myself, since we started residing here, we have longed to be out on the tundra. We moved because of the schools too (BL16 2008).

2.17 ELDER INTERVIEW 17, BAKER LAKE, 2008 (BL17 2008)

2.17.1 Place Names

The area beyond Kiggavik was my land, around Beverly Lake. My family also used to live around these three big lakes, Qinguq, Nalluq (Anigguq Lake), and the Nuvvuriktuq, where there's a hill that's really pointed. Here's Qikiqqtarlak, (some of these land names are really close to one another). This one at Anigguq Lake where the river starts flowing down is called Murjungniq. This lake is Quglungnili'naaq and this one is called Qamanaugaq. This is Qikiqqtarjuali inlet, and this lake is called Nurraavik because when the caribou crossed the lake, going west, in the spring time – when their skins are really thin -- many of the calves drowned. And this one would be called Tasira'tua'naaq Lake. Here's Amittuarjuk, a long lake beside this inlet. Another long lake here is called Hanningajuq (BL17 2008).

2.17.2 Camping

We started gathering together up there and at Harvaqtuuq (Kazan River). Both my parents were buried there. My father had a mother who was from Palliq (Arviat) area. Sometimes a man would marry a woman from a distant land. I have a mother who was taken from a distant land. I was born around the Kazan River area. Trying to survive to keep alive, we started moving toward the north from the Kazan River, travelling through those three big lakes (see above) onto that big inlet, and then to Atgaktalik for a while, and then to the Iglurjuali area. My parents camped around Iglurjuali in search for caribou. Then they found more caribou around Beverly Lake, so that's where they lingered for many years (BL17 2008).

Some people who came to our camp (from Cambridge Bay and other settlements) were in bad shape and very poor. One part of my family was from another settlement and wanted a little baby, so a baby's parents agreed to give him away. So the Inuit from northwest are my father's relatives too because he got a younger brother from them. Because through adoption, they made themselves become our relatives (BL17 2008).

We camped a lot at Nalluq and Hanningajuq was one of our main camps. We camped at Qikiqqtarjualik Lake (Judge Sissons Lake) around the mouth of the inlet there. Quglungnili'naaq was Nipi family's main camp (BL17 2008).

The man Qaqimat, who I was named after, is buried at Iglurjualik. He was my mother's father. Somewhere at Iglurjualik we used camp too. When I was still a child my parents camped where late Iviuq use to camp, but those lakes, Qamanaarjuk and Qamanaujaq, are not visible on this map (BL17 2008).

It's too bad the area where we mostly camped is not visible in this map, where we and Owingajak travelled to when we went up river by boat. We would camp overnight at Piqqi'tuaq, and then the next day move to Beverly Lake (BL17 2008).

My ancestors, trying to survive, also lived around that area. They never use to just linger, but would travel to search for food. Even during the winter they would travel to any large lake, and in the summer, the men would travel by foot, taking with them sleeping bags and grub for some days to look for caribou. Once they found caribou, they returned to get the rest of their family and belongings and moved camp to where they had found caribou. They didn't have very much to take, like their tents, knife, ammunition, rifle, and a few cooking pots. The dogs would have their own carrying packs. They would pack belongings in the summertime and pull sleds during the winter time (BL17 2008).

All the areas where we camped were also caching areas because those were the places where the Inuit tried to survive. The main places I used to camp are not visible on this map (BL17 2008).

Some of my siblings were born around the Kazan River area, while some of us were born after we started living around Beverly, Aberdeen, and Shultz Lakes (BL17 2008).

2.17.3 Graves

Qaqimat was buried just beyond the old tent rings, around those little rocks there. There's prospecting going on there too, around the inlet. It's called Aqiarurnaq. Aningaa has a grave just past Qikiqqtalik Islands (BL17 2008).

I don't know of any graves at Qikiqqtarjualik, but on the shore around the point is where my sister Uqauligaq and Sevoga's mother are buried. There's Nipi's little baby son too who was buried there too. Somewhere there's the

grave of Qaumak, (she was Arnasungaaq's mother). At Kangirluarjuk is Amaruq's grave (BL17 2008).

2.17.4 Food sources

The only food sources we had were caribou, fish, ptarmigan, various types of geese, and Arctic hare (BL17 2008).

2.17.5 Caribou Crossings

At Qiurarviit, where many caribou drowned, the herd came from the east. The place is called Qiurarviit because many caribou drowned trying to cross. During the time before I was born and after I was born, there were many caribou that drowned trying to cross, because there were plenty of caribou around that area. And Atgaktalik is also one of the main crossings for caribou. Iglurjualik is one of the main crossings too. There are lots of caribou around. There are tent rings all around (BL17 2008).

2.17.6 Fishing

Most of all the large lakes were used for fishing, except when the lakes got so thick. All the shores of lakes around Kiggavik are good for fishing. Long ago, when we travelled to Baker Lake to get supplies and got stranded due to the weather, we would jig and fish out there on any lake (BL17 2008).

The only fish there are trout, whitefish, and these fish with flat mouths (pike). There are a lot of those around the mouth of the river at Beverly Lake (BL17 2008).

2.17.7 Archaeology and Spiritual Sites

I only know about archeology sites at Atgaktalik area, which is not visible on this map. The only inuksuk sites I know about are at those big lakes south of Kiggavik (BL17 2008).

I don't know anything about spiritual or special sites, although I have heard about them. We use to live past Beverly Lake, close to the tree line. Since it was so far for my parents, they moved closer to Beverly Lake, to Uqsuriakjuaq and Qikiqqtalik to hunt and fish, just going back and forth. Before my parents passed away, we moved to Qikiqqtalik, trying to be close to Baker Lake, and when they passed away, we moved to Baker Lake. At Qikiqqtalik, there's a grave of Haqpi (BL17 2008).

2.17.8 Weather

I've never known fog, but I have travelled it when it's really clear out. I know that Aberdeen Inlet has bad blizzards and the snow gets so hard. It's also a beautiful land, and it's a crossing too (BL17 2008).

2.17.9 Project

When there was a talk about a bridge through the Qikiqtaujaq area, I knew that people were not going to be happy about it because that area is a main hunting area and camping area. Just past Kinngarjuk, where there's hardly any slope, would be a better and easier place to build the road (BL17 2008).

Hagliq is a very important place, so people will be upset if road were built there. That area is used for camping every spring, to hunt, fish or just spend time with family. It's even used in winter. As for this area around the Thelon River, people travel up river by boat, but only in the summer, and they can travel by land too. I would prefer they build the road to cross the Thelon River, because it would be better that way (BL17 2008).

The Inuit used to live and camp around Hagliq. When Inuit go camping or hunting, they camp along the shore. They fishing and hunt caribou, so they would not be happy if the road is built around Hagliq. I myself wasn't happy about that (BL17 2008).

If they want to build a road, Inuit should join in the work to build the road. The Inuit can build a road so let them do something. The Inuit don't have the knowledge of hunting or survival anymore because we older people are not teaching them the skills. They are going to have a hard time. At least if they are working, that would mean much. If the road is built and someone who is lost reaches the road, he will know where to go in a storm and will at least live a little longer. The road would be of great help if found by someone lost during a blizzard, they would know where Baker Lake might be (BL17 2008).

2.17.10 Move to Baker Lake

The reason we moved to Baker Lake was for the children to go to school. I was going back and forth between Beverley Lake and Baker Lake for some years. Then Thomas Qablunaaq was building houses, and needed some help. The first time he and I built a house, we made a mistake in setting it up, so we had to strip it again. When the foreman saw it and realized we made a mistake, we started laughing. At first we made a mistake, discussed what and how we should build, and finally made it right. It was funny, that the

first building we tried to build, we made a mistake. Afterwards I worked with them for a long time. During that time, we used to go home to have our coffee break. At that time I had a single cylinder ski-doo, so I, Qablunaaq, Tiriganiaq and others went home for coffee breaks. While I was on my break, the phone rang, and Kuunnuaq answered it and gave it to me. It was Simailak. At that time, we didn't have a hamlet yet, and Simailak asked me if I could come to the office, and I said yes. When I went to the office, he said that Avaala was working all alone, and needed someone to help him, so he asked me if I could help him with the garbage. I told him, "I wonder which job I'll keep longer, because I'm trying to pay my debt with the income tax, which totals \$800.00 and Qablunaaq is helping me work overtime in the evenings." So Simailak said, "The only time you will stop working is when you want to quit working." So after that I worked for many years, maybe for 20 or 21 years. That time I was praying to get a job, and when I did get a job, I was almost in shock and surprised. But at that time, when Kuunnuaq and I used to carve, we brought a large carving to the manager, and there I saw Qablunaaq. I felt compassion for him. He told me that if I ever get laid off from work, to go to his work place and apply for work; just put the date and sign my name. Even if he is not present, I could take my hammer and go to work for him. I felt compassion for him because he was a good foreman. I don't go out hunting anymore (BL17 2008).

2.18 ELDER INTERVIEW 18, BAKER LAKE, 2008 (BL18 2008)

2.18.1 Camping

I lived way out here, at the Harvaqtuuq River (Kazan River), near those three big lakes; Princess Mary Lake, Mallery Lake and the furthest lake, and around Ferguson Lake. I guess my ancestors also lived there because we use to see a lot of Paallirmiut; Inuit who are from Paaliq (BL18 2008).

Maybe when I was 12 years old, we lived around those three big lakes when my uncle came to pick us up. My father's older brother wanted to see him, because he hadn't seen him in over 50 years and didn't know whether my father was alive or not. It took them about three weeks to get to where we were, and just when they reached us, we took off to Tahirjuaq Lake. At least I saw my uncle a bit (BL18 2008).

We also used to live and camp around Anigguq Lake, trying to cache meat for the winter. It is also called Nalluq. We even used to see happy people and a lot of iglu there (BL18 2008).

2.18.2 Food Sources:

We eat a lot of caribou meat, dry meat, geese, ptarmigan, and fish (BL18 2008).

2.18.3 Caribou

From what I have heard, even just in the last 2 years, the caribou coming from around Qunnguq were small in size. I guess caribou sizes are different because the caribou around our area are big, while the caribou south of here are smaller. Anigguq Lake is a lake towards the north, and the herd goes right into that area. It would appear from the Aliqsiqtuq Rapids area, during the early fall and summer (BL18 2008).

2.18.4 Caribou Crossings

While living around where my wife Anautaq lived, seeing a caribou herd was like seeing the land moving. Sometimes it was scary during the night, for the herd would be knocking the tents down with nowhere to run. In the spring, they would arrive from way out in the coastal area somewhere, as if there was no more land. During the early fall they would arrive from the north, especially the bulls (BL18 2008).

2.18.5 Caches

When we are going to cache meat for the winter, we would be around south side of the Tahirjuaq Lakes. One year, one side of each lake would have caribou, and the next year, they would be on the other side, so we would just cross over. At times the Inuit would move to different areas in the winter and summer times. We moved in August (BL18 2008).

2.18.6 Fishing

We fished in those big lakes; Princess Mary and Mallery Lakes. I have forgotten the exact spots. There were large trout. These may be different in areas where the water doesn't freeze. In an area past Aariannuaq Lake, a lake that doesn't freeze all year, the fish there are just round with fat. They don't even have fins at the back, because they are so round. They are caught with a fish spear because the ice is thin on the south side of Aariannuaq Lake. There's a long inlet and at the end, and you can see Ferguson Lake and mining buildings (BL18 2008).

2.18.7 Water

I think the water in Anigguk Lake was good. It seems like there was nothing wrong with the water (BL18 2008).

2.18.8 Archaeology Sites

I have seen very, very old sod houses that were built even before I was born between Rankin Inlet and Kazan River. They are so old that plants or lichen were starting to grow on the rocks. I also have seen those rocks formed in a V-shape that are stands for qajaqs (BL18 2008).

2.18.9 Graves

I only have heard that at Anigguq Lake, there might be the graves of Siksigaq and others, where Avaalaqiaq had camped (BL18 2008).

2.18.10 Spiritual Sites

Past Harvaqtuuq (Kazan River) area, we prayed all through spring and summer. We would start praying in the evening, when it got dark. There would be banging and knocking on the outcrops in day time, by someone you couldn't see. During our prayers, the priest told us that those beings were dangerous. Those things we could see, shaped like humans, are dangerous. They are called Ijiraq (human shaped beings that turn into caribou). Their home is inside cliffs and they can take people (BL18 2008).

There was one time when my father was carrying a load of caribou on his back. The load became very heavy, when he was between some big hills. He was sweating, as it was summer, so he stopped to rest. He could not move anymore, and was hearing whistling sounds around him. He was really sweating and tired. He started looking around him to see who would be whistling and saw across from him a woman standing there waving at him. She was either an Indian or a being. My father could barely move, but with all his might he tried to get up, and when he did, he fled as fast as he could. As he was fleeing from the area, he was breathing with his voice, trying to run because he was frightened. He also said that the woman was beautiful. He wasn't taken, and the next day natives came to his camp. These natives must have come from Churchill, Manitoba. Another important place would be the sanctuary area (BL18 2008).

2.18.11 Weather

When there were a lot of mosquitoes, Father Choque flew in a small airplane, around Shultz Lake area. As they were flying over a hill, it suddenly got so foggy that the only things they could see were inside the airplane. There must be something there that makes that happen (BL18 2008).

2.18.12 Project

I have heard some people complaining about a bridge across the Thelon River. I guess I would support those who oppose the building of the bridge, although I don't know. I'm not sure, because I don't travel in that area, but it's my wife's land and I don't know what to think of it (BL18 2008).

A ferry would be a better idea than building a bridge. I think it would be lot better if there were a ferry across the Thelon because if the bridge is built, are we going to have anymore wildlife around? I wonder what we would do. It is hard to say about a road through Hagliq, because that area too is also the route for the caribou. When the mosquitoes arrive, the herd starts walking through the Naqsalugjuaq area, behind Sugar Loaf Mountain. I guess as long as the caribou are not running away too much, it would be okay. There are quite a lot of rivers and lakes that don't freeze somewhere there (BL18 2008).

A dock at Hagliq would be okay, but for people who go out there fishing by boat, it's hard to say. All through summer there will be Inuit who go out towards that area by boat, either hunting for caribou, fishing or just camping. They don't stop in any season (BL18 2008).

I would choose to have the road built through Hagliq rather than across the Thelon because I am worried the caribou around the Thelon will decrease. It's seems to be the only main migrating route for caribou. In the fall, I don't think anything is going to be very busy around the Hagliq area. The Thelon River area is part of the main route for caribou, and in the summer, there are people coming from Yellowknife to paddle down the river. Also in August, there are a lot of Inuit travelling up the river by boat to hunt caribou, and I'm sure they will not be happy about a bridge or road being built. It's also in an area where most of the time the caribou linger. Sometimes there are caribou right on shore of the Thelon River. So what I'm thinking is that there will be no more caribou if a bridge is built (BL18 2008).

2.18.13 Move to Baker Lake

We moved because my younger brother, who is my only remaining sibling, and I were told to go to school, along with my sister. The rest of my brothers knew nothing because they never went to school (BL18 2008).

Another reason was that Father Choque and others wanted people to do things for them, like house cleaning and such. Although my father didn't want to live here, he was asked to make a man-made freezer under the ground. The RCMP wanted my father as a guide too, so he wasn't free to go out hunting. For that he was sad, and finally died without going back to his homeland. He never became free to do what he wanted to do when the white men started taking him for guiding, at times going out with Father Choque by boats with motors. My father was working at the stores too. My mother was also working somewhere (BL18 2008).

2.19 INTERVIEWS CITED, 2008

BL01 (Baker Lake Interview 01). 2008. Summary of individual Elder IQ interview conducted by Hattie Mannik in Baker Lake, 2008.

BL02 (Baker Lake Interview 02). 2008. Summary of individual Elder IQ interview conducted by Hattie Mannik in Baker Lake, 2008.

BL03 (Baker Lake Interview 03). 2008. Summary of individual Elder IQ interview conducted by Hattie Mannik in Baker Lake, 2008.

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BL16 (Baker Lake Interview 16). 2008. Summary of individual Elder IQ interview conducted by Hattie Mannik in Baker Lake, 2008.

BL 17 (Baker Lake Interview 17). 2008. Summary of individual Elder IQ interview conducted by Hattie Mannik in Baker Lake, 2008.

BL18 (Baker Lake Interview 18). 2008. Summary of individual Elder IQ interview conducted by Hattie Mannik in Baker Lake, 2008.

3 RESULTS OF THE INTERVIEWS, 2009

3.1 INTERVIEW 01, MARCH 4, 2009 (BL01 2009)

3.1.1 Caribou

The hunters and trappers say that caribou movement patterns may have changed because of the road, which attracts caribou but in his view the patterns are always changing anyway and it might just be coincidence. Some people say there was an influx of 10,000 caribou into the area, but caribou change their travel patterns every few years anyway (BL01 2009).

3.2 HUNTERS FOCUS GROUP, BAKER LAKE, MARCH 4, 2009 (BLH 2009)

3.2.1 Caribou

From October to December, hunters don't harvest caribou bulls, because the meat is poor due to mating. It is also important not to hunt animals carrying young. Caribou mate everywhere, and begins when there is a little snow and ice on the lakes (BLH 2009).

Hunters used to travel far to harvest caribou, but now, they don't need to go further than 40 miles. Caribou are "just there" now, and hunters don't know why. Caribou won't be afraid of humans in the near future. Hunters used to watch the wind direction so caribou wouldn't smell them, but the caribou don't care anymore (BLH 2009). Caribou cross the Thelon River all along at various times (BLH 2009).

Every part of the caribou is used for something, and at different times of year caribou are especially good for some things. During the winter, caribou have thick coats, so they are good for mitts or kamiks (BLH 2009).

3.2.2 Wildlife

Wildlife move, so it is important to protect the environment everywhere, not just at specific places. Although everybody doesn't hunt everything, there is hunting and gathering of caribou, fresh and salt water fish, grizzly bears, musk ox, wolves, wolverines, arctic hare, foxes, walruses, harbour and bearded seals, beluga, snow geese, ptarmigan, and the eggs of other birds. Ptarmigan are a large part of the diet, and Arctic hare as well. Inuit work year round to feed themselves with different activities at different times of

the year. Hunting activities do not change throughout the year, and hunters “harvest whatever all year”. Trapping takes place in the winter, when animals have thick coats, especially wolves and wolverine. None of the hunters have seen a wolverine den.

Every year, people from Chesterfield Inlet come inland towards Baker Lake to hunt caribou. Caribou and fish are the most important wildlife for food (diet). People also like to hunt ptarmigan a lot, and other small birds. People don’t need to go as far as before to hunt, with the exceptions of wolf and wolverine. These are not often found close to Baker Lake. The wildlife is no longer afraid of humans. They used to run at the smell of humans, but now stay and even come close to the garbage area (BLH 2009)

Canada goose nesting areas have moved further north and are found around all the small lakes (BLH 2009). Swans are found along the Hudson Bay coast, but hunters are not sure of their areas. Sandhill cranes nest anywhere on dry land, and don’t make a nest, only little indents on the ground. One came into Baker Lake in the mid 1960s (BLH 2009)

Only a few people in Baker Lake go looking for marine mammals down the inlet, but every year there are some seals that appear in Baker Lake itself, near the east end. Seals were seen three times in Baker Lake last year. There are harbour seal, ring seal, and the occasional bearded seal. A killer whale was observed in Baker Lake around 1978, and every couple of years, beluga are also seen in Baker Lake. Walrus are found only in Hudson Bay, as they like deep water (BLH 2009).

3.2.3 Environmental Protection

Most people in Baker Lake really depend on caribou for food. It is hard to live traditionally nowadays. But even if we don’t live traditionally, (because we live in town), and hunt and gather as many different animals and plants as we used to, it is important to protect all wildlife, protect the whole environmental system. This includes marine animals that we don’t depend on (BLH 2009).

Projects must make sure things are safe for the environment, and regulations must be followed. If the Kiggavik project opens, both the project and the wildlife will have to be watched closely. Caribou feed on the land, so the land has to be protected, The environment has to be protected all year round because animals move to different places in different seasons and there are seasonal differences in what animals do. Migration routes and nesting areas need to be protected (BLH 2009).

Water affects the land and its animals and also marine animals so it needs to be protected as well. Kiggavik could impact all types of wildlife. It's important to ensure that grizzly and musk ox are looked after, as well as seals, beluga, walruses, Canada geese, snow geese, and snow geese eggs. There are different areas for different seasons, and because water travels to Hudson Bay, it's important to make sure the water is protected (BLH 2009).

3.2.4 New Species

As children (during 1940s and 1950s), hunters only saw a grizzly bear occasionally. Grizzlies are now seen every summer, and take cached meat. Six individual hunters saw grizzlies on the same day. Flicker woodpecker have been seen in the Baker Lake area, as well as kingfisher. (BLH 2009).

Hunters haven't noticed any changes in plants, although they have noticed a new species of tall plant growing along the road in and around the town. It's about 4 feet tall, and the hunters' group don't know its name (BLH 2009).

3.2.5 Weather and Water

In Baker Lake there are fewer storms, but there are still strong winds. November to February used to be really cold months, but the cold period is shorter now. The temperatures would reach -40 degrees often, but not too often now (BLH 2009).

