PAUKTUUTIT
INUIT WOMEN OF CANADA

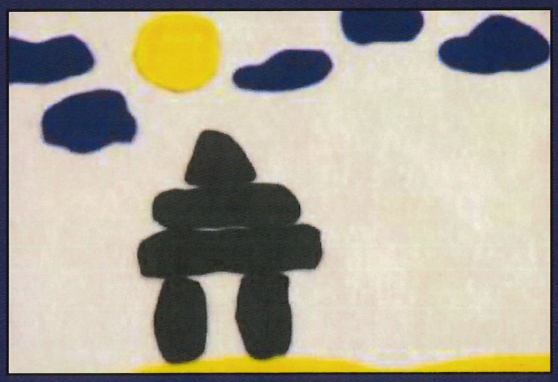
THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
School of Social Work

Exhibit: *National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls*
Location/Phase: Parts II/III - Iqaluit
Witness: T.J. Lightfoot & Jasmine Redfern
Submitted by: Shelby Thomas
Add'l info: P02-03 P01 P03 01
Date: SEP 12 2018

Intials	I/D	Entered
SJ		24

The Impact of Resource Extraction on Inuit Women and Families in Qamani'tuaq, Nunavut Territory

A quantitative assessment



A Report for the Canadian Women's Foundation
January, 2016
Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada
School of Social Work, University of British Columbia

Rebecca Kudloo, President
Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada

Prepared by:

Karina Czyzewski and Frank Tester
University of British Columbia, School of Social Work

Nadia Aaruaq
Qamani'tuaq, Nunavut Territory

With support from:

Sylvie Blangy
Centre nationale de la recherche scientifique
(Montpellier, France)

Canadian Institutes of Health Research
(CIHR)

Research for this report was funded by grants from:

The Canadian Women's Foundation

ArcticNet

Non-medical Research Account, School of Social Work, UBC

School of Social Work
THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
Faculty of Arts

IN CELEBRATION OF

NELLIE QIYUARYUK

November 28, 1954 – November 5, 2014

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This research report is the second of two documents dealing with the social impacts of mining activity near Qamani'tuaq (Baker Lake) on Inuit women and families in the community. The first report (March 2014) was based on interviews and qualitative data. This report deals with results of a questionnaire, with content developed in 2013 by Inuit women of Qamani'tuaq in the course of a week-long workshop.

The questionnaire was completed by 62 women, aged 19 years and older. The data deals with their experience, perceptions and feelings. While social impact research typically focuses on statistical indicators (rates at which services are engaged, facilities used, employment rates, training received, health statistics, etc.), there are considerable shortcomings to this approach. The quality of life experience is important. Regardless of what indicators may reveal, how women perceive and *feel* about their experiences are essential to appreciating impacts.

The age range of respondents parallels that of women in the community, being somewhat over-represented by women of an age (20-40) where they would be most likely to work, or have worked, at the Meadowbank mine. The experience of women with the industry was considerable, with 26.7% having worked at the mine, 6.7% being currently employed, and 43.1% having a family member working in the industry. Inuit women were about 11% of the total workforce (2012). Analysis was done with Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS).

The results suggest that women are conflicted about the impact of the mine on themselves and their families. About 67% of respondents report their families are divided, and 76% indicate the community is divided about the benefits of mining. Seventy-five percent of women noted that the mine had 'given their families good opportunities'. 'Needed the money' was a reason given by 50% of respondents for taking a job at the mine, with another 29.2% indicating that it was the only job available. Results reveal that benefits are material and related to income opportunity afforded by mine employment. Money to support relatives was reported by 63.8% of respondents as something that had happened for their family since the mine opened, with 77.6% noting that money was available for clothing and houshold goods, and 55.2% indicating that funds made vehicles and travel possible. Thirty percent of women indicated they would like a job in the industry, while 18.3% were definitely not interested and a further 23.3% were unsure about whether or not they would like mine employment.

The costs of having a mine operating nearby are social, cultural and personal. While 50% of respondents were happy in thinking of the future of Qamani'tuaq, 50% also indicated they were confused, with 43.3% indicating they were worried, 23.3% saying they were scared and 13.3%, depressed. 'Proud' (a feeling about the future of their community) was identified by 21.7% of respondents.

Women identified significant problems created by the mine. The top four problems identified were an increase in the use of alcohol (71.2%), language conficts (66.1%), more money being spent on alcohol and drugs (64.4%,) and a loss of traditional/cultural practices (64.4%). Racism at the mine was noted by 57.6% of the women. A signficant percentage of responses dealt with serious issues for women. These included sexual harassment at the mine (49.2%) and increased harassment in the community (28.8%), as well as an increase in sexually transmitted infections (45.8%) and more prostitution in the community (13.6%).

The problems identified are even more serious when paying attention to the way women rated community services available to deal with them. Suicide prevention services were not given a high rating. Mental health services were rated as largely 'so-so'. Health services were rated negatively by 44% of respondents, with a further 28.8% regarding them as 'so-so'. However, the most negative ratings went to childcare, with 56.6% rating services negatively, along with the availability of programs and spaces for women. Childcare services, available in Inuktitut, and the creation of a cultural centre for the transmission of cultural and traditional knowledge were rated as top priorities for women in the community. Women were of the opinion that Hamlet Council could use some help in dealing with the impacts of mining. A majority were unsure as to whether or not women had played a role in negotiations and agreements related to the development of the Meadowbank mine.

In filing impact assessments, mining companies typically emphasize the job opportunities available to local people. In the case of Qamani'tuaq and the Meadowbank mine, these opportunities are clearly a 'mixed blessing'. The social impacts and costs of mining—expecially for Inuit women and their families—are often overlooked or underplayed. This research suggests that more complete guidelines, and participatory approaches to engaging Inuit women in the preparation of these assessments are in order. It also makes it clear that ignoring the impacts and failing to direct resources to addressing them, extracts a very heavy toll on Inuit women and families.

Contents

Introduction....1
Review of the Qualitative Report....2
Literature Reviewed....5
History and Context....6
Cultural Friction....7
Focus on Women....9
Theoretical Approaches....10
Can Mining be Socially, Economically and Environmentally Sustainable?.... 11
Pulling it all Together....12
Methodology....13
Creation of the Questionnaire....13
Sample Size and Characteristics....16
Sampling Strategies and Evolution of Data Collection....17
The Sample....18
Who was Involved in the Data Collection?....21
Analysis....22
Juxtaposing the Qualitative with the Quantitative....22
Results....23
Demographics....23
Mixed Feelings....24
Benefits of the Mine....26
Changes in the Family....29
Community Concerns....31
The Role of Hamlet Council and Women in Dealing with the Mine....35
The Social Implications of Environmental Impacts....37
Rating Services in the Community....37

Choice of Services to be Improved....44
Discussion....46
In Conversation with the Qualitative Report....46
The Work Environment....46
Material Well-being and Income....48
Social impacts on Inuit Women, Families and the Community....49
Problematic Substance Use....51
Gender....52
Community and Culture....54
Arctic Mining: A long road to 57

List of Tables

1. Original Sample Size and Composition....16
2. Percentage of Inuit Women in each Age Category : Projections of Population Data and Percentage of Total Sample in each Category....18

List of Figures

1. Examples of Flip Charts from Workshop....14
2. Flip Charts and Recording Suggestions from the Workshop....15
3. Have You Lived in Baker Lake All Your life? 19
4. Currently Employed? 19
5. Previous Workplace in the Mining/Exploration Industry....20
6. Someone In Family Working at the Mine? 20
7. Relationship Status....21
8. Would You Like To Have a job in Mining?....24
9. How Do Respondents Feel About Mining Activity and the Community's Future?....25
10. My Family Is Divided About Mining....25
11. The Community Is Divided About Mining....26
12. Most Common Reasons for Wanting to Work in the Industry....27
13. Mining Has Given My Family a Lot of Good Opportunities....27
14. The Community Is Better Off 28

15. People Get Along Better....28
16. Since Exploration and Mining Started, What Has Happened to My Family?....30
17. What Problems Have Been Created By Mining?....32
18. The Four Most Commonly Occurring Responses to the Question : 'What Do You Wish You Knew Before You Started to Work in the Industry?'....33
19. Eight Most Common Reasons for Leaving the Industry....34
20. Our Hamlet Council Is Doing the Best Job It Can To Deal with Mining....35
21. Our Hamlet Council Needs More Help in Dealing with Mining....36
22. Women Have Been Involved in Negotiations and Agreements about Mining in Qamani'tuaq....36
23. Rating of Recreation Facilities....38
24. Rating of Training Opportuities....38
25. Rating of the Women's Shelter....39
26. Rating of Spaces and Programs to Pass On Cultural Knowledge and Practices from Elders to Youth....39
27. Rating of Mental Health Services....40
28. Rating of Suicide Prevention Services....41
29. Rating of Health Services....41
30. Rating of Programs, Activities and Spaces for Women....42
31. Rating of Addiction Services....43
32. Rating of Daycare Services....43
33. First Choice of Services that Need to be Improved....44
34. Second Choice of Services that Need to be Improved....45
35. Third Choice of Services that Need to be Improved....45

Appendices

Appendix 1 : Pauktuutit Questionnaire

Appendix 2 : Literature Reviewed

Introduction

This report is the second of two participatory research project reports dealing with *The Impact of Resource Extraction on Inuit Women and Families in Qamani'tuaq (Baker Lake), Nunavut Territory*. Research for both the qualitative report and this quantitative assessment of impacts was conducted by Inuit women of Qamani'tuaq concerned about changes in their community. Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada, initially created a proposal to explore this topic and received support from The Canadian Women's Foundation. Additional funding was received from ArcticNet through The University of British Columbia (UBC), School of Social Work, and the Centre national de la recherche scientifique (France). A follow-up workshop to deal with research results and future directions was funded by the Canadian Institutes for Health Research.

Frank Tester and Karina Czyzewski, School of Social Work UBC, worked with research coordinator, Nadia Aaruaq of Qamani'tuaq, to train local researchers in the community to conduct both the qualitative and quantitative research.

The first report presents detailed background information on the participatory nature of the study and the circumstances giving rise to the research. It presents results of qualitative, in-depth interviews with key informants and service providers in the community. These interviews contextualized and elaborated on the social impacts of mining in Qamani'tuaq and the disproportionate burden of impacts borne by women. The qualitative assessment concluded that while some women and families benefit materially from the presence of the Meadowbank gold mine about 100 kilometres north of the community, there are important social issues—including cultural concerns—resulting from its operations, experienced and felt by women of Qamani'tuaq. This second report is an analysis of the quantitative survey data collected by women in the community.

This report provides a picture of how Inuit women of Qamani'tuaq understand the impact of the Meadowbank mine on their lives and community. The quantitative data found in this report is based on a survey conducted with a sample of women in the community. The survey instrument was based on questions developed by Inuit women participating in a training workshop.

The quantitative data and information found in this report is unique, being to date and to the best of our knowledge, the only quantitative assessment, internationally, of the experience of Indigenous women with mining. The categories and questions were developed in a workshop with women in

Qamani'tuaq. The results speak to divisions and mixed feelings toward mining in the community. The women responding to the questionnaire report that while many individuals and families are better off, social impacts have been felt and experienced by everyone since the mine opened. These include harm to self and others related to problematic substance abuse and, in various ways and varying degrees, social breakdown in the community and community relations.

Review of the Qualitative Report

The first of these two reports, '*The Impact of Resource Extraction on Inuit Women and Families in Qamani'tuaq, Nunavut Territory: a qualitative assessment*', was released in March of 2014. Key informants addressed how the opening of the Meadowbank mine had impacted Inuit women and families. The research was based on focus groups with Inuit women and female youth, and interviews with 'community knowledgeable people' in the Qamani'tuaq.

To further explore the impacts noted in this report, questionnaires were administered by women in the community from May 2013 to September 2014. The results of the quantitative study presented here, further reveal where the community 'is at' with regard to the benefits and stresses created by the nearby presence of the mine.

The Meadowbank mine is 110 kilometres north of Qamani'tuaq by road. The mine is currently owned by Agnico-Eagle Mines (AEM), a Toronto-based gold mining company operating in Canada, Mexico and Finland. The first Inuit Impact Benefit Agreement (IIBA) for Meadowbank was signed in 2006 with the Kivalliq Inuit Association (KIA), representing Inuit in the Kivalliq Region. At that time, the mine was being developed by Cumberland Resources, a Vancouver-based junior mining company. Cumberland was purchased by AEM in 2007. The Meadowbank mine opened in 2010 and a new IIBA was signed in 2011.

Terms of the agreement are publicly available but financial arrangements and royalties paid to KIA have not been disclosed. These arrangements are not transparent. The IIBA signed in 2011 does not mention women or women's concerns. Wellness reports were to address matters related to mental and physical health, problematic substance use, family relations, migration in or out of the community, the prevalence and use of Inuktitut, culture, job satisfaction and the management of personal finances by residents of Qamani'tuaq. Contrary to the terms of the IIBA, at the time of writing this report, no wellness report had been completed to identify needs and to develop a plan for meeting them. A

wellness report is currently (January 2016) being produced by a consulting firm hired by AEM.

Inuit from Nunavut were 24.7% of the permanent workforce as of December 2012. Women were 11% of the total permanent workforce of 673; nearly half of the Inuit workforce. Inuit women comprised about 60% of women working at the mine. Inuit women are likely to be temporary employees and hold unskilled jobs. Of temporary workers, 71% were Inuit. Of these, 35.1% were women.

The qualitative research reveals the nature and extent of the impacts experienced by women. Five major themes emerged: the work environment, material well-being, family relations, problematic substance use and socio-cultural concerns. These are consistent with and elaborate upon observations made by others that apply a gender focus to the social impacts of resource extraction. A condensed review of the literature is also part of this report.

Socially disruptive work schedules, economic insecurity, stress, isolation and problematic substance use have contributed to increased community challenges since the mine opened. Although material gains (i.e. increased incomes) are benefitting some women and families, social tensions and harm to individuals and to families are also being experienced. In the qualitative study, women claimed that services addressing mental health issues, problematic substance use and women's safety and wellness were needed.

The report recommended that more creative ways of accommodating the family obligations and needs of women be explored by mine management in consultation with women. Women noted that a range of services are needed to make mine employment more accessible to women, and more responsive and respectful to community needs. They recommended more assistance be directed to mine employees, as well as the Hamlet, to address the social impacts of the mine.

Royalties paid to KIA need to be accessed to develop services, with a focus on the needs of women. The benefit agreement signed in 2011 demonstrates knowledge and understanding of the social impacts that come with resource extraction. However, no community approach to mitigating and addressing these impacts was planned or financially supported by any of the parties involved. The benefit agreement pays little attention to social impacts likely to follow mine closure. Government initiatives to develop industry and to extract resources near Inuit and First Nations communities need to take into account that, based on past

experiences, these projects may have little or no overall impact on unemployment rates and come with intergenerational social impacts.

The research conducted for the qualitative report suggests that the high rate of absenteeism at the mine and its effects on operations is a result, with respect to the employment of Inuit women, of women's needs not being addressed in the community. A lack of adequate and responsive childcare and difficult interpersonal relationships—including increased verbal and physical violence toward women—as well as responsibility for other family members, affect the capacity of women to fully participate in mine employment.

In the qualitative report, human rights concerns were raised regarding the termination of pregnant employees. This practice is illegal and contrary to both territorial and federal legislation. Sexual and racial discrimination in the workplace were issues noted by those participating in the research. The mine and mine access involves Inuit lands. Qablunaat[1] employees are working on Inuit land in Nunavut Territory where Inuit culture informs government policy and practices. Respondents noted that Qablunaat mine employees require a better understanding of Inuit lands, culture and history, including that of the Kivalliq region and Nunavut more broadly. Inuit women and men expressed concern over the impact of mining and exploration on wildlife, especially caribou, land surfaces in the area and the nearby Thelon River. The Nunavut Impact Review Board (NIRB) has responded to Qamani'tuamiut's[2] concerns about caribou well-being in its 2015 rejection of the Environmental Impact Statement submitted for the proposed AREVA uranium mine west of Qamani'tuaq. This decision gives credibility to the presence and validity of community concerns.

Addressing the concerns raised by the qualitative research project requires Inuit-led responses that privilege Inuit and especially Inuit women's voices. Inuit women's needs must be met. This requires both space and resources for cultural activities, for passing on knowledge and life skills to youth and to deal with current and historically-constituted social and personal issues.

[1] Inuktitut word for someone who is not Inuk, typically someone from southern Canada or elsewhere in the world.

[2] Inuktitut word for people from the community of Qamani'tuaq.

Literature Reviewed[3]

Overview

There are few sources that specifically cover the social and gendered impacts of mining—even less that focus explicitly on Indigenous peoples. Very little material is Inuit-specific. The literature reviewed for the qualitative report includes material on the social impacts of mining in Arctic regions, as well as relevant fly-in/fly-out (FIFO) and Long Distance Commuting (LDC) literature. Based on consideration of approximately 60 sources, the review addresses the historical context of the mining project that is the subject of this report. The focus of the review is the intersection of gender, race, culture, class and resilience in relation to mining activity and Indigenous peoples, with an emphasis on Inuit women.

The available literature dealing with women, especially Indigenous women, and mining is very limited. Australia and India are sources of the most research and writing dealing with women and mining. English literature that covers the Americas is particularly sparse, suggesting that more research (and writing) about women, and particularly Indigenous women, including mining in Canada, is needed.

There is very little evidence in the literature on Indigenous peoples and mining that identifies resource extraction done with thoughtful consultation, the support of communities, and conducted with little adverse impact on land, water, other resources and people. The only article found using quantitative research methods to explore social impacts involved household, business and work camp surveys, as well as semi-structured interviews, in an Australian study (Petkova, Lockie, Rolfe & Ivanova, 2009). In relation to Indigenous peoples, two major findings from this study were: the belief by officials that Indigenous peoples negotiate from a very low power base was an impediment to communication and negotiations; and there is limited meaningful community engagement from mining interests.

Mining projects in the Canadian North have become part of a social and political attitude that has been described as 'new frontierism', [10] where a great expanse of land and resources are seen to be waiting to be discovered. The benefits of

[3] This is an abridged version of the literature review from the qualitative report. Numbers in the square brackets refer to items found in Appendix 1 of this report.

developing these resources are seen to 'trickle down' to those framed as 'tragically destitute'.

History and Context

The Canadian economy has historically been and continues to be primarily focused on resource extraction and development. These activities cannot be viewed without attention to environmental, historical, political, economic and social interconnections. The Canadian economy is heavily reliant on the export of natural resources. In 2010, the energy, forest, agriculture and mining sectors accounted for 60.8% of the country's exports. Total exports accounted for about 30% of the country's GDP [13]. Internationally, countries struggling with poverty increasingly see resource extraction and export as a means for relieving poverty and for participating in a globalized economy.

The role of mining and resource development in the creation of unequal outcomes and the dispossession of some to the advantage of others is an international concern [12]. Internationally, gold mining continues to generate considerable opposition from Indigenous peoples whose traditional lands—from Papua New Guinea to Latin America, Australia and Canada—continue to be subject to considerable pressure from the ebb and flow of the international price of gold. Globally, Canada owns 75% of these mines. Canadian companies manage these mines abroad and foreign-owned mineral exploration and extraction companies also operate in Canada. The literature makes it clear that attention is paid to the social, economic and environmental impacts of mining in negotiations. However, in most impact statements, economic benefits tend to get the most attention. Some companies are active in being 'corporately responsible'. Depending on the values, orientation and pressures acting on those responsible for decision making, the promises made in an impact benefit agreement may get compromised. As circumstances change, environmental protection may be compromised in attempts to save money and remain competitive. The literature dealing with the social and environmental impacts of mining is concerned with these realities.

Displacement is literally and symbolically critical to capitalist expansion and colonial initiatives [10, 12, 21, 22]. Incorporating colonial subjects into developing economies has been a concern related to colonial expansion since the early 1800s. In the Canadian Arctic, the collapse of the fur trade following the Second World War introduced a period of welfarism, with Inuit increasingly

dependent for sustenance and survival on the newly-developed liberal welfare state. It was a period where Inuit struggled with an epidemic of tuberculosis, the residential and day schooling of Inuit children, a move from hunting camps to consolidated settlements and, in general, phenomenal social, cultural and economic change. These events had devastating and long-lasting impacts on people's livelihoods, cultural vitality, self-esteem and both physical and mental health. Studies have revealed that the long-term or sustainable benefits of earlier industrial economic efforts for Inuit were few—if any. They neither benefited from the mine infrastructure, nor were investments made in alternative income-generating activities that would sustain Inuit families after the mines were shut down.

Cultural Friction

Discussion of the socio-cultural context of the respective communities and peoples engaged in mining feature prominently in the literature. There are good and evident reasons for this [23, 24]. Many of the locations of the mines, in the literature reviewed, are in areas that have seen social change and upheaval due to a colonial presence (Canada's North, Australia, India, Papua New Guinea, Indonesia, etc.). The original inhabitants have seen sudden and often dramatic transformations in their lives and living conditions. The impacts of mining and those originating with socio-cultural agendas foreign to the original inhabitants are blurred or seen as part of a continuum of rapid change. The sites are also often disconnected from modern urban centres or nearby towns, so long distance commuting, fly-in/fly-out (FIFO) scenarios or the creation of mining towns become necessary. The continuity of formal social structures, influences, and roles that are part of how Indigenous communities operate can be destabilized by the sudden cultural changes introduced by the culture that accompanies the mining industry [10, 24, 25, 26].