Ice freeze-up is much later than it used to be. As a child, freeze-up was in October, but now, it's late November. In 1959, a ship unloaded on the ice in late September. The first ice was in late August. Break-up seems to be quicker and more sudden. There used to be puddles on top of the ice, but not so much now (BLH 2009).

There isn't as much water as there used to be in Chesterfield Inlet, and it seems shallower than it used to. Some wet areas have become drier and more arid. There are fewer wetlands and people are seeing different types of birds (BLH 2009).

3.3 ROTATIONAL WORKERS FOCUS GROUP, BAKER LAKE, MARCH 4, 2009 (BLRW 2009)

3.3.1 Hunting

Employed people can afford vehicles, houses on the land and equipment. Before, with no income, getting out to the land was more difficult. A rotation of two weeks working and two weeks off is good, as the two weeks off allows time to travel and hunt. Employed people spend more time on the land (BLRW 2009).

3.3.2 Health and Safety

Workers believe that mining is safer than it used to be. They are not worried about occupational health and safety overly; just about large accidents and evacuation (BLRW 2009).

3.4 YOUNG ADULTS FOCUS GROUP, BAKER LAKE, MARCH 5, 2009 (BLYA 2009)

3.4.1 Hunting

Because younger people are less likely to go out on the land, there are businesses in Baker Lake with people who go hunting and fishing, and sell the product to others. Traditional skills are being converted into more modern ones. Now, providing for the family now means, making money. There are not many youth that both want to, and can, go out on the land (BLYA 2009).

3.4.2 Environmental Protection

Younger people say that with parents and grandparents encouraging them to get an education, retain their traditional ways of life, protect the environment, and work, there is a lot of pressure on the young. Mines are important sources of employment, but it is also important to protect the environment. People need to get educations and employment, but they also need to protect their Inuit identity (BLYA 2009).

3.5 ELDERS FOCUS GROUP, BAKER LAKE, MARCH 5, 2009 (BLE 2009)

3.5.1 Hunting

There is concern that mining takes land away from hunting grounds, or that the uranium will escape and contaminate grounds. There are particular concerns about the protection of land along the Thelon River, and on the south side of Baker Lake (BLE 2009).

The Inuit still eat a lot of caribou and won't stop eating caribou. They also eat a lot of trout, whitefish and char. Others say that Elders now stay in their homes and don't go out very much anymore, and that the migration of caribou is of less concern since the Northern Store opened. Only the younger hunters go out (BLE 2009). Also, only younger hunters go down towards Chesterfield Inlet to hunt marine mammals. Baker Lake people do not care much about sea mammals. Some coast people come toward Baker Lake to hunt wolves, wolverine, and musk ox. The ancestors of people in Chesterfield, Rankin and Arviat used to hunt in the Baker Lake area (BLE 2009).

There are stories about the time people were first settled in Baker Lake, when they were told by government scientists not to collect eggs and not to hunt musk ox. Some people had to in order to eat, and had various ways to hide this activity from the RCMP who would charge people if they were found out (BLE 2009).

3.5.2 Environment, Health and Safety

For some, there is less concern about the environment than about people being contaminated. Some Elders believe there are deformed children being born because mothers are contaminated from water and air. One Elder had a partner who worked at Kiggavik and died of cancer, and said her partner did not smell very good during the time he was ill. Others say there are new sicknesses now, and when people lived on the land they would only get colds (BLE 2009).

The Areva site has garbage on it, in torn open bags, which can affect the animals and the land. Smoke from developments can affect the caribou, and animals that are chased by humans have harder meat than animals that are killed on the spot. Others have seen garbage at the AREVA site. Elders recommend that if the project goes ahead, it should be done very carefully, and that AREVA should hire only Inuit (BLE 2009).

3.5.3 Weather and Water

Elders are worried about climate change and the changes this has brought to the land, which looks different now. Rivers have grown larger, but others say the Kazan River seems to have more sand, either because the water level is going down or because more sand is being deposited. The area around the island on the other side of Baker Lake seems to be getting shallower. The rivers are drying up. The ice flows used to bring the ice to the shores of the Thelon, but now the ice seems to stay in the middle and the water level seems to be going down (BLE 2009).

3.5.4 Plants

Sweet plants were harvested as candy. Cowberries, blueberries, and black and red berries were also gathered; and still are. Dried cloudberry leaves are used to make tea. Roots of certain bushes were used to cure stomach aches. Rabbit droppings, mixed with water, was taken for stomach aches. Berries would fix people who were not able to eat meat. After eating the berries, they could eat meat again. There was a moss that when ground up cured snow blindness, and breast milk mixed with ice would also work. When people's eyes were bothered with 'white stuff' a louse tied with a hair was put into the eyes to take the white stuff out. There were no special places for collecting plants. Plants were everywhere; but the area around Judge Sissons Lake was good for red berries (BLE 2009).

None of these traditional cures are used now: "Why bother now that there is a nursing station". But, some people still use moss on the land when they forget to bring toilet paper with them (BLE 2009).

3.5.5 New Species

People are starting to see different types of animals, birds and plants, perhaps because of climate change. There are different geese, insects and birds like martens, a small black bird, and northern woodpecker. The original wildlife is still there, but now there are new animals and birds, and some birds are staying all winter (BLE 2009).

3.6 ROTATIONAL WORKER SPOUSE FOCUS GROUP, BAKER LAKE, APRIL 4, 2009 (BLWS 2009)

3.6.1 Environment

Wolves and fox are killed and their carcasses are burned. This is not in keeping with IQ principles of sharing the kill, using all of an animal killed, never hunting more than you need, and respect for animals (BLWS 2009).

3.6.2 Hunting

Women indicated that their husbands go out on the land more since they started working for Meadowbank. From April to June, hunters will go out on the land daily. But overall, people seem to go out on the land less (BLWS 2009).

3.7 WOMEN FOCUS GROUP, BAKER LAKE, APRIL 6, 2009 (BLW 2009)

3.7.1 Hunting/Traditional Activity

The real contrast is with their grandmothers, who also worked “harder than anybody in the world”, but at traditional activity. Grandmothers prepared their husbands for hunting, made good clothing, and prepared and shared food. Most of their fathers hunted or still hunt. Most of their fathers hunted and/or still hunt (BLW 2009).

3.8 INTERVIEWS CITED, 2009

BL01 (Baker Lake Interview 01). 2009. Summary of individual IQ interview conducted by Susan Ross and Mitchell Goodjohn in Baker Lake. March 4, 2009.

BLE (Baker Lake Elders). 2009. Summary of IQ focus group conducted by Mitchell Goodjohn, Susan Ross, and Hattie Mannik with seven Elders. March 5, 2009.

BLH (Baker Lake Hunters). 2009. Summary of IQ focus group conducted by Susan Ross and Mitchell Goodjohn with nine Baker Lake Hunters. March 4, 2009.

BLRW (Baker Lake Rotational Workers). 2009. Summary of IQ focus group conducted by Susan Ross and Mitchell Goodjohn with seven mine workers. March 4, 2009.

BLW (Baker Lake Women). 2009. Summary of IQ focus group conducted by Linda Havers and Susan Ross with 6 women. April 6, 2009.

BLWS (Baker Lake Rotational Workers' Spouses). 2009. Summary of IQ focus group conducted by Linda Havers and Susan Ross with 7 spouses. April 4, 2009.

BLYA (Baker Lake Young Adults). 2009. Summary of IQ focus group conducted by Susan Ross and Mitchell Goodjohn with three young adults. March 5, 2009.

4 RESULTS OF COMMUNITY REVIEW, BAKER LAKE, 2011

4.1 BAKER LAKE HUNTERS AND TRAPPERS ORGANIZATION (HTO) REPRESENTATIVES, BAKER LAKE, FEBRUARY 16, 2011 (BLHT 2011)

4.1.1 Caribou Hunting

Caribou hunting was the topic that dominated the group interview. The participants in the HTO group confirmed that Caribou is an important source of food for their culture. Caribou meat comprises a large part of the local diet, and so local people are motivated to protect caribou migration routes. One hunter reported that he can catch 2-3 caribou in a week, but the participants noted that caribou meat does not last long if one has a big family, or if one shares meat with other families. Another participant cited a study where the average quantity of edible meat obtained from one caribou was found to be about 50 lbs (22.7 kg). He explained that some hunters need to go out every week to catch caribou.

The hunters harvest caribou all year long, following the caribou around on the land according to the caribou migration routes. The caribou migration routes change from year to year, and vary with the seasons. The hunters noted that this is normal, although it was mentioned that this year they did not observe as many caribou around Baker Lake as in previous years. One hunter said that this year, he could not find as many caribou as in previous years, and that he had to travel over 50 miles (80.5 km) from Baker Lake to find some. Another hunter explained that he hunts in a 50 mile (80.5 km) radius around Baker Lake. The participants in the interview felt that exploration activities, airplanes, and transport trucks may be disturbing the caribou migration. The participants reported that in October and November the caribou were observed passing through the area around Baker Lake, but very few have been seen since. The participants were hopeful that the caribou would return with the spring migration, but said that only time would tell.

According to one participant, there is a spring migration of caribou that crosses the Thelon River. Another hunter said that in July and August caribou from the Beverly herd are hunted by Quoiich River. It was noted that in August and September the caribou travel to the Baker Lake area from the south-east and south-west, but they do not migrate down from the north at this time. In December caribou from the Kamaniriak herd are hunted south of Baker Lake. The hunters will go to where the caribou are. The limitations are the fuel required to cover large distances and the time of year. Hunters

can travel by snow mobile across frozen lakes in the winter. When there is no ice, the hunters are limited in where they can hunt and have to go by boat. The travelling distances to hunt caribou are limited in summer versus winter, because it is easier to cross frozen water. The hunters who participated in the interview reported that all the lakes and rivers, including the Thelon River, are important to the caribou hunt, and that the hunters will go anywhere they can find caribou. Some people know the destinations of the caribou and will wait for them at points along the migration.

One hunter explained that when he was young and lived in the Hudson Bay area, the caribou used to migrate across the river. However, after the construction of the mine at Rankin and the subsequent growth in human population, the caribou migration route changed. Now, the hunter perceives that fewer caribou pass through Rankin. The hunter suggested that similar a process could be taking place at Baker Lake. In the past, hunters from the Garry Lake area (Kulavallik) had access to the Meadowbank area to hunt caribou, but this year, the wife of one hunter reported that her husband no longer had access to the Meadowbank area, and that he could not find caribou near Baker Lake. She said that access is blocked by excessive litter including many barrels, and this obstruction has most likely dissuaded the caribou from passing through, so the caribou have changed their migration route.

Road construction for the Kiggavik site was a concern for the HTO members. They explained that although roads do provide easier access to caribou for hunters, they can also have negative impacts. The participants expressed concern that If AREVA were to succeed at building a road through the Baker Lake area, then their access to traditional hunting grounds would be restricted. One hunter said that the road at Meadowbank is a good example of how roads can impact the caribou. For example, Meadowbank Road produces a lot of dust in the summer, and then the caribou feed on dusty grass by the roadside, which is not good for them. One participant warned industry to minimize dust on the roads. Another participant said that he was disturbed in the summer of 2010 to see an industry truck driving without regard for the caribou trying to cross the road. The participants expressed concern that mining and roads associated with the Kiggavik site would impact the migrating caribou in a negative way.

The HTO members reported that the daily traffic on Meadowbank Road is altering the caribou's pattern of migration and affecting them in a negative way. They warned that the road to Kiggavik will only exacerbate this problem. For example, the participants suggested that the movement of caribou coming in from the west and south may be altered. One hunter said that there should be three or four wildlife monitors employed to supervise the construction of the AREVA road to Kiggavik, and suggested that the single monitor at Meadowbank Road is not sufficient. The timing for

wildlife monitors being present on the Kiggavik road will depend on the timing of the caribou migration, but one participant estimated that June through to December would probably be a good time.

According to traditional caribou hunting practices, the first group of the migrating herd must be allowed to pass through an area undisturbed. After a few days, the hunting can commence. One HTO participant reported that most hunters do not hunt pregnant cows, unless the hunter's family is starving. This opinion was supported by other HTO participants. One participant explained that before the rut, from August to December, bulls are hunted. After the rut, barren (non-pregnant) cows are hunted. Experienced hunters can tell whether or not a caribou cow is pregnant. One hunter's wife said that pregnant cows are skinny and so they are not hunted. One hunter agreed and added that barren cows are fat. Another participant said that hunters will select bulls, pregnant cows or calves depending on the time of year. Several hunters said that in the past calves were hunted, but they are not hunted so much anymore because they are too small and not worth the effort, although one hunter pointed out that some of the elders like the tender meat of the calves and that a hunter will take a calf if an elder requests it. It is not the custom of the Baker Lake Inuit hunters to kill animals and waste them. Some young people have found caribou killed by wolves.

4.1.2 Other Land Mammals

People from Baker Lake also hunt wolves and wolverines. Wolves are valuable for their fur, which the interview participants said can be sold at a high price. Wolves are seen close to town near the snow-fence when it is cold.

4.1.3 Marine Mammal Hunting

According to the HTO interview participants, some people from Baker Lake travel to Chester to hunt marine mammals, but this is not very common. The interview participants agreed that Stony Point is a good location for hunting seals.

4.1.4 Bird Hunting and Fishing

Ptarmigan was mentioned as an important species of hunted bird.

The HTO members said that Judge Sissons Lake was an important area for trapping and fishing. One participant perceived that the AREVA dock site

(see section 4.1.6. below) could interfere with fishing in the vicinity of the Agnico Dock in November when the ice is thin.

4.1.5 Dock Locations and Cabins

AREVA is likely to pick a dock site about 0.5 km east of Agnico dock, or possibly a few km further east. Agnico Dock is a floating structure and can be moved, or a new, more permanent structure can be built. At least four cabins were located on a map of the area by the interview participants. They reported that these cabins are all used throughout the spring and summer. There are some cabins located west of Thelon River, where the people hunt in the summer.

4.1.6 Major concerns for the HTO of Baker Lake regarding AREVA's plans

The management of the Kiggavik Road was a major source of concern for the HTO participants, specifically the impact of roads on the wildlife (ie. habitat fragmentation, noise, the potential for animal-vehicle collisions, and dust). In particular, the interview participants were most concerned for the migrating caribou. AREVA agreed to schedule a future meeting dedicated to the sole purpose of discussing Kiggavik road management with the Baker Lake HTO, as well as a meeting to discuss fish habitat compensation with consultants and the Department of Fisheries and Oceans (DFO).

One HTO participant said that their group would like to see what the elders and other groups who were interviewed by AREVA/Golder had said. He was also concerned with the participants' names being spelled correctly. Another participant asked if AREVA/Golder had any data on caribou crossings. The participants mentioned that caribou crossings should be marked clearly on the maps produced as a result of consultations with Inuit people. The Baker Lake HTO would like to be notified when the reports concerning this interview are ready.

4.2 BAKER LAKE ELDERS' MEETING, BAKER LAKE, FEBRUARY 17, 2011 (BLE 2011)

4.2.1 Traditional Caribou Hunting

According to the Baker Lake elders, caribou are hunted year-round. Pregnant cows are not hunted if there are other caribou to choose from. Bulls are not hunted in October. Calves are hunted around September, because their meat is tender. Yearlings are sometimes preferred by elders because their meat is "softer". Hunters are selective about which caribou are

harvested, and good hunters know which animals are better. These include caribou that have good meat, and caribou that do not have calves with them during the winter. The Elders have noticed that the caribou and other animals like to go where there is shelter, and they usually try to stay in areas where there are big lakes.

4.2.2 Hunting Areas and Travel Routes

According to the elders, the Thelon River is a very important river for accessing hunting areas, and in the summer, “People always use the Thelon River.” People will use other rivers for travel but the Thelon was described as the most important. The Kazan River is also used. One of the participants reported using it to reach Qurluqtuq, south of Baker Lake. There are falls located there, and if people want to go further than Qurluqtuq, they will use the creeks. Beverly Lake is reportedly a good hunting area. There are usually a lot of caribou around the Agnico Eagle mine (Meadowbank). Some of the participants said they use the Meadowbank mine access road for hunting.

In the summer, hunters will boat up the Thelon River and access lakes for camping and hunting. Boating is the most common form of travel for hunters during the summer, and cabins are used all summer long. Also, in the summer there are ATV routes along parts of the Thelon River. During the summer, people will travel by boat down towards Chesterfield Inlet, hunting caribou along the way.

People may travel down the inlet by snowmobile during the winter but this is done less often. In the winter, hunters will take their snowmobiles up the Thelon River for hunting. Wolves are hunted in the Aberdeen Lake and Shultz Lake areas during the winter. The Aberdeen Lake and Shultz Lake areas were also described as “good caribou hunting areas”. During the winter, the lakes and rivers are frozen and hunters are able to travel in “any direction they want, as long as the hills are not too high”.

4.2.3 Wolves, Wolverines and Bears

According to the elders, wolves are generally found in the same areas as caribou. Wolverines also hunt caribou, and are not afraid of any animal. One of the participants said that winter is not a good time to hunt wolverine, as this animal can disappear into the snow. Hunters have to listen for the sound of the wolverine’s claws to know when one is nearby. The elders agreed that it is better to hunt wolverines in the summer. Wolverines are very dangerous. The elders have observed that although this animal is small, it is very fast and very clever, capable of circling around an unwitting hunter.

There are also many grizzly bears around Baker Lake and people often hunt them for food and for their skins.

4.3 INTERVIEWS CITED, 2011

BLHT (Baker Lake Hunters and Trappers Organization), 2011. Summary of IQ focus group conducted by Mitchell Goodjohn, Barry McCallum and Pam Bennett with eight Baker Lake hunters. February 16, 2011.

BLE (Baker Lake Elders), 2011. Summary of IQ focus group conducted by Mitchell Goodjohn with ten Baker Lake Elders. February 17, 2011.

Attachment C

Results of IQ Interviews and Focus Groups (2009) and Community Review Meetings (2011) in Chesterfield Inlet

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1 INTRODUCTION

AREVA Resources Canada Inc. (AREVA) is proposing to build the Kiggavik Uranium Project (the Project) about 80 km west of Baker Lake, Nunavut. As part of its community engagement process AREVA carried out a series of interviews and focus groups with local land and resource users in Chesterfield Inlet in May of 2009. Golder Associates Ltd. (Golder) has been retained by AREVA to undertake IQ studies for the Project, and to assist in preparing the Project application.

On May 6, 2009, Mitchell Goodjohn (Golder) conducted IQ interviews with a family of three hunters (CI01 2009), three individual Elders in separate sessions (CI02 2009, CI04 2009, and CI05 2009), and two Elders in the same session (CI03 2009). Also on May 6, 2009, Linda Havers (Golder) conducted an IQ interview with a Community Liaison Worker from Chesterfield Inlet (CI09 2009). On May 7, 2009, Mitchell Goodjohn conducted IQ interviews with three individual Elders in separate sessions (CI06 2009, CI07 2009 and CI08 2009). On May 8, 2009, Mitchell Goodjohn and Linda Havers conducted an IQ focus group with six Elders (CIE 2009). Also on May 8, 2009 Mitchell Goodjohn and Linda Havers conducted an IQ focus group with eight young adults (CIYA 2009). Section 2 is a summary of the information obtained during these meetings.

A community review meeting was held on June 3, 2011, in Chesterfield Inlet, in order to summarise and review the data from previous meetings and to incorporate new IQ information from local hunters. The meeting was led by Barry McCallum (AREVA) with eight representatives from the Hunters and Trappers Organisation (HTO).

2 RESULTS OF THE INTERVIEWS

2.1 ELDERS INTERVIEW 01, CHESTERFIELD INLET, MAY 6, 2009 (CI01 2009)

2.1.1 Caribou

There are lots of caribou and, “five miles is too far to go to hunt caribou.” The family hunts year-round close to Chesterfield [referring to the town site], shoots about 2 per month, and shoots 5 or 6 around freeze-up. Bulls are hunted in August and September. They are nice and fat prior to the rut. During and after the rut, bulls are not good for eating. Females are hunted from November to April or May. There is a calving area around Josephine Lake, and the Sure Minerals camp does not affect the caribou. The caribou consistently have two calves (CI01 2009).

There is a herd that comes north from Manitoba, and reaches Chesterfield about May. The caribou move south in the fall, but there are always caribou around. They can be anywhere at any time, and there are lots of herds. Caribou congregate along both sides of Chesterfield Inlet [referring to the inlet] during July. They stay close to the inlet to get away from the mosquitoes. In August and September, there are tens of thousands of caribou on the north side of the inlet. There are no woodland caribou around. They are found further south, around Arviat. A Peary caribou was seen about 10 years ago, west of Chesterfield (CI01 2009).

2.1.2 Fish

There are river-run char in the Josephine River, and they spawn around the little islands in Josephine Lake. These char should be protected (CI01 2009). Lake trout and whitefish, including grayling are also caught in the lake. All the lakes in the region around Chesterfield inlet have lake trout and char. Fishing also occurs near the family cabin on the north side of Chesterfield Inlet (CI01 2009).

2.1.3 Polar Bear

Polar bear are found along the shoreline, north and south of Chesterfield. It is very rare to see a polar bear near Baker Lake. If they do go inland, it means they are likely starving. Sick or starving bears are found in the garbage dump (CI01 2009).

May is the best time to hunt them, as they are looking for seal pup dens. Not many polar bears were seen when younger, but now there are lots of them. Polar bears are moving northward due to warming trends. The biologists should count the bears in the summer, when they are land-locked and easy to see. People have to be careful in the summer when travelling on the land, as polar bears could be around (CI01 2009).

In the winter, polar bears den around Wager Bay (tend towards the north side of the bay) and Southampton Island areas. They prefer hilly areas where there is lots of snow. When the ice forms in November, the bears move north from Churchill. In the spring, they move south. There is a counter-clockwise current in Hudson Bay that carries them south. Polar bears usually have two cubs. Sometimes, but not often, they will have three (CI01 2009).

There are strict polar bear quotas. Chesterfield can only shoot a total of 8 to 10 (or 12) bears per year. Each community sets its own quotas. There are polar bear from the Foxe Basin that are also found in northern Quebec, where they can be shot anytime (CI01 2009).

2.1.4 Musk Ox

Hunters used to have to go west of Baker Lake to hunt musk ox. Now, they are plentiful and hunted just inland from Chesterfield. They can only be hunted from January to April 15th. Musk ox are not hunted too often by Chesterfield Inuit. They are more popular with sport hunters from the south (CI01 2009).

2.1.5 Grizzly Bear

One of the family members shot a grizzly bear five years ago in May, on the north side of the inlet. The skin was hard to cut. Others have seen grizzly in the area north of the inlet, as well as in the Shultz Lake area and west (CI01 2009).

2.1.6 Eggs

The family collects duck eggs on Fairway Island. Duck eggs, Arctic tern eggs, and guillmont eggs are collected on Promise Island; and there are “lots of eider eggs” on Wag Island. Snow geese and Canada geese are the first to lay eggs (CI01 2009).

2.1.7 Seal

Seals are hunted all over, close to the islands in the inlet. The seal species include ring, silver, jar, ranger bearded, and harp. There are lots of harp seals. Ranger seals like shallow areas around the islands. They are harvested only for their fur, as they have a “different” taste than the common (ring) seals that are preferred eating (CI01 2009).

In the winter, their son has harpooned seals at their breathing holes, further north. Usually, people will go to the flow edge, about 4 miles out from Chesterfield, throughout the year to hunt. Seals are affected by noise and vibration from marine traffic in the inlet (CI01 2009).

2.1.8 Narwhal

The narwhals prefer very deep water. They may occasionally come to Chesterfield, but are usually found around Repulse Bay and Lancaster Sound (CI01 2009).

2.1.9 Beluga

There are two herds of Beluga. One herd comes north from Churchill and arrives in Chesterfield around August or September. The other herd comes south from Foxe Basin and are hunted in Daley Bay in the summer. There are a lot less beluga in Chesterfield bay due to the increase in marine traffic in the inlet. The vibrations from marine traffic scare them away. Beluga are occasionally seen in Baker Lake (CI01 2009).

2.1.10 Killer Whale

A killer whale was shot in Baker Lake in the 1970s (CI01 2009).

2.1.11 Bowhead

Bowhead whale are found in Daley Bay and Roes Welcome Sound. They are increasing in number, and are not seen very often around Chesterfield (CI01 2009).

2.1.12 Walrus

Walrus are found all over and once the ice breaks up, they move to islands that have no vegetation. Walrus are hunted around Depot Island. They are also found around Chesterfield at this time of year [May]. The walrus

around Chesterfield have scallops in their stomachs. This is due to an old experimental scallop farm off of Chesterfield that attracts the walrus. By comparison, the walrus in Foxe Basin have oysters in their stomachs, and taste different (CI01 2009). The father never gets tired of eating walrus. By comparison, seal meat is rich and he usually wants to wait several days in between eating seal. He said he can even get tired of eating caribou. (CI01 2009).

The family believes the walrus population is stable, and hasn't changed much. Fewer walrus are harvested by hunters now than in the past, as people no longer have dog teams to feed. They estimate that each family will harvest about 5 walrus per year. (CI01 2009).

2.1.13 Plants

The older people will know which plants to use for medicines. The younger people pick berries to eat. 'Chinnamen' [Cinammon?] tea is made from some plants. The family doesn't know the names of plants (CI01 2009).

2.2 ELDER INTERVIEW 02, CHESTERFIELD INLET, MAY 6, 2009 (CI02 2009)

2.2.1 Caribou

Caribou are hunted in any season, but usually, the Elder hunts them in the summer; using a boat to go up Chesterfield Inlet. The caribou are always moving around and they can number from a few to 'lots'. They move around on an annual basis, and the Elder follows them around his hunting area (CI02 2009).

The caribou feed more often on the north side of the inlet, and this has always been the case. If there are no caribou to be found on the Chesterfield peninsula, they will be on the north side of the inlet. The caribou are healthy, but a few are limp and show signs of injury; possibly from a wolf attack (CI02 2009).

2.2.2 Musk Ox and Polar Bear

The Elder does not hunt musk ox or polar bear, and does not have any information on them (CI02 2009).

2.2.3 Eggs and Geese

Eider ducks are found on the four islands across the mouth of Chesterfield Inlet. Camp Cove Island is particularly dense with eggs, and June is the best month for collecting them. Geese are harvested for eating (mostly Canada geese, but also some snow geese). The best ones are “grain-fed” geese arriving north from Manitoba in the spring. Marine traffic does not affect the birds or their nests (CI02 2009).

2.2.4 Fish

Char fishing takes place in the spring, and locations include a variety of lakes in the area around Chesterfield. Some gill netting and ‘rodding’ (using a fishing rod) occur close to shore (CI02 2009).

2.2.5 Seal

The Elder mostly harvests common (ring) seal at various locations. Seals are found everywhere. Pups can be born anywhere, but usually where there are strong currents. He is not aware if boat traffic bothers the seals (CI02 2009).

2.2.6 Walrus

Walrus are hunted in the spring near Depot Island, and the bulls can be fierce. There has been no noticeable change in the walrus population. They like floating ice and will mostly stay in the same area as long as there is floating ice (CI02 2009).

2.2.7 Beluga

Beluga are found on the Baker foreland, just south of Chesterfield Inlet. They come north from Churchill and the Elder believes they like to follow the barges. They will sometimes go as far as Baker Lake (but not too often). The typical range of Beluga in Chesterfield Inlet is as far as Cross Bay. (CI02 2009).

Beluga are hunted in August and September, and the population is increasing. They calve mostly in the area between Arviat and Churchill (CI02 2009).

2.2.8 Bowhead

The Elder has not seen and does not hunt bowhead (CI02 2009).

2.2.9 New Species

The Elder saw a hummingbird near Chesterfield last summer. He said that there used to be lots of Eskimo curlew, that they had disappeared, and are now coming back (CI02 2009).

2.3 ELDERS INTERVIEW 03, CHESTERFIELD INLET, MAY 6, 2009 (CI03 2009)

2.3.1 Musk Ox

There used to be lots of musk ox near Pitz Lake. Over the last 4 years, they have slowly moved along the south side of Baker Lake and Chesterfield Inlet, and were found in the Babour Bay area this winter [08/09]. The area around Barbour Bay is a flat area, and they normally stay in hilly areas (CI03 2009).

Musk ox do not migrate and travel very slowly. If old tracks are seen in an area, they will still be in the area. Musk ox stay in an area where there is vegetation, and only move when it is gone (CI03 2009).

Elders have heard that the musk ox herds are growing, and believe the reason is that the musk ox are not being harvested as much as before. Regulations have prevented the harvesting of animals that happen to be close to Chesterfield, and the harvestable animals are too far away. Some people don't hunt musk ox, as the fur is "no good" and the skin is not as useful as caribou skin.. The meat is 'OK', but people don't eat it. "Musk ox is musk ox." (CI03 2009).

2.3.2 Caribou

Caribou follow the shore of Chesterfield Inlet because it's cooler, and they also avoid bugs. There are two herds north of the inlet that meet. While the herds move a bit, caribou are always there, and can be hunted "all over" (CI03 2009). Some caribou herds quit going past Rankin Inlet when the nickel mine was built in the 1950s. Another hunter used to live in Cape Fullerton, and in 1949, there were no caribou in the Chesterfield region, north of the inlet. In 1970, he reported that caribou "suddenly appeared" (CI03 2009).

The Qamanirjuaq herd may migrate north go around Baker Lake, and move to the coastal area (north side of the inlet). There is a large calving area near Kaminuriak Lake, but caribou can calve “all over the place”. Usually, there is only one calf, but sometimes there are two. Based upon their observations while hunting, hunters have predicted there will be a special calving area west of Chesterfield in the spring of 2010. The Manitoba herd (from the south) may have crossed over the inlet and became part of the Lorillard herd (CI03 2009).

Hunters should not shoot the first caribou that appear during a migration. It will cause the herd to turn around, and not come back. Hunters should let some animals go past, so that the migration will continue (CI03 2009).

In the 1940s, on a boat trip up the inlet, lots of caribou could be observed crossing the inlet. People from Chesterfield used to go long distances without seeing a caribou. They believe the size of the caribou herds is increasing because they are not hunted as much as in the past. People used to shoot as many caribou as possible to survive, but now, people buy food, or don't eat as much (CI03 2009).

If AREVA builds a road from Baker Lake to the Kiggavik mine, it might stop the caribou, and cause them to go to Chesterfield (CI03 2009).

2.3.3 Polar Bear

If the community receives a quota for polar bear, hunters will go and hunt them. Polar bear behave differently today than many years ago. The bears are more dangerous now than before. This may be due to bears eating garbage in Churchill and other communities; and bears getting into meat that was cached for aging. Churchill has polar bear tours, and the bears get into the garbage dumps. The bears learn to eat garbage, and go to dumps whenever they pass a community. What the bears eat has changed them. Polar bears are also more dangerous because biologists drug them to study them. This changes the polar bear behaviour (CI03 2009).

Polar bear dens are found at Wager Bay, where there are lots of hills with deep snow. There are also some dens located north of Cape Simialut, but not too many (CI03 2009).

2.3.4 Eggs and Geese

Canada goose and snow goose eggs are laid in the marshy area along the Josephine River. Eider eggs are laid on the islands in Chesterfield Inlet. Camp Cove Island is full of eggs. Birds start on the outer islands around the

mouth of the inlet and move up the inlet as the ice melts. Grain fed ducks used to be hunted as they returned north from Manitoba. Ducks aren't usually hunted as they have a fishy taste from eating mussels (CI03 2009).

2.3.5 Seal

Seals are hunted along the coast, and Daley Bay has lots of them. They are also scattered among the crack between the islands along the coast, and in the inlet. In the old days, people shot as many as they could, as they also had dogs to feed. Now, people only hunt for human consumption. One feed of seal lasts for a couple of weeks, as it is quite rich (CI03 2009).

2.3.6 Beluga

There are lots of beluga in Daley Bay, and in the summer they move to the Baker foreland. There are two herds of beluga. One herd is the western Hudson Bay herd (from south of Chesterfield), and the other comes from the Foxe Basin in the early summer. The Foxe Basin heard behaves as if something is chasing them, such as killer whales. They breathe differently from their spouts. The western Hudson Bay herd has had its migrations delayed because of Rankin Inlet hunters waiting for them at Marble Island. The whales can get through if the weather prevents Rankin Inlet hunters from getting to Marble Island (CI03 2009).

2.3.7 Walrus

Walrus are hunted year round at the flow edge. There are lots of walrus at Depot Island right now [May]. After the ice melts, walrus migrate to Coats Island (CI03 2009).

2.3.8 Bowhead

Bowhead are seen at Whale Point, and Southampton Island in Roes Welcome Sound. They are seen occasionally in Chesterfield. The Inuit used to help whalers all along the coast between Chesterfield and Repulse Bay (CI03 2009).

2.4 ELDER INTERVIEW 04, CHESTERFIELD INLET, MAY 6, 2009 (CI04 2009)

2.4.1 Caribou

A brother has a cabin in Cape Simialuit area and in the fall, they find caribou close to the beach. On the south side of the inlet, there are too many people on snowmobiles and this makes it hard to discern the patterns of caribou movements. Long ago caribou used to go to Rankin Inlet, but now there are too many people. The caribou have less fat than they used to. Otherwise, there has been no change in the population, health or distribution (CI04 2009).

2.4.2 Musk Ox

There are not any musk ox areas near Chesterfield, but People say that the herds are working their way closer to Chesterfield (CI04 2009).

2.4.3 Polar Bear

Each year, more polar bear are coming into camp, which located a few kilometres south of Chesterfield. In the spring, several are noticed in Chesterfield each day. Polar bear are only hunted if they come into Chesterfield (CI04 2009).

2.4.4 Fish

Gill nets are used to fish for Arctic char at the camp, south of Chesterfield. Lakes in the region have lake trout and Arctic char. The char from Repulse Bay taste better than char from Chesterfield, and this may be due to different feeding habits (CI04 2009).

2.4.5 Eggs and Geese

Canada geese and snow geese are hunted in the area around the camp, and along the coastline south of there (CI04 2009).

2.4.6 Seal

The amount of barge traffic has increased and this has affected the seal population. Seals are affected by noise from marine transportation (barges and ships). There are fewer seals now, as they have moved further north.

Harp seals prefer deeper water and are harder to catch. Ranger seals are sighted once in a while near Chesterfield, but there are quite a few in Daley Bay in the summer (CI04 2009).

2.4.7 Beluga

There are two beluga herds. One comes north from Churchill, and one comes south from Southampton Island. Rankin Inlet hunters wait for the southern herd at Marble Island and this affects the northbound migration (CI04 2009).

Beluga used to come into the harbour at Chesterfield in August, but come only occasionally now, as there is too much noise from boat motors. The amount of barge traffic has increased, and this has also affected the whale population. Beluga are mostly hunted near the Baker foreland (CI04 2009).

2.4.8 Walrus

Walrus are hunted around Winchester Inlet and Depot Island. The best time to hunt is at break-up in June (CI04 2009).

2.4.9 New Species

He has seen birds he hasn't seen before, but doesn't know their names (CI04 2009).

2.5 ELDER INTERVIEW 05, CHESTERFIELD INLET, MAY 6, 2009 (CI05 2009)

2.5.1 Caribou

Caribou are hunted around Saqvaqjuaq Lake (Inlet) and around the family cabins a few kilometres south of Chesterfield. There were large herds in the Saqvaqjuaq area in August 2008, and lots of caribou trails near the cabin. (CI05 2009).

Some caribou have small bits of pus inside their meat. People will eat it if there isn't very much. If there's a lot, the meat will be fed to the dogs. "Pussey" meat was worse a few years ago, but it isn't noticed very much now (CI05 2009).

2.5.2 Seal

Ring seal is the most commonly hunted seal, and is usually hunted around the family cabins. There are fewer seals in the area as a result of barge traffic, but otherwise there aren't any changes in the seal population (CI05 2009).

2.5.3 Fishing

Char are netted near the cabin, and fishing rods are used in the lakes. There are lake trout in the little lakes near the cabin. There hasn't been any change in the quality of fish (CI05 2009).

2.5.4 Polar Bear

There are too many polar bear near the cabins and there seems to be more of them over the last few years. Dogs are used to warn for bears, but the bears are not afraid of them. Biologists have been tranquilizing the polar bears, and this has affected them and made them more dangerous (CI05 2009).

2.5.5 Beluga

The family hunts beluga at their cabins around August, and usually harvest one or two (CI05 2009).

2.5.6 Walrus

Walrus used to be hunted near Depot Island, but people talk about getting walrus as much anymore. The younger generation doesn't hunt as much as the older generation. They have become more westernized, and hunting equipment is also very expensive (CI05 2009).

2.5.7 Bowhead

Bowhead are seen regularly in Repulse Bay, and killer whales are also found up north (CI05 2009).

2.5.8 Eggs, Ducks and Geese

Eggs are collected only while going for walks around the cabin. Camp Cove Island is a large nesting area. Ducks and geese are hunted only in and around Chesterfield (CI05 2009).

2.5.9 New Species

There are new types of tiny, biting black flies in the area [no-see-ums], as well as kingfishers, and birds with yellow stomachs (CI05 2009).

2.6 ELDER INTERVIEW 06, CHESTERFIELD INLET, MAY 7, 2009 (CI06 2009)

2.6.1 Caribou

In 1949, he moved into the settlement from off the land and there was no Caribou in the area. He hunted caribou around Christopher Island. A large herd moved east on the south side of the inlet. There were only scattered animals on the north side. There was starvation on the land and that was why the RCMP asked people to move off the land into the settlement. That was also the time that education was introduced into the community (CI06 2009).

In the 1950s, there was starvation in the Gary Lake area. People there were also asked to move into the community. It was also the start of education. (CI06 2009)

People say that the Kaminuriak Lake area is a special place for caribou. The Lorillard herd has a calving area between Wager Bay and Chesterfield Inlet. There are no changes in the health of caribou. Caribou now roam everywhere because people have moved into centres and the caribou are not bothered as much by Inuit. The caribou used to run away at the slightest smell of humans or dogs, but not anymore (CI06 2009). He doesn't hunt now due to his health (CI06 2009).

2.6.2 Musk Ox

There are now musk ox in Barbour Bay; 50 miles west of Chesterfield. Musk ox do not migrate, and will stay there year round. People go there to hunt them, although he himself doesn't.

2.6.3 Polar Bear

When he was living on the land years ago, there were hardly any polar bear. Now, the population has increased. There are lots of polar bear in the Chesterfield region, but they are mostly hunted from the inlet north to Whale Point. He has heard that Wager Bay is a special area for polar bears to den (CI06 2009).

2.6.4 Fishing

There are gill nets for char in front of the Norther Store in Chesterfield. In the winter, he used to ice fish and gill net on Josephine Lake for Arctic char and land locked char, lake trout, white fish, and grayling (CI06 2009).

2.6.5 Fowl

He hunts for Canada geese and the occasional snow goose. Ptarmigan are hunted in the spring time (CI06 2009).

2.6.6 Beluga

When he was young, there used to be lots of beluga around Chesterfield down to the Baker forelands, and up around Black Boulder Rock. He also hunted for Beluga around Daley Bay. There was a family camp near Daley Bay, consisting of three main cabins and two storage cabins, which could also be used for guests (CI06 2009).

Whale Point was an important whaling centre in the late 1800s. Whaling stopped in the region in 1914 due to the war (CI06 2009).

2.6.7 Seal

Seal is hunted along the coastline, north to Daley Bay and Depot Island. The common (ring) seal was the most hunted, although ranger seals were caught occasionally (CI06 2009).

He has heard from other hunters and boaters that harp seal has disappeared from Fairway Island and that there are hardly any between the islands. The harp seal prefers deep water (CI06 2009).

2.6.8 Walrus

Walrus were hunted at Depot Island, north of Daley Bay (CI06 2009).

2.6.9 Bowhead

He hasn't seen a bowhead whale in his life. Has heard that a bowhead gets spotted once in a while near Chesterfield bay (CI06 2009).

2.6.10 Grizzly Bear

He has observed grizzly bear tracks, but has never seen a bear (CI06 2009).

2.6.11 New Species

He has not seen any new species, but he has observed lots of crows in the winter months, in contrast to a lot fewer years ago (CI06 2009).

2.7 ELDER INTERVIEW 07, CHESTERFIELD INLET, MAY 7, 2009 (CI07 2009)

2.7.1 Caribou

He remembers that before Rankin Inlet and Whale Cove were formed, caribou migrated into the Chesterfield area every summer. If it were not for the creation of the community of Rankin Inlet in 1950s, the caribou would still migrate into the Chesterfield area (CI07 2009).

Hunters will hunt all over for caribou year round in the Chesterfield region. Calving grounds are found all over. Hunters may hunt caribou opportunistically, while hunting musk ox near Baker Lake (CI07 2009).

Communities of Repulse Bay and Whale Cove have reported unhealthy caribou. Lungs stuck to the rib cage, and unhealthy kidneys have been reported. The communities would like to see a caribou health survey conducted (CI07 2009).

2.7.2 Musk Ox

When he was a child, people were not allowed to hunt musk ox as they are now. Those that do hunt musk ox are able to go and return on the same day, indicating that the herds must be getting closer to Chesterfield (CI07 2009).

2.7.3 Polar Bear

He didn't see many polar bears as a child, but now sees a lot. They are found everywhere, all along the coastal area. He believes there are more polar bears now even though scientists say they are declining in numbers (CI07 2009). The regulators make it hard to hunt polar bears (CI07 2009).

Polar bears are on the edge of the water when the ice goes out, and some may go up Chesterfield Inlet. People may see bears around the east end of Baker Lake. They use hilly areas with deep snow for denning, and Wager Bay is an important denning area (CI07 2009).

2.7.4 Fish

Sometimes he goes fishing, and will jig for lake trout if he is near a lake; mostly in the springtime when there are holes in the ice. Jigs and a gill net are used once in a while around Chesterfield (CI07 2009). He mostly gets fish from his children and relatives, and doesn't have to take the nets out (CI07 2009).