Culture and cultural change are strong themes in much of the literature on mining. Extractive industries carry with them engrained perspectives on relations of power, social constructions of race, sex and class, division of labour, gender roles, family, work ethic and well-being. There are specific socio-cultural components that are inherent to the operation of mines that are repeatedly cited in the literature. Despite the roles women have played historically in supporting the activity of mining directly and indirectly, mines remain very male-centered spaces [14, 19, 32]. Sometimes these patriarchal relations and female exclusion from negotiations occur in places where gender equity is stronger than that

espoused by the industry [18, 33]. The result is to undermine women's status in the host community [17, 31, 32]. It was suggested in some of the literature that companies felt having women around diffused "industrial tensions" through sexual distraction and sexual relations [14]. This gender stereotyping of women's employment, reducing it to traditional gendered roles and sexualized presence can then spill over into the community. While mining culture is not responsible for creating a particular form of male culture in regard to women, and while there are very many other factors adding to a patriarchal and patronizing way of regarding women, the literature suggests that remote mining camps perpetuate these stereotypes.

Understandably, mining companies bring with them the values and logic associated with market principles, the Western work ethic and 'ways of doing things' that are part of western and Euro-Canadian culture [12, 37]. These include the central roles of individualism, competition and the logic of markets as the best way to organize social and economic affairs [17, 16, 18, 30, 31, 34]. These 'norms' may be very different than the values of the local culture. Cultural friction and a lack of understanding result when these projects are planned and implemented without attention to the collective rights and collective awareness inherent in many Indigenous cultures [36, 38, 40].

Just because women have found employment at a mine does not mean that what may have been traditional roles are changed or abandoned. If anything, they are often reinforced by the kind of employment (sectors) in which women are engaged. The result is that women do 'double shift'; working for income as a mine employee and continuing to fill their roles as full-time mothers. A disproportionate amount of responsibility falling upon one parent or the extended family is one negative outcome of one or both parents working at a mine. The most common negative outcome cited in the literature is violence [1, 5, 15, 17, 18, 27, 31, 32, 33, 43, 48, 49, 50]. Fights may ensue due to compounding self-reliance issues [33, 39, 47, 51, 41]. Women may achieve a degree of independence [26, 47] as a result of doing everything on their own in the absence of a partner, or they may be the only source of employment income in the family. Fights may also ensue due to jealousy [36, 48], relationship breakdown [27], machismo competition [16, 28] and issues of control that may be further compounded by substance use [1, 3, 5, 17, 18, 24, 30, 31, 33, 36, 37, 43].

The literature notes that crime rates increase [33]. Rates of sexually-transmitted infections increase and the incidence of women willfully or unwillingly involved in

the sex trade increases [5]. Although in some situations these are attributable to the presence of a mine, in others these negative outcomes are a continuation of the legacy of impacts produced by the experience, for Indigenous women, of colonialism and by rapid cultural change [10]. These outcomes do not imply that miners, certain cultures, or races are more prone to social breakdown. What this does highlight is that situations that provide income to some community and family members and not to others, create further 'have' and 'have not' divisions in communities that exacerbate what may be existing social issues. Moreover, as a history of colonialism contributes to health outcomes, the conditions created by a mine can fuel already present intergenerational issues [22, 37]. As the relationship between colonialism and health illustrates, some impacts have greater legacies than others [10, 33].

Focus on Women

Some of the impacts mentioned above are solely borne by women or disproportionately affect women. The literature is conclusive in noting that a greater concentration of impacts affect women living in or nearby mining communities [18, 31, 32, 43, 50]. The themes that are present in the literature, and what has been noted thus far, point to the importance of culture, race, class and gender considerations in making sense of the impact of mining on Indigenous women. Questioning and describing the social impacts of mining on women, and Indigenous women in particular, needs to be an intersectional exercise [1, 14, 15]. An intersectional lens in the conduct of Indigenous women's health research accounts for interactions between the racialization and the feminization of poverty and ongoing colonial violence [7]. The complexity of these issues is real and our focus on Inuit women in this study has been deliberate. It is significant given the limited attention paid to the impacts of mining on Indigenous women and, in the case of the Arctic, to Inuit women.

Women's well-being is intricately connected to community well-being [28]. Previous research shows that investments in women's education, training and economic empowerment contribute to better overall outcomes for the community [53]. Consequently, safeguarding the participation of women in any development is significant to the development of the community, the sustainability of socio-economic relations and circumstances, and to the maintenance of socio-cultural integrity. The intersection of racism, colonialism and sexism within mining culture helps explain why Indigenous women's participation has been largely excluded or marginalized in decision making about

all aspects of developing and operating mines, where these are likely to affect Indigenous women and communities [34, 53]. The literature suggests that the over-representation of 'negative impacts' and women's suffering can contribute to disempowering women by victimizing them. What the literature currently reveals is that these factors are affected by structural issues; in other words by colonialism, classism, racism and sexism. If the meaningful participation of women is restricted by these structural issues, then the community's future also becomes uncertain.

Theoretical Approaches

The focus of our review was on gender and women in the mining industry, with particular attention to material dealing with the experiences of Indigenous women. A gender-based analysis (GBA) provides a critical lens for researching or evaluating projects that seeks to elucidate "gender-based relations of domination". GBA gives voice to women when and where they may have been silenced and seeks to rectify the situation when women's work, roles and perspectives have been rendered invisible through 'gender neutral stories' and policies [42]. A wealth of theoretical perspectives is recommended within the work reviewed with no consistency, creating what one author describes as a "theory vacuum" [6]. The nature of the topic of 'women and mining' lends itself to an exploration of the intersection of labour, political and economic structures, gender relations and feminism, human rights, imperialism and environmental justice [1, 22, 31, 49].

As the focus of this project has been Inuit women, the theoretical approaches adopted needed to be responsive to the intersectionality of the factors contributing to or affecting Inuit women's well-being [57]. The National Aboriginal Health Organization (2008) proposed a *culturally-relevant gender-based analysis* that acknowledges inequitable relations between men and women, as well as the socio-cultural and historical realities caused by colonization (relocations, colonial schooling and paternalistic administration). This framework is grounded in the concepts of holism, cultural diversity, equity, ownership and voice [58]. Highlighting these considerations also bridges connections between large-scale processes, colonial structures, the maldistribution of power and resources, and connections to land, spirit and social justice [12, 22, 58]. Attention to such an analysis keeps in mind voice, respect, responsibility, reciprocity and relevance, and honours Indigenous self-determination [22, 40].

Can Mining be Socially, Economically and Environmentally Sustainable?

A commitment to being guided by community is important to exercising reciprocal relationships and the necessity of the industry ensuring adequate and relevant public engagement [5, 24, 30, 40, 45]. A willingness to concede significant elements of power and authority may be met with a willingness on the part of the community to accommodate the needs of those planning the development of a mine. Options for creating more positive mining environments and mitigating negative outcomes are discussed in the literature by several authors. Many mentioned the importance of including the entire family in events—such as orientation, site visits and income dispensing—that are usually directed at individuals by the industry. As a mine is seen to be taking something from the environment, community, and people in the vicinity of its operations, community members feel entitled to supportive investments and benefits from corporations, above and beyond what they typically offer [46, 48].

Violence, addictions and childcare are cited as the most frequent concerns of Indigenous women [5, 16, 28]. Many authors suggested that companies should provide resources for the creation of support groups, services and programs inside and outside the mine to help alleviate these social problems. A recommendation coming from the literature was that Elders play the role of onsite mentors to support employees on the job site [46]. This, it is suggested, would replicate a continuity in the workplace of family/community roles and the transmission of culturally relevant knowledge. Full-time community/industry liaison workers or support workers are also identified as having the potential to play an important role in coordinating these initiatives, combating isolation, maintaining family integrity and cultural safety—for example, language and cross-cultural orientation considerations—on site [2].

The presence of women is acknowledged in the literature as important to committees negotiating benefit agreements [46, 53 27, 46, 33, 60, 61] and to the posture—the attitudes and values expressed by those officials of companies or government—addressing women's concerns once a mine is in operation [2]. 'Indigenous Women and Mining Agreement Negotiations' is a thorough study of the importance of women in negotiating processes. It emphasizes the importance of assessing women's roles or including attention to their influence on agendas in the process of negotiation, and not just attention to their presence or absence at the negotiating table [2]. The authors conclude that a shift in power to representatives of Indigenous peoples is important to affecting the content and

structure of training programs in relation to culture and concerns about acculturation. However, it is also true that power and responsibility is often handed to Indigenous decision makers once it becomes obvious they are likely to participate in arrangements consistent with the norms and expectations of a colonizing culture [62 38].

The literature reviewed contains suggestions to improve women's safety and empowerment on and off site. Authors encouraged economic empowerment through investments in traditional local economies, small business ventures and the training and education of women so that benefits extend beyond the mine site and its closure [24, 30]. The presence in communities of banks or financial institutions and childcare facilities are the most commonly cited infrastructural improvements that could increase access to opportunities for women [46]. An awareness and sensitivity to considerations of gender, culture and the importance of traditional economies should be part of all aspects of project proposal, development, management, auditing and an integral part of staff orientation [5, 41, 44]. The literatures notes the lack of industry policies that deal with sexual harassment in the workplace and the fact that even where policies are present, there is no or little enforcement, nor are there consequences in the event of an incident [15, 30, 33, 59]. Other concerns noted in the literature and research done on women and mining include issues related to pregnancy and lay-offs, maternity leave and the harassment that occurs in what is a male-centred mine culture. Policy initiatives that address these concerns would make mining a safer, more secure occupation for female employees [1, 5, 63].

Pulling it all Together

The need for more research on women and mining is noted in much of the literature. The ecological, economic and social sustainability of a project is dependent upon a constant 'back and forth' and good communication between a community and a company, where community members play central roles that acknowledge and respect their rights and that, in the interests of their well-being and future, recognize the central role communities play in articulating who is responsible for what in the development of a project [54]. The capacity to shape planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation permits the community to safeguard its future and to make informed decisions [49]. Informed consent is dependent on ways of communicating and relationships that involve trust, humility, respect and caring [31, 33, 44 12 5, 11 12]. More measurably and practically, negotiations require inclusive and meaningful engagement with

community members, evaluative processes and long-term commitments to locally-based social and physical infrastructure.

Methodology

The goal of this research initiative was to explore the social impacts of the Meadowbank gold mine on women and families in Qamani'tuaq. We used a mixed method approach that included in-depth interviews with key informants in the community and questionnaires. The questionnaires or surveys were analyzed using Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS).

Creation of the Questionnaire

Consistent with Tri-Council Policy Statement guidelines for working with Aboriginal peoples in Canada, the instrument used in conducting this research was developed as part of a Participatory Action Research Project with Inuit women of Qamani'tuaq. Questions to be asked, the order of questions and layout of the instrument, ideas and general content for the questionnaire were considered and decided upon as part of a seven day workshop. Facilitators used popular education and 'Theatre for Living' principles and methods. Participants/research assistants took part in team-building, research capacity building and communication-driven activities. Consent was obtained. The workshop was recorded and extensive flip charts notes were taken. (Figures 1 & 2)

The outcomes of this collaborative process were then worked into a final questionnaire by members of the research team at UBC. The questionnaires were printed and brought to Qamani'tuaq by the research team. Local Co-op gift certificates were purchased as honoraria for interviewees. Local research assistants were compensated for their interviewing efforts, as were the efforts of the local research coordinator.

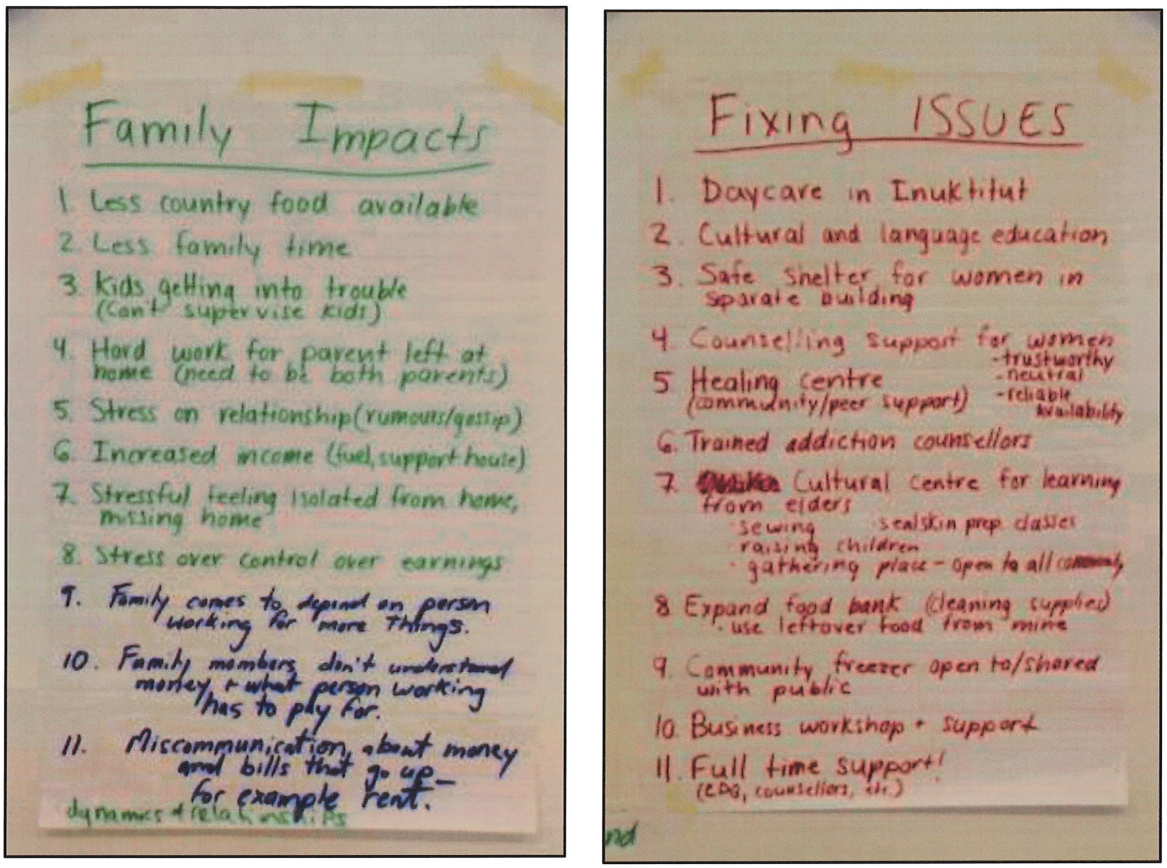


Figure 1: Examples of Flip Charts from Workshop



Figure 2: Flip Charts, and Recording Suggestions from the Workshop



Sample Size and Characteristics

The original intention was to work with a stratified random sample of women. The sample chosen is shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Original Sample Size and Composition

Age group	Total number of women	Works at mine. Partnered.	Works at mine. No partner.	Used to work at mine. Partnered.	Used to work at mine. No Partner.
15-19*	**11**				
20-29**	**18**	3	3	3	3
30-39	**12**	2	2	2	2
40-49	**15**	3	2	2	3
50-59	**9**	2	1	1	2
60-69***	**3**				
70-79***	**5**				
	TOTAL: 73				

* Not interviewed

** For example: 18 women between the ages of 20 to 29 years were to be surveyed. Their relationship and employment status is indicated.

*** Elders not employed at the mine.

Co-op gift certificates, each valued at $25, were purchased as honoraria for participants. However, after working toward this sample for some time, the sampling strategy was changed. The researchers attempted to draw from a list of homes in the community, accepting households with a member that fit in one of the categories and doing so—without replacement—until all the categories were filled. For a number of reasons, including finding people who were home and had the time to participate, it was ultimately decided to take an opportunistic approach.

Sampling Strategies and Evolution of Data Collection

Each research assistant was compensated with $40 per completed interview. Initially, the Vancouver research coordinator obtained housing maps and housing numbers for residents in the community of Qamani'tuaq. A list of households was cut up and only the names of female residents were placed in a receptacle. Local research assistants pulled names randomly from the receptacle, with non-replacement, and these were used to create a list of Inuit female residents to be approached about the survey. A number of potential respondents were assigned from the first list to four research assistants.

At the time this research was conducted, Qamani'tuaq was suffering from what might best be described as 'research fatigue', much of it related to meetings, discussions and surveys in relation to applications by two mining companies for permits to operate mines in the area. The community was also the source of considerable research done on caribou; Qamani'tuaq being the only inland community of Inuit in Canada and historically heavily dependent on caribou as a food source. Residents had often seen few results from research endeavours and some felt exploited.

The topic of this research was also emotionally challenging for research assistants, potential assistants, interviewees and community figures because mining has not left any community member untouched. The topic in which women were interested—the impact of the mine on personal and community relations—was a difficult one to approach because of the emotional content for many residents and the controversy that mining has generated in the community (subsequently made evident by the results of our research). Recruiting and retaining women who themselves, or in terms of their families and relatives, had been affected, was not easy—and for good reason. Of the ten research assistants trained to do the work, not all were able to stay with the project and one assistant, Nadia Aaruaq, took on much of the demanding work.

After abandoning the original sampling approach and further attempts involving the community Facebook page and posters to recruit participants, it was decided to use opportunistic sampling. As Ms. Aaruaq was working at the Northern Store, opportunistic sampling was applied with female store employees and customers being asked to complete the survey. In total, 62 questionnaires were completed. Data was collected between May 2013 and August 2014. Some of these questionnaires were picked up in person by the research coordinator when

visiting the community. The rest were mailed to the School of Social Work, UBC, for analysis.

The Sample

In 2011, the population in Qamani'tuaq was 1,872, according to census data available from Statistics Canada. Data from 2008 was also available with projections based on the census data of 2006. This data suggested a population growing at 3.55% per year. The data was also available for the number of Inuit by gender. Of 185 Inuit women between 10 and 19 years of age in 2008, it was assumed that 20 of these were eligible for the study. The number of women in the other 10 year intervals was given. In 2008, the total number of Inuit women in the community, eligible to complete the survey, would therefore have been 486. Assuming a 3.55% growth rate on average over the period 2008 – 2013, the number of Inuit women eligible to participate in the survey in 2013 was estimated at 579. The percentage of Inuit women in each age category eligible to participate, and the percentage of Inuit women found in each category, based on an extrapolation of the 2008 data are found in Table 2.

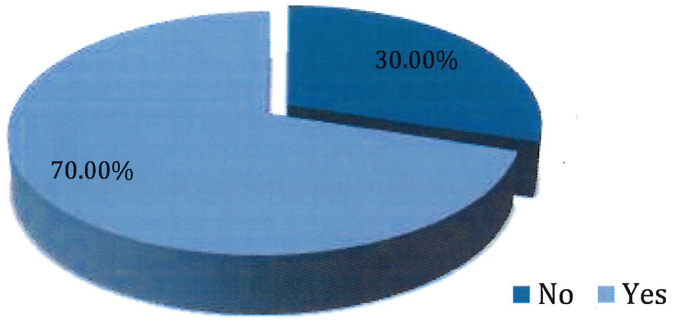
Table 2: Percentage of Inuit Women in each Age Category: Projections of Population Data and Percentage of Total Sample in each Category.

Age	19 *	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70+
% of Total # of Inuit Women in the Population	4.1	23.4	21.6	22.4	8.6	7.2	4.5
% of Total Inuit Women in Sample **	1.7	31.7	25.0	18.3	11.7	1.7	1.7

* This percentage is a rough estimate as only the percentage of Inuit women in each age category by deciles was available. Nineteen is the age of majority in Nunavut.
** Five women did not indicate their age, representing 8.1% of the sample.

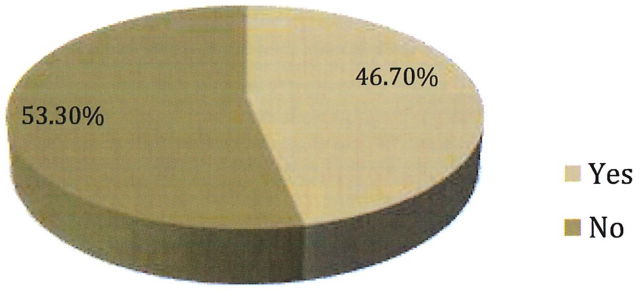
Sixty-two questionnaires were completed by Inuit women, representing 10.7% of the women who were eligible to complete the survey. The vast majority of respondents (70%) had lived in Qamani'tuaq for their entire lives (Figure 3). If there had been shifts or social impacts in the community, this would be most obvious to those who had lived there a long time. Women from the sample, having lived in Baker Lake their whole lives, are in a position to have witnessed changes in the community, so they would know if changes had happened.

Figure 3: Have You Lived in Baker Lake All Your Life?



About 46% of the sample indicated that they were currently employed (Figure 4).

Figure 4: Currently Employed?



The research team wanted to get a sense if the respondents had worked in the mine and had been directly impacted by that employment, and/or had someone in their family who had worked at the mine. The presence of employment by the female participant or a family member increases the validity of the participant's claims about the impacts on women and families. In this case, the participants, if they had experiences with mining directly and indirectly, would know if mining is having an impact on women and families—and how.

While 46.7% of the sample was currently employed (Figure 4), only 11.7% indicated that they were currently working in the mining or exploration industry, with 6.7% working at the Meadowbank mine, 3.3% working for ARVEA—the French company working on the development, at the time, of a uranium mine—or for another company doing exploration work in the area. A further 36.7% of the sample had previous experience in the industry (Figure 5). Therefore, 48.7% of the sample had, at one time or another, direct experience with the industry. What the data also suggests is considerable turnover among female employees of the Meadowbank mine.