People used to use stone weirs at Barbour Bay, Steepbank Bay, and Saqvaqjuaq Inlet, just before the char ran up river. They are still visible today (CI07 2009).

2.7.5 Seal

He hunts ring seal and bearded seal all over, but mostly ring seal, which is the most popular seal. Ranger seal and harp seal are hunted for their skins only. They are not as good eating as the ring and bearded seal. Important areas for seal pups are from Christopher Rocks all along the coastline (CI07 2009).

Ship travel in Chesterfield Inlet has scared seals away, as they don't like the sounds and vibrations of engines in the water (CI07 2009).

2.7.6 Walrus

There are always walrus in the area around Chesterfield Inlet and north. Also, there are a lot of walrus around Depot Island and Daley Bay, and they will give birth anywhere (CI07 2009).

Inuit used to cache walrus meat to age, but not now. Fewer walrus are hunted, as the Inuit no longer have to feed dog teams. They are the tastiest animals to eat (CI07 2009).

2.7.7 Beluga

There are two groups of Beluga. One group comes from the north, and there is also a group that comes from the south around break-up. Beluga will go up Chesterfield Inlet if there are killer whales. Every summer, killer whales

are seen. He is sure that killer whales will follow beluga up the inlet, as one showed up in Baker Lake in the late 1970s or early 1980s (CI07 2009).

Hunters gathering on Marble Island have changed the migration pattern of the southern group, unless the wind prevents the hunters from gathering; in which case the beluga can make it up to Chesterfield. Chesterfield hunters will see southern beluga if the weather is windy. Beluga are always moving and will give birth anywhere (CI07 2009).

2.7.8 Eggs

Eggs are found on all the little islands at the entrance to Chesterfield Inlet. If there are more polar bears in the area, there will be fewer eggs (CI07 2009).

2.8 ELDER INTERVIEW 08, CHESTERFIELD INLET, MAY 7, 2009 (CI08 2009)

2.8.1 Caribou

The caribou on the north and south sides of the inlet start to move away from Chesterfield towards their calving grounds in May. The caribou on the north side of the inlet have a smaller area to roam around and as a result, are bigger than the caribou on the south side of the inlet. It has been that way for a long time. The herds mix in the winter after freeze-up (CI08 2009).

There are more white cysts appearing throughout the caribou meat now and some caribou have a lot of cysts. This is caused by caribou eating vegetation that has crow droppings on it. The biologists have said this. Some people have white skin patches that are caused by eating caribou meat that has the white cysts (CI08 2009).

2.8.2 Musk Ox

People don't have to go far to hunt musk ox (CI08 2009).

2.8.3 Polar Bear

Polar bear are hunted along the coastline, but he hasn't seen any up Chesterfield Inlet. He has seen polar bear tracks on Josephine Lake. Polar bear dens can be found in any hilly area where there's lots of snow (CI08 2009).

The polar bear population is decreasing in Churchill because there is a decrease in the human population and resulting garbage there. The bears are moving north from Churchill. Other bears further north of Chesterfield are now moving south on the ice sheets, looking for seal pups (CI08 2009).

2.8.4 Seal

Bearded seals are hunted in October. The ranger seal is hunted only for its pelt and is not eaten. People hunt seal close to Chesterfield, but there are fewer seals this year from too much barge traffic last summer in the inlet. The increase in barge traffic started two years ago. It's possible to see evidence of fuel spills in the water from transferring fuel from larger ships to smaller ships going up the inlet (CI08 2009).

2.8.5 Beluga

In the early summer, beluga herds come from Daley Bay and further north; and when the tide comes in, a beluga will usually follow. If a killer whale follows the beluga, the beluga will usually go to shallow water. Whenever beluga are seen in the shallow waters near the Baker foreland, it means killer whales are near the inlet (CI08 2009).

2.8.6 Walrus

Walrus gather at Depot Island and Walrus Island, and killer whales are afraid of them. There has not been any change in the walrus population (CI08 2009).

2.8.7 Bowhead

When he was young, he saw a bowhead in Daley Bay and also saw one near Rabbit Island (CI08 2009).

2.8.8 Fish

The big char go up the rivers and their flesh seems to have gotten better over the years. It's pinker now. He fishes for trout in the smaller lakes around Chesterfield, using hooks. (CI08 2009).

2.8.9 Eggs and Fowl

He will collect eggs once in a while, and only hunts Canada geese and snow geese in the spring when they are fat. Swan meat is tough (CI08 2009).

2.8.10 Different Species

He saw a large brown eagle a few years ago, but is not sure if it was a golden eagle or a juvenile bald eagle (CI08 2009).

2.9 INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW 09, CHESTERFIELD INLET, MAY 6, 2009 (CI09 2009)

2.9.1 Hunting

People in Chesterfield consume more food from the land than elsewhere. Hunting is popular and necessary. The harvest is divided up amongst family. Selling to the hotel or store is frowned upon, but there is awareness that in Rankin, hunters sometimes sell their harvest. They are regarded as less traditional for doing so (CI09 2009).

In the bigger communities young people do not hunt and are losing their language. She has a 15 year old son, and a boy she knows in Rankin who is also 15 is not able to communicate with her son fluently (CI09 2009).

People are concerned about traffic on the Inlet. There were no seals last year this is attributed to Agnico Eagle's traffic. Traffic vibrations drive seals away. The risk of fuel spills is also a worry (CI09 2009).

2.10 HTO FOCUS GROUP, CHESTERFIELD INLET, MAY 07, 2009 (CIHT 2009)

2.10.1 The Project and the Environment

The HTO members' concerns about the project related to "what might flow down from Baker Lake" and believe that Chesterfield Inlet will be affected first. "We are aware of Meadowbank and have less concern about it than the concerns we have regarding uranium. We should be told how it will be transported and managed" (CIHT 2009).

Noise pollution from shipping traffic is a key concern. Last year Chesterfield was told that there would be 13 ships passing but some people saw more than 20. Chesterfield Inlet is narrow and underwater sound will be loud. The vibrations will be felt by sea mammals and they will move north where there is less traffic (CIHT 2009).

The members wanted to know how the company will contain a fuel spill? “This is too risky to us. The current is strong, the Inlet is difficult to navigate, and is rocky”. Chesterfield Narrows is only 18 feet wide, and a difficult area to navigate. One of the members was an observer on a barge and the tide was going down. A tiny boat was in the Inlet and when the barge passed, the boat went into full throttle but could not get up the Inlet because of the strong current and the passing of the barge (CIHT 2009).

The HTO members wanted to know what the emergency response plan would be in the event of a spill, and how quickly a spill could be contained. They said they would need to defend themselves if there were an accident, and added they would want a compensation system set up that would include payment to hunters, trappers and all those dependent on marine mammals. They also want the Nunavut Impact Review Board (NIRB) to receive IQ studies early (CIHT 2009).

2.10.2 Hunting and Country Foods

There are a number of very important harbours, one of which is Robert’s Harbour. These are not just important because they are current hunting areas but also because the ancestors hunted there and were dependent on these areas. As a result, these areas take on a significance and meaning that goes beyond being able to hunt there. The ancestors were not dependent on oil and gas or minerals. People used seal oil for cooking and heating (CIHT 2009).

The Inuit cannot depend on store bought food. People are dependent on caribou, fish, and seals. Walrus is considered a delicacy and sought after. Arctic char and trout are caught using gill nets under the ice. Fish is sold to the fish plant, and commercial fishing is one of the few ways of making a bit of income (CIHT 2009).

This HTO does not engage in trading with other HTOs, but there was mention of an incident with the Narwhal that were caught in the ice, and hunters from all over the Region were permitted by the Department of Fisheries and Oceans (DFO) to cull them. Although there is not a trade or distribution network, country foods are consumed at feasts, weddings, celebrations and special occasions such as hamlet days, Christmas, New Years day, birthdays and important meetings. It is an important cultural symbol as well as food shared with community members and guests for sustenance. HTO members estimate that people in Chesterfield eat country foods every week. “These are not occasionally eaten”. This is not considered ritual food. People in Chesterfield also collect berries and some people freeze them for future use. Collected berries include cloud berries, black

berries, blue berries; some people also pick plants and eat the roots and there are other plants used for tea (CIHT 2009).

2.10.3 Young People and Traditional Skills

Elders take young people out for a process of watching and learning. It's common for young boys to want to join a hunting party, and 10 year old boys want to hunt with "the men". Some of the younger hunters are not confident in their skills and are nervous about asking to go hunting with more skilled elders. But many people want to go with one of the HTO members, who is a particularly skilled hunter and elder. He often ends up with 20 people in his boat. Young people that don't want to hunt are left behind, are "not part of the excitement", and are considered to be "on the wrong path in life". Some of the older HTO members learned how to hunt with a dog team but, that is completely lost now. "Change is coming fast". Those who get hooked on drugs or alcohol are not going to be able to hunt. You have to have your wits about you". There are children from poor families that don't get out on the land much because their parents can't afford it. Some only go out to camp on long weekends and don't learn hunting skills quickly. Others go hunting every day after work when it's light out (CIHT 2009).

HTO members commented that there are few organizations that employ people in Chesterfield, and the jobs are taken up by a few families that hire their own family members and relatives. As a result, these families have money, and others do not. This situation can affect activities like carrying out hunting because it's a costly activity. Families with less income will not be passing the skills and experience down to their children (CIHT 2009).

2.11 ELDERS' FOCUS GROUP, CHESTERFIELD INLET, MAY 8, 2009 (CIE 2009)

2.11.1 Hunting/Trapping

The residential school opened in 1951. People from all over the region came to attend school. School was in for 10 months of the year. The children in residence were not permitted to hunt, even with a local family. They were permitted to trap fox nearby. So, the residential school students participated and learned to hunt only when they went home for the summer (CIE 2009).

Trapping completely died out in Chesterfield a number of years ago. A key reason was that the government came under pressure from Green Peace to ban leg-hold traps. "Instant kill" traps were distributed but trappers found them to be dangerous and difficult to set up. There were a lot of accidents as

a result of these traps and people eventually gave up the activity altogether (CIE 2009).

Hunters had movable camps in earlier days. Now, many people in Chesterfield have permanent cabins (CIE 2009).

2.11.2 Plants

Teas were made out of some plant and had medicinal properties. Driftwood was collected closer to Hudson Bay (from the ships) and used as a kayak building material. Moss was used for cooking. Today, there is a tundra moss that is boiled to make a hot beverage (CIE 2009).

2.11.3 Archaeology Sites

There are numerous important sites nearby. Some of these are stone fox traps, grave sites at old camps, Thule sites, stone weirs (for catching fish), Inuksuk, and stone pits for cooking. Graves can be found at all the important camp sites, many marked with inuksuk. There are also areas of stone circles where people used to dance and drum and sing, and kayak rests (CIE 2009).

Our ancestors used to make a stone weir for fish and then walk up inland to hunt caribou when their skin was thin. They built the weir in case they were not successful in killing a caribou; they would still have food to take home. Gill nets are now used instead of weirs, but these stone weirs are important, as they represent activities of recent ancestors (CIE 2009).

2.12 YOUNG ADULTS FOCUS GROUP, CHESTERFIELD INLET, MAY 8, 2009 (CIYA 2009)

2.12.1 Hunting

All of these young people go hunting regularly. The main difference between their hunting and their parent's activity is that they hunt in groups. One reason for this is financial, to share fuel costs. Another reason is that some of them don't have their own snow machines. They also go out in groups or pairs for safety reasons (CIYA 2009).

The young adults also fish. Women do not go out in the coldest months of December and January. "It's too cold for women then." (CIYA 2009).

‘Regular’ hunting means every weekend, but there are some hunters that go out every day after work when its spring and days are long. The women say they would go hunting more often but are looking after their children. “Women are child bearers, so they have to look after children” (CIYA 2009).

Older hunters and Elders warn them of the hazards of hunting in white-out conditions. You need to be able to see the cracks in the ice. Older relatives worry about younger hunters (CIYA 2009).

In the old days hunters used whale oil for bug repellent. Today, hunters wear mosquito netting (CIYA 2009).

Chesterfield is quiet and peaceful. The land and the abundance of animals is an important feature. It’s a big deal when a child catches his first fish (CIYA 2009).

2.12.2 Plants

Adults and children pick berries. There are many nearby places to pick berries. Men collect berries too. There are edible purple flowers that people pick and eat, and also certain roots that are white and taste like carrots (CIYA 2009).

Men and women both sew clothing out of hides. Sewing is a skill that is passed down, not learned in school. There are not many traditional activities that men and women don’t both do, i.e. a young woman is learning to drum (CIYA 2009).

2.13 INTERVIEWS CITED, 2009

CI01 (Chesterfield Inlet interview 01). 2009. Summary of IQ interview conducted by Mitchell Goodjohn with a family of three hunters. May 6, 2009.

CI02 (Chesterfield Inlet Interview 02). 2009. Summary of IQ interview conducted by Mitchell Goodjohn with an individual Elder. May 6, 2009.

CI03 (Chesterfield Inlet Interview 03). 2009. Summary of IQ interview conducted by Mitchell Goodjohn with two Elders. May 6, 2009.

CI04 (Chesterfield Inlet Interview 04). 2009. Summary of IQ interview conducted by Mitchell Goodjohn with individual Elder. May 6, 2009.

- CI05 (Chesterfield Inlet Interview 05). 2009. Summary of IQ interview conducted by Mitchell Goodjohn with individual Elder. May 6, 2009.
- CI06 (Chesterfield Inlet Interview 06). 2009. Summary of IQ interview conducted by Mitchell Goodjohn with individual Elder. May 7, 2009.
- CI07 (Chesterfield Inlet Interview 07). 2009. Summary of IQ interview conducted by Mitchell Goodjohn with individual Elder. May 7, 2009.
- CI08 (Chesterfield Inlet Interview 08). 2009. Summary of IQ interview conducted by Mitchell Goodjohn with individual Elder. May 7, 2009.
- CI09 (Chesterfield Inlet Interview 09). 2009. Summary of IQ interview conducted by Linda Havers with Community Liaison Worker. May 6, 2009.
- CIE (Chesterfield Inlet Elders). 2009. Summary of IQ focus group conducted by Mitchell Goodjohn and Linda Havers with six Elders. May 8, 2009.
- CIYA (Chesterfield Inlet Young Adults). 2009. Summary of IQ focus group conducted by Linda Havers and Mitchell Goodjohn with eight young adults. May 8, 2009.

3 RESULTS OF COMMUNITY REVIEW, 2011

3.1 COMMUNITY REVIEW MEETING WITH HTO REPRESENTATIVES, JUNE 3, 2011 (CIHT 2011)

The 2011 meeting was a follow-up to the focus groups and interviews held in 2009. The information obtained from the 2009 meetings was summarized for the 2011 participants and the maps produced as a result of the 2009 process were revised by the 2011 meeting participants. The information provided by the participants was mostly recorded on maps and can be found in Appendix II, Section 11.3.2, Figures II.3.2-1, II.3.2-2, and II.3.2-3. The following summarises the questions and responses discussed with the HTO. The information was collected by AREVA representatives.

3.1.1 Marine Mammals

1. Which marine mammals are hunted?

- a) Beluga - yes
- b) Other whales (e.g., bowhead, orca) – Nothing now. May hunt bowhead in future.
- c) Seal (which species) – Yes, ring, harp and bearded
- d) Walrus - yes
- e) Polar bear - yes
- f) Narwhal – only near Repulse Bay

Locations were shown and noted on the map.

2. Are there any special habitats for the above species or where they like to give birth? – no answer given

3. How far offshore do people go to hunt marine mammals?

a) In the summer by boat? – Usually 12-20 miles. Often near town and in the Chesterfield Inlet channel

b) In the winter along the ice floe edge? – 2 to 4 miles.

4. What are the migration or travel routes of marine mammals (also note time of year and direction)?

Belugas travel south-to-north midsummer. In late summer (mid August to early September) they travel north-to-south.

Seals travel north or south of Chesterfield Inlet in the summer and during this time they are not found near Chesterfield Inlet (based on several other comments in the meeting, this is suspected to be due to barge travel).

Walrus are observed a little to the north of Chesterfield Inlet in the spring and have been hard to see in late summer for years.

3.1.2 Ice Formation

1. How far out is the ice floe edge in the winter (at its farthest)? – About 5 miles

2. Has this changed over the years? – No.

3. When is freeze-up and break-up? Freeze-up mid November to early December and breakup June 25 to July 5, approximately.

4. Has the timing of freeze-up and break-up changed? Freeze-up and break-up happen at different times each year. There is no real trend. It rained on Christmas Eve this past year (2010).

3.1.3 Travel Routes

1. What travel routes do people follow along the ice floe edge in the winter?

See notes on map.

2. What travel routes do people follow in their boats after break-up?

One to three miles along the shoreline and out to the islands (both directions).
Up the inlet to Cross Bay if it is necessary to go that far for caribou.

3.1.4 Project Shipping

1. What effects may Project shipping have on marine mammals?

The interview participants estimated that it would be the same as for AEM barging. They predicted that: Mammals will be disturbed. [Hunters] will have to travel further, [because] there will be fewer mammals near Chesterfield Inlet. Seals and fish are the biggest problem. [There will also be] fewer belugas.

2. What effects may Project shipping have on ice formation? None, unless we stay for freeze-up. The interview participants reported that they would not like the ice to be disturbed.

3. What effects may Project shipping have on traditional harvesting activities? [Hunters] may have to travel further for marine mammals. The interview participants believe that this is happening already.

The following was shown visually:

- Photos from the June 2009 Open House in Chesterfield Inlet.
- Photos from the July 16, 2009 meeting with the Chesterfield Inlet HTO where Nunami Jacques gave a presentation with some results.
- Photos of the AEM cargo ships at Helicopter Island with transfer ships and barges taken in July 2010.
- Marine Baseline presentation given to the Kivalliq Wildlife Board in October 2009.

The interview participants reviewed the maps and marked up additions. More fishing areas were identified along with more caribou hunting areas.

3.1.5 General Comments

- The number of seals has been down the past couple of years

- An interview participant reported that they had heard there would be more traffic this summer and that this would frighten mammals because they have sensitive ears. It was stated that there will be no AREVA traffic for another several years and we will continue to consult with the HTO.
- The hunters would like to know, can they get compensated for having to travel further? They believe it is happening already. It was explained that the stated intent [of AREVA] is to design the Project so that harm to wildlife and traditional hunting activities will not occur. Wildlife compensation will be in the IIBA with KIA but it has not been negotiated yet so the specifics are not available. Performance will be monitored and changes will be required if wildlife are affected. Can't give specifics on possible compensation yet.
- There has been an observed decrease in Arctic char in Fisher Bay (noted on map) over the past couple of years. [People catch] less than 5-10 per day now. Five years ago [people could catch] 30 per day.
- One interview participant noted that there were lots of belugas off the mouth of the Chesterfield Inlet channel before the AEM barges came. Now there are fewer belugas in the area.
- The interview participants have heard that both mining companies donate to Baker Lake, and would like to know about Chesterfield Inlet. The response was AREVA has been donating to fishing derbies, sporting events and feasts since 2007 or 2008. AREVA gives about \$10,000 a year to Chesterfield Inlet. This level of donation is for the exploration phase. Community donations are higher during mining.
- The interview participants heard that uranium is dangerous. What would happen if a cup of uranium was spilled? Response was that a cup of uranium concentrate would be harmful if inhaled or swallowed but would not be harmful if spilled on the ground. It would be cleaned up and verified to be clean by samples and readings. Such spills occur from time to time and have been successfully cleaned up. There will be an emergency response plan and emergency response capabilities somewhere in the region with equipment and training.

- One interview participant stated that he believed the mine would go ahead because it is supported by other communities. Response was that some support has been given throughout the region, but the final decision on the Project has not been made, and there will be public meetings and hearings to go over the proposed Project and its impacts before the decision is made.
- When the interview participants asked, “What is in it for Chesterfield Inlet?” Response was: Jobs, training, community benefits and perhaps some marine infrastructure like spill response capability.
- The interview participants asked, “If caribou become contaminated and they come here, will there be compensation?” and added, “The thought is scary.” Response was that AREVA is looking at what the effects on caribou could be and how to minimize the effects so that compensation will not be necessary, and performance will be monitored. Specifics on compensation if wildlife is harmed and thus not available for consumption have not been determined.
- Some interview participants also asked, “Can we work in Saskatchewan? [We] want to move south.” Response was that it may be possible to get a job in the Saskatchewan mines but there are no plans to provide transportation from Nunavut to Saskatchewan mines.

3.2 INTERVIEWS CITED, 2011

CIHT (Chesterfield Inlet Hunters and Trappers Organization Representatives). 2011. Summary of IQ focus group conducted by Barry McCallum with eight hunters. June 3, 2011.

Attachment D

Results of IQ Focus Groups (2009) and Community Review Meetings in Rankin Inlet (2011)

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1 INTRODUCTION

AREVA Resources Canada Inc. (AREVA) is proposing to build the Kiggavik Uranium Project (the Project) about 80 km west of Baker Lake, Nunavut. As part of its community engagement process AREVA carried out a series of interviews with local land and resource users in Rankin Inlet in 2009, and then conducted a community review meeting in 2011. Golder Associates Ltd. (Golder) has been retained by AREVA to undertake IQ studies for the Project, and to assist in preparing the Project application.

On February 27, 2009, Susan Ross (independent) conducted an individual interview with a local land and resource user (RI01 2009). On March 2, 2009, Susan Ross and Mitchell Goodjohn (Golder) conducted a focus group with seven Inuit artists (RIA 2009). On April 2, 2009, Susan Ross and Linda Havers (Golder) conducted a focus group with five Rankin Inlet Hunters and Trappers Organization members (RIHT 2009), as well as a focus group with five young adults (RIYA 2009). On April 3, 2009, Susan Ross and Linda Havers conducted a focus group with four Elders from Rankin Inlet (RIE 2009), and a focus group with three women (RIW 2009). Section 2 is a summary of the information obtained during these meetings.

On February 14, 2011, Mitchell Goodjohn and Pam Bennett (AREVA) led a community review (IQ validation) meeting with nine participants, including Elders and representatives of the Hunters and Trappers Organization (HTO) in Rankin Inlet (RIJ 2011). Section 3 is a summary of the information obtained during the community review meeting.

2 RESULTS OF THE INTERVIEWS, 2009

2.1 INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW 01, RANKIN INLET, FEBRUARY 27, 2009 (RI01 2009)

2.1.1 IQ Data

The KIA has not made progress with their IQ database. They have collected some stories from Elders, but are looking for space and staff to start the database. Arctic College probably has the best collection of IQ information (RI01 2009).

2.2 ARTISTS FOCUS GROUP, RANKIN INLET, MARCH 2, 2009 (RIA 2009)

2.2.1 Soapstone

Finding material supplies is challenging. Metal and tools come from the south. Soapstone is hard to get and is in short supply, which is the reason people carve other stones. Carving other stones is very hard on tools and not everybody can afford the good tools needed to work on hard stone. If they are able, artists can travel to Falstaff Island to get soapstone. Wood comes from the lumber store in Rankin (for example, for making drums). Hides are not used for drum skins as they dry out, and even Elders use store bought drum skins now (RI01 2009).

2.3 HTO FOCUS GROUP, RANKIN INLET, APRIL 2, 2009 (RIHT 2009)

2.3.1 Environment

The HTO had questions about uranium mining and the release of dust from the ore itself (uranium dust). Mining in the north has different effects from mining in the south. There are no trees, for example, to break the winds. The land is flat. Baker Lake gets strong winds first, and then Rankin Inlet gets them so there is concern here about the air around Baker Lake. There is calm inside the trees. The HTO is concerned about what is blowing in the air around them (RIHT 2009).

There are strong currents all the way down to Churchill and oil spills could have a devastating effect over an entire region. "If one ship sank, it would

affect all of Hudson Bay.” The EIA should look at currents, wind and water (RIHT 2009).

2.3.2 Hunting

Everyone relies on caribou, fish, seals, ptarmigan, beluga, cloud berries, and plants used for teas. Plants are gathered by Elders from August to September. All animals, plants and activities are a priority for protection. (RIHT 2009)

Some women hunt sea mammals such as seals, but it is rarer for women to go out on the water. Fathers will teach their daughters how to hunt if they do not have sons; however, the duty of the father is to pass down hunting skills to boys. Children typically learn to hunt at about 14 years of age, but it depends on when the child is ready and some go out at a much younger age (RIHT 2009).

Hunting occurs everywhere, and everything is important. Narwhal is hunted in Repulse Bay. For beluga hunting, it's best to go to Churchill in early July when they are migrating (RIHT 2009).

There is a semi-formal harvest distribution system. The HTOs are in regular communication and if one HTO has walrus for example, it may be traded with another HTO for caribou. Because of this distribution, it is important that caribou meat and other food sources from one area are not contaminated because contaminated meat could affect people in a much broader trading area than just Rankin. When they see caribou that stay around sewage lagoons, it's a reminder to stay away from these areas (RIHT 2009).

There are three or four community feasts a year when there is excess meat, or in special circumstances such as when 600 Narwhal were trapped in ice near pond inlet and DFO permitted hunters to harvest them. The HTO may also sell excess harvest to community organizations for special events. Each HTO receives \$7000 per year for supplies needed to mount a hunt that will provide for Elders and those that no longer hunt or receive country foods. Some of these hunters will bring back two or three caribou a weekend. The meat is shared with immediate and extended family members (RIHT 2009).

People hunt whenever they can and many hunters will take their holidays when there is more daylight so they can hunt for longer periods. Most hunting occurs between May and September, but hunters are anxious to get out on the land now (April) because it's warming up (RIHT 2009).

Few people live as full time hunters. All members of this HTO board have full time jobs. Money is important, as transportation to get out on the land is

costly. One member estimates that a weekend of hunting costs about \$400 including ammunition, gas and gear. HTO members also carry satellite phones and ground positioning system (GPS) devices for safety reasons. “We are isolated, but not that isolated.” (RIHT 2009).

There is a lot of variation in who hunts where. Some people have ATVs and will go as far as five gallons of gas will take them. Some walk and others travel 20 miles inland (RIHT 2009).

These HTO members prefer to hunt alone unless they’re hunting by boat. Children are taken out hunting in the warmer seasons with double walled tents, and some hunters have cabins (RIHT 2009).

Elders play a role in teaching younger adults and youth about hunting. There are programs in schools that facilitate this interaction between Elders and the young. It’s important for young people to learn how to build an igloo and to learn different hunting and survival skills for each season (RIHT 2009).

Only 14 polar tags were given out this year for all the communities nearby, and these are all for defence kills. HTOs disagree with this stance as well as on the number of polar bears. There is no balance of opinion between scientists and hunters. These hunters feel that they are not listened to, and resent the decision making process that over-values science and the opinions of government experts (RIHT 2009).

2.3.3 Tourism

There are a few outfitters, but this HTO describes itself as “anti-tourist”. “Rankin hunters want to keep the tags for themselves.” Barriers to professional guiding involve risks and responsibilities and costly insurance. Start-up costs are significant. Transport Canada requires that boaters have appropriate insurance to take tourists out (RIHT 2009).

Tourism is not well marketed by the government. Outfitters and guides are expected to market their services themselves and marketing and promotional costs are high (RIHT 2009).

2.3.4 Weather

There was more snow in the past than there is now. Animals are always moving but there is no change in their numbers (RIHT 2009).

Some changes in caribou have been observed: boils on skin, white spots that resemble larvae, and fluid around their joints. This is reported to the wildlife officer who tells them that the caribou is still safe to consume but these hunters feel that these changes are off-putting and do not eat the meat (RIHT 2009).

2.4 YOUNG ADULTS FOCUS GROUP, RANKIN INLET, APRIL 2, 2009 (RIYA)

2.4.1 Water

Young adults do not question the requests of Elders to go get river water for them to drink, or to help them in various ways (RIYA 2009).

2.4.2 Hunting

They don't hunt much, as one does not have a skidoo. One of the young adults sometimes goes with her father. "Girls prefer ice fishing." They want to teach their children to hunt when they are ready, but will need the resources. They see children and younger people with 'iPods', and on the internet. They did not have these distractions growing up and think that these other young people may not be as interested in hunting (RIYA 2009).

Elders should not have to travel further to hunt because of a road or because the mine's activities have disturbed migration patterns and routes (RIYA 2009).

2.4.3 Environment

There are environmental concerns associated with mining, and mining close to water is a particular concern. Because country food is of high importance to this community, the welfare of animals is important and is the cornerstone of Inuit culture. Country food is sometimes purchased from people, but most of all it is shared. These young people also like country food better than store bought food (RIYA 2009).

This community lives off the land and has heard many stories about the environmental damage mines can cause once they are in operation. One of the participants wants the EIA to be thorough and investigate potential environmental effects in all seasons. The priority should be migration studies (RIYA 2009).

2.5 ELDERS FOCUS GROUP RANKIN INLET, APRIL 3, 2009 (RIE 2009)

2.5.1 Environment

Uranium is dangerous for people and animals. Uranium dust travels and can affect a great number of people. “You can’t see uranium like you can other minerals” (RIE 2009).

Scientists need to explain the effects of uranium and what will happen after the mine closes. There is also a concern that there is more uranium out there, and that Areva is not being upfront about their future intentions (RIE 2009).

The Elders believe that mining companies perform better now environmentally, and that young people need jobs and training, “but uranium is another thing”. It’s not clear how extreme cold will affect mining activities and equipment (RIE 2009).

Other mines, such as gold mines, at closure have not been able to fully clean up the mine site (RIE 2009).

It’s good for Inuit to be hired as monitors and it’s good that wildlife monitoring is happening. Scientists, however, are often wrong. Elders have been hunting all their lives and know a lot about migration and should be consulted (RIE 2009).

The Elders are resentful that decisions for the Inuit are made by a white government. “We are run by non-Inuit and this was not the promise of Nunavut.” (RIE 2009).

“What will Areva fill the mine pit with when they are finished?” There is concern that nothing will grow, and that it will have to be filled with gravel like other mines were (RIE 2009).

2.5.2 Health and Safety

One of the Elders worked for 3 ½ years at a mine in the Yukon, and then six months at Little Lake. It was hard work. At his age, he says he is not in good shape. He has a hearing problem and has arthritis in his hands, but he still hunts out on the land. When they were mining in the late 1950s, they would sometimes travel 400 feet down into the pit with only a T-shirt and pants. They had water proof clothing, but it was too hot. They may have been exposed to the elements underground. Some people have skin problems as a result (RIE 2009).

2.5.3 Hunting

The people of Baker Lake are inland people, so they depend on fish, ptarmigan, and caribou. Their livelihoods should be protected. In Rankin Inlet, they also have marine mammals to hunt, but there are fewer seals around, and the Elders believe this may be due to mining (RIE 2009).

At closure, there will need to be some sort of compensation program. There is worry about depending on the mine forever and that workers won't buy hunting equipment. There should be a law about compensation at closure. If young people give up hunting to work in the mine, they will not be self sufficient if it closes (RIE 2009).

Grandchildren are not hunting but, rather, are on the internet and watching TV and playing video games. In the old days, children used to beg to go hunting. Kids are spending their money on games and cell phones, and not on hunting equipment (RIE 2009).

In the old days, hunters travelled by dog team and wore caribou clothing. They were expert hunters and no one worried about them. Now, hunters use snowmobiles (dogs are only used for racing) and they don't have the correct clothing. People worry about the hunters. Young hunters get stranded or lost. They don't use all the survival skills that the Elders had learned (RIE 2009).

2.6 WOMEN'S FOCUS GROUP, RANKIN INLET, APRIL 3, 2009 (RIW 2009)

2.6.1 Environment

Worries were expressed periodically about the affects of the project on wildlife, caribou, water, and air in particular. There is fear about air borne contaminants (RIW 2009).

2.6.2 Health and Safety

The women were also worried about worker health and safety, and wanted to know what kinds of medical facilities would be on site in the event of an emergency (RIW 2009).

Because of the nickel mine in Rankin Inlet 50 years ago, and because the people who worked there are very old and sick now, the Elders believe there is a connection between working in mines and health problems (RIW 2009).

2.6.3 Hunting

[Unlike in Arviat, reportedly] women do go marine mammal hunting; particularly sealing. Different women had different hunting preferences. For example, one of the women can't bear to kill caribou and another can't bear to kill seals. People are getting more stingy with their harvests, and it is getting harder to find people to give away caribou (RIW 2009).

2.7 INTERVIEWS CITED, 2009

RI01 (Rankin Inlet Interview 01). 2009. Summary of IQ interview conducted by Susan Ross with individual. February 27, 2009.

RIA (Rankin Inlet Artists). 2009. Summary of IQ focus group conducted by Susan Ross and Mitchell Goodjohn with seven Inuit artists. March 2, 2009.

RIE (Rankin Inlet Elders). 2009. Summary of IQ focus group conducted by Susan Ross and Linda Havers with four Elders. April 3, 2009.

RIHT (Rankin Inlet Hunters and Trappers Organisation). 2009. Summary of IQ focus group conducted by Susan Ross and Linda Havers with five HTO members. April 2, 2009.

RIW (Rankin Inlet Women). 2009. Summary of IQ focus group conducted by Susan Ross and Linda Havers with 3 women. April 3, 2009.

RIYA (Rankin Inlet Young Adults). 2009. Summary of IQ focus group conducted by Susan Ross and Linda Havers with 5 young adults. April 2, 2009.

3 RESULTS OF COMMUNITY REVIEW, 2011

3.1 COMMUNITY REVIEW MEETING WITH RANKIN INLET HTO REPRESENTATIVES AND ELDERS, FEBRUARY 14, 2011 (RIJ 2011)

3.1.1 Marine Mammals

The participants from the interview have observed that there is a lot of shipping activity at Chesterfield for the Meadowbank mine, and are concerned about what the effects of increased shipping for the Kiggavik mine will be on marine mammals. The participants suggested that the shipping routes be drawn on maps and compared with data for the movement of marine fauna in the region. They requested that AREVA supply shipping route maps for future consultations with local people.

The participants perceive that the loud blasts caused by the mining activities at the Rankin mine (prior to 1962) may have caused the seals to stay away. People hunt seals mostly in the fall. Seals are mainly hunted by members of the Rankin Inlet community near Whale Cove. The seals are usually found at the outlets of creeks. It was suggested at the interview that this may be due to the abundance of food found at creek outlets, for example cod (marine fish) have been observed near stream outlets. It is possible that the cod are feeding on smaller, freshwater species which are coming downstream, while the seals are in turn feeding on the cod. Seals have been spotted in the lakes past the proposed Kiggavik mine area, near Thelon.

Some participants at the interview noted fewer harp seals this season, while other participants did not observe any harp seals at all. It was suggested that the lack of harp seals around Chesterfield this past summer (2010) was due to increased shipping activities in that area. Bearded seals, ring seals and harbour seals are also hunted by the people of Rankin Inlet. Seal hunting is seasonal and depends on what the hunter wishes to accomplish, to acquire meat or fur. In the spring and summer, the hunters have observed that the seals are so skinny they may sink to the bottom of the ocean when they are killed. In the fall, the seals are fatter and easier to collect after they have been killed because they float due to an increased mass of blubber during this time of year. It was reported that one kind of seal (Ranger seal) goes up rivers into freshwater. The interview participant who noted this marked a lake on the map where he had seen a ranger seal (RIJ 2011).

In the past, beluga whales were hunted in August, but these days they are not hunted until September. When asked how far off the coast the beluga pods travel, the participants responded that animals travel in unpredictable ways, and do not follow rules and regulations. The participants estimated

that their information would be about 50% accurate, because different people have had different experiences at different places. Although hunters travel in diverse areas, the participants agreed that beluga whales are found all along the coast and in open water from Rankin Inlet as far south as Churchill, Manitoba.

The participants feel that all shipping routes will interfere with the beluga migration, because these whales travel so extensively throughout the region. The participants reported having seen beluga and even orca (killer) whales in Baker Lake. Narwhals have also been spotted in the Baker Lake Inlet. It was noted that beluga whales were found in smaller numbers around Chesterfield this past summer (2010), and it was suggested that this was due to increased shipping activities in that area. True to its name, Whale Cove is a location known for having an abundance of whales. Bowhead whales are reportedly seen there almost every year, along with beluga, narwhal, orca, and also the odd shark has been spotted among the marine mammals. Some people will go north to Repulse Bay to hunt whales as well.

Walrus reportedly move with the ice, travelling southbound from farther north. One participant remembered that when he was younger there used to be more walrus than there are today. Walrus no longer travel to the same places they used to, once the moving ice drives them south. These days the walrus sometimes congregate near Wager Bay. The ice flows south during the months of May, June and July. During this time, walrus and other animals will “catch a ride” on the moving ice. The animals will get off near the inlet to Baker Lake, where they swim or travel by land to go north again. These travel patterns vary, depending on the year and other factors in the ecosystem.

3.1.2 Caribou Migration

One participant said that although there were ATV and snow mobile activities, as well as blasting, at the mine in Rankin (closed since 1962) this did not significantly affect the caribou migration, because during mine operations it was still easy to find caribou near town. However, another participant said that he perceives the current mining activities in the area to be causing changes in the caribou. He said that the caribou are not as healthy as they used to be. Furthermore he noted changes in the herds, for example the Bathurst herd is a lot smaller than it used to be, while the herd from northern Quebec is much bigger.

People will travel great distances to hunt caribou, as far as the tree line. One participant noted that caribou are tenacious travellers, because they will keep moving to their destination and even cross water to reach it. The participants mentioned that caribou near water are scared more easily.

One participant said, “There is no limit to where we can go” (when hunting caribou). Although one limiting factor was mentioned: the amount of gasoline a hunter can carry to fuel their vehicle. One hunter recalled that when he was young he could “go everywhere”, but now there are more limits because the equipment and motorized vehicles currently used for hunting are not as versatile as the dog teams that were used in the past.

It was emphasized by the interview participants that their ancestors used to travel over long distances to hunt and get food for their families. It was important to them that this detail be included in the report. The participants explained that some families came from Uqsuqtuuq (Gjoa Haven), Cambridge Bay and Pelly Bay (Kugaaruk) to hunt caribou near Rankin, and then decided to settle at Rankin permanently. The participants noted a similarity between Inuit families and mining companies, which is that they both travel in search of resources: the mining companies come from the south looking for minerals, while the Inuit travel to find food and hunt.

3.1.3 Ice

According to the observations of the local people, the marine ice is normally gone in the month of July and starts to re-form in November. One participant said that before he was born, the ice used to form in October or earlier, sometimes as early as September, and snow would begin to fall in August. Today, the snow and ice come later in the year. The ice floe edge normally reaches its maximum extension in March, stretching out about 30 – 40 miles (48 – 64 km) from Rankin. It was recalled that at one time in the past the ice floe edge reached as far as Marble Island. The ice starts to break up into large pieces and move during the months of May, June and July, flowing south. Walrus, beluga and polar bear are all affected by the moving ice, and their travel routes are similar during this time. Hunters can sometimes get stranded by the floating ice. In particular, one hunter at the interview recalled being stuck at Wager Bay for three days.

People travel to the edge of the ice floe to hunt. The Inuit people have no limits when hunting, they will travel where they need to go, and the same person will not usually travel the same route twice. The hunters will look for a good floe edge and follow it to the animals they are hunting. Their travels may span from Whale Cove, south of Rankin Inlet, to Chesterfield Inlet, north of Rankin Inlet, or farther, and their trips may last overnight or up to two weeks or more. Inuit hunters do not tend to make plans; rather, they will wake up and move with the ever-changing landscape. The unpredictable nature of the ice formations would make planning irrelevant.

3.1.4 Water

When people travel in boats on Hudson Bay, they may choose to keep land in sight and stay close to the shore, or to boat in open water, depending on where they are going, who they are with, and what the weather is like. There are many hazards involved with travelling by water. For example, there are strong ocean currents west of Southampton Island, and there is a rapid at Thelon that is so fast one cannot navigate past it. The trip to Repulse Bay takes 10 hours by boat if there is no ice, but if there is ice, then travelers can get stuck for several days.

3.1.5 Concerns from the Local Population about Uranium Mining and Shipping

The participants stated that they have concerns about the negative aspects of uranium mining, and its potential dangers to human health and safety. Some of the participants at the Rankin Inlet meeting felt that their questions about these matters had not been dealt with fully and in a direct way by AREVA representatives at previous meetings. The meeting participants stated that they are not necessarily against mining, but requested more detailed information, translated to Inuktitut, about uranium and the potential danger it poses to human health and safety. The local people want to understand all aspects of uranium mining, both positive and negative. One participant requested information about how radiation travels over land and through the air. It was suggested that AREVA could have an open-house style meeting to answer the questions of local people and provide information.

With respect to wildlife and shipping, the interview participants reported that the area north of Chesterfield Inlet towards Repulse Bay is very rich in marine life, so the local hunters hope that AREVA will not plan shipping routes through that area. The Rankin Inlet inhabitants would like to see maps of AREVA's proposed shipping routes so that they can see the possible interactions with hunting activities and marine life. The interview participants suggested that an overland train would be a better form of transportation to avoid impacting the marine life; however it was mentioned that permafrost and shifting ground issues would complicate this option.

People are concerned about the aggregate impacts of the proposed AREVA uranium mine with the Meadowbank gold mine. Some people at the meeting would like to travel to the Kiggavik site to see if anything has changed since 2008.

3.1.6 Concerns from the Local Population about AREVA Meeting Protocol

There was frustration and confusion at the meeting, over the signing of consent forms. One participant said that the forms should be translated to Inuktitut and given to the participants in advance of the meeting, so that participants can read and sign the form ahead of time and be prepared for the meeting. It must be made clear at future meetings that if a person signs the consent form to release their information to AREVA, this does not mean that the person is in agreement with the Kiggavik Project. Rather, the purpose of the consent forms and the collection of data during the meeting should be made clear to the local people in their own language, well before the meetings, to avoid stress and misunderstandings.