Figure 5: Previous Workplace in the Mining/Exploration Industry

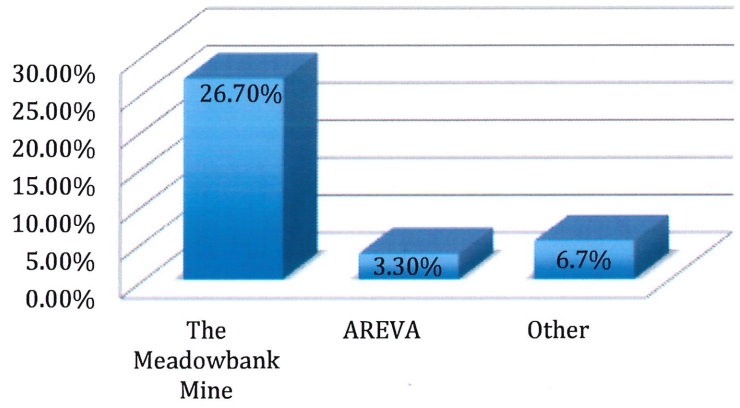
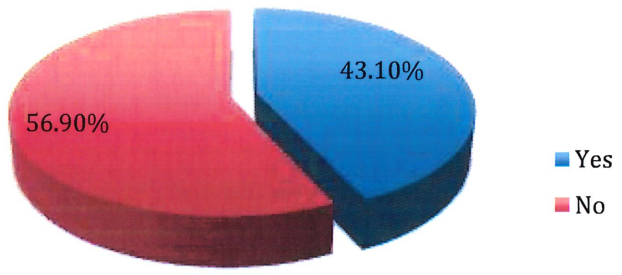


Figure 6 also shows that 43.1% of the participants surveyed indicated that they have a family member "who normally lives in their house" who works at the mine.

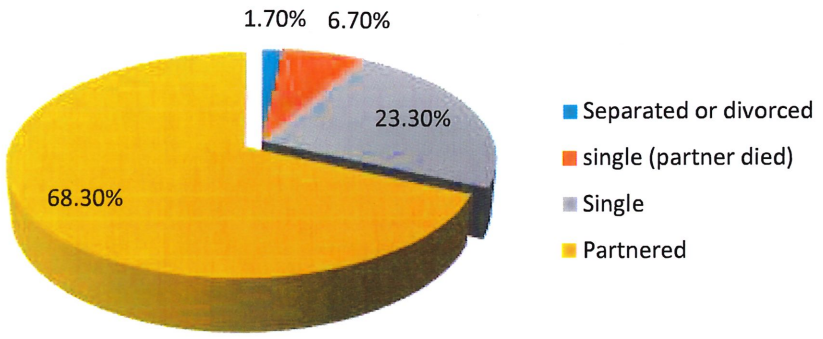
Figure 6: Someone in Family Working at the Mine?
[Question not answered in 2 cases]



Given that 48.7% of the sample was either currently working in the industry (Meadowbank, AREVA or an exploration company) or had previous experience working in the industry, and that 43.1% of respondents currently had a family member (meaning someone who normally lives in their house) working at the Meadowbank mine, the sample had considerable direct, as well as considerable indirect and family-related experience, with the industry.

The relationship status of the 62 participants in the study can be seen in Figure 7. The most common status was in a relationship; 68.3% said they were 'partnered'. About a quarter or 23.3% said they were 'single' and 6.7% were widows. Finally, 1.7% said they were 'separated or divorced.'

Figure 7: Relationship Status



Who was Involved in Data Collection?

Women were recruited and trained by the UBC research team with support from Pauktuutit in Qamani'tuaq on two trips in February 2013, and May 2013. A five day workshop on research skills and two days of focus groups were held, which dealt with group facilitation and questions related to the research. On the second trip, participants were trained as research assistants. The idea was that having completed the training, research assistants would then proceed to interview participants and administer the questionnaire. The research coordinator also completed two questionnaires with participants in the community.

Two women—Nadia Aaruaq and Nellie Qiyuaryuk—were core research assistants and research supports throughout the life of the project. Nellie provided a lot of 'hands on' support during meetings and in advertising the project. Nadia completed the majority of the surveys with women in Qamani'tuaq. Nadia was

also responsible for providing participants with honoraria and maintaining the data safely in her home. She was responsible for sending the questionnaires to the UBC research team.

Analysis

The data was analyzed using SPSS. Lists of responses to open-ended questions were created. Where relevant, the number of non-respondents for a question is indicated with the figure. Pie-charts and bar graphs were generated to display the data.

Juxtaposing the Qualitative with the Quantitative

Pauktuutit and the research team decided to use a mixed methods approach to this participatory action research project. The purpose, undertaking and outcomes for qualitative research are different than those associated with quantitative research. Qualitative research uses methods such as in-depth interviews, focus groups and ethnographic walks, photography and participant observation. Qualitative research is exploratory and aims to better understand the motivations, opinions and explanations behind certain phenomena. The focus is on depth, understanding and meaning. Researchers use qualitative methodology to better identify, contextualize and interpret trends in responses, and to better understand the significance of a research problem or question. Fewer participants are generally involved in qualitative research, as the data is complex, multi-faceted and time consuming to analyze. Certain trends may emerge after working with a number of subjects.

Quantitative research aims to quantify attitudes, opinions, behaviours, feelings and perceptions. The purpose is to find out the extent to which certain attitudes, feelings, perceptions, etc., are held by a population. More people are involved as participants (a larger sample size), in order to generalize results for a population. Sampling is important to make sure that what is expressed is representative of the attitudes, feelings and perceptions held by a community. The visual portrayal of data—as done in this report—makes the results easier to read and to use.

Quantitative and qualitative research both provide legitimate, organized and reliable data. Both approaches to research can be used to answer the same research questions in different ways. The researchers engaged in a participatory action research project about the social impacts of mining because it was encouraged to contextualize, understand and make sense of where the community stood on this topic.

When approaching key informants in Qamani'tuaq about the social impacts of mining on Inuit women, the research team started with the assumption that there had been impacts because the team had been invited to gather information on what they were. The key informants approached in the qualitative study were people who provide first response and frontline social services to people in the community. These key informants are the ones witnessing 'impacts' and collecting the stories of those affected firsthand. The in-depth interviews provided insight and understanding about how people's lives were being influenced by the presence of the mine. Given their roles and responsibilities, informants for the most part focused their stories on the personal and community issues and problems that they saw as related to the presence of the mine.

In order to get a better idea of how Inuit women in Qamani'tuaq felt about and experienced the nearby presence of the Meadowbank mine, the research team surveyed women in the community. The results indicate how Inuit women feel about and have experienced the presence of the mine—both positive and negative impacts—and how things have changed since the mine opened.

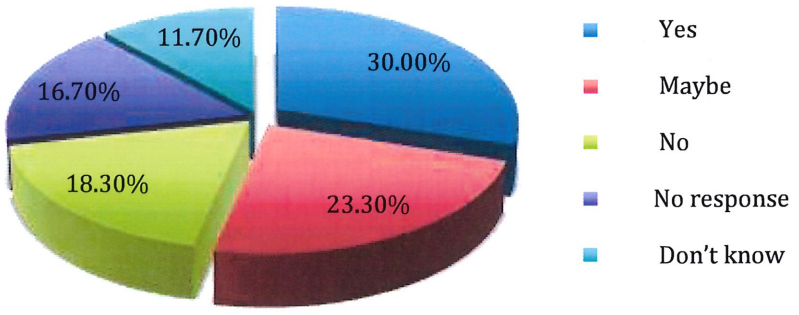
The results from this mixed methods approach provide data that help to understand and contextualize what is happening in Qamani'tuaq. Survey results make it clear that there are both benefits and social and personal costs associated with the presence of the mine. Survey results also suggest that the value of mining is a challenging and often conflicting topic for many Inuit women in Qamani'tuaq.

Results

Demographics

The results of this survey were analyzed and graphs were created from the data. The bar graphs and pie charts generated are outlined below along with brief explanations. The data is represented in the order of the negative, the positive and the practical. In Figure 8 it can be seen that over half of the women would either like or might like a job in mining. Figure 6 (page 20) indicates how close women are to the mining industry. The number of respondents previously employed and the number of women in the sample interested in being employed in mining is significant. This speaks to a significant portion of the community, potentially or currently, feeling the social impacts—positive and negative—of mine involvement on their families.

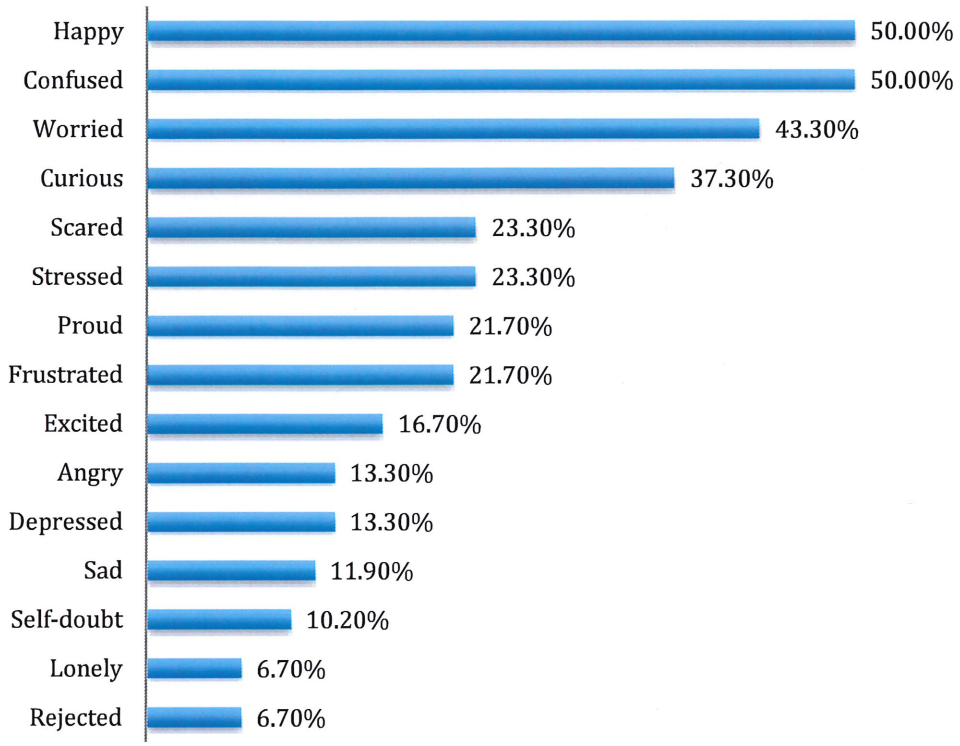
Figure 8: Would You Like To Have a Job in Mining?



Mixed Feelings

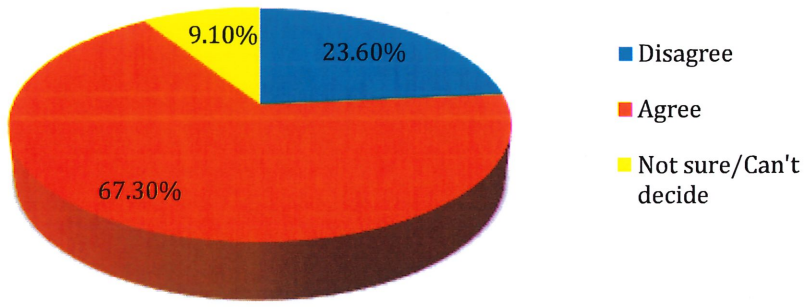
Knowing the nature of this research and research topic, the research team anticipated it would be challenging, with some polarization of views and mixed feelings on the part of the respondents. Questions were asked that gave those completing the survey the opportunity to express a wide range of feelings about what was happening in their community. Figure 9 presents the mixed feelings of Inuit women about mining. With this question, Inuit women could check off any and all categories that applied. The numbers to the right indicate the percentage of women responding to the question who checked off that particular feeling.

Figure 9: How Do Respondents Feel About Mining Activity and the Community's Future?



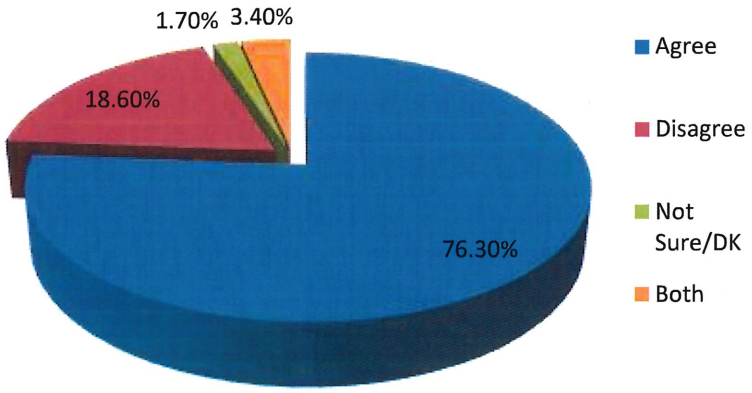
In Figure 10, the majority of Inuit women (67.3%) believe that their families are divided in their opinions about the benefits of mining.

Figure 10: My Family Is Divided About Mining



Only 23.6 percent of respondents disagreed with this statement and 9.1% were not sure or could not decide whether their families were or were not divided about mining. Figure 11 shows that an even larger majority believes their community is divided about mining.

Figure 11: The Community Is Divided About Mining

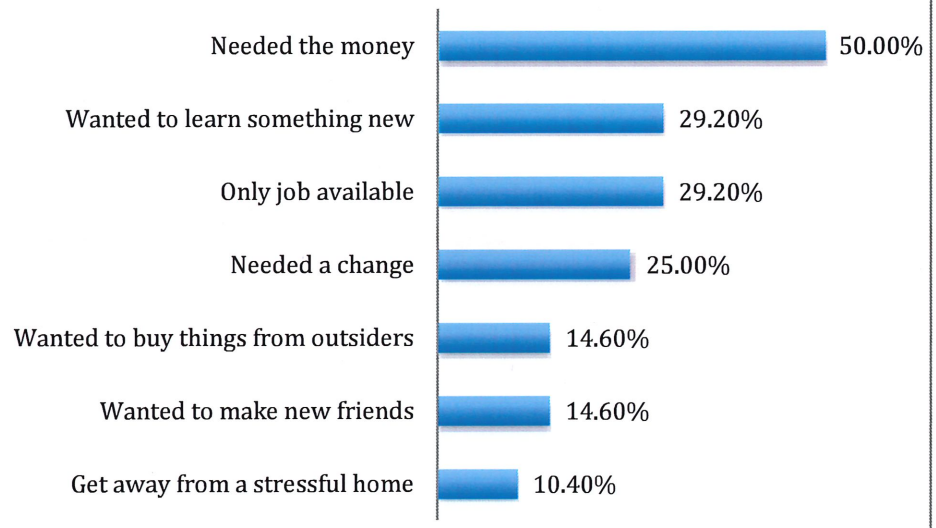


The same division is noted when the question is asked with respect to the community. Here there is even more division with 76.3% of Inuit women indicating that the community is divided over questions about mining and only 18.6% being of the opinion that there are no divisions in the community over mining.

Benefits of the Mine

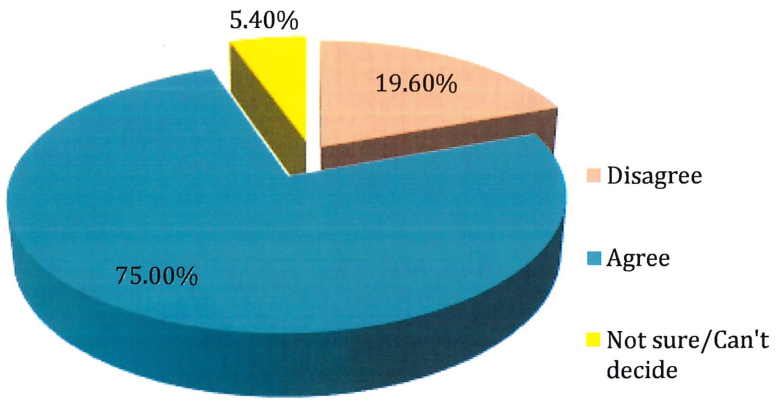
As noted, Inuit feel that mining activity has, in some ways, benefited themselves, their families and their communities. In looking at the responses to different questions, it becomes clear that these benefits are generally in the form of material and economic benefits from employment. These benefits can include employment opportunities, income security, more access to money to purchase goods and the perception that a family is doing well financially. Participants were asked to check off any reasons that applied to them for wanting to work in the mining industry. Figure 12 reveals that a need for money was the most common reason. Wanting to learn something new and taking employment because it was the only job available (suggesting that if there were more options, the respondent might have chosen something else) were tied as reasons of secondary importance, each identified by 29.2% of respondents.

Figure 12: Most Common Reasons for Wanting to Work in the Industry



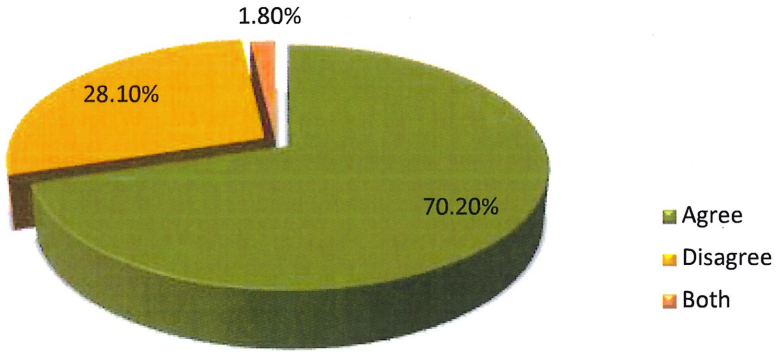
A majority of Inuit women completing the survey agreed that their families were better off as a result of the presence of the mine. Nearly 61% of those responding claimed that their family was better off, while 34% disagreed with this statement (Figure 13). Women saw the mine as providing benefits and good opportunities to their families (Figures 13 & 14). However, these responses need to be understood in relation to information provided later in the text. Based on responses to questions about impacts, the answers to these questions strongly

Figure 13: Mining Has Given My Family A Lot of Good Opportunities



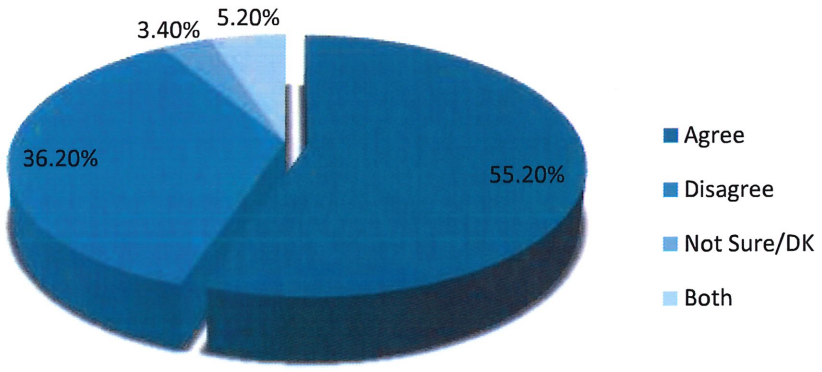
suggest that 'better off' and 'good opportunities' refer largely to economic benefits. Social costs are revealed by the answers to questions that follow.

Figure 14: The Community Is Better Off



Women were asked whether or not their community was 'better off'. The majority of women indicated that the community was better off (70.2%). This is perhaps surprising in light of the data found in Figure 11 that suggests the community is divided over the benefits of mining. This may suggest that 'better off' is a reference to being economically better off. Some respondents indicated that the community was both better and not better off, suggesting that they may have had both the social and economic impacts in mind in responding to the question. The picture of the impact of the mine on family and community relations is further complicated by the data presented in Figure 15.

Figure 15: People Get Along Better



A majority (55.2%) of respondents, despite having indicated that their families and communities were significantly divided in their opinions about the benefits of mining, indicted that people in Qamani'tuaq generally 'get along better' since the mine opened. In order to make sense of what is otherwise easily seen as contradictory responses, several Qamani'tuamiut were consulted for possible explanations. They offered the following.

The mine has indeed created divisions and also impacted many families in negative ways, affecting relationships among couples and between parents and children. In the absence of effective services to meet the needs of couples whose relationships have been strained as a result of mine employment, Inuit have increasingly turned to each other for support. Discussing the mine can be divisive and families have subsequently taken to speaking more about things that they have in common; cultural pursuits, the cost of food, spending time on the land, the education of children, etc., in attempts to heal rifts created by the topic of mining. Women also reported that at the mine they made friends and often saw and got to talk with people they didn't otherwise see. These appear to be the most likely explanations for the information provided in Figure 15.