3.2 INTERVIEWS CITED, 2011

RIJ (Rankin Inlet Community Review with Hunters and Trappers Organization and Elders). 2011. Summary of IQ focus group conducted by Mitchell Goodjohn and Pam Bennett with nine participants. February 14, 2011.

Attachment E

Results of IQ Focus Groups (2009) and Community Review Meetings (2011) in Arviat

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1 INTRODUCTION

AREVA Resources Canada Inc. (AREVA) is proposing to build the Kiggavik Uranium Project (the Project) about 80 km west of Baker Lake, Nunavut. As part of its community engagement process AREVA carried out a series of interviews and focus groups with local land and resource users in Arviat in 2009, and then conducted a community review meeting in 2011. Golder Associates Ltd. (Golder) has been retained by AREVA to undertake IQ studies for the Project, and to assist in preparing the Project application.

On March 30, 2009, Linda Havers (Golder) and Susan Ross (independent) led an IQ focus group with seven members of the Arviat Hunters and Trappers Organization (ARHT 2009). Between March 30 – 31, 2009, Linda Havers and Susan Ross conducted four individual interviews with traditional land and resource users in Arviat (AR01 2009, AR02 2009, AR03 2009, and AR04 2009). On March 31, 2009, Linda Havers and Susan Ross led an IQ focus group with ten Elders from Arviat (ARE 2009). Section 2 is a summary of the information obtained during these meetings.

In February of 2011, a review meeting in the format of a focus groups was held as part of the community review process. On February 18, 2011, Mitchell Goodjohn conducted a community review (IQ validation) meeting with Elders and HTO representatives from Arviat, with a total of six participants in attendance (ARVJ 2011). Section 3 is a summary of the information obtained during the community review meeting.

2 RESULTS OF INTERVIEWS, 2009

2.1 HTO FOCUS GROUP, ARVIAT, MARCH 30, 2009 (ARHT 2009)

2.1.1 Environment

The HTO is particularly worried about air borne contamination as the prevailing winds are from the west. They are already seeing cysts in stomachs, swollen joints etc. in caribou and MRSA in people. They think it is possible that blasting at Kiggavik is sending contaminants into the air, which land on the plants that caribou are eating. Both the Beverly and Qamanirjuak herds migrate through the Kiggavik area (ARHT 2009).

The HTO members have heard that high levels of radiation are being detected in the blasted area (ARHT 2009).

2.1.2 Wildlife

Narwhal are only occasionally seen in Arviat, and bowhead are found only in deeper water. They are not allowed to hunt bowhead in western Hudson Bay. They mostly hunt harbour and bearded seal, and beluga whale. Ring seals are mostly found at Nunallo on the border with Manitoba. There seem to be different types of ring seals, varying in size from two to five feet. The bigger they are the smellier they are. People are starting to notice that there are fewer char in some of the major rivers, and ascribe this to a growing population of harbour seals. Some walrus are hunted as well. They come south from Wager Bay in June (ARHT 2009). Last year people saw a big group of killer whales, but this was very unusual (ARHT 2009).

Beluga migrate north, hugging the coast by Arviat then strike out to deeper water to travel up to Coral Harbour. They travel up in June and July and back in September. They breed in the south, near Churchill. The numbers of beluga are very large now, but they expect quotas will come soon because there are also very many hunters. They are not allowed to go south towards Churchill to hunt because government wants to protect tourism (ARHT 2009).

There are lots of polar bear around, but Arviat received no hunting quota this year (2009), but did get some tags for defence kills. The hunters feel strongly that the scientists did a poor inventory count. They say the scientists came in July and didn't find many polar bears, but that is normal in July. Arviat was so full of polar bears in October and November that they

had to establish patrols to protect people. People were afraid to go out (ARHT 2009).

There was some disagreement on quotas. Some hunters believe that other communities got at least a few hunting tags (whereas Arviat got none) but others say that no community in Kivalliq got anything other than defence kill tags. There is no guiding activity in Arviat now that the polar bear hunt is finished. This represents a significant loss to the community as last year they had seven hunt tags at \$25,000 each (ARHT 2009).

The hunters believe that scientists' methods harm an animal's ability to be themselves. For example, polar bears can't be hunters with collars around their necks. Tagging and tattooing caribou makes the meat tougher. Normal animals can cope with the disturbance of vehicles and boats, but are disturbed by these things if they are collared (ARHT 2009). The HTO puts limits on hunting. Some hunters sell what they hunt (ARHT 2009).

2.1.3 Hunting

All the HTO members at the interview have full time employment, and said they need jobs to finance hunting. Economic Development and Transportation provides the HTOs with funds to go hunting for country food to distribute to communities (ARHT 2009).

2.2 INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW 01, ARVIAT, MARCH 30, 2009 (AR01 2009)

2.2.1 Soapstone

Economic Development and Tourism has recently established a geology position in Arviat, with the main focus looking for soapstone as most of the carvers have none and are having trouble getting it. One of the difficulties is that quarries can be found and worked during the summer, but the stone can only be hauled to town in the winter (AR01 2009).

2.2.2 Tourism

There is no more sport hunting for polar bear, and the few tourists that come hunt caribou (AR01 2009).

2.3 INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW 02, ARVIAT, MARCH 31, 2009 (AR02 2009)

2.3.1 Hunting and Trapping

Traditional activities that used to earn people money (such as trapping) do not bring a decent return any more. The animal rights activists are ruining markets, and lowering prices. When traditional activity is reduced, then knowledge is reduced as well (AR02 2009).

2.4 INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW 03, ARVIAT, MARCH 31, 2009 (AR03 2009)

2.4.1 Hunting

Some of the good effects of employment are that people can buy the equipment they need to go out on the land. Both hunting and having more money has a positive effect on nutrition. Additionally, rotational work gives people choices about how they spend their time off (AR03 2009).

Things are changing very fast for the Inuit. The world is changing. The Inuit once depended on the land, but can do so no longer. Elders are finding it difficult to figure things out and finding it hard to talk to the youth about things the Elders have no experience with. The young would rather listen to the media and each other than to the Elders (AR03 2009).

2.5 INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW 04, ARVIAT, MARCH 31, 2009 (ARO4 2009)

2.5.1 Hunting

The Elder is concerned that with a lot of people working, there would be less country food in the community. Meat can be bought at the store, but it is expensive and people do not have money (ARO4 2009).

Regarding health and safety, she (the interview participant) is noticing differences over time in the animal skins she cleans. The Elder said she is finding yellow things in the skins of polar bear and seal, and has seen the same sort of condition in whale skin (ARO4 2009).

She is also hearing a lot about Inuit having stomach problems from eating caribou and about people who are talking about the safety of country food,

and added that some people think that the huge increase in MRSA is a result of air borne contaminants from mining activity (ARO4 2009).

Young people are less likely to go out hunting, and they eat less country food than the older people. Older people eat country food every day. Young people tend to get their country food from the older people in their families. The HTO also provides some food to the community. The food bank distributes only southern food (ARO4 2009).

2.6 ELDER'S FOCUS GROUP, ARVIAT, MARCH 31, 2009 (ARE 2009)

2.6.1 Hunting

The Elders said that inland people were brought to Arviat, forcibly in some cases, because of a sudden decline or disappearance of caribou, and the risk that people would starve. In Arviat, food sources were abundant and included sea mammals such as seals and whales. Inland hunters did not have knowledge of sea mammal hunting techniques (ARE 2009).

Although Arviat was a settlement by the late 1950s, people who came to live there still went out on the land for many months of the year, returning to Arviat to purchase things at the Hudson Bay Company (ARE 2009).

Women did not hunt sea mammals because it was dangerous. One woman hunted caribou and small animals such as fox. She learned to hunt because she did not have any brothers; so her father taught her the skills. She learned how to hunt musk ox and to hunt caribou by canoe. More typically, women would go out on the land with their husbands and stay at the camp to dry meat and cook (ARE 2009).

There was good hunting close to Arviat but in the past people were mobile and would travel long distances to find good places to fish and hunt. People went to Whale Cove because it was a good place to hunt beluga. Elders in this group said that wildlife and sea mammals are still plentiful around Arviat, and that, "nothing has changed" (ARE 2009).

2.6.2 Environment

Elders believe that country food tasted better then than now. Some attribute this to helicopters and airplanes flying over, causing changes to the air that animals breathe. One of the Elders pointed out that every spring, geese come into town and swim in the sewage lagoon. "This is the problem with development" (ARE 2009).

They believe there are pros and cons to mining. The main concern is how it might affect caribou migration because people depend on caribou. Elders are in favour of the mine for the jobs that it will bring, but want assurance that there will not be a disturbance of the caribou that they have depended upon all of their lives. If migration routes are affected, the caribou may move too far away for people to hunt (ARE 2009).

2.7 INTERVIEWS CITED, 2009

AR01 (Arviat Interview 01). 2009. Summary of IQ interview conducted by Linda Havers and Susan Ross with individual. March 30, 2009; in AREVA Kiggavik Project Inuit Qaujimmajatuqangit Baseline Report, November 2009.

AR02 (Arviat Interview 02). 2009. Summary of IQ interview conducted by Linda Havers and Susan Ross with individual. March 31, 2009.

AR03 (Arviat Interview 03). 2009. Summary of IQ interview conducted by Linda Havers and Susan Ross with individual. March 31, 2009.

AR04 (Arviat Interview 04). 2009. Summary of IQ interview conducted by Linda Havers and Susan Ross with individual. March 31, 2009.

ARE (Arviat Elders). 2009. Summary of IQ focus group conducted by Linda Havers and Susan Ross with 10 Elders. March 31, 2009.

ARHT (Arviat Hunters and Trappers Organization). 2009. Summary of IQ focus group conducted by Linda Havers and Susan Ross with seven HTO members. March 30, 2009.

3 RESULTS OF COMMUNITY REVIEW, 2011

3.1 COMMUNITY REVIEW MEETING WITH ARVIAT HTO REPRESENTATIVES AND ELDERS, FEBRUARY 18, 2011 (ARVJ 2011)

3.1.1 Wildlife Harvesting

3.1.1.1 Sea Mammals

The hunted species of sea mammals listed by the focus group participants include beluga whales and three species of seals.

Beluga whales were the most frequently-mentioned hunted whale species in the interview. The participants explained that in the past, the ice used to break up before June, but presently, the ice is normally gone by mid-June. At mid-June, whales are seen with their calves at the sighting points near Arviat. The focus group participants emphasized that Inuit hunters only harvest what they need and try not to harvest the belugas accompanied by calves. One of the hunters has observed belugas with calves at Churchill, so speculates that the whales may be giving birth further south. Prior to ice break-up, the calves ride on their mothers' backs.

Once the ice is gone, beluga whales travel north around June or July. Next, they are hunted during July and August. The focus group participants said that in the past beluga whales were hunted earlier in the season, in accordance with the break-up of the ice. The participants noted that the freeze-up also seems to be occurring later, around late October. The participants commented that the behaviour of the beluga whales seems different these days. The belugas used to gather at Arviat but now their travel routes seem to be different and are closer to shore. The participants perceive that there are not as many belugas travelling up from the south as there were before. The hunters reported only having seen belugas travelling north, and that they have not seen what routes the whales travel southbound. Hunters have seen pods travelling in opposite directions meet each other.

With respect to seals, three species were mentioned: ring seals, bearded seals and harp seals. Ring seals are harvested for their meat and hide. Bearded seals are harvested for their meat and hide; their hides are used to make *kamiks* (boots), and for teaching people how to make clothes. Harp seals are harvested for their hide only. All species of seal are fatter in the fall when the ice starts to form. Seals are hunted year-round, although there is not as much seal harvesting in the summer because seals shot in the summer

may sink in the water due to lack of fat. In the fall, seals are hunted for dog food. Seal hunting is the main reason people travel to the ice floe edge.

Hunters noted that these days they see more killer (orca) whales than previously, and that other sea mammals will swim closer to shore if there are killer whales in the area. Inuit hunters do not harvest orca whales.

3.1.1.2 Land Mammals

Caribou were described as the most important species hunted on the land. There are different types of caribou in the region around Arviat. Hunters reported having heard that woodland caribou came from further west and are found near Arviat; and that other caribou herds (not the Qaminuriaq or Beverly) have moved in from the west. Participants speculate that this may be due to fires and/or forest fires.

According to the focus group participants, when the caribou migrate south, they travel faster than when they migrate north; this may be due to the heat and/or the insects, including mosquitoes, that irritate the caribou. Since the southern migration consists of more dispersed caribou travelling faster, there appear to be fewer caribou migrating south. The caribou are fatter when migrating south. The caribou may also travel further west when migrating south, but mostly follow the same route as when migrating north. However, not all caribou follow the same migration route. Some travel to other areas. The caribou leading the migration are the cows with calves. The bulls are usually last when travelling. When new calves learn to walk, the caribou herds begin to move south, and this is seen around July in Arviat. Some of the caribou that are further behind may stay in one area for up to a couple of months. There are always some caribou near Arviat year-round.

Caribou are hunted year-round, although they are usually not as fat during the northward migration. Hunters are selective about the caribou they hunt, and will generally select fatter ones. During the summer, caribou closer to the shoreline are usually fatter. Bulls are hunted when they start to form their antlers. According to the focus group participants, bulls are best in the springtime and fall, before the rut. When bulls begin to lose their antlers, they are not hunted as much.

The focus group participants described their hunting traditions in the following way. The Arviat hunters have noticed that if the migrating caribou are not bothered by humans or animals for three or four days, these animals will continue to migrate through an area. The first caribou of the herd must be allowed to pass by the hunters, and only after a few days can the hunting begin. Later, the caribou further back in the migration will continue to follow the herd in front, even if they are disturbed as they walk their path. The hunters explained that this may be due to a scent left from the hooves of

the caribou that had passed through previously. If the lead caribou are bothered by hunters or other disturbances, they will run away.

The focus group participants warned that when migrating herds go by the proposed Kiggavik mine site, work should stop until the caribou pass. This would be a way to respect the caribou migration. The participants gave the example of when there was mining in Rankin Inlet, how the land would move when there was blasting. During the blasting, there were not many caribou. The caribou returned after the blasting stopped, because according to the hunters, the caribou are very clever. One participant reported an experience from an exploration camp. He said that the exploration activity ceased for two days after the caribou migration had started.

Other land mammals mentioned by the focus group participants at the interview included polar bear, fox and muskox. They explained that Arviat receives polar bear tags for defence kills only. Polar bears are seen all along the coast and on land, even in the summer; however in the fall they are mainly seen travelling north along the shore. Long ago, people would see very few polar bears, but now there are more bears and they even break into cottages and destroy meat caches. Polar bears have been seen breaking into cottages in July. People now need to be wary of polar bears when camping. Long ago, polar bears used to have dens far from Arviat. Hunters reported that they have now seen some dens close to Arviat. Polar bears generally do not have a common denning area. Some bears will stay around a particular area and others will travel along with the caribou. Polar bears will catch and eat caribou. Foxes can be trapped along the ice floe edge in the fall. Recently, people have been seeing more muskox near Arviat than in the past. Muskoxen are hunted for their meat and skins.

3.1.1.3 Bird and Egg Harvesting

Hunters harvest geese close to Arviat in the springtime, when the birds are flying north. Egg harvesting takes place from springtime to about mid-June. People will collect eggs from many species including: eider ducks, cranes, terns, gulls, and snow geese. Collection occurs along the shores, on the islands, and inland as well. Arviat has received a request to harvest eggs for Baffinland. The interview participants told the interviewers how to check whether or not eggs are good to eat: if eggs sink in the water, they are good, but if the eggs float, they are not good. Birds are now starting to travel further to nest and the participants speculate that this is because the bird population is growing. The participants remember a time when it was so cold that many nesting birds died. Birds are not hunted when they are flying south.

3.1.1.4 Fishing

Fishing is widely practiced by people from Arviat in the rivers, the lakes, and Hudson Bay. In August, char go up the rivers to the lakes, although some will stay year-round in the bay. Arctic char are netted along the coast and in the rivers. Other harvested fish species include land-locked char, pike, trout, whitefish, and grayling; although the participants said that some of the lakes do not have grayling. The participants identified Mageuse Lake as an important fishing lake.

The participants said that their fishing preference is for medium-sized fish over larger ones. The participants reported that they tend to see large quantities of inland trout with red meat. According to the participants, if there is less sand and rock in the rivers, then the trout will have less red meat. The participants noted that the fish in shallower water are darker in colour, and that they are also fatter in the shallow areas. The participants think that this may be due to the fish feeding from the river or lake bottom, and that it may also depend on the type of vegetation eaten by the fish.

3.1.2 Ice Floe and Water

3.1.2.1 Ice Floe Edge

The participants remembered that in the past, the ice floe edge used to be very far from the shore, but noted that now it is not as far offshore. During the winter, the ice floe edge is about three miles offshore from Arviat and about one mile offshore from Nunalla. On average, the ice floe edge is usually about two to four miles offshore. The ice floe is believed to be shrinking as the years go by. The participants reported that the weather does not feel as cold now as it used to, and that it doesn't stay as cold for as long as it used to. People from Arviat have heard from people in other communities that the ice is not as thick as it used to be and that travel on it could be dangerous.

3.1.2.2 Ice Travel

People from Arviat may travel along the ice between Whale Cove and Rankin Inlet, and may occasionally go to Churchill. People travel close to shore and stay away from the ice edge, as it is always changing and therefore may be dangerous. People used to use "Bombardiers" (tracked vehicles with skis at the front) to travel to Churchill. In recent years snow mobiles have replaced "Bombardiers".

3.1.2.3 Water Travel

According to the participants from Arviat, from springtime to about late June or July people will boat on the water from the ice floe edge, and will often travel to Marble Island. Boating destinations depend largely on individual preferences, and people may travel to the same areas in which they hunt, or may look for warmer areas. Hunters are now getting tags to hunt narwhal in Repulse Bay, and are travelling there by boat. When travelling to Repulse Bay, people travel close to the shore and need to watch out for ice floes so they don't get stuck in them. Some hunters may go north of Southampton Island.

3.1.2.4 Shipping

Hunters reported having seen many ships coming from many places overseas. The ships don't seem to affect the marine mammals, and a lot of times whales will follow the ships. The regular shipping season is between ice break-up and freeze-up. According to the participants, shipping during the regular season will not affect ice formation.

3.2 INTERVIEWS CITED, 2011

ARVJ (Arviat Hunters and Trappers Organization and Elders). 2011. Summary of IQ focus group conducted by Mitchell Goodjohn with six traditional land and resource users. February 18, 2011.

Attachment F

Results of IQ Focus Groups (2009) and Community Review Meetings (2011) in Whale Cove

Revision 1 - April 2012

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1 INTRODUCTION

AREVA Resources Canada Inc. (AREVA) is proposing to build the Kiggavik Uranium Project (the Project) about 80 km west of Baker Lake, Nunavut. As part of its community engagement process AREVA carried out two focus groups with local land and resource users in Whale Cove in 2009, and then conducted a community review meeting in 2011. Golder Associates Ltd. (Golder) has been retained by AREVA to undertake IQ studies for the Project, and to assist in preparing the Project application.

On April 9, 2009, Linda Havers (Golder) and Susan Ross (independent) conducted an IQ focus group with four Elders (WCE 2009). Also on April 9, 2009, Linda Havers conducted an IQ focus group with six young adults from Whale Cove (WCYA 2009). Section 2 is a summary of the information obtained during these meetings.

In March of 2011, a focus group in the format of a review meeting was held as part of the community review process. On March 21, 2011, Barry McCallum (AREVA) conducted a community review (IQ validation) meeting with traditional land and resource users from Whale Cove, with a total of six participants in attendance (WCCR 2011). Section 3 is a summary of the information obtained during the community review meeting.

2 RESULTS OF THE INTERVIEWS

2.1 ELDERS FOCUS GROUP, WHALE COVE, APRIL 9, 2009 (WCE 2009)

2.1.1 Environment

There have been environmental problems at other mines. At Collagen Lake (?) the mine wasn't fenced and caribou got in and were eating things that may not have been good for them. At Nanisivik, a pile of stored chemicals collapsed and the chemicals ended up on the beach. The Elders believe that if uranium is handled properly, it can be safely mined (WCE 2009).

The Elders emphasised that AREVA needs to keep the caribou out of danger, and to educate people about what the dangers actually are from a uranium mine (WCE 2009).

2.1.2 Hunting/Traditional Activity

These Elders are very grateful to their Elders for teaching them things without them having to go to school to get papers. They feel that learning by experience, by doing things, is better than learning in school from teachers and books. The schools cannot teach traditional activity. The young have to learn by doing along with their Elders. Traditional activity can only be learned by working at it, not by playing at it (WCE 2009). The Elders believe the young neither live a traditional life any more, nor have enough English to get good jobs. Young people increasingly depend on older people for their country food. These people are sharing their harvests because the young cannot afford to go out and hunt (WCE 2009).

Not very many people in Whale Cove are still hunting a lot. Whale Cove fishermen barely get cigarette money when they sell to the fish plant (WCE 2009). One of the Elders said she used to get more fish, but now hardly gets enough for her own use and doesn't sell much anymore to the fish plant. The Elders added that whales used to be just offshore of Whale Cove but they seem to be further out now, and the caribou don't come close to town anymore; probably because the people have scared them off with their snow machines and ATVs (WCE 2009).