Changes in the Family

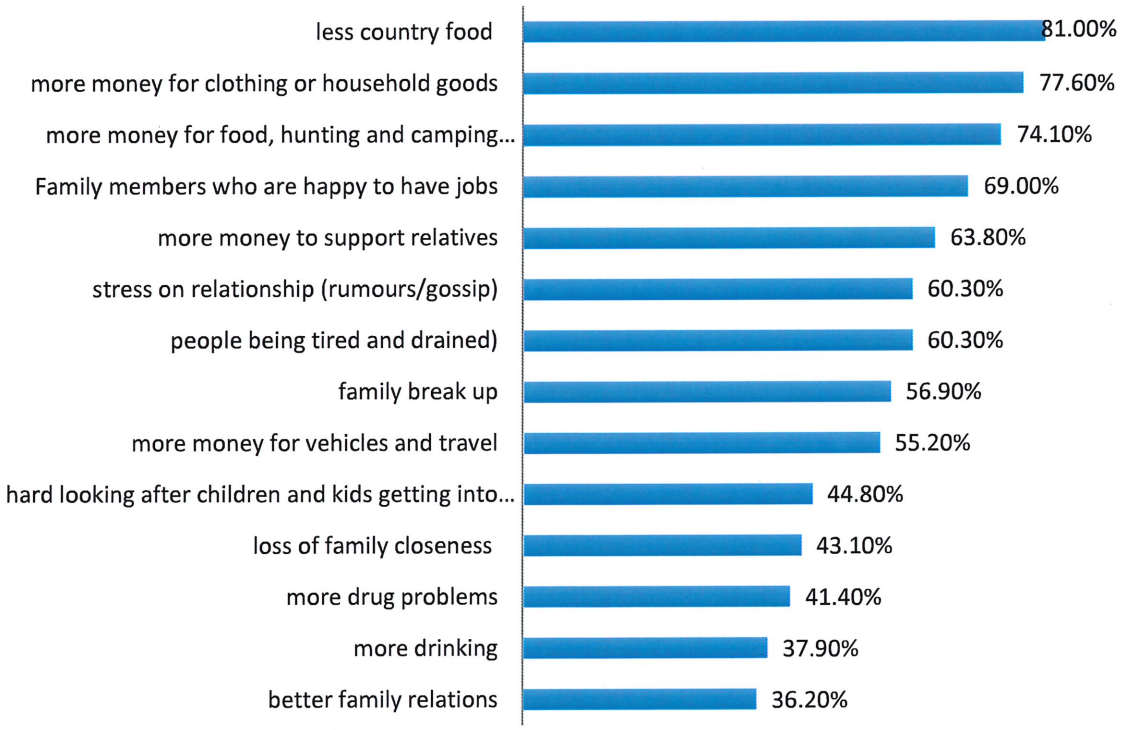
For many years there has been some level of mineral exploration in the vicinity of Qamani'tuaq. This has intensified with the opening of the Meadowbank mine and is also subject to fluctuations in mineral prices and the comparative costs of exploration and mineral development in other parts of the world. Since the development and opening of the Meadowbank mine, significant changes have taken place in Qamani'tuaq. Inuit women identified that there had been both positive and negative changes in their families since mining began.

In Figure 16, from a list of things that might have happened to their families since the mine opened, the top five most popular answers indicate that materially, things have changed for the better for some families. Women indicated that there is now more money for clothing, household goods, money for food, hunting and camping equipment, as well as more money to support relatives. Women also indicated that family members were happy to have jobs that provide these material benefits. They also indicated that the number one change that had happened in their family was in fact a negative one: there was less country food available. It is also worth noting that few women regarded the presence of the

mine as contributing to better family relations. There have been shifts and challenges within the community.

The mine has also been faced with challenges with high Inuit employee turnover.[4] The research team was aware that mine management was concerned and interested in better understanding why this was happening and worked with women in the workshop to 'unpack' the reasons. Some of those reasons are evident in the responses recorded in Figure 16, including stresses placed on relationships and people being tired. These factors are likely related to other concerns including families breaking up, difficulties caring for children and loss of family closeness, all considerations related to intimate and family relations. These in turn can reasonably be related to the two-week in, two-week out work

Figure 16: Since Exploration and Mining Started, What Has Happened to My Family?
[Showing the percentage of women who checked off the item in question.]



[4] Of 276 Inuit hired in 2011, 229 departed the same year, a turnover rate of 80%. Between 2009 and 2011 the absentee rate rose from 2% to 5.6%. (*Nunatsiaq News Online*. "Meadowbank a reality check for Nunavut mining: AEM executive. April 20, 2012). In 2013, the company introduced a 'Career Path Program' in an attempt to address these problems.

schedule and its impact on a culture where family and family relations—rather than employment or a career—are a central focus of life.

Community Concerns

The goal of the research was to determine what social impacts had occurred in the community of Qamani'tuaq. Inuit women were asked if any problems had arisen since the Meadowbank mine had opened. In response to a question about problems created by mining (Question 16) a majority of respondents (89.8%) indicated that mining had contributed to problems in the community.

Women were asked to indicate from a list what these problems were (Figure 17). The list consisted of impacts identified in the workshop held with research assistants, combined with forms of disruption found in literature published on the topic. Women were asked to identify those impacts they believed were present in their community. The most widely identified impact was increased alcohol use. Three out of the top five impacts are drug and alcohol, or substance misuse related. The other two are cultural. Women noted that community members were speaking Inuktitut less and losing their knowledge of cultural and traditional practices.

The loss of language and cultural and traditional practices cannot be attributed solely to the presence of a modern industrial activity with a significant relationship to the community. However, it is reasonable to see the mine as a culture importing norms, expectations and ways of organizing or re-organizing time, values and priorities, and making a significant contribution to the cultural concerns noted by Inuit women participating in this study. Items in the list (Figure 17) that received notable attention include matters related to employment and hiring policies at the mine, social breakdown among friends and family over mine-related matters, accessibility concerns such as limited childcare and addictions services, adjustment to schedules and access to local resources, notably caribou.

This list has entries that may not be familiar to southern Canadians, including hauntings. Gender-based violence and harassment were significantly represented.

More sex work and people contracting sexually transmitted infections were identified. These are concerns that disproportionately affect women.[5]

Figure 17: What Problems Have Been Created By Mining?
[Showing the percentage of women who checked off the item in question.]

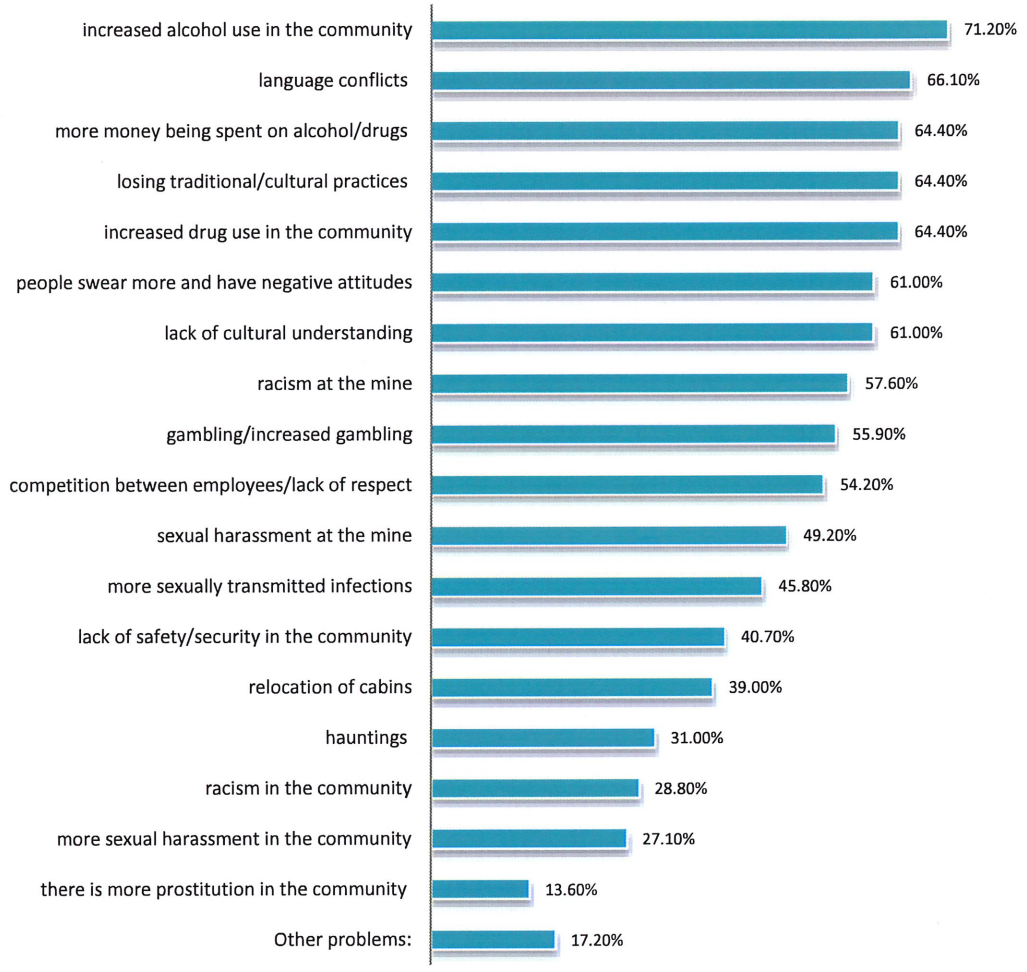


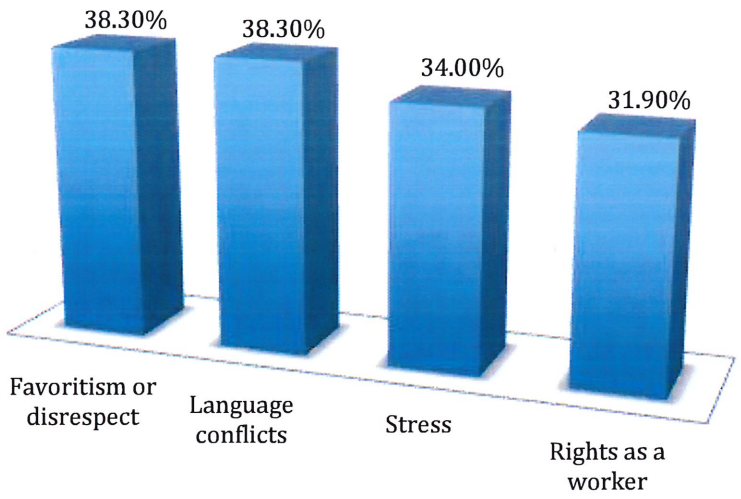
Figure 17 also shows that 17.20% (n=10) of participants indicated there were 'other reasons' or 'problems' created by mining. Participants could write-in what these 'other reasons' were. The reasons included those that appear elsewhere when questions were asked about why women terminated their employment with

[5] STI rates in Nunavut are high. In 2013 rates for chlamydia, gonorrhoea, and syphilis were more than 10 times higher than Canada's. See http://gov.nu.ca/health/information/sexually-transmitted-infection-rates-nunavut.

the mine. Among the 'other reasons' were: family fights and conflicts because of hauntings; break up of marriages or relationships because of extra marital affairs; disrespect for new employees and need for more time limitations for new employees; friendship issues due to gossip/rumours; a need for childcare and an addiction center; difficulties hunting caribou; more 'out of towners' being hired than locals; and not being allowed to speak in their own language on their own land at the Meadowbank mine.

Some of the 'problems', social impacts or challenges were felt directly at the individual level, others at the family and community levels. At the individual level, women in the workshop identified that there had been and there were ongoing challenges for Inuit women to employment access and retention at the mine. The women identified things they would have liked to have known prior to starting employment at the mine, and these were included (Question 6, Appendix 1). Figure 18 presents the four most common occurring responses.

Figure 18: The Four Most Commonly Occuring Responses to the Question: 'What Did You Wish You Knew Before You Started To Work in the Industry?'
[Percentage of women checking of each of these items.]

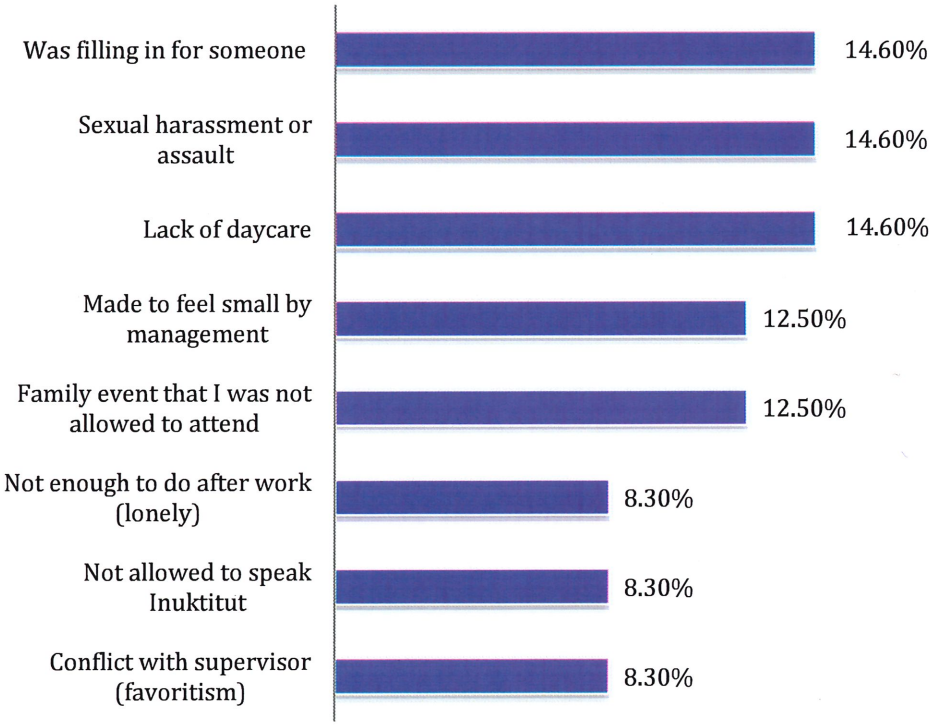


Women named favouritism (or showing disrespect), meaning that different people are treated differently on the job site. This appears to be a reference to interpersonal relations, or prejudice and discrimination between Inuit and non-

Inuit co-workers. Language conflicts on the job were also given priority as something they wished they had known about. Women were not aware of how stressful employment would be. They wished they had been given more information about their rights as workers. These all highlight the challenges of navigating a demanding workplace environment and the importance of advocating for and educating about women's rights as workers.

Women who had worked for the mining industry were also asked about their reasons for leaving (Appendix 1, Question 7). Again, the possible answers that were provided in the list were identified by women in the research training workshop. Women could identify any that applied to their workplace experience with the mining industry (Figure 19).

Figure 19: Eight Most Common Reasons for Leaving the Industry.
[Percentage of women checking off this explanation, working or having worked in the industry.]



The three most widely chosen responses were: filling in for someone, sexual harassment or assault and lack of daycare. Two of these three responses are gender-specific, as sexual harassment/assault and daycare would be considered

'women's issues' in most contexts, and in this community. The two most common responses involve interactions with management and with company policy. Inuit women reported being made to feel small by management as a reason to leave employment at the mine. While 50% of women reported taking jobs primarily out of economic necessity (Figure 12), they terminated employment primarily for social reasons. The turnover in female labour at the mine is related to being sexually harassed, not being respected, not having cultural priorities (primarily related to family) acknowledged and cultural intolerance, primarily related to language issues. The last three reasons highlight the weight given to social and cultural relations and interpersonal exchanges at the mine.

Women identified challenging social realities with which they had to contend in order to access mine employment. Childcare was one of these realities. Women tried to navigate these social realities in the workplace and wished they had been informed of them beforehand. These were the same reasons why women left the workplace. Women reported feeling and experiencing social impacts at the family, community and individual levels.

The Role of Hamlet Council and Women in Dealing with the Mine

The research team also wanted to explore whether Inuit women felt their Hamlet Council was doing the best possible job in dealing with mining (Appendix 1, Question 15). The combined answers of 'strongly disagree', 'sort-of-disagree' and 'not sure' make up 74.6% of the responses (Figure 20).

Figure 20: Our Hamlet Council Is Doing the Best Job It Can To Deal with Mining.

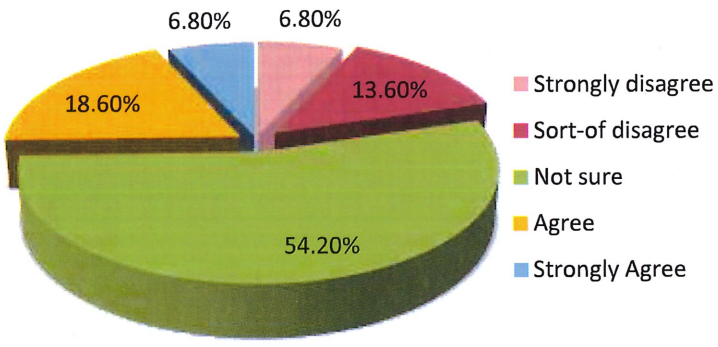


Figure 21 shows that 60% of women participating in the survey agreed or strongly agreed that the Hamlet Council needed more help in dealing with mining (Appendix 1, Question 15 B).

Figure 21: Our Hamlet Council Needs More Help In Dealing with Mining.

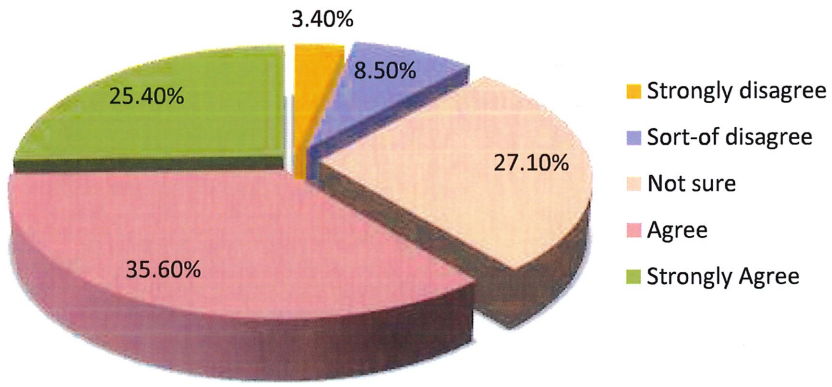
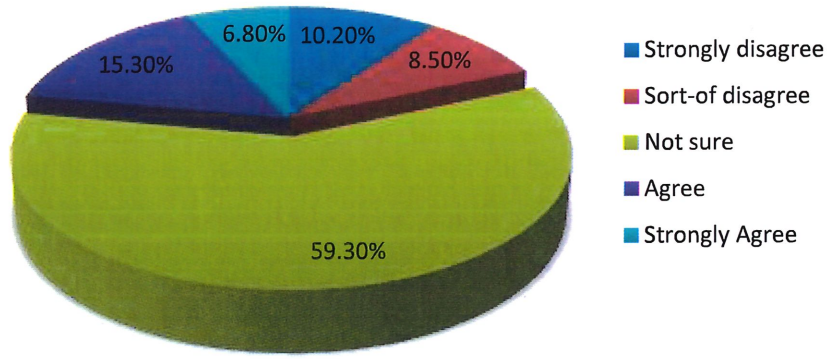


Figure 22: Women Have Been Involved In Negotiations and Agreements about Mining in Qamani'tuaq.



When asked, 59.30% of women indicated they were not sure what women's involvement had been in negotiations and agreements about mining in Qamani'tuaq. Others (18.7%) were of the opinion that women had not been

involved, or by recording that they 'sort-of disagreed' can be understood to imply that they had not been adequately consulted in negotiations or agreements. Women's 'not sure' response indicates that they were unsure if women were or were not involved in negotiations.

The Social Implications of Environmental Impacts

Caribou are of prime importance for this inland Inuit community. They are not only a source of food. The relationship between Qamani'tuamiut and caribou is cultural, spiritual and profound. Caribou are hunted and eaten and meat is seen on roofs, in front of homes and in cold porches. They appear in art and logos, and are spoken about often. Workshop participants spoke to the researchers about how development of the land for resource exploration and extraction had influenced caribou migration and behaviour. Proposals to explore or to mine near caribou calving grounds had, in the past, been halted.

Women were asked if they believe mining and mineral exploration had affected the land and water around Qamani'tuaq. A majority (75.9%) of women said they did believe mining had affected the land and water, while 21.4% disagreed. This statistic, when placed alongside the answers from Figure 16 where 81% of the women indicated they had less access to country food since the opening of the mine, provides a link between changes on the land and how these changes translate to Inuit families. This could mean that when a family member who is also a hunter is employed at the mine, the individual has less time to hunt for food for the family. Inuit also stated that caribou are not as abundant or close to the community. One respondent said that their family cabin had to be relocated due to mining.

Rating Services in the Community

The women designing the questionnaire were interested in understanding how women in the community ranked social services. In the workshop they discussed the benefits mining brought to the community and the social challenges that women felt were now present, or that had been amplified by the presence of the mine. Some of these challenges spoke to the influx of money to families, a shift in schedules and changing interpersonal dynamics. Women also spoke about what kinds of services they thought would help the community work together to address challenges created by the presence of the mine. The researchers were especially interested in the services women felt were functioning well—or

failing—in relation to concerns they identified by other questions asked in the survey. Women responding to the questionnaire were asked to rate ten social services or service areas identified in the workshop, using Likert scales providing options for positive as well as negative responses.

Few services received an overall rating of 'good'. In Figure 23 women were inclined to rank community recreation facilities more positively than negatively.