2.1.3 Health and Safety

In the old days, people didn't have all sorts of health and safety protective equipment. Therefore they had to learn to be careful; for example, not to

fall off a boat into the sea. Now, people depend on the equipment to save them rather than learning how to survive without it (WCE 2009).

In the old days, people didn't have to pay huge sums for insurance, which is expensive. The Elders said that "first you need papers, then insurance if you want to do anything" (WCE 2009).

2.2 YOUNG ADULTS FOCUS GROUP, WHALE COVE, APRIL 9, 2009 (WCYA 2009)

2.2.1 Hunting/Traditional Activity

The young people participating in the interview rarely hunt and fish, and are more interested in traditional activity contests than regular activity on the land. A lot of the problem is that they cannot afford the gear (WCYA 2009).

2.2.2 Environment

The young people say they have thought about uranium, but think that AREVA, like most companies, will do a good job. As a result, they are not terribly worried about the environment. They are more interested in jobs (WCYA 2009).

2.3 INTERVIEWS CITED, 2009

WCE (Whale Cove Elders). 2009. Summary of IQ focus group conducted by Linda Havers and Susan Ross with four Elders. April 9, 2009.

WCYA (Whale Cove Young Adults). 2009. Summary of IQ focus group conducted by Linda Havers with six young adults. April 9, 2009.

3 RESULTS OF COMMUNITY REVIEW, 2011

3.1 COMMUNITY REVIEW MEETING WITH WHALE COVE HTO REPRESENTATIVES, MARCH 21, 2011, (WCCR 2011)

3.1.1 AREVA and the local community

Interview participants wanted to know why an AREVA representative was contacting them. Barry McCallum responded that his purpose was “to learn IQ about wildlife habits so we can protect wildlife in the project design.” The interview participants requested that the IQ data obtained by AREVA be made available to Nunavut Tunngavik Inc. (NTI) and the Kivalliq Inuit Association (KIA). The participants would have also preferred that an Inuktitut translator be provided for the meeting.

The participants were concerned that the mine would only benefit the companies involved, and that no royalties would be paid to the Inuit communities. Barry McCallum noted that Nunavut Tunngavik Inc. (NTI) receives royalties for operations which take place on Inuit Owned Lands (IOL). Distrust was expressed for community members who receive money from mining companies. One participant stated: “I am 100% against the mine in Baker Lake.”

3.1.2 Wildlife

The interview participants felt that Whale Cove probably has the “healthiest animals in the world”. A concern was raised that the caribou will divert their migration route if there are mines in the area. It was suggested that there are too many hunting areas in the vicinity of the proposed mine to allow for mining. It was mentioned that Saskatchewan has too many mines and hunting restrictions.

The interview participants explained that Baker Lake is important to their hunting activities, because caribou from Baker Lake are hunted by Whale Cove residents, and geese fly to Baker Lake. There was concern that caribou downwind from the mine could get disease from dust and that lichen would become contaminated from the prevailing winds passing through the mine site.

With regard to marine mammals, it was reported that beluga whales, seals (all species including harp seals and bearded seals), walrus, and polar bears are hunted regularly by Whale Cove hunters. Marble Island is a good place to hunt walrus. The community has plans to hunt bowhead whales within a couple of

years. Narwhals are only hunted near Repulse Bay. Locations for marine mammal hunting were identified and marked on a map.

In order to hunt these animals, hunters will travel into open water until they lose sight of land (quite far) during summer. In winter they will follow the ice floe edge.

3.1.3 Weather and Ice Formation

It is important to know the direction of the prevailing winds in the region, before constructing the mine. The Whale Cove interview participants were concerned about the winds from Baker Lake.

During winter, the ice floe edge tends to reach a maximum extension of 6 – 7 miles (10 – 11 km) from shore. This may have changed over the years. When the wind direction is coming from the ocean there is no floe edge. Freeze-up takes place in late November and break-up takes place in mid-June. Freeze-up is later now than it used to be, but the changes in break-up have not been as pronounced.

3.1.4 Travel Routes, Shipping and Transportation

Inuit hunters' travel routes are "everywhere"; they will follow the ice floe edge in winter. After ice break-up in mid-June, people will take their boats wherever the last break-up has taken place. The inlets are usually the last places to experience break-up. Inuit people often travel to inlets and points.

The participants wanted to know if there would be ships running year-round and Barry McCallum responded that no, ships would only run during open-water season. The interview participants expressed a preference for a winter road over shipping via the ocean, and suggested that AREVA store their shipments at Baker Lake until winter.

When asked what effects the Project shipping may have on marine mammals, it was suggested that shipping across the open ocean would have a negligible effect, and that the disturbance would be most pronounced at Chesterfield Inlet. There could also be disturbances if the barges travel up the coast of Hudson Bay. With regard to the potential effects of the Project shipping on ice formation, the local hunters expressed concern for seals and seal pups if the ice formation were to be altered. Project shipping was not expected to impact traditional harvesting activities.

Concerns were expressed over the potential for oil spills. There was no concern over noise or the presence of ships, and it was noted that belugas follow ships. There was no indication that sea mammals disappear when ships are around. It was noted that when travelling between Whale Cove and Rankin Inlet that the water is brown to the half-way point and then clear; this may be due to sewage.

3.2 INTERVIEWS CITED, 2011

WCCR 2011 (Whale Cove Community Review). 2011. Summary of IQ focus group conducted by Barry McCallum with six traditional land and resource users from the Whale Cove HTO. March 21, 2011.

Attachment G

Results of IQ Focus Groups (2009) and Community Review Meetings (2011) in Repulse Bay

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1 INTRODUCTION

AREVA Resources Canada Inc. (AREVA) is proposing to build the Kiggavik Uranium Project (the Project) about 80 km west of Baker Lake, Nunavut. As part of its community engagement process AREVA carried out a series of interviews with local land and resource users in Repulse Bay in 2009, and then conducted community review meetings in 2011. Golder Associates Ltd. (Golder) has been retained by AREVA to undertake IQ studies for the Project, and to assist in preparing the Project application.

On May 11, 2009, Mitchell Goodjohn (Golder) and Linda Havers (Golder) conducted an IQ focus group with five Elders from Repulse Bay (RBE 2009). Also on May 11, 2009, Mitchell Goodjohn and Linda Havers conducted an IQ focus group with six members of the Repulse Bay Hunters and Trappers Organization (HTO) (RBHT 2009). On May 12, 2009, Linda Havers conducted an individual IQ interview with one traditional land and resource user (RB01 2009). Also on May 12, 2009, Mitchell Goodjohn and Linda Havers conducted an IQ focus group with five young adults (RBYA 2009). Section 2 is a summary of the information obtained during these meetings.

In February of 2011, focus groups in the format of review meetings were held as part of the community review process. On February 10, 2011, Mitchell Goodjohn and Pam Bennett (AREVA) conducted a community review meeting with five HTO representatives and six Elders (RBJ 2011). On February 11, 2011, Mitchell Goodjohn and Pam Bennett conducted a community review meeting with two hunters (RBH 2011). Section 3 is a summary of the information obtained during the community review meetings.

2 RESULTS OF THE INTERVIEWS, 2009

2.1 ELDERS FOCUS GROUP, REPULSE BAY, MAY 11, 2009 (RBE 2009)

2.1.1 Archaeology Sites

John Rae [19th century explorer and HBC employee] had a stone house near Repulse Bay. Some people say he discovered the Northwest Passage. There are two whalers buried at Harbour Island and inscriptions are on the stone. Whalers wrote on rocks nearby. The Repulse Bay area is full of interesting history and people are proud of it (RBE 2009).

2.1.2 Hunting

As young people, the Elders were out on the land. In the winter, they lived on the ice, hunting seals. In the summer, they would go inland to hunt caribou and not return until the fall. One of the purposes was to hunt caribou while their hide was thin, so that they had hides suitable for caribou clothing (RBE 2009).

They had dog teams with them. They made a new igloo every night until they reached their destination (materials for making a tent were too expensive). They used a stone lamp and seal oil for lighting. Everything they had came from what they hunted-food, oils for heat and light, hides for clothing and footwear. They had to feed the dog team. This is how one supported their family and was the only way (RBE 2009).

Today, the Elders still consume country food. Store bought food is too expensive. Even employed people cannot keep up with the cost of living. So, they hunt as a livelihood strategy, this helps them to conserve cash for other necessities. The Elders said this is not “tradition”, but is maintained out of need. In Repulse Bay, children eat country food daily (RBE 2009).

Hunting was much harder in the past. People used sail boats to hunt marine mammals. Today, people need a snow machine. In 1978, snow machines were regularly used and people were starting to give up dog teams. Some of what has been lost are the basic skills to survive in the arctic (RBE 2009).

One of the Elders said she’s afraid to go camping because there are a lot of polar bears in the spring and summer (RBE 2009).

In the past, Elders ran the communities. They told young people where to go to hunt. Now, the governance role is gone and their role as hunting advisors has diminished (RBE 2009).

Everyone is concerned about birds and caribou that migrate past Baker Lake (RBE 2009). One Elder had seen pictures of birds dying in Alberta, said it had something to do with mining and asked, “Is all this the cost of progress?” There is exploration happening at Hall Beach and Igloolik. If the people there end up without caribou, the Elders believe they will be coming towards Repulse Bay to hunt them, and putting pressure on the local herd (RBE 2009).

2.2 HTO FOCUS GROUP, REPULSE BAY, MAY 11, 2009 (RBHT 2009)

2.2.1 Hunting

The HTO promotes sustainability and frowns on waste; having a surplus is not a good thing. Hunters primarily harvest caribou, wolf, polar bears, beluga, fox, narwhal, and walrus. Walrus are hunted to feed both dogs and people (RBHT 2009).

People also hunt birds. Variety is important partly because people like to have different food and also because people are not to over-hunt. The overriding ethic is to hunt only what you need. Meat is not sold; it is shared among family. When a hunter has more than he needs, he will offer the extra meat to people in the community. He will go on the radio and tell people that they can come by to get the meat. Older people (Elders) will receive meat from people, and are supported in this way (RBHT 2009). Twice this year, another HTO has called the Repulse HTO to purchase meat (RBHT 2009). Also, there is a fish plant in Rankin that will pay people in Repulse for their catch. The fish plant calls to initiate this (RBHT 2009).

HTO members hunt as often as they can. The older member has never held a permanent job so hunting was his livelihood strategy. He stopped when he became ill in 2000. Another hunter said his father did not raise him to be a hunter, but instead wanted him to be an office worker (RBHT 2009).

The two women present hunt seals and fish. When asked if there are species that women do not hunt, they indicated that, when with their husbands, they participate in caribou hunting, but few women would have the skills to hunt anything other than seals on their own. The women fish in the winter and in the spring they hunt seals (RBHT 2009).

They estimate that every household has a hunter. People hunt for food. It is a livelihood strategy. Store bought food is very expensive and people have bills to pay and spend money on other necessities. So, harvesting game and fishing is important primarily for sustenance (RBHT 2009).

These members say they hunt as much as they did growing up. However, the older fellow describes hunting when he was young quite differently. His family was entirely dependent on hunting for everything: meat, clothing, seal oil for fuel and light. So, obviously they would hunt more frequently. They also had dogs to feed so the harvest would have to be substantial (more mouths to feed, not just family members). Their only costs were bullets (RBHT 2009).

Constraints to hunting are time (members have jobs) and money. Fuel costs are the issue at present. Newer snowmobile models are getting to be more complicated and parts are expensive too (come from the south); fixing them is not as easy to do on your own. You can't really save money by hunting in groups. Snowmobiles only take a couple of people and if they are really loaded up, the gas costs are greater (RBHT 2009).

If hunters have to travel further to hunt, the fuel costs are an issue. So, predicting where animals are is important. They migrate. Musk ox are not close anymore so they are not hunted often. Wolves may migrate too. There are lots of polar bears in the area, so maybe this is an indication that their numbers are increasing (RBHT 2009).

Caribou are harder to find in the winter. They migrate south to Rankin and Baker, and then move north to Igloolik. In the past, hunters would spend days finding caribou. One of the older members, maintains that there are less caribou now (RBHT 2009).

The HTO members are concerned about caribou that may get too close to the mine. "Will they become contaminated in some way (RBHT 2009)?"

2.2.2 Tourism

There has been guiding here. Clients have been Americans (from Minnesota). In the past, the HTO would choose the guide to take the hunters out. This is not allowed anymore, and hunters have to complete guiding courses and be certified. None-the-less, there is a real interest in this activity (RBHT 2009).

2.3 INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW 01, REPULSE BAY, MAY 12, 2009 (RB01 2009)

2.3.1 Hunting

School is over at the end of May and then families start to go out on the land. Then, people are out all night seal hunting. In the spring and summer, everyone hunts, but not as much in the winter as in the past possible because not everyone has a snowmobile (RB01 2009).

Narwhal hunting was described as “spectacular”. People will stay out all night. People can sell the tusks, and the muktuk is a delicacy. “It’s very exciting when the narwhal come into the Bay” (RB01 2009).

2.3.2 Water

People drink water and get ice from the rivers. Many people won’t drink tap water because it’s treated (RB01 2009).

2.4 YOUNG ADULTS FOCUS GROUP, REPULSE BAY, MAY 12, 2009 (RBYA 2009)

2.4.1 Hunting

One of the young adults does not hunt because he doesn’t have a snowmobile. The others do hunt, but time and gas prices are major constraints. One has purchased a ‘4 stroke’ snowmobile with a motor that is easier on gas (RBYA 2009).

Caribou are close by. Other species hunted are wolves, wolverines, polar bears, narwhal, seal and beluga (RBYA 2009). There is an abundance of animals so there are lots to eat, even when unemployed (RBYA 2009). A whole caribou is purchased for \$200 if another HTO is looking for them. One of the members shot six caribou and sold them to the community of Arctic Bay. He hauled them up there with his snowmobile. (They were for Quest Research). One of the people sells fish for \$25, no matter the size (RBYA 2009). The HTO chooses people to fish and sell to the plant in Rankin Inlet (RBYA 2009).

Repulse Bay had a number of polar bear tags this year and all but one remains. There were 72 narwhal tags this season, with each person allowed a maximum of four. This year, ten to twelve polar bear tags this year have

been distributed between Repulse Bay and Committee Island. Last summer there were three or four polar bears right in town (RBYA 2009).

Narwhal is a species being studied by government to find out about migration patterns. When they are at Repulse, you can look out and see them for miles. Tusks can be sold to the store and generally go for \$100 a foot. They are sold for carving (RBYA 2009).

Elders are not in control of young people anymore. Young people are turning to technology, not Elders for teaching. Young people do not learn survival skills and it's more dangerous for them to hunt (RBYA 2009). The young adults do teach their children to hunt, but working gets in the way and not all young people are interested. One took students out camping and he found that they were homesick and more used to surfing the internet and playing electronic games (RBYA 2009).

Musk ox is not hunted here. It's further north and people tend to hunt and, are used to, the animals nearby (RBYA 2009).

2.4.2 Trapping

People will hunt wolves and wolverines deliberately, and not for food, but to sell the pelts. The Wildlife officer buys them from the HTO which has bought them from the hunter, and then they are auctioned in the south (RBYA 2009).

Some pelts are sold privately for sewing clothing. Arctic College had a sewing program taught by Elders and this was very popular. They also ran a tool making program (ulus) (RBYA 2009).

2.5 INTERVIEWS CITED, 2009

RB01 (Repulse Bay Interview 01). 2009. Summary of IQ interview conducted by Linda Havers with individual. May 12, 2009.

RBE (Repulse Bay Elders). 2009. Summary of IQ focus group conducted by Linda Havers and Mitchell Goodjohn with five Elders. May 11, 2009.

RBHT (Repulse Bay Hunters and Trappers Organization). 2009. Summary of IQ focus group conducted by Mitchell Goodjohn and Linda Havers with six HTO members. May 11, 2009.

RBYA (Repulse Bay Young Adults). 2009. Summary of IQ focus group conducted by Linda Havers and Mitchell Goodjohn with five young adults. May 12, 2009.

3 RESULTS OF COMMUNITY REVIEW, 2011

3.1 COMMUNITY REVIEW MEETING WITH REPULSE BAY HTO REPRESENTATIVES AND ELDERS, FEBRUARY 10, 2011 (RBJ 2011)

11 participants (7 males, 4 females), interview conducted by Mitchell Goodjohn (Golder) and Pam Bennett (AREVA).

3.1.1 Marine Mammals

Areas where bowhead, beluga, and narwhal whales are frequently found and harvested were marked on a map. The interview participants noted that beluga whales are commonly seen and hunted in Repulse Bay. Beluga whales are hunted along the ice floe edge and in open water. One interview participant reported that they did not have information on beluga migration routes because these whales are easily harvested in the bay and so there is no need to travel further out into open water to hunt. In the past, beluga whales were hunted in spring, summer, and fall for human consumption and dog food. One elder said that in the days when people relied upon dog teams, they used to hunt as many belugas as the sleds could carry. Beluga fat was good for fueling lamps and feeding the dog teams. Beluga fat was preferred over seal fat for powering lamps because beluga fat produces larger, brighter flames. The elders remarked that they know about the characteristics of the fat on different animals.

One elder recalled that in the past, belugas and narwhals were mixed together. Today, narwhals are commonly observed in a large area around Repulse Bay, including Wager Bay. They are hunted everywhere in this area, and in spring the harvesting of narwhals is concentrated at the mouth of Repulse Bay. As with the belugas, no one is sure how far south the narwhals travel, because the hunters do not need to travel too far from home to find them. However, people from Rankin Inlet, Chesterfield Inlet, and Whale Cove have been known to travel to Repulse Bay by boat or plane to hunt narwhal.

Orcas (killer) whales are seen near Repulse Bay but are not hunted because the people are afraid of them. Orcas are known to hunt narwhals. On one occasion an Orca was caught, apparently accidentally, near Baker Lake.

Walrus and seals are found everywhere in the area surrounding Repulse Bay. According to the interview participants, not many people hunt walrus any more. On the contrary, all local species of seals are hunted: ring seal, bearded seal, harp seal and harbour seal.

3.1.2 Land Mammals

To the north-west of Repulse Bay the participants frequently observe caribou, wolverine and fox. Muskoxen are not hunted near Repulse Bay, because in order to hunt these animals one must go further north. Wolves are also hunted in the region, and in the past some skins were sold to a wildlife hunter and some skins were sold to the Arctic College for cloth-making. Trapping used to be done a lot along the coast and south of Repulse Bay. The Elders at the meeting said that they hunt as much now as they did when they were younger.

With regard to the harvesting of polar bears, one female elder at the meeting reported that she caught a large polar bear about two to three miles south of Repulse Bay last year (2010). Polar bears are hunted everywhere, including north-west of Repulse Bay, and as far south as Wager Bay. According to the interview participants, the polar bear hunting areas are largely limited by quotas (the government-imposed limits to the amount of polar bears that can be harvested by HTO members each year). There are two tag areas nearby (areas where HTO members are permitted to hunt polar bears and attach tags to the hides to meet their quota). These areas are: Foxe Basin and the adjacent harvest tag area. The quotas are met easily in these areas, so people do not have to travel far from home.

The interview participants have observed caribou near Repulse Bay and when travelling towards Baker Lake. Areas known to have caribou were marked on a map. The interview participants said that caribou are hunted in the summer when their skins are thinner and better for making clothing. Also, caribou are harder to find during winter. It was reported that in the spring, the caribou can cross Repulse Bay. One elder recalled that her grandmother told her that the caribou can cross the ocean, indicating on a map that according to her grandmother, the caribou crossed Repulse Bay from one side to the other, but the interview participant said that she did not believe it. It was reported that the caribou can go south along the coast. One Elder saw this happen in the 1960s but he isn't sure exactly when. In the winter the caribou cross Southampton Island. The elders remembered that in 1968 the caribou were found in abundance, but there are not as many today.

Another elder commented that when he was young, the caribou did not migrate, but when he was older he noticed that they did migrate. He was told by his elders that the caribou have a cycle which alternates between migrating and not migrating, and the people should expect this to happen again. When they are not migrating, the caribou stay near Baker Lake. The interview participants explained that the caribou migrations are different every year, and that there is not a noticeable cycle which repeats itself from

year to year. One elder said that the caribou movements depend on food availability, and that these animals keep moving as resources are consumed in an area. Today, bulls are found close to town; however, cows and young caribou are preferred for hunting.

The interview participants reported that the caribou calve in many areas, almost anywhere. There are certain areas where more females will calve. One such area is located north of town. When the caribou migrate out of the area, many of them have calves (implying they have calved north of town). The hunters reportedly hunt pregnant females “sometimes”, but it was noted that these kills can be accidental if the females are “barely pregnant”. Local hunters do not generally hunt obviously pregnant females. Also, at the time when the females are pregnant, the bulls are good to harvest, so this is usually not an issue. Females with calves are not usually hunted, but the interview participants said that if one cannot find any other caribou, then they may take a mother and calf. Females who have just given birth are not preferred because they are “pretty skinny”. People do not generally use snow mobiles to travel south to Baker Lake or north to hunt caribou, but people from the north have been known to come down to the Repulse Bay area to hunt caribou.