Figure 23: Rating of Recreation Facilities

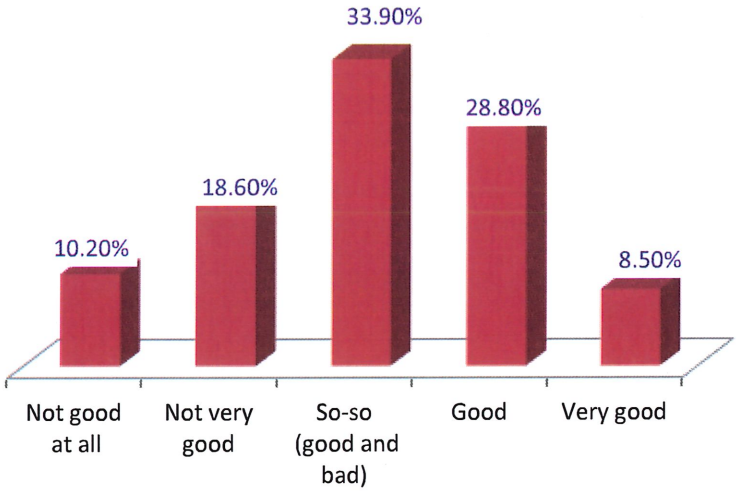


Figure 24: Rating of Training Opportunities

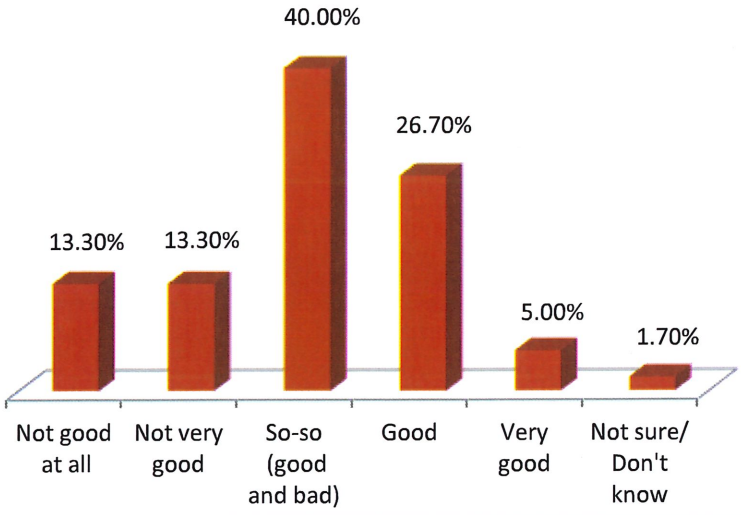


Figure 24 shows that women rated training opportunities as primarily 'so-so' to 'good'. In figure 25 most women rated the women's shelter as either 'so-so' or 'good'. These were the only services that had relatively positive ratings.

Figure 25: Rating of the Women's Shelter

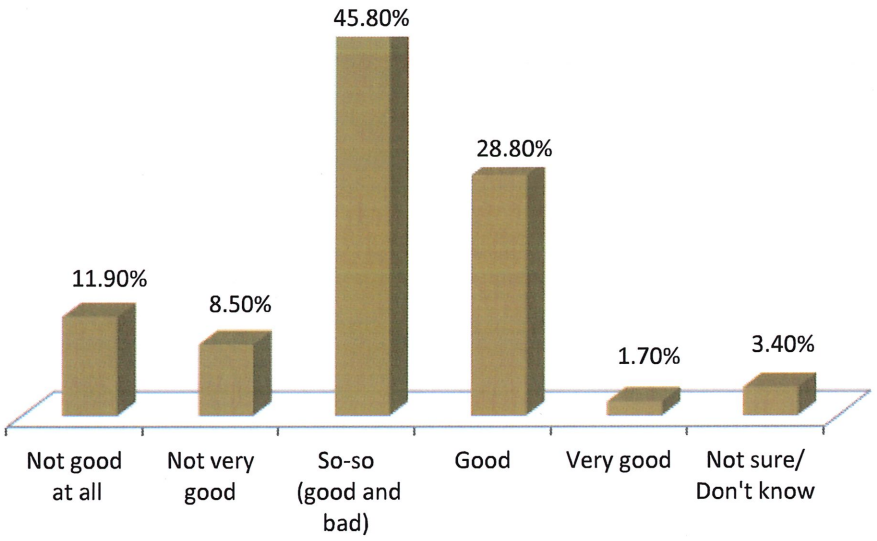
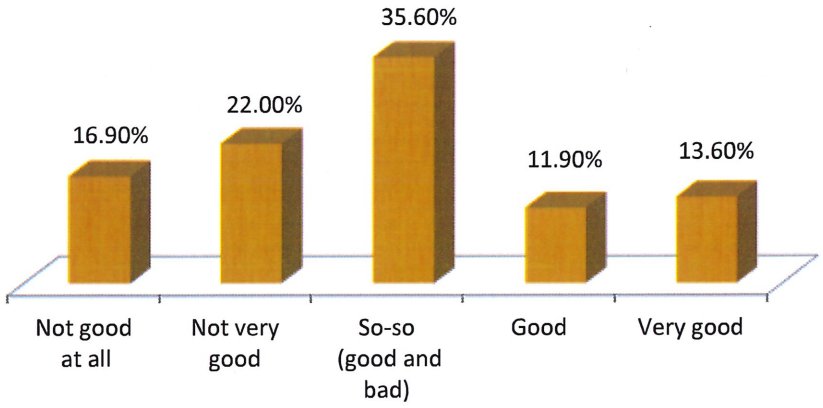


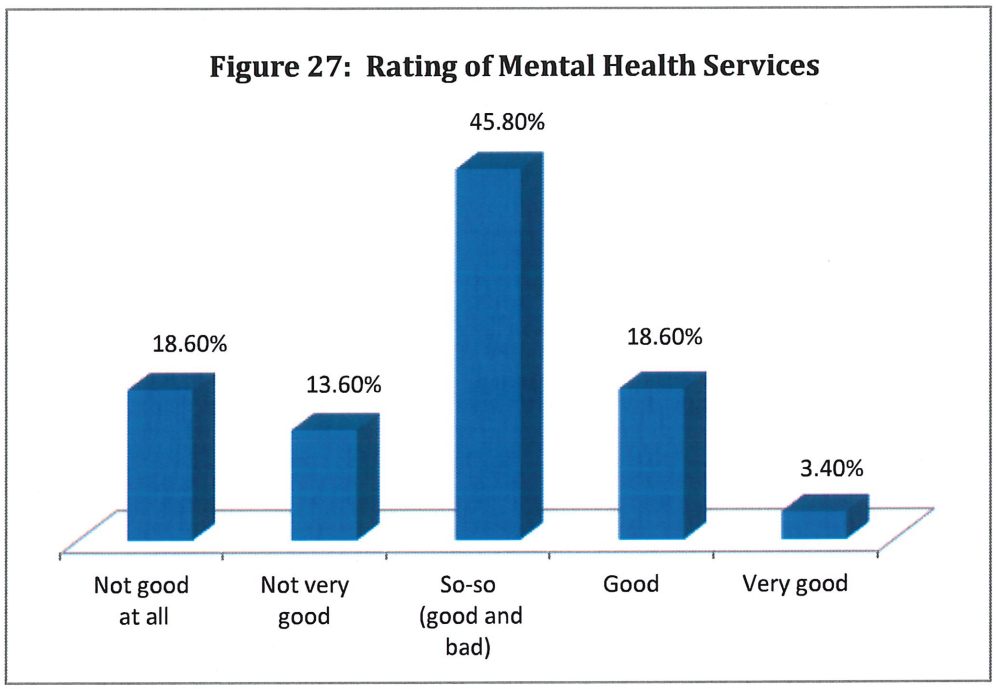
Figure 26: Rating of Spaces and Programs to Pass On Cultural Knowledge and Practices from Elders to Youth



Two services received ratings where 'so-so' (or average) was the predominant response. Women were of the opinion that spaces or programs to pass on cultural knowledge and practices from Elders to youth were 'so-so' (Figure 26). This 'service'—or community capacity—the women said was extremely important to mitigating social impacts, as well as significant to overall community well-being.

Figure 27 shows that nearly half the women asked about mental health services in Qamani'tuaq thought the services were 'so-so'. More women thought that the mental health services were worse ('not very good' or 'not good at all') than women who thought the mental health services were 'good' or 'very good'.

Figure 27: Rating of Mental Health Services

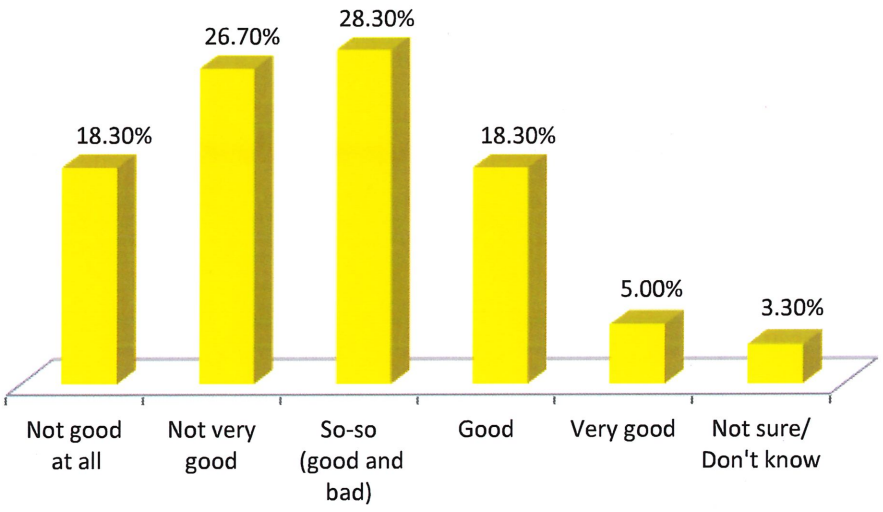


In the survey, the majority of services addressing the well-being of Inuit were rated on the negative end of the spectrum, some more so than others. The following are services rated by a majority of respondents as 'not very good' or 'not good at all'.

Most observations of the suicide prevention services in Qamani'tuaq were on the negative side of the continuum. Forty-five percent of women responding to the survey rated these services as 'not good at all' or 'not very good'. Only 23.3% of respondents rated services as 'good' or 'very good' (Figure 28). It is important to keep in mind, in looking at these statistics, that the suicide rate in Nunavut—

dominated by the fate of young Inuit men—is about ten times the Canadian average and among the highest in the world.

Figure 28: Rating of Suicide Prevention Services



Women also felt that health services in general were inadequate (Figure 29). Only 23.3 % of respondents rated health services as 'good' or 'very good'. This compares with 42% of Canadians who regard their health care system as working

Figure 29: Rating of Health Services

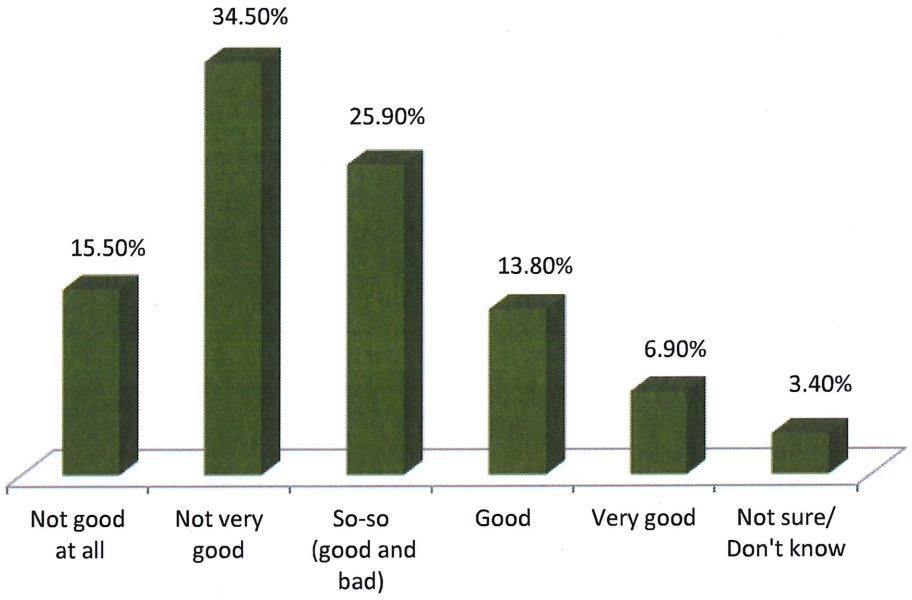


well, although there is considerable regional variation in the ratings, from a high of 50% in Ontario to a low of 23% in Québec.

However, if one interprets 'services' as a proxy for the care women received, the ratings women gave their health care system are extremely poor compared to a Canadian average. Seventy-four percent of Canadians regard the care they receive as very good or excellent.[6]

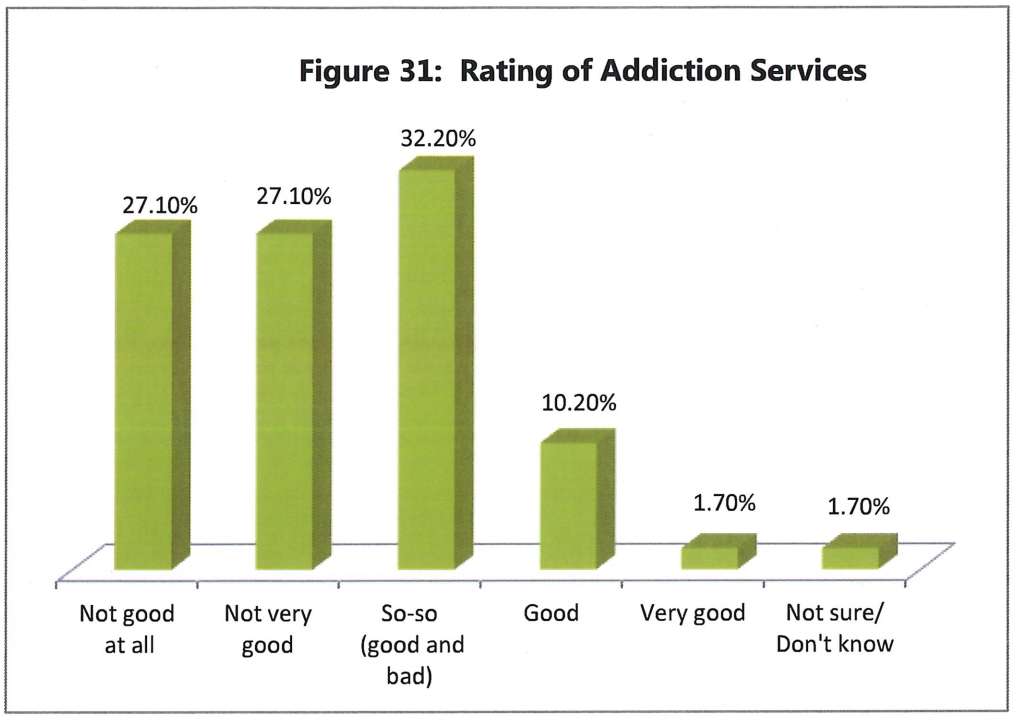
Programs, activities and spaces available for women, were also seen by the women as not very good (Figure 30). Only 20.7% of women rated these services as 'good' or 'very good'.

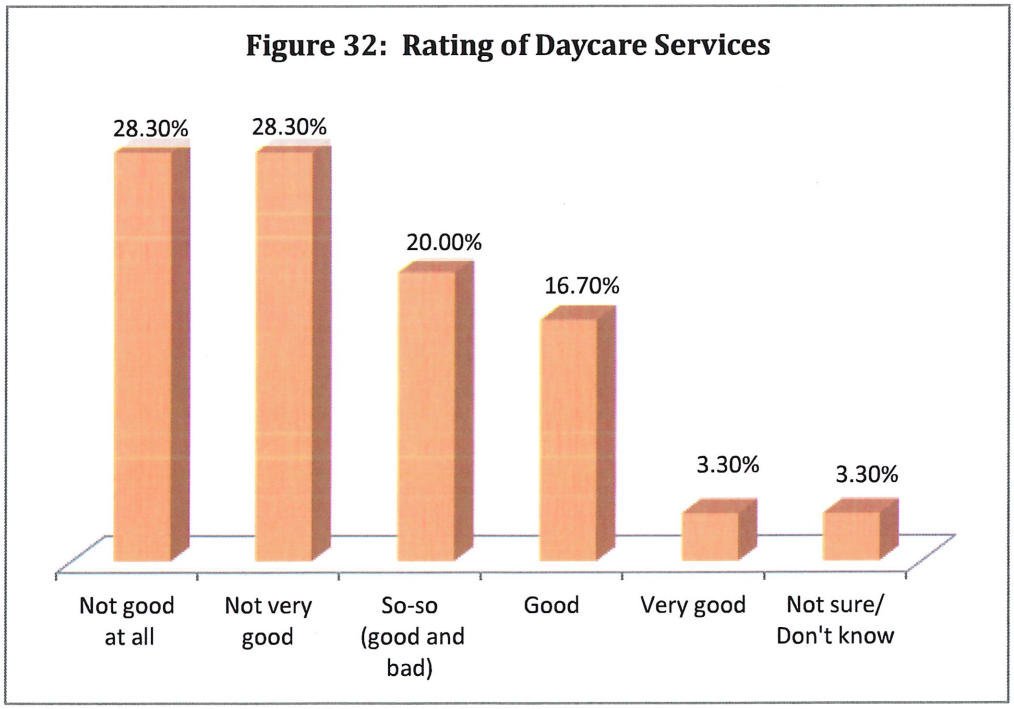
Figure 30: Rating of Programs, Activities and Spaces for Women



The poorest ratings were for the community's addictions (Figure 31) and daycare services (Figure 32). Addictions services were rated as 'so-so' to 'not good at all' by 86.4 % of respondents. Daycare services were given a comparable rating by 76.6 % of Inuit women completing the survey.

[6] Health Council of Canada. January 2014. *Where you live matters: Canadian views on health care quality*. Results from the 2013 Commonwealth Fund International Health Policy Survey of the General Public. Available at : http://publications.gc.ca/collections/collection_2014/ccs-hcc/H173-1-8-2014-eng.pdf. No regional data is available for Nunavut, the Northwest Territories or Yukon Territory.


Figure 31: Rating of Addiction Services
27.10%
27.10%
32.20%
10.20%
1.70%
1.70%
Not good at all
Not very good
So-so (good and bad)
Good
Very good
Not sure/ Don't know

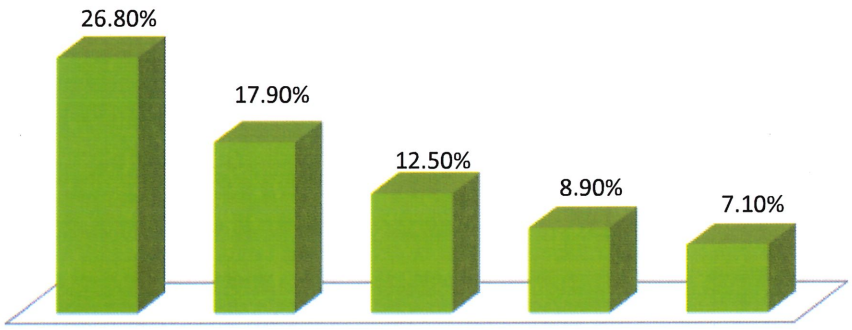

Figure 32: Rating of Daycare Services
28.30%
28.30%
20.00%
16.70%
3.30%
3.30%
Not good at all
Not very good
So-so (good and bad)
Good
Very good
Not sure/ Don't know

Choice of Services to be Improved

The research team worked with women to identify services, activities or things that could be improved or be more present in the community. These options were presented to women as part of the questionnaire. Women were asked to rank their first, second and third choice of the service, social program, social activities, social institution or organization that needed to be improved in the community. Responses were grouped based on the frequency with which they were identified as a 1st, 2nd or 3rd choice.

Women ranked their first choice for the service that needs to be improved (Figure 33). Daycare service offered in Inuktitut was the most important one identified. A cultural centre that could offer learning from Elders was the first choice of 17.9% of respondents. A bank in the community was the first choice of 12.5% of women. Since this research was conducted, banking services have been established in the community. A safe shelter and counselling support for women were the first choices of some of the respondents and speak to a need to improve physical safety and provide emotional support for women in the community.

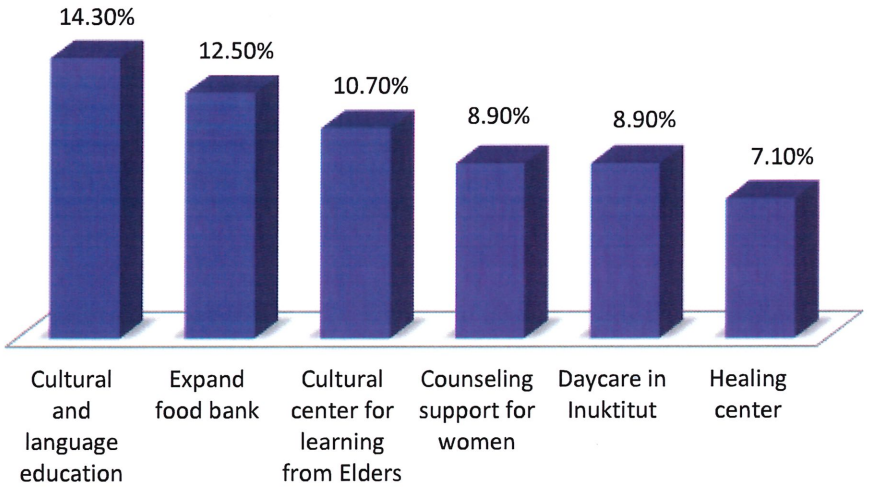
Figure 33: First Choice for Services that Need to be Improved



Women were asked to provide their 2nd choice for a service that needs to be improved (Figure 34). Improving cultural and language education in the community was the most popular 2nd choice. This was followed by improving and expanding the food bank in the community—a service much needed in a

community where food costs are extreme and food security is an issue for anyone without a good paying job.[7] Improving or creating a centre for learning from Elders was second choice for 10.7% of those surveyed. Counselling support, daycare and a healing centre were also important second choices, speaking to the inadequacy of these services in the community.