3.1.3 Ice Floe and Arctic Travel

Change is constant on the Arctic landscape. According to the interview participants, the characteristics and location of the ice floe are generally the same from year to year, in the sense that the ice edges form and break, form and break, over and over again, so they are always changing. There is no trail, either over ice or over land, from Repulse Bay. People move freely over the ice, and will use different travel routes each time. For example, if a group of people were going to Wager Bay to hunt polar bear, some people would go along the seashore, while others would travel across the land, because different people use different routes. When boating on the sea, some smaller boats will stay close to shore, but larger boats travel in deeper water to avoid hitting the sea floor. The interview participants explained that the tide and ocean currents are not considered dangerous because the local people are accustomed to them.

3.2 COMMUNITY REVIEW MEETING WITH REPULSE BAY HUNTERS, FEBRUARY 11, 2011 (RBH 2011)

3.2.1 Marine Mammals

According to the interview participants, beluga whales are commonly seen and hunted in the same areas identified in the previous interview (these were marked on a map). The hunters reported that the health of beluga whales is the same as in previous years. They reported that the narwhals tend to stay north of Repulse Bay. The health of the narwhals is also the same as in previous years. It was noted that sometimes narwhals have scars if they have been stuck near an iced-in breathing hole.

The participants told interviewers that ring and bearded seal pups are born in March, in areas around Repulse Bay, and these areas were marked on a map. The hunters told the interviewers that all kinds of seals are good for eating, and also good for fur. Adult seal fur is not good in the spring and summer because at this time the animals are shedding, however, seal pup fur is still good at this time. Seal pelts are sold to the wildlife office for \$40-60 per pelt. The hunters reported that the health of the seals is pretty much the same as in the past, but sometimes they find dead seals at breathing holes and they are not sure why.

3.2.2 Land Mammals

The hunters said that the caribou can move from the south and across Wager Bay, and this is the reverse for migration. In the summer, people hunt in the area north-east of Repulse Bay, near some old 45 gallon drums left behind by mining operations and/or prospectors. At the time of the interview, the hunters reported that there were caribou in abundance near the town, so the hunters did not have to travel very far to hunt. In 2010, the caribou were found farther away and the people had to travel north-east of the town and south of the bay.

3.2.3 Birds

The interview participants reported that they do not hunt birds, but noted that other people from the community hunt ducks, snow geese, Canada geese and ptarmigan. Ptarmigan are seen all year round and are hunted all the time except for in the spring. If the people can find them, they will collect the eggs of eider, ptarmigan and arctic tern.

3.2.4 Fish

One interview participant said that he only fishes in the summer with nets, and that he catches char and lake trout. In general, the prime times to fish are in the spring, summer and fall. Fishing locations were marked by interview participants on a map, and they noted that not all of the local lakes

are visible on the reference map. Generally, fishing happens in lakes to the north of the community. In an unnamed lake near Curtis Lake, people can catch whitefish. Char can be found locally in August and some can be found later on as well. The interview participants noted that some of the major rivers for fishing char are small and not visible on the reference map. The char will swim along rivers as long as there are no waterfalls to overcome, and there are some good rivers close to the community. The interview participants noted that fishing practices today are generally the same as they have been in the past. In terms of fish health, they said that the fish are pretty much the same as in previous years, some fish are “skinny” but this is normal.

In terms of commercial fishing, the interview participants are aware of one person who fishes and sells his catch to a fish plant in Rankin Inlet. The HTO has also organized a system which has been in place for a couple of years, so that people can sell their catch to the fish plant through the HTO. This year the HTO hired two men to fish for the fish plant. However, they specified that the Rankin Inlet fish plant only accepts char.

3.2.5 Plants

The local people reportedly collect blackberries and blueberries in the area around Repulse Bay. Edible plants include green, flowering plants such as fireweed (*Epilobium angustifolium*), and broad-leaved willowherb, also known as dwarf fireweed (*Chamerion latifolium*). The roots of the labrador lousewort plant (*Pedicularis labradorica*) are eaten as well.

The interview participants also mentioned a brown plant, which is sometimes green, that they frequently use as firewood. This plant is not eaten. Willow trees are found close to the community but they are not used for anything, although the interview participants speculated that perhaps ptarmigan eat the berries.

3.2.6 Ice

With regard to the formation of sea ice, the interview participants said that in general, the area west of Southampton Island does not freeze up because there is a strong current, but some ice does form close to shore. The ice around Repulse Bay changes frequently. The interview participants recalled that the sea ice used to form earlier in the year, but now it forms later. The ice used to last until August, but now it is gone by July.

3.3 INTERVIEWS CITED, 2011

RBH (Repulse Bay Hunters), 2011. Summary of community review meeting conducted by Mitchell Goodjohn and Pam Bennett with two hunters. February 11, 2011.

RBJ (Repulse Bay Hunters and Trappers Organization Representatives and Elders), 2011. Summary of community review meeting conducted by Mitchell Goodjohn and Pam Bennett with five HTO representatives and six Elders. February 10, 2011.

Attachment H

Results of IQ Focus Groups (2009) and Community Review Meetings (2011) in Coral Harbour

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1 INTRODUCTION

AREVA Resources Canada Inc. (AREVA) is proposing to build the Kiggavik Uranium Project (the Project) about 80 km west of Baker Lake, Nunavut. As part of its community engagement process AREVA carried out a series of interviews with local land and resource users in Coral Harbour in 2009, and then conducted a community review meeting in 2011. Golder Associates Ltd. (Golder) has been retained by AREVA to undertake IQ studies for the Project, and to assist in preparing the Project application.

On May 13, 2009, Linda Havers (Golder) and Mitchell Goodjohn (Golder) led an IQ focus group with four adult hunters from Coral Harbour (CHAH 2009). On May 14, 2009, Linda Havers and Mitchell Goodjohn led an Elder's IQ focus group with five Elders (CHE 2009). On May 13, 2009, Linda Havers and Mitchell Goodjohn led an IQ focus group for women, with seven female participants (CHW 2009). Section 2 is a summary of the information obtained during these meetings.

On February 17, 2011, Barry McCallum (AREVA) and Pam Bennett (AREVA) led a community review (IQ validation) meeting with eight participants, including Elders and representatives of the Hunters and Trappers Organization (HTO) in Coral Harbour (CHJ 2011). Section 3 is a summary of the information obtained during the community review meeting.

2 RESULTS OF THE INTERVIEWS, 2009

2.1 ADULT HUNTERS, CORAL HARBOUR, MAY 13, 2009 (CHAH 2009)

2.1.1 Hunting and Traditional Activity

No one in Coral Harbour has a full dog team. People hunt with snowmobiles, but gas is about \$30 for 5 gallons. One of the participants doesn't hunt as much as he used to due to the economics. Gas and oil are expensive. There is also a proposed road to go to Arctic Bay. Hunting skills are not being passed down in the younger generation. Time is the main issue. There is a combination of low employment opportunities and the high cost of hunting. The participants say they don't hunt on Sundays. Half of the people in Coral Harbour don't go to church, and the half that does is divided between the Anglican, Roman Catholic, and Glad Tidings (Pentecostal) churches (CHAH 2009).

There is a concern that there may be more individualism in the community and that the role of Elders is changing. People try to listen to the Elders and believe that the traditions are not being passed on as much as they used to. The Elders want to be asked questions, and participate in gatherings, sewing classes, and telling stories in the school (CAH 2009).

2.1.2 Caribou

Tags were distributed for the Cape Caribou population study. About 100 caribou were culled. This is a health study, carried out in March of 2008 and 2009, and then again at the end of the summer. Originally, there were 40 caribou brought over from Coats Island. The herd grew to 30,000. Now, there are about 10,000 and they are all over South Hampton Island. There is some suggestion of in-breeding resulting in health issues but, reportedly, the health study has concluded that since 2004 the caribou are passing on diseases. Pus in the joints and white cysts were first noticed in the caribou about 2004. The HTO was told that it was ok to eat the caribou as long as the meat is cooked, but nobody wants to eat sick animals. The hunters suggested that because of climate change, the ground is melting faster and affecting vegetation, which, in turn, affects the overall health of the caribou (CHAH 2009).

Until the mid 1970s, there were restrictions on caribou hunting: one caribou for two households. There are no restrictions now, although the HTO advises against killing bulls. The HTO serves the community as a wildlife

and fisheries office, and in issuing hunting tags. The end of May is polar bear hunting season, and Coral Harbour received 40 tags (CHAH 2009).

The caribou harvest was in March, and the HTO approved 850 animals to be harvested and sent to Arctic Foods in Rankin Inlet. This number is considered a low number, but that is the number Arctic Foods asked for. There is a contractor that handles the harvesting and transport. An abattoir was set up at the airport. The federal inspection agency is present. The harvest employed about 20 people for a period of 2 weeks (CHAH 2009).

There are three outfitters in Coral Harbour, and they usually take clients to Walrus Island, or Coats Island. Caribou, walrus and polar bear hunts are offered. Sixty walrus tags were issued this year (CHAH 2009).

2.1.3 Wildlife

Beluga are seen in the late summer, and the hunters are not sure if the local population migrates. Once in a while, they will see a narwhal or orca (CHAH 2009).

Trout and char fishing are very popular. People hunt for food and fish for food and no one considers it to be a recreational activity (CHAH 2009).

The hunters said there is someone who hunts caribou and leaves the carcass. The hunters emphasised that “this is not IQ” and consider it offensive. The wildlife officer has told people not to do this, but it is happening. The hunters also said there was a muskox left near Cambridge Bay (CHAH 2009).

A burrowing owl was sighted a few summers back, and the occasional swallow has also been seen. One of the hunters has seen butterflies in May or June. “This is evidence of climate change” (CHAH 2009).

2.2 WOMEN’S FOCUS GROUP, CORAL HARBOUR, MAY 13, 2009 (CHW 2009)

2.2.1 Hunting/Traditional Activity

All of the women interviewed reported that they camp, fish and hunt geese. In mid June goose, duck, and gull eggs are collected. People hunt for food, and sharing is very important to the Inuit. Also, people crave country food, especially if they grew up on it. Not many people hunt in the winter because a snowmobile is required (CHW 2009).

2.2.2 Caribou

People dry the meat so they have a supply for months. Caribou is abundant all year, however. The government says that there is over-population of caribou. They were brought here originally from Coats Island. There was a long period of restricted hunting so the population grew. The sense here is that wildlife has not been well managed in the past. The health of caribou is questionable: swollen joints and infections. There are no predators here, such as wolves. The women believe that maybe there is not enough food for all the caribou and some are developing sickness (CHW 2009).

2.2.3 Trapping

Some people trap arctic fox and send the pelts for auction in the south (northern Ontario, Thunder Bay). The wildlife office collects the pelts and pays the trapper between \$20 and \$50 per pelt. Price depends on quality. Some people sell privately. The group suggests that one can make a pretty good living from trapping (CHW 2009).

2.2.4 Marine mammals

Marine mammals are in good supply and consist of walrus, seal, and beluga. There may not be as many belugas around as in the past (CHW 2009), and seal is considered a “life line”.

A seal skin is usually worth \$50. The Northern store sells pelts, but these come from the south. Hunting is in decline because people are working. It's also harder and more time consuming than just buying at the store. People purchase food through mail order using a “link” card, a pre-paid card. Those that don't have a link card borrow from those that do (CHW 2009).

2.2.5 Fishing

There is no commercial fishing here as there is in other hamlets. Other hamlets have been approached by Rankin's Arctic Foods but Coral Harbour has not, perhaps because it is too far (CHW 2009). People in Coral Harbour jig for crabs, which are caught by hook and occasionally with crab traps (CHW 2009).

2.3 ELDERS FOCUS GROUP, CORAL HARBOUR, MAY 14, 2009 (CHE2009)

2.3.1 Hunting/Traditional Activity

The Elders say that young people are interested in traditions to varying degrees; some are and some aren't. "We are not going to go back....that's not the intention in teaching traditions". Some of the Elders say that they care about what young people want, not about the traditions. But they participate in school programs to teach traditions. Kids in school and those that leave for education are not out on the land much. Did they teach their own children to hunt? "Yes, and they became good hunters". There is pride in developing a good hunter (CHE 2009).

The Elders said that they make clothing. "Since the north is so cold, we design and make our own clothes. The store-bought clothes are not warm enough. We depend on animals not just for food but for our clothing" (CHE 2009).

2.3.2 Diet

The Elders get enough country food. There are enough people still engaged in hunting. The Elders crave country food. "You need it to keep you warm." All of it is important: seal, fish, geese, and other animals (CHE 2009).

During summer, Elders eat roots and berries. When asked about traditional medicines, they said that in the past, people didn't get sick, so there was no medicine. The traditional diet was calcium and nutrient rich. Nutrition was the treatment of illness (CHE 2009).

2.4 INTERVIEWS CITED, 2009

CHAH (Coral Harbour Adult Hunters). 2009. Summary of IQ focus group conducted by Linda Havers and Mitchell Goodjohn with four adult hunters. May 13, 2009.

CHE (Coral Harbour Elders). 2009. Summary of IQ focus group conducted by Linda Havers and Mitchell Goodjohn with five Elders. May 14, 2009.

CHW (Coral Harbour Women). 2009. Summary of IQ focus group conducted by Linda Havers and Mitchell Goodjohn with seven women. May 13, 2009.

3 RESULTS OF THE COMMUNITY REVIEW, 2011

3.1 IQ VALIDATION MEETING (FOCUS GROUP) WITH CORAL HARBOUR HTO REPRESENTATIVES AND ELDERS, CORAL HARBOUR, FEBRUARY 17, 2011 (CHJ 2011)

3.1.1 Marine Mammals

The participants in Coral Harbour said that the local people do not see killer whales with their own eyes. However, the local people believe that killer whales are in the sea around Southampton Island because of the observed behaviour of other marine mammals. It is believed that seals and belugas come into bays and near shorelines when they are seeking protection from predators (i.e. killer whales).

The beluga and narwhal birthing/calving grounds were identified by the Coral Harbour participants as being located on the north side of Southampton Island. Belugas are hunted year-round all along the north side of the island. Whale nets are used to catch beluga whales and seals. One hunter reported catching a narwhal in his net, and described the event as unexpected and rare. Another hunter noted that very few narwhal were caught last year (2010).

No one is certain where bowhead whales give birth to their calves, but it was reported that bowhead whales are hunted at the ice floe edge. The Kivalliq region has a process to choose one community each year that will conduct the bowhead whale hunt¹. The last time that Coral Harbour received a license to hunt was in 2000; and one whale was killed off the south-east shore of Southampton Island. Now, Coral Harbour has the bowhead hunt once again for 2011.

Walrus are found off the north coast of Coats Island, in fact, the Inuktitut name for this island means "Island covered by walrus." According to the Coral Harbour hunters, walrus are found "all over" the island and their birthing grounds are found across the entire island as well. Walrus are hunted by the people from Coral Harbour during the winter months, at the ice floe edge. Generally, walrus are not seen in Coral Harbour but it was reported that this past fall two walrus had been harvested very close to the community.

¹ Bowhead whales are the only animal for which the Inuit hunters require a license to catch. The Nunavut Wildlife Management Board issues three licenses per year to Nunavut communities. Source: CBC News <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/story/2010/12/08/iquiluit-bowhead-whale-hunt.html>

All the species of seals that are found on Southampton Island are hunted by the local people: ring seals, bearded seals, harbour seals and harp seals. While most seals give birth close to the coast, the ring seals give birth at the ice floe edge. At one time in the past, a seal was killed by a hunter in a river on Southampton Island, about 40 miles (64 km) inland. In 2010 there were about 400 to 500 seals in Coral Harbour. This was an unusual abundance and the local people wondered what had happened in Hudson Bay to drive the seals into Coral Harbour. Speculations included the presence of killer whales and/or seismic activity.

How far offshore people go to hunt sea mammals depends on a number of factors, for example, what the weather is like, and the amount of gas that the hunter has to power a boat. Belugas are hunted close to the ice floe. One participant remembered that when people used dog teams, they used to travel to Coats Island and the eastern shore of Southampton Island to hunt walrus for dog food. The participants agreed that marine mammals are available close to the community, so people do not have to travel far to hunt.

3.1.2 Other Animals

According to the interview participants from Coral Harbour, Polar bears are found all over Southampton Island, and people don't go camping as much as they used to because of the bears. The participants reported that there are no muskoxen on Southampton Island. The crabs that are harvested near Coral Harbour are Arctic crabs. One participant noted that she had seen a "merlin" (pigeon hawk), which is a new species for this region. An Elder noted that one reason why more rare species are being seen in the arctic is that forest fires in the south are driving the animals north. Small, black birds, which may be swallows, are also seen frequently by people in Coral Harbour.

3.1.3 Ice

In 2010, the ice formation took place in December, but in the past the ice formation took place in October. The interview participants believe that the later ice formation observed today may be due to warmer ocean water temperatures. Also, it was noted that the ice melts much sooner now than it did in the past. In 2010 the ice melted at the end of June, but in past years the ice was present until the end of July or even August. The interview participants also remarked that the ice is thinner now than it used to be. At present in Coral Harbour, the ice floe edge is approximately 19 to 24 miles (30.5 to 38.5 km) from shore at its maximum distance. In the past, the ice flow edge was much farther from shore; the interview participants estimated that it used to be 50 miles (80.5km) from shore. The participants recalled an observation that if there is an ice bridge between Southampton Island and the mainland, then this coincides with ice extending south all the way to Coats Island. It was mentioned that, based on satellite imagery, an ice bridge

may form this year. The last ice bridge formed a few years ago. One participant noted that in the summer of 2010 the local people did not see much ice when travelling between Arviat and Southampton Island in July and August. When he was younger, he recalls that there was much more ice at this location during this time of the year.

3.1.4 Medicine

In previous generations, when people used to get sick, there were medicine men to heal them and willow was used as an anaesthetic. The participants noted that today, people use “Western” medicine and will go to the hospital if they are sick.

3.1.5 Travel Routes

The interview participants explained that they travel in all directions over the land, and that people do not use trails or set travel routes. In the winter people travel everywhere and anywhere along the ice floe, and people simply travel until they reach the edge. After the ice breakup, people travel by boat and this takes place mostly along the coast. Travel from Coral Harbour to the north shore of Southampton Island can be in either direction, either to the east, or to the west and then north, depending on the ice formation. People travel all around Southampton Island and along the coast, as far as Repulse Bay, Rankin Inlet, Wager Bay, and Quebec. People from Coral Harbour have observed that people from Cape Dorset come to the east end of Southampton Island to hunt beluga. It was agreed upon by the interview participants that people in the region feel they can go wherever they want to go.

3.1.6 Shipping Routes

AREVA is considering two shipping routes: either 1) sending barges north from Churchill along the western side of Hudson Bay; and/or 2) sending ocean ships from Montreal, down the St. Lawrence River, up around northern Quebec and west to Chesterfield Inlet (this is the route Meadowbank is currently using). The large ships would then anchor near the community of Chesterfield Inlet or further west, just before the Chesterfield Inlet narrows. A smaller barge would then be used to offload the materials from the barge to AREVA’s dock and storage area, east of the community of Baker Lake. From there, material would be transported by truck to the Kiggavik Project using either a winter or an all-season road.

With respect to the potential impact of the barges in Hudson Bay on the local marine mammals, the point of relevance to the people of Coral Harbour would be the route from Montreal. This route would involve ships passing by south of Southampton Island. One interview participant said that if the ships travelled in winter, then the wildlife would be affected, and that summer barging would have less of an impact on marine life. Also, it was mentioned that if the barge were to be anchored for a period of time, then it may disrupt marine mammals such as beluga whales. The interview participants were also concerned with breaking ice, because noise and other factors related to breaking ice could impact marine mammals negatively.

According to the AREVA representatives, the proposed timing for the shipping would begin in mid July or August, and last until the end of late October or early November. The limiting factor for AREVA's shipping is the ice at Baker Lake. AREVA has no plans to conduct ice-breaking for this project. AREVA would also have local wildlife monitors on the barges so that the monitors could communicate directly with the local community about what they observe during project operations. As such, the local people would be the first to note any changes in wildlife.

One Coral Harbour interview participant said that AREVA should include other Kivalliq Elders on barges to monitor the shipping route. Another person suggested that Elders and local wildlife monitors could travel the entire shipping route (starting at Montreal or Churchill), not just supervise the smaller barge route towards Baker Lake, because their IQ would be useful to provide a different view on shipping impacts. The interview participants were in agreement that there would probably be some impacts on the local marine fauna due to shipping, but that the exact nature of these impacts would be uncertain until observations are made during a monitoring process by local people with IQ, who can then take an informed stance. The relationship between the depth of the ocean water and the distance from shore of the barges along the shipping routes, and the impact that these factors would have on marine mammals is not clear.

3.2 INTERVIEWS CITED, 2011

CHJ (Coral Harbour IQ Validation Meeting). 2011. Summary of IQ focus group conducted by Barry McCallum and Pam Bennett with eight traditional land and resource users, including Elders and HTO members. February 17, 2011.