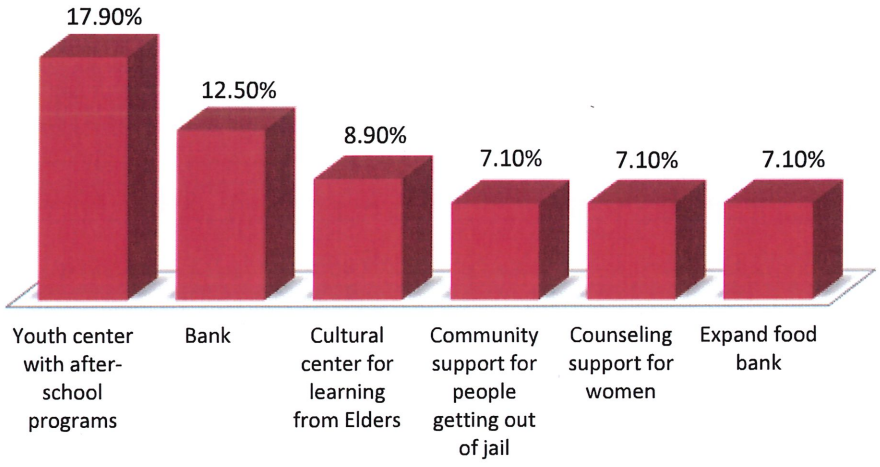
Figure 34: Second Choice for Services that Need to be Improved



Healing can be seen as an overarching theme of many of the priorities identified by women, including counselling support, a cultural learning centre and the priority of cultural and language education. In Figure 35 (below) women were asked to identify their 3rd choice for services that need to be improved. Almost 18% of respondents chose a youth centre for after-school programs as their third choice. A bank was chosen by 12.5% (since established in the community), with a cultural centre for learning from Elders chosen by 8.9%. Community support for people getting out of jail, counselling support for women and an expanded food bank were chosen by 7.1% of those responding to the survey.

[7] A Globe and Mail article "Speaking out against $600-a-week grocery bills" (January 17, 2014), contains an interactive map comparing the cost of a basket of basic food items in Nunavut communities with an average cost in southern Canada, based on a survey from August of 2013. The cost in southern Canada was $113.99. In Qamani'tuaq (Baker Lake) it was $234.03. (http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/the-north/why-is-food-so-expensive-in-nunavut-shop-for-yourself-and-find-out/article15915054/)

Figure 35: Third Choice for Services that Need to be Improved



Discussion

In Conversation with the Qualitative Report

There is some overlap between the main themes identified from the qualitative research, and those emerging from the quantitative findings. In the qualitative report, the research team identified that the mining workplace was challenging and at times an inaccessible work environment for Inuit women. Women noted that the benefits of engaging in the mining work environment included making new friends, learning new things and having economic security. As evident from the quantitative data reported here, women identified that there are socio-cultural, racial and significant gender considerations to working in the resource extraction industry.

The Work Environment

As seen in Figure 12, the primary reason why women take jobs in the mining industry is economic security. The most common reasons women left the workplace—filling in for someone, sexual harassment or lack of daycare—speak further to economic insecurity, economic necessity and the gendered burden of mine employment. Every person is protected from sexual harassment in the workplace under Canadian law, including the *Canadian Labour Code and the*

Canadian Human Rights Act. Sexual assault is an offence dealt with by the *Canadian Criminal Code.* Sexual harassment and the fact that the respondent was filling in for someone (i.e. was a temporary replacement for someone who, for one reason or another, was on leave) were the number one reasons women left the mining industry (Figure 19). These reasons highlight serious barriers to women who want to access mine employment. The reasons for being on leave are many, but include something noted in other responses by women to the questions put to them—a lack of adequate childcare in the community and a need to look after children when other arrangements are not possible. It also draws our attention to an unsafe work environment for women, a matter that is a serious human rights concern.

Figures 33 and 34 deal with daycare and a desire for improved daycare with communication and services offered in Inuktitut. The lack of adequate and appropriate childcare is a culturally significant need and a barrier to employment for women in the community. Combined with the cited favouritism, disrespect and language conflicts in the workplace (Figure 18) the responses are suggestive of factors both limiting women's access to employment opportunities and affecting their work experience once employed. While experiences vary, in these ways the work environment is not always a hospitable one for Inuit women.

The intersection of considerations related to gender, culture, 'race', language and class are relevant to understanding the work experience of Inuit female employees. The employment opportunities women have access to are limited by how they are stereotyped into domestic roles and perceptions of their levels of education. Subsequently women are employed predominantly in the laundry, the kitchen and as housekeepers.

Two other reasons why women left the mining workplace (Figure 19) suggest that the way in which management and individual employees exercise authority in the workplace needs to be informed and responsive to Inuit cultural needs, norms and expectations. Women were of the opinion that policies dealing with leave for community or family-defined priorities were inflexible. Inuit women want to better understand their rights as women and employees of the Meadowbank mine (Figure 18). They want management to do a better job of responding to the needs and responsibilities that Inuit women have to their families and communities.

Material Well-being and Income

Four of the top five things Inuit women identified had happened in their families in relation to mine employment (including being happy to have a job) are about having more money (Figure 16). The material benefits to working, or having family working at the mine, are obvious.

However, this should not mask the fact that mine employment has disproportionately advantaged men in the community. In our qualitative report (March 2014) we noted that in 2011, according to the National Household Survey[8], the unemployment rate in Qamani'tuaq was 19%. In 2006, the official unemployment rate was 18.9%. In other words, the opening of the mine in 2010 had no impact on the unemployment rate in the community. This is most likely due to people who had given up looking for work and who were no longer registered as seeking employment, once again entering the workforce in hope of finding a job. It is worth noting that the unemployment rate for men declined from 25% in 2006 to 21.3% in 2011 and the unemployment rate for women increased from 11.9% to 15.7%. Between 2005 and 2010, the average income for men in Qamani'tuaq increased 56.07% (from $26,451 to $41,282). The average income for women increased by 27.49%, less than half that for men (from $27,040 to $34,472). The mine has advantaged men in terms of both employment and income, a development that has most likely affected gender relations in the community.

These changes in income and access to money for Inuit women and their families provide a context for the responses found in Figure 13. The majority of women (75%) reported that the mine had provided their families with a lot of good opportunities. Family members are happy to have jobs (Figure 16). Women recognized that their families were materially better off. Figure 16 also indicates that families have more money to purchase, in order of importance, clothes and household goods, food and hunting and camping equipment, as well as funds to support relatives and to spend on vehicles and travel.

---

[8] Employment statistics and data on household incomes for Qamani'tuaq (Baker Lake) for 2011 can be found at: http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/nhs-enm/2011/dppd/prof/details/page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo1=CSD&Code1=6205023&Data=Count&SearchText=Baker%20Lake&SearchType=Begins&SearchPR=01&A1=All&B1=All&TABID=1.

Social Impacts on Inuit Women, Families and the Community

The data reported in the qualitative study highlighted areas of social concern. These areas are further contextualized by the analysis of women's responses to the survey questionnaire. The responses provided by Inuit represent Inuit women's perceptions, experiences and feelings at a particular moment in time.

While there were many material benefits made available by mine employment, the income made possible by mine employment also gave rise to social concerns. It made funds available for the purchase of drugs and alcohol. In conducting the qualitative research, key informants indicated to the research team that the number of permits issued by the RCMP to permit individuals to bring alcohol into the community had increased. They also indicated that crimes related to substance and alcohol misuse had increased. Violence and assaults against women and children that involve drugs and/or alcohol have reportedly increased since the mine opened. School attendance from children that have one or both parents working at the mine has also been affected. These and related problems appear to have been amplified by the presence of the mine, with alcohol and drug use being a serious concern among women in the community.

Respondents indicated that there has been less country food available since the mine opened. A majority noted that there had been effects on the land and water (a common 'write-in response' to Question 21). If caribou have been displaced as a result of mining activity, more money for hunting and camping equipment can only go so far in improving access to the land and to caribou.

The research results suggest that there is considerable conflict and confusion related to making sense of the benefits that mining has provided to women and families. Asked to indicate how they felt about mining and the future of their community, 50% of the women responding indicated that they felt confused, 43.3% indicted that they were worried and 23.3% that they were scared (Figure 9). As noted, families and the community are seen to be materially and financially better off (Figures 12, 13 & 16). However, the data suggests that divisions have also been created between those families able to access mine employment and others who may have benefited from employment only to a limited degree or for a short period of time, if at all (Figures 5, 6, 11). The response rate to question 5B (Appendix 1) revealed that only 6.7% of the sample were currently employed at the Meadowbank mine, whereas 26.7% had previously been employed at the

mine (Figure 5). The benefits to be derived from mine employment appear to be, for many, intermittent and variable.

Overall, respondents have mixed feelings about whether or not the mine is making lives better or worse for Qamani'tuamiut (Figures 9, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16). This can be explained in terms of financial benefits on the one hand, and the social costs incurred on the other. This ambivalence is perhaps best captured by Figure 8. While 30% of respondents indicated they were interested in a mining-related job, 23.3% said 'maybe', 18.3% said 'no' and a further 11.7% said they didn't know'.

The 'social troubles' identified by respondents are many. While these cannot be attributed solely to the presence of the mine, and many of them were significant issues before the mine opened, respondents made it clear that in their opinion the mine had made many of these social and personal problems worse. Personal as well as social problems and concerns identified by those interviewed in the qualitative study were confirmed by women responding to the questionnaire, as evident from the information found in Figures 16 and 17. Options from which respondents could chose included items identifying financial and material benefits and wealth redistribution. There were a number of items that dealt specifically with social development or cohesion. Other options dealt with individual or social breakdown. Women identified 'stress on relationships/gossip', with 60.3% of respondents identifying this as a problem exacerbated by the opening of the mine (Figure 16).

The qualitative research revealed that this related to separations created by the two-week-in/two-week-out work schedule and tensions related to being in a setting with many others, and largely Qablunaat employees unknown to Inuit from Qamani'tuaq. Over half of women respondents indicated that there had been family breakups attributable to these circumstances. While some respondents indicated that the mine was responsible for 'better family relations' (36.2%), this was superseded by 43.1% of respondents who identified the mine with a loss of family closeness and increased problems with drugs (41.4%) and alcohol (39.7%).

The material benefits provided by mine employment come with a cost. The demands of new schedules, relationships and gender-based labour create an environment where women bear the impact of navigating childcare and child-rearing, gender-based service-sector labour, harassment on the job and poverty

and gender-based violence when money goes toward gambling, alcohol, drugs and sex (Figure 17).

Problematic Substance Use

Women rated increased alcohol use, language conflicts and more money spent on drugs and alcohol as the top three 'problems' created by mining. Language conflicts may be restricted to the mine environment[9], but alcohol and drugs, including money spent on alcohol and drugs, are not restricted to the mine environment. The impacts of alcohol and drug misuse and abuse are not restricted to the mine environment and are significantly being felt by families and the community. This has impacted family budgets and affected meeting basic needs. It has an impact on the availability of parents to supervise children, jeopardizes women and children's physical safety, is a factor in accidents and crime and has been associated with youth suicide.[10] [11]

Women linked the presence of the mine with an increase in problems related to substance abuse. Money and stress have contributed to this and related problems. When this number one concern is placed alongside how women ranked services in their community, it becomes evident that the intersection of this problem with a lack of capacity to deal it is one of the most serious social impacts from the mine.

At the time this survey was conducted, the local drug and alcohol treatment service centre had been shut down for several years. A lack of designated services or a community response to support families dealing with issues of substance use and abuse has further augmented the impact on the community. This is despite the fact that this issue was identified in the Inuit Impact Benefit Agreement as a likely social impact.

Women were also concerned about having a space and support to facilitate the sharing of cultural knowledge and Inuktitut. They were frustrated with the 'official languages' (French and English) requirement at the mine, believing that Inuktitut

---

[9] For insight into this and other issues related to the use of language at the mine, see: http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/inuit-workers-at-agnico-eagle-s-meadowbank-mine-allege-discrimination-1.2917566.

[10] Lucy J Boothroyd, Laurence J Kirmayer, Sheila Spreng, Michael Malus and Stephen Hodgins (2001) Completed suicides among the Inuit of Northern Quebec 1982-1996: A case-control study. *Canadian Medical Association Journal.* 165(6): 749-755.

[11] Laurence J Kirmayer, Lucy J Boothroyd, Stephen Hodgins (1998) Attempted suicide among Inuit youth: Psychosocial correlates and implications for prevention. *Canadian Journal of Psychiatry*. 43: 816-822.

should have similar status. Women felt strongly about improving services that looked after their children in Inuktitut and places for passing on knowledge and relationship building between Elders and youth. 'Culture as treatment' is a well-known strategy for addressing problematic substance use in Indigenous communities.

A model for the provision of these services is provided by Ilisaqsivik, a community-based and community-run Inuit organization located in Clyde River, Nunavut. Ilisaqsivik operates using a community development approach to mental health and addictions (http://ilisaqsivik.ca/). It supports community wellness by providing a designated space, resources and programming that helps individuals, families and community on their healing journey. It builds strengths, provides knowledge sharing opportunities and helps develop land-based skills for individuals and families. It has a strong Inuktitut literacy program funded by the Government of Nunavut's Department of Culture, Language, Elders and Youth. Ilisaqsivik has demonstrated that it is responsive to community needs and approaches to community concerns. Qamani'tuaq requires an Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (IQ or traditional knowledge) based community prevention and treatment approach to problematic substance use and Ilisaqsivik is a model that has worked elsewhere in meeting these needs.

Gender

An increased income gap between men and women, and increased unemployment rate for women, demonstrate that financially the benefits of the mine are gendered. Gender differences have been created or amplified by mining. Mining is an industry dominated at all levels of its operations by men, yet the number of women employed in the industry, particularly in unskilled positions in laundry, food preparation and housekeeping, are considerable. This is particularly true where mines are located in rural and remote settings, necessitating a work crew that lives, while it is working, on site. This does not deny the presence of a small percentage of women as employees who work on haul truck crews and in other jobs typically seen to be the purview of men. However, the attention given to women in the workforce is not the only aspect of women and mining that merits attention. The literature on women and mining and the results of the research presented here make it clear that the social impacts on women, whether employed directly in the industry or not, are considerable.

An increase in sex work involving women is commonly seen in association with the opening of mines. An increase in sex work in Qamani'tuaq was identified by 13.6% of respondents as one of the impacts affecting the community since the opening of the mine (Figure 17). Although sex work and reasons for entering the trade vary, in mine-affected communities it is often an economic strategy in the presence of an increased and transient male population. Increased sex work in Qamani'tuaq is likely a response to economic instability and an increased number of men with money. Mining jobs were taken by 50% of respondents primarily because they needed the money (Figure 12). This is opportunistic income generation not related to the idea of developing a career in the mining sector. Sex work may be both a statement about opportunism and women accessing the only forms of income or labour available to them. A considerable number (29.2%) of respondents indicated that they took employment at the mine because it was the only form of employment available to them (Figure 12). A lack of economic diversity leaves women restricted to a limited number of opportunities for making money.

In the literature, problematic substance use, violence and childcare are the most frequently voiced concerns of Indigenous women from mine-affected communities [5, 16, 28]. The results of this study are consistent with these observations. Mining companies should be providing resources for the creation of support groups, services and programs in the work environment and in the community to help alleviate these social complications.

Inuit Impact Benefit Agreements are presumably put in place to ensure that the impacts of mining development on a community are addressed. In the absence of a community wellness plan, something that was also part of the agreement with the AEM, a host of community needs have not been addressed as of the writing of this report. Services to address the social impacts of the mine on women and children require a women and family-centred approach to the concerns of gender-based violence and childcare responsibilities.

Inuit women responding to this survey gave poor ratings to existing safe places and spaces most needed by women. The most common response was that these places were 'so-so' at best (Figures 25, 26 & 27). Spaces for women to be with children in Inuktitut, to support each other, to receive counselling and to strengthen culture are the services women identified as most needing improvement.

Jealousy, rumours and gossip were identified by nearly half of the woman as something that had happened, or was happening in their family since the mine opened (Figure 16). The two-week-on/two-week-off schedule is hard on families. Women in the workshop, key informants and survey respondents indicated that there was a lot of gossip about sexual promiscuity at the mine and there were firsthand accounts of infidelity. Half of the respondents were of the opinion that rates of sexually-transmitted infections had increased, as well as sex work. This raises questions about the environmental factors that enable the behaviour accounting for these observations. Unprotected and increased sexual encounters and family money spent on individual pleasures (sex, gambling and substances) contribute to family stress. Anger rooted in jealousy—grounded in reality or not—combined with problematic substance use, is physically and emotionally harmful to women and children. Increased physical and sexual violence toward women and children were concerns voiced at all levels of this research and process. Increased domestic violence was an anticipated social impact outlined in the IIBA.

Community and Culture

Some families in Qamani'tuaq have benefited materially more than others from the presence of the mine. It is reasonable to assume that there is now greater difference between 'have' and 'have-not' families and individuals in the community than was true before the mine opened. In a community of about 2,000 people, families that are better off are known by the boats, motors, snow machines and vacations that some families can now afford.

The significance of these changes should not be overlooked. In competitive, individualistic and opportunistic Qablunaat culture, there is an assumption that developments like this are 'natural' phenomena and consequently they are 'taken for-granted'. But in Inuit culture, while there were always differences among individuals and families, the extent of the differences introduced by the material culture made possible by mine employment is considerable and felt. It is understandable that these differences are seen as forms of cultural change.

In Qablunaat culture, these changes and differences in status are commonly identified with class formation. In Qamani'tuaq, Inuit women flag cultural and family-related concerns as indicators of these changes. These include less country food being available, family breakups, stress and a loss of closeness (Figure 16). In interpreting this information, it is important to keep in mind that 'family' in

Inuit culture is a reference to 'extended family'. The importance of supporting and being there for extended family is revealed by Figure 16. Having more money to support relatives was identified by 63.8% of respondents as something that had happened to their families since the mine opened.

The data suggests conflicting ideas and feelings in relation to money. On the one hand money is available to support relatives. On the other, 43.1% of respondents attributed loss of family closeness, stress on relationships (60.3%) and family breakup (56.9%) to exploration activity and opening of the mine. The wealth of a relative's family, for example, may also be seen as distancing or alienating this family from other extended family members.

These differences are also related to cultural aspects of money and goods that have been introduced by a colonizing culture. Introduced material goods go back as far as whaling in the 1800s. But the volume and value of goods made possible by mine employment takes what were innocuous relations with introduced material wealth to new and greatly exaggerated heights. Caribou meat, on the other hand, has always been a definitive element of the culture and families of Qamani'tuaq. Anything that jeopardizes access and hunting, as the evidence presented in this study suggests, is a source of considerable and understandable anxiety and concern. It is, in addition to a concern about food security, a concern symbolic of other changes not easily named.

The conversion of Inuit from producers—be they sewers, hunters, trappers or carvers—to wage labour is also not a simple or straight-forward process. The change from activities where Inuit were in charge of their own labour, to being an employee of a company producing a product (gold) of no relevance to Inuit culture and working by rules and schedules not of one's making, is significant. Resistance to this proletarianization of Inuit labour is suggested by the high rate of turnover in the workforce at the mine.

A number of responses dealing with problems perceived to be created by mining indicated that there were concerns regarding cultural misunderstanding, lack of respect, Qablunaat favouritism and racism toward Inuit (Figure 17). Inuit women indicated and repeatedly mentioned in conversation the injustice they felt with regards to the 'out-of-towners' or Francophones who could work in French, because it is an official language, but that local Inuit could not speak or receive instruction in Inuktitut at the mine. Not being allowed to speak Inuktitut in the workplace was a reason given by 8.3% of respondents for leaving employment in

the industry (Figure 19). Language conflicts were identified by 66.1% of respondents as one of the problems created by mining. Inuit saw Qablunaat getting hired for jobs they could do. Inuit are filling largely entry-level positions and Inuit women are filling largely gendered positions (laundry, kitchen, cleaning). Respondents experienced racism at the mine (57.6%) (Figure 17). Women are confronted with feeling unsafe in their community (40.7%), sexual harassment at the mine (49.2%) and more sexual harassment in the community (27.1%) (Figure 17). Many women do not feel safe at the mine or in their community. Some women reported being fired because they were pregnant. These are all labour and human rights concerns.

For Inuit women, it is challenging to negotiate working in a space that is uncomfortable and at times unsafe, or to find someone to watch the children when the daycare is closed—or full—and work is two hours away. It is stressful for one parent to be away at the mine, isolated from family, and for the other to bear all childcare responsibilities for two weeks. What women wish they knew before working at the mine and the reasons why they left the mine (Figures 7 & 8) overlap, highlighting the gendered, stressful nature of mine employment.

How is the community doing in dealing with the mine and the changes introduced to the community and the lives of women and their families? Figure 20 reveals that 54.2% of respondents were not sure that their Hamlet Council was doing the best possible job in dealing with the impacts of mining and a further 20.4% were clear that it was not doing the best job (Figure 20). A majority of women thought that the approach could be better. Women agreed (61%) that the Hamlet could use some help in dealing with the mine (Figure 21). The percentage of respondents who felt that women had been involved in agreements and negotiations (22.1%) was only slightly more than those who disagreed with this statement (18.7%) (Figure 22). What is perhaps of greater significance is that nearly 60% of respondents were unsure if women had been involved in negotiations and agreements about mining. Clearly many women do not know what is, or is not being done to look out for their interests.

Arctic Mining: A long road to ...

Historically, three mines have operated in the eastern Arctic. The legacy of these operations, as evident from a number of studies, is not positive. The legacy includes little to nothing by way of community infrastructure, alternative economic opportunities, fostering the development of transferable skills, or creating preventative and long-term impact mitigation strategies. What has been introduced or amplified, and what remains long after mines closed are lasting social and environmental impacts.[12] [13] [14] [15] [16] In Qamani'tuaq, where services dealing with physical and mental health, addictions, women's well-being, suicide prevention and daycare services are rated as inadequate, this raises serious questions about what government, the mining company and the regional Inuit association are prepared to do to mitigate anticipated impacts and address needed changes, post-mine.

The research reported on here, conducted with and by Inuit women in Qamani'tuaq and focusing on the impacts of mining on Inuit women, appears to be unique to a Canadian, and possibly to global context. The literature on mining, impact benefit agreements and social impacts is extensive. Given that there is considerable international experience with mining near Indigenous communities, the lack of attention given to social impacts in the submission of impact statements to regulatory agencies, including the Nunavut Impact Review Board, is puzzling. Typically, the focus is on environmental impacts with social impacts being reduced to a celebration of the number of jobs to be created and economic benefits.

---

[12] T. Rodon & F. Lévesque (2015) Understanding the social and economic impacts of mining development in Inuit communities: Experiences from past and present mines in Inuit Nunagat. *The Northern Review*. 41: 13-39.

[10] H. Green (2013) State, company and community relations at the Polaris mine, Nunavut. *Études/Inuit Studies*. 37(2): 37-57.

[11] F.J. Tester, D.E.J. Lambert, T.W. Lim (2013) Wistful Thinking: Making Inuit labour and the Nanisivik mine near Ikpiarjuk (Arctic Bay) northern Baffin Island. *Études/Inuit Studies*. 37(2): 15-36.

[12] T. Carter & A. Keeling (2013) "That's where our future comes from": Mining, landscape and memory in Rankin Inlet, Nunavut. *Études/Inuit Studies*. 37(2): 59-82.

[13] L.M. Bowes-Lyon, J.P. Richard, T.M. McGee (2009) Socio-economic impacts of the Nanisivik and Polaris mines, Nunavut Canada. in J.P. Richards (ed.) *Mining, Society and a Sustainable World.* Berlin, Heidelberg. Springer-Verlag. 371-396.

As this research has demonstrated, the picture of what social impacts look like is far more complicated. Intelligent and informed guidelines for statements about potential social impacts—especially the implications for women—are needed. The fact that mining companies pay consulting firms to produce (environmental) impact statements for submission to regulatory agencies has much to do with the fact that a largely positive picture is typically portrayed of what social impacts might look like. It is not in the interests of consultants to produce assessments that deal with the range of complex and serious issues such as those revealed by Inuit women participating in this study. The objective is to get approval for mining ventures. The perception appears to be that acknowledging and proposing ways to address social impacts—especially those affecting women, children and families—do not fit well with the desired outcome.

What is needed in advance of mining operations are community-based strategies of preparedness, and then mitigation of social, as well as environmental impacts. What typically happens in advance of resource development is the pouring of considerable resources into public or community relations. This may include funding a community hockey team, giving funds to community-based groups or helping to fund the development and/or expansion of community facilities. What is most needed is the development of the capacity to address the social, economic and environmental impacts of mining development. The money spent on public relations—for obvious reasons—could be better spent. In the case of Agnico-Eagle's Meadowbank mine, a community wellness report intended to form a basis for addressing the social needs of the community is only now (as this report is being written) being prepared, five years after the mine was opened and only a few years before it is scheduled to close.

The mining company has made attempts to address some of the concerns identified by women in this research. Country food is sometimes available at the mine. Some women have been promoted to the haul truck crew and are pleased with their employment. Inuit have been hired to address the concerns of women in the workplace. The extent to which they have been effective in doing so is unknown.

The research presented in this report suggests that mine employees need a greatly improved orientation to Inuit, Inuit culture and history. The same can be said of addressing discrimination based on sex, race, class and language. Management and staff could benefit from training that would allow them to challenge policies, practices and behaviours that are oppressive for Inuit, and

Inuit women in particular, in the workplace, including training around sex-based discrimination, anti-oppression, human rights and labour rights, etc.

Approaching the social impacts of the mine cannot be restricted to addressing circumstances at the mining camp. Current and past mine employees are part of an interconnected network of families in one contained community. Stress and issues that may develop or arise at the mine are brought back by workers to their home communities.

The Hamlet and community members need more support in dealing with social impacts in the community arising from the presence of and employment at the mine. Inuit women clearly want to see more physical space and energy devoted to children's welfare, women-focused activities, the building of Inuktitut language skills and the transmission of cultural knowledge. Services dealing with addictions, suicide and general well-being were poorly rated. The Ilisaqsivik program operating in Clyde River is an award-winning model based on the concept of community building through land-based activities and Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (traditional knowledge) that effectively addresses these concerns. It is a model that might be adapted as a community-based and community-driven approach in Qamani'tuaq.

A number of calls to action, including those outlined in the 94 recommendations of the *Residential School Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada* (TRC) (2015), have relevance to the findings in this report. Both the qualitative and quantitative data showed that key informants, service providers and community members believe that stressful and problematic changes related to industrialization in the form of mining have happened to their families and their community. Calls were made by the TRC for sufficient funding from the churches and federal government (numbers 11, 19, 21, 61) to support cultural language revitalization and community healing projects. In the TRC Call #21, Nunavut is identified as a priority for the funding of new healing centres to address the legacy of residential school impacts and historical trauma. For many Inuit and their families, healing is an important prerequisite to addressing the complexities of working and dealing with the consequences of industrial employment and opportunities such as those presented by the Meadowbank mine.

APPENDIX 1

PAUKTUUTIT QUESTIONNAIRE

PAUKTUUTIT QUESTIONNAIRE

The Effects of Mining and Mining Activity on the Women of Qamani'tuaq.

NUMBER ASSIGNED TO THIS QUESTIONNAIRE _____

TIME AND DATE OF INTERVIEW _____

INSTRUCTIONS

This questionnaire is to be completed by the researcher. It is based on an interview with a woman in Qamani'tuaq: someone you have chosen to be part of this research.

(1) Read each one of the questions to the woman you are interviewing. Read them one at a time. Read question 1 and get the answer. Then read question 2 and get the answer. Read all of the possible answers to each question.

There are different kinds of questions.

(i) Some have lists of things that the woman can agree with. Check off (√ OR X) **all of the things that the woman agrees with** in the list.
(ii) Some questions have only one possible answer. The woman can say **'yes' or 'no' or 'agree' or 'disagree'**. Then the woman might be asked **explain your answer**. **Write the answer** in the space below the question.
(iii) Some questions are scales. There are choices from 'not good at all' to 'very good'. Circle the answer the woman gives.
(iv) There will be some open-ended responses (questions where the answer is whatever the woman you are interviewing wants to say.) Just **write what she says** in the space below the question.

There are no right, or wrong answers. The woman you are talking to can agree or disagree with what is being said.

(2) We are not going to use the woman's name in the report. We only want it so we can remember who we talked to. We might want to come back in case there is any problem or we need to ask about something we didn't understand.

The woman's name should be recorded on the paper you have been given. It has a place for the number of this interview and the name of the woman you are talking to. Make sure you write the same number on this interview. Use a different number for each interview.

Tell the woman that no one will know who said what, or what her answers will be. Tell the woman you are interviewing that you will not talk to anyone in the community about what she has to say. Make sure that she understands that no one will know her answers except the researchers.

Do not discuss answers to open-ended questions with the woman being interviewed.

The paper with names and numbers is to be kept in a safe place at all times. If someone does not want her name written down, that is okay.

In the final research report, ***no names will be used and the responses will be held in the strictest confidence***. On completion of the survey and after discussion between the researchers, the list that relates names to questionnaires will be destroyed.

Please let the women know that their identity will be protected and they will not be identified in any publication or any discussion of the research results.

Instructions for the researcher in the questionnaire are those that appear in boxes.

INTRODUCTION

TO BE READ BY THE RESEARCHER.

There is a lot of talk about mining and mineral exploration around Qamani'tuaq. There have been hearings about the proposed AREVA uranium mine. The Meadowbank gold mine is in operation. There is lots of exploration related to the search for other minerals and activities related to the proposed AREVA uranium mine.

We are interested in what these changes and this activity mean for you and your family, and the community of Qamani'tuaq.

This survey is *NOT* being conducted by or for anyone associated with any mining company or government. It is an independent (separate) survey being conducted by the University of British Columbia in partnership with Pauktuutit. Our interest is in the well-being of Qamani'tuamiut. We will use the results to bring to the attention of government and other authorities things that need to be said based on what Qamani'tuamiut tell us.

We want to make sure that women are listened to. Your ideas, concerns and thoughts are important and should be heard. We want to make sure that women have the help they need to deal with all the changes that are happening because of mining and exploration.

The final results of this research will be made totally public. The final report will be available on Pauktuutit's website in Inuktitut and in English. Pauktuutit will also send a copy to anyone who is interested. A summary of the research information will also be presented at the Pauktuutit Annual General Assembly in March 2014.

PART I:
Information about you.

1) Name (OPTIONAL): _____

2) Age: _____

3) Have you lived in Baker Lake all your life?

☐ Yes
☐ No

If NO, where else have you lived? LIST THE PLACES.

_____

_____

4) Relationship status:
(1) Single ☐
(2) Partnered ☐
(3) Separated or divorced ☐
(4) Single (partner died) ☐

5) Are you currently employed (Do you have a paying job)?

A. ☐ Yes
☐ No

B. Are you, or have you ever worked for any of the following?

PAST	NOW	
☐	☐	The Meadowbank mine.
☐	☐	AREVA.
☐	☐	Another exploration company.
☐	☐	Other: WRITE WHERE SHE WORKS IN THE SPACE BELOW.

_____

IF THE WOMAN IS NOT <u>CURRENTLY</u> EMPLOYED, GO TO QUESTION 6.

C. If you are currently employed, how long have you been at this job?

- ☐ Less than 2 months
- ☐ 2-6 months
- ☐ 6 months – 1 year
- ☐ 1-2 years
- ☐ More than 2 years

<u>Part II</u>:
About working for the mining industry.

If the woman **has never worked in the mining industry**, go to question 10.

6) What do you wish you knew **before** you started working in the mining industry?

READ FIRST. THEN ASK WHICH ARE TRUE FOR HER. **CHECK THE APPROPRIATE BOXES.**

- ☐ the stress the job can cause
- ☐ how to separate work from home (work/life **balance**)
- ☐ what kind of person my supervisor is or was
- ☐ that different people might be treated differently (favouritism or disrespect)
- ☐ the expectations of my job (for example: punctuality, proper footwear, good work relations and communication)
- ☐ that there would be language conflicts on the job
- ☐ my rights as a worker (not to be harassed, to fair compensation and treatment if I am injured, sickness and family leave, the right to work when pregnant and work security)
- ☐ female nurse not always at the mine
- ☐ having a bank account, how to 'manage' money, budgeting or being responsible with your earnings

- ☐ Other: _____

7) If you no longer work in the mining industry: Why did you leave?

READ FIRST. THEN ASK WHICH ARE TRUE FOR HER. **CHECK THE APPROPRIATE BOXES.**

- ☐ Was filling in for someone for just a few days.
- ☐ Missed hunting/could not get leave to hunt, trap, fish.
- ☐ Not enough to do after work or feeling lonely.
- ☐ Not getting cheques or deposit on time.
- ☐ Not paid for overtime.
- ☐ I haven't been called back.
- ☐ Laid off because I was pregnant.
- ☐ Made to feel small by management.
- ☐ Sexual harassment or assault (dirty words or inappropriate actions by male co-worker(s))
- ☐ Not allowed to speak Inuktitut.
- ☐ I couldn't work because I was sick and was laid off.
- ☐ They discovered I have a health condition and I was laid off.
- ☐ Lack of daycare.
- ☐ There was a funeral/wedding/graduation and I did not receive permission to go.
- ☐ Other:

_____

_____

8) If you have never worked or used to work in the mining industry, would you like to have a job in mining?

READ FIRST. THEN CHECK THE ONE THAT APPLIES.

A.

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ Maybe
- ☐ Don't know

B. Why ?

READ FIRST. THEN ASK WHICH ARE TRUE FOR HER. **CHECK THE APPROPRIATE BOXES.**

- ☐ I need/needed the money
- ☐ I am/was bored
- ☐ Because my friends work/worked there
- ☐ I want/wanted to make new friends
- ☐ It is/was the only job available
- ☐ To get away from a stressful home
- ☐ Because I have/had nowhere else to stay
- ☐ I want/wanted to learn something new
- ☐ I want/wanted to meet a partner
- ☐ I need/needed a change
- ☐ I am/was looking for a way to get out of the community
- ☐ I want/wanted greater access to items brought in by outsiders
- ☐ Other:

_____

_____

9) Since the increase in mineral exploration and development in the Qamani'tuaq area, there have been many Qablunaat coming to the community.

We would like to ask you some questions about your experiences with the people who come to Qamani'tuaq because of the mineral exploration and development here.

Based on the information provided in the table, please tell us about your experience with the people listed in the table below.

READ THE TABLE FIRST.
IT MAY BE EASIER TO SHOW THE FOLLOWING TABLE TO THE WOMAN.
CHECK OFF THE PEOPLE THE WOMAN HAS HAD EXPERIENCE WITH. THEN CHECK OFF WHETHER SHE AGREES OR DISAGREES WITH WHAT IS SAID ABOUT THEM.

Experiences / **Visitors to Qamani'tuaq**	**CHECK** IF THE WOMAN HAS NO EXPE-RIENCE WITH THESE PEOPLE	Friendly and helpful*		Interested in Inuit language and culture*		Supportive of our community and Elders*	
		AGREE	DISAGREE	AGREE	DISAGREE	AGREE	DISAGREE
a) Qablunaat working at Meadowbank mine							
b) Qablunaat working for AREVA, exploration or prospecting companies							
c) Researchers working in Qamani'tuaq							
d) Helicopter pilots and pilots flying for exploration companies							
e) Kivalliq Inuit Association or NTI representatives sent to deal with exploration and mining companies (for example, to hold hearings or to meet with the community or community council)							
f) Nunavut and federal government people							
g) People wanting to help Inuit deal with mining and exploration companies (for example: social and environmental advocates or activists)							
h) Other: _____							

* IF THE WOMAN **DOESN'T KNOW**, PLEASE WRITE '**DK**' IN THE '**DISAGREE**' COLUMN.

10. Anything else you would like to say about these people?

_____

_____

_____

<u>Part III</u>:
We would like you to know how mining activity affects the <u>family</u> you live with. This means all the people who <u>normally live in your house</u>.

_____

10) Does someone in your family (meaning the people who normally live in your house) work at the mine?
- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

11) How has this mining activity (the opening of the Meadowbank Mine, the AREVA proposal and ongoing exploration, shipping and related activities) affected your **family**?

ASK IF THE WOMAN AGREES OR DISAGREES WITH EACH OF THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS.

AGREE	DISAGREE	
☐	☐	My family is better off.
☐	☐	My family is divided about mining. Some members of my family think it is okay. Some of my family disagrees with mining.
☐	☐	Mining has given my family a lot of good opportunities.

12) Since mineral exploration and mining started in Qamani'tuaq, the following things have happened in **my family**:

READ FIRST. THEN ASK WHICH ARE TRUE FOR HER. **CHECK THE APPROPRIATE BOXES.**

- ☐ less country food available
- ☐ more money to buy a vehicle or for travel
- ☐ hard looking after children and kids getting into trouble
- ☐ stress on relationship (rumours/gossip)
- ☐ a family break up from affair(s) at the mine
- ☐ children working at the mine move out on their own
- ☐ more money to support my relatives
- ☐ more drinking
- ☐ more anger and violence
- ☐ more drug problems
- ☐ more money for clothing or technology (phone, mp3/iPod, computer, TV)
- ☐ arguments about money
- ☐ more money for food, hunting and camping equipment
- ☐ disagreements over spending priorities between family members (like, what is important)
- ☐ a loss of family closeness (with parents or others that work at mine)
- ☐ family members who are not happy with their work
- ☐ physical exhaustion (people tired, drained)
- ☐ better relations (family members are happier and get along better)
- ☐ family members who are happy to have jobs
- ☐ other things: WRITE THEM IN THE SPACE BELOW.

_____

_____

<u>Part IV</u>:
We would like you to think about <u>the community</u> of Qamani'tuaq.

13) Think about the Meadowbank gold mine, the proposed AREVA uranium mine and mineral exploration. What does this activity mean for your **community**?

READ FIRST. THEN ASK IF SHE AGREES OR DISAGREES WITH EACH SENTENCE.

AGREE DISAGREE

☐ ☐ The community is divided. People disagree with each other more often than they used to.

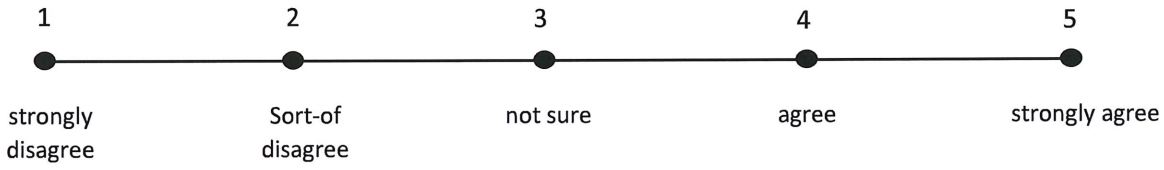
☐ ☐ The community is better off. We have more community resources because of mining (community centre, community feasts, baseball diamond, etc.).

☐ ☐ People get along better. Most people are glad that they have a future with the mining industry.

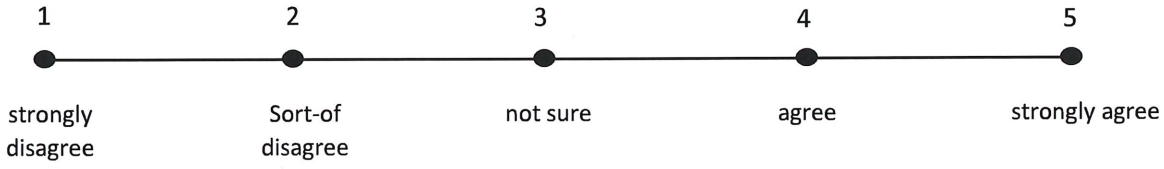
14) The following questions deal with the roles of that the Hamlet council and women of Qamani'tuaq have played in dealing with mining activity in the community.

CIRCLE THE WOMAN'S ANSWER.

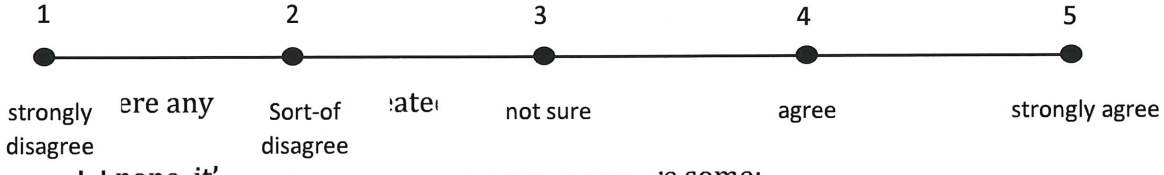
A. Our Hamlet council is doing the best job it can to deal with mining.



B. Our Hamlet council needs more help in dealing with mining.



C. Women have been involved in negotiations and agreements about mining in Qamani'tuaq.



ere any ate

☐ none, it's all good, or ... ☐ yes, there are some:

IF THE ANSWER IS 'YES', GO THROUGH THE LIST WITH THE WOMAN. **CHECK THE THINGS THAT SHE AGREES WITH.**

- ☐ language conflicts and difficulty communicating
- ☐ lack of cultural understanding
- ☐ racism at the mine
- ☐ racism in the community
- ☐ competition (meaning lack of respect) between employees, especially of different ages
- ☐ more sexual harassment in the community
- ☐ sexual harassment at the mine
- ☐ lack of safety/security in the community
- ☐ people swear more and have negative attitudes
- ☐ there are more sexually transmitted infections (infections passed on a result of sexual activity)
- ☐ gambling/increased gambling
- ☐ increased alcohol use in the community
- ☐ increased drug use in the community
- ☐ there is more money being spent on alcohol/drugs instead of on necessities or the family
- ☐ relocation of cabins
- ☐ losing traditional/cultural practices because Inuit are away at mine, or exhausted and busy when home.
- ☐ hauntings (spirits telling people they shouldn't be working there)
- ☐ there is more prostitution in the community (explain if necessary)

_____

_____

☐ Other problems:

_____

_____

17) A. Has mining and mineral exploration affected the land and water around Qamani'tuaq?

Yes ☐ No ☐

B. If yes, please list up to 3 things that mining and exploration has done to the land or waters around Qamani'tuaq.

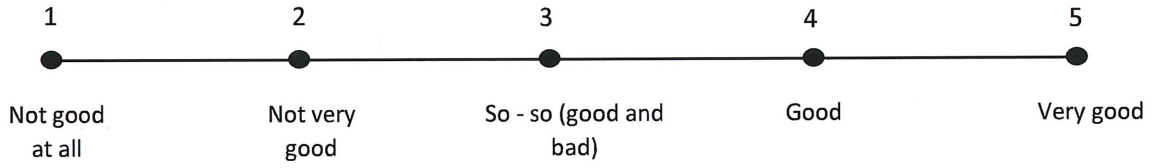
1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

18) We would like you to rate the services currently available in the community of Qamani'tuaq.

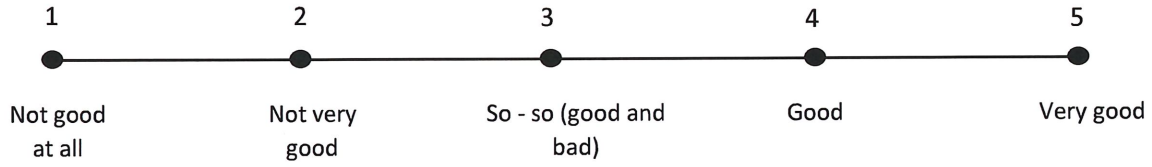
On a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 = not good at all and 5 = very good, please rate the following community services:

READ THE SERVICE AND THE RATING OPTIONS (DESCRIBE WHAT EACH NUMBER STANDS FOR). THEN CIRCLE HER RATING.

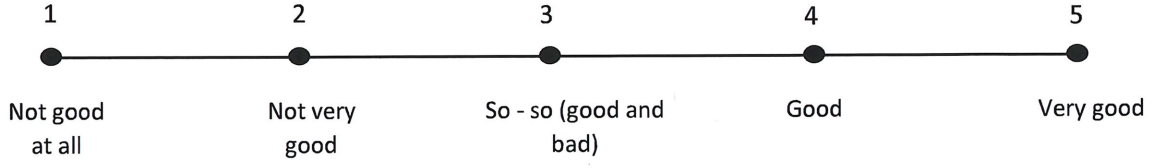
A) Mental health services (counseling or support with negative thoughts, grief, mental illness)



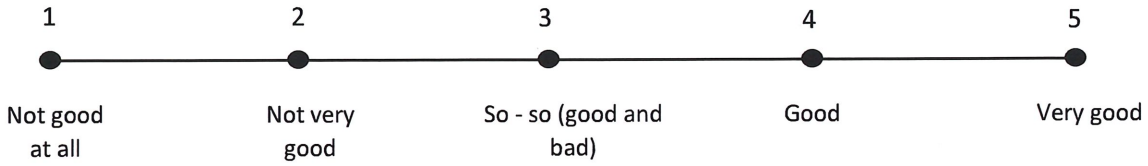
B) Addictions services (addictions counseling, treatment, support groups)



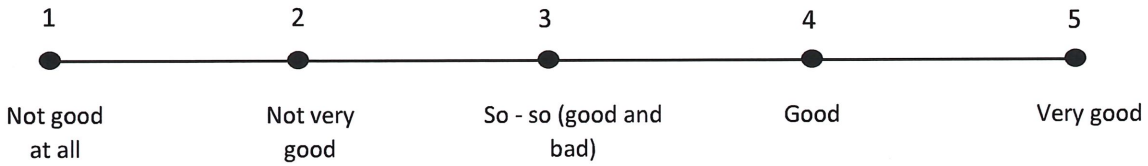
C) Suicide prevention services (crisis line, support groups, trained counsellor)



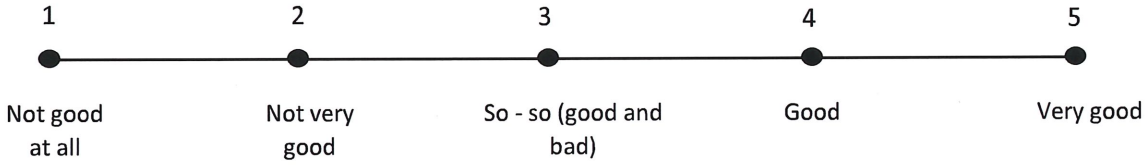
D) Health services (physical health)



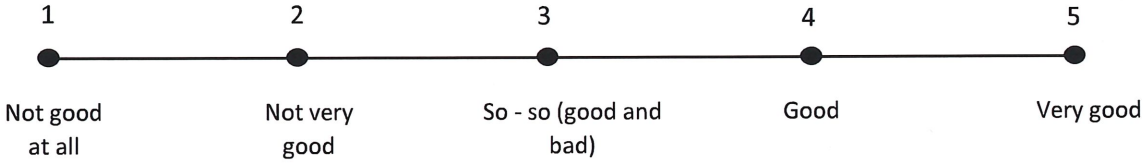
E) Training opportunities (work skills, workshops, upgrading, professional development)



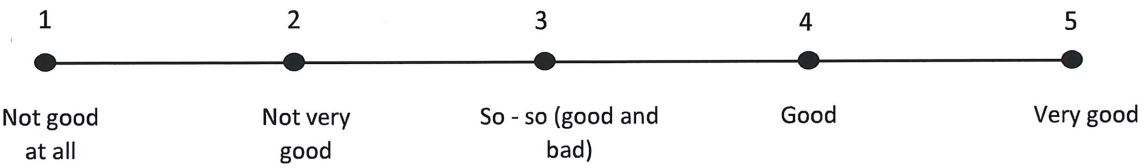
F) Recreation facilities



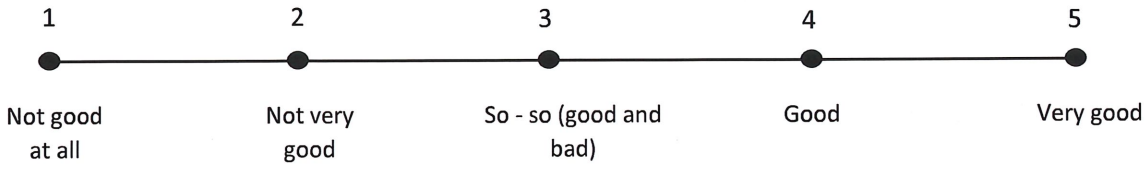
G) Women's shelter



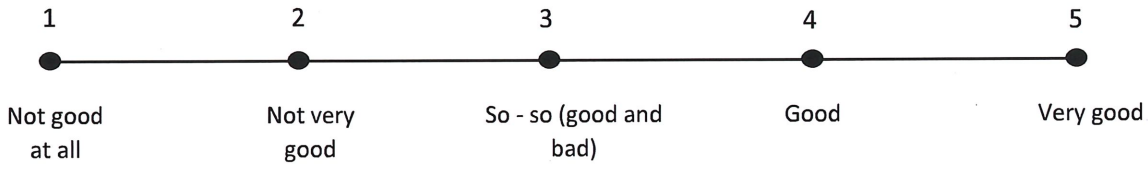
H) Programs, activities and spaces **just for women** (and their children)



I) Daycare



J) Spaces or programs to pass on cultural knowledge and practices from Elders to youth



19) The following is a list of services or services that could be offered in Qamani'tuaq.

PLEASE PUT '1', '2' OR '3' BESIDE THE 3 MOST IMPORTANT SERVICES THAT YOU WOULD LIKE TO SEE IMPROVED, WHERE 1= THE MOST IMPORTANT.

- ☐ daycare in Inuktitut
- ☐ cultural and language education
- ☐ safe shelter for women in separate building
- ☐ counselling support for women (trustworthy, neutral, reliable, available) and marriage counseling if needed
- ☐ healing centre (community/peer support)
- ☐ trained addiction counsellors
- ☐ cultural centre for learning from Elders (sewing, raising children, gathering place open to all community, seal skin prep classes, teach younger ones how to skin in the summer)
- ☐ expand food bank (cleaning supplies), use leftover food from mine
- ☐ community freezer open to/shared with public
- ☐ workshops & support to start a business
- ☐ youth centre with after-school programs (like leadership: cadets, scouts)
- ☐ community support for people getting out of jail
- ☐ community meetings with mining companies
- ☐ a bank

20) Answer the following: When I think about mining activity and the community's future I feel ...

CHECK OFF ANY AND ALL THAT APPLY.

☐ happy	☐ angry	☐ stressed or overwhelmed
☐ confused/mixed	☐ scared	☐ lonely
☐ proud	☐ worried	☐ sad
☐ frustrated	☐ rejected	☐ curious
☐ depressed	☐ excited	☐ self- doubt (questioning one's self)

21) Record anything else the respondent would like to say about how mining activity has affected (changed) the community of Qamani'tuaq.

22) Is there anything else that you would like to tell the people who are doing this research?

MUTNA!

APPENDIX 2

LITERATURE REVIEWED

Oxfam Australia. 2009. *Women, Communities and Mining: The Gender Impacts of Mining and the Role of Gender Impact Assessment*. Carlton: Oxfam Australia. http://resources.oxfam.org.au/pages/terms.php?ref=460&k=&url=pages%2Fdownload_progress.php%3Fref%3D460%26size%3D%26ext%3Dpdf%26k%3D%26search%3Dmining%252Cwomen%252Cgender%26offset%3D0%26archive%3D0%26sort%3DDESC%26order_by%3Drelevance.

[2] O'Faircheallaigh, Ciaran. 2011. "Indigenous Women and Mining Agreement Negotiations: Australia and Canada." In *Gendering the Field: Towards Sustainable Livelihoods for Mining Communities*, ed. Kuntala Lahiri-Dutt, 87–110. Asia-Pacific Environment Monograph 6 6. Canberra: The Australian National University. http://web.cim.org/csr/documents/Block669_Doc142.pdf.

[3] Kwiatkowski, R, and M Ooi. 2002. "Integrated Environmental Impact Assessment: A Canadian Example." *Bulletin of the World Health Organization* 81 (6): 434–438.

[4] Bowes-Lyon, Léa-Marie, Jeremy P. Richards, and Tara M. McGee. 2009. "Socio-Economic Impacts of the Nanisivik and Polaris Mines, Nunavut, Canada." In *Mining, Society, and a Sustainable World.*, ed. Jeremy P. Richards, 371–396. Berlin/Heidelberg: Springer.

[5] Eftimie, Adriana, Katherine Heller, and John Strongman. 2009. *Mainstreaming Gender into Extractive Industries Projects: Guidance Note for Task Team Leaders*. Extractive Industries and Development Series #9. Washington, DC: The World Bank. http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTEXTINDWOM/Resources/Gender_and_EI_TTL_Guidance_Note.pdf

[6] Lahiri-Dutt, Kuntala. 2012. "Digging Women: Towards a New Agenda for Feminist Critiques of Mining." *Gender, Place & Culture* 19 (2): 193–212.

[7] Mishra, Prajna Paramita, and M. Gopinath Reddy. 2012. *Gender Mainstreaming in Mining: Experiences Across Countries*. Research Unit for Livelihoods and Natural Resources Working Paper No. 14. Hyderabad: Centre for Economic and Social Studies. http://www.cess.ac.in/cesshome/wp/RULNR-working-paper-14.pdf.

[8] Bhanumathi, K., Niki N Kalpa, G.V.S. Ravi Shankar, Sarada Vanka, and B. Gunavathi. 2005. *Third International Women and Mining Conference: Defending Our Lives, Demanding Our Rights.* Conference report. Secunderabad: International Mining and Women Network. http://www.mmpindia.org/womenandminigreport.pdf.

[9] Mercier, Laurie, and Jaclyn Gier. 2007. "Reconsidering Women and Gender inMining." *History Compass* 5 (3): 995–1001.

[10] Brody, Hugh. 1977. "Industrial Impact in the Canadian North." *Polar Record* 18 (115): 333–339.

[11] Duhaime, Gérard, Nick Bernard, Pierre Fréchette, Marie-Anick Maillé, Alexandre Morin, and Andrée Caron. 2003. *The Mining Industry and the Social Stakes of Development in the Arctic*. Québec: Université Laval.

[12] Hall, Rebecca. 2012. "Diamond Mining in Canada's Northwest Territories: A Colonial Continuity." *Antipode*.

[13] StatsCan, *Canada at a Glance. Cat. # 12-581-X, 2012.*

[14] Robinson, Kathryn. 1996. "Women, Mining and Development." In *Resources, Nations, and Indigenous Peoples: Case Studies from Australasia, Melanesia, and Southeast Asia*, ed. Richard Howitt, John Connell, and Philip Hirsch, 137–149. Melbourne ; New York: Oxford University Press.

[15] Scheyvens, Regina, and Leonard Lagisa. 1998. "Women, Disempowerment and Resistance: An Analysis of Logging and Mining Activities in the Pacific." *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography, 19* (1): 51-70.

[16] Gier, Jaclyn, and Laurie Mercier, ed. 2006. *Mining Women: Gender in the Development of a Global Industry, 1670 to 2005*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

[17] Lahiri-Dutt, Kuntala. 2011. "The Megaproject of Mining: A Feminist Critique." In *Engineering Earth: The Impacts of Megaengineering Projects*, ed. Stanley D. Brunn, 329–352. New York: Springer.

[18] Emberson-Bain, 'Atu. 1994. "Mining Development in the Pacific: Are we Sustaining the Unsustainable?" In Feminist Perspectives on Sustainable Development, ed. Wendy Harcourt, 46-59. London: Zed Books

[19] Lahiri-Dutt, Kuntala. 2007. "Roles and Status of Women in Extractive Industries in India: Making a Place for a Gender-sensitive Mining Development." *Social Change* 37 (4): 37–64. doi:10.1177/004908570703700403.

[20] Naylor, R.T. 2011. *Crass Struggle: Greed, Glitz, and Gluttony in a Wanna-Have World*. Montreal & Kingston, London, Ithaca.

[21] Storey, Keith. 2010. "Fly-in/Fly-out: Implications for Community Sustainability." *Sustainability* 2 (5) (April 29): 1161–1181. doi:10.3390/su2051161.

[22] Keeling, Arn and John Sandlos. 2009. "Environmental Justice Goes Underground? Historical Notes from Canada's Northern Mining Frontier.

[23] Regan, Colm. 1980. "The Impact of Development on Indigenous Populations: The Case of the Canadian North." *The Maynooth Review / Revieú Mhá Nuad* 6 (1) (May 1): 49–64.

[24] Brubacher, Doug. 2002. *The Nanisivik Legacy in Arctic Bay: A Socio-Economic Impact Study.* Ottawa: Brubacher & Associates.

[25] Angell, Angela C., and John R. Parkins. 2011. "Resource Development and Aboriginal Culture in the Canadian North." *Polar Record* 47 (01): 67–79.

[26] Clifford, Susan. 2009. Fly-in/Fly-out Commute Arrangements and Extended Working Hours on the Stress, Lifestyle, Relationship and Health Characteristics of Western Australian Mining Employees and Their Partners: Report of Research Findings. Perth: The University of Western Australia. http://www.uwa.edu.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0003/405426/FIFO_Report.pdf.

[27] Sharma, Sanjay, and Susan Rees. 2007. "Consideration of the Determinants of Women's Mental Health in Remote Australian Mining Towns." *Australian Journal of Rural Health* 15 (1): 1–7.

[28] Lovell, Jane, and Jennifer Critchley. 2010. "Women Living in a Remote Australian Mining Community: Exploring Their Psychological Well-being." *Australian Journal of Rural Health* 18 (3) (June): 125–130.

[29] Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development Canada, March 2009, *Corporate Social Responsibility.* http://www.international.gc/trade-agreements

[30] Status of Women Council of NWT. 1999. Review of Diavik Diamonds Project Socio-Economic Environmental Effects Report: Impacts on Women and Families. Ottawa: Status of Women Council of the NWT. http://www.statusofwomen.nt.ca/download/review_diavik.pdf

[31] Macdonald, Ingrid and Claire Rowland, eds. 2002. *Tunnel Vision: Women, Mining and Communities.* Fitzroy: Oxfam Community Aid Abroad.

[32] Anon. 2001. "Gender Issues in Consultation Processes." *Cultural Survival Quarterly* 25 (1). http://www.culturalsurvival.org/publications/cultural-survival-quarterly/canada/gender-issues-consultation-processes

[33] Brockman, Aggie, and Marsha Argue. 1995. *Review of NWT Diamonds Project Environmental Impact Statement: Socio-economic Impacts on Women*. Submission to BHP Diamond Mine Environmental Assessment Panel. Ottawa: Status of Women Council of the NWT. http://www.statusofwomen.nt.ca/download/review_BHP.pdf.

[34] Archibald, Linda and Mary Crnkovich. 1999. *If Gender Mattered: A Case Study of Inuit Women, Land Claims and the Voisey's Bay Nickel Project.* Ottawa: Status of Women Canada. http://publications.gc.ca/collections/Collection/SW21-39-1999E.pdf.

[35] Bernauer, Warren. 2012. The Uranium Controversy in Baker Lake. *Canadian Dimension.* Retrieved from http://candiandimension.com/articles/4470/

[36] Parmenter, Joni. 2011. "Experiences of Indigenous Women in the Australian Mining Industry." In *Gendering the Field: Towards Sustainable Livelihoods for Mining Communities*, ed. Kuntala Lahiri-Dutt, 67–86. Asia-Pacific Environment Monograph 6 6. Canberra: The Australian National University. epress.anu.edu.au/wp-content/uploads/2011/07/whole6.pdf.

[37] Gibson, Ginger, and Jason Klinck. 2005. "Canada's Resilient North: The Impact of Mining on Aboriginal Communities." *Pimatisiwin: A Journal of Aboriginal and Indigenous Community Health* 3 (1): 116–139

[38] Young, R.A., and Peter McDermott. 1988. "Employment Training Programs and Acculturation of Native Peoples in Canada's Northwest Territories." *Arctic* 41 (3): 195–202.

[39] Taylor, Jill Clover, and Janette Graetz Simmonds. 2009. "Family Stress and Coping in the Fly-In Fly-Out Workforce." *The Australian Community Psychologist* 21 (2): 23–36.

[40] Bowman, Laura. 2011. "Sealing the Deal: Environmental and Indigenous Justice and Mining in Nunavut." *Review of European Community & International Environmental Law* 20 (1) (April 1): 19–28.

[41] Lahiri-Dutt, Kuntala. 2011. "Gender-based Evaluation of Development Projects: The LAST Method." In *Gendering the Field: Towards Sustainable Livelihoods for Mining Communities*, ed. Kuntala Lahiri-Dutt, 111–132. Asia-Pacific Environment Monograph 6 6. Canberra: The Australian National University. epress.anu.edu.au/wp-content/uploads/2011/07/whole6.pdf.

[42] Lahiri-Dutt, Kuntala, ed. 2011. "Introduction: Gendering the Masculine Field of Mining for Sustainable Community Livelihoods." In *Gendering the Field: Towards Sustainable Livelihoods for Mining Communities*, 1–20. Asia-Pacific Environment Monograph [6] 6. Canberra: The Australian National University. epress.anu.edu.au/wp-content/uploads/2011/07/whole6.pdf.

[43] Lozeva, Silvia, and Dora Marinova. 2010. "Negotiating Gender: Experience from Western Australian Mining Industry." *Journal of Economic and Social Policy* 13 (2) (January 1). http://epubs.scu.edu.au/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1143&context=jesp.

[44] Ahmad, Nesar, and Kuntala Lahiri-dutt. 2006. "Engendering Mining Communities. Examining the Missing Gender Concerns in Coal Mining Displacement andRehabilitation in India." *Gender, Technology and Development* 10 (3): 313–339.

[45] Gallegos, Danielle. 2006. *Fly-in Fly-out Employment: Managing the Parenting Transitions*. Kensington, West Leederville: Ngala, Meerilinga. http://www.meerilinga.org.au/library/file/research/aeroplanes_always_come_back_final_report.pdf.

[46] Intergroup Consultants Ltd. 2005. Impact on Families and Communities of the Fly In/Fly Out Work Rotations System in Uranium Mines in Northern Saskatchewan. Winnipeg: The Community Vitality Monitoring Partnership Program Steering Committee.

[47] Murray, G. & Peetz, D. (2008). The Big Shift: The gendered impact of twelve hour shifts on mining communities. *International Sociological Association conference.*

[48] Macintyre, Martha. 2011. "Modernity, Gender and Mining." In *Gendering the Field: Towards Sustainable Livelihoods for Mining Communities*, ed. Kuntala Lahiri-Dutt, 21–32. Asia-Pacific Environment Monograph 6 6. Canberra: The Australian National University. epress.anu.edu.au/wp-content/uploads/2011/07/whole6.pdf.

[49] Hill, Christina. 2009. *2007 Pacific Women and Mining Conference*. Carlton: Oxfam Australia. http://resources.oxfam.org.au/pages/terms.php?ref=296&k=&url=pages%2Fdownload_progress.php%3Fref%3D296%26size%3D%26ext%3Dpdf%26k%3D%26search%3Dmining%252Cwomen%252Cgender%26offset%3D0%26archive%3D0%26sort%3DDESC%26order_by%3Drelevance.

[50] World Bank. 2006. *Mainstreaming Gender into Extractive Industries Projects: Proposed Guidelines*. http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EXTEXTINDWOM/Resources/ttl_ei_gender_guidance.pdf.

[51] LaForte, J. 1991. "Long Distance Commuting in the Mining Industry: A Wife's Point-of-view." *CIM Bulletin, 84*(953), 65-66.

[52] Kaczmarek, Elizabeth A., and Anne M. Sibbel. 2008. "The Psychosocial Well-being of Children from Australian Military and Fly-in/fly-out (FIFO) Mining Families." *Community, Work & Family* 11 (3): 297–312. doi:10.1080/13668800801890129.

[53] Musvoto, Aleta Netsai. 2001. *Gender and Mining: Community.* Mining Minerals Sustainable Development Southern Africa Research Topic 3: Mining and Society. Birnam Park: African Institute of Corporate Citizenship.

http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EXTENTINDWOM/Resources/gender_and_community_musvoto.pdf.

[54] Bice, Sara. 2011. "On the Radar? Gendered Considerations in Australia-based Mining Companies' Sustainability Reporting, 2004-2007." In *Gendering the Field: Towards Sustainable Livelihoods for Mining Communities*, ed. Kuntala Lahiri-Dutt. Asia-Pacific Environment Monograph 6 6. Canberra: The Australian National University.epress.anu.edu.au/wp-content/uploads/2011/07/whole6.pdf.

[55] Sibbel, Anne M. 2010. "Living FIFO: The Experiences and Psychosocial Wellbeing of Western Australian Fly-in/fly-out Employees and Partners". Doctoral Dissertation, Perth: Edith Cowan University.

[56] Pollock, Nancy J. 1996. "Impact of Mining on Nauruan Women." *Natural Resources Forum 20* (2), 123-134. doi: 10.1111/j.1477-8947.1996.tb0064.x.

[57] Hankivsky, O., Reid, C., Cormier, R., Varcoe, C., Clark, N., Benoit, C. & Brotman, S. (2010). Exploring the promises of intersectionality for advancing women's health research. *International Journal for Equity in Health, 9*(5).

[58] NAHO. 2008. *Resource Extraction and Aboriginal Communities in Northern Canada: Gender Considerations*. Ottawa: National Aboriginal Health Organization. http://www.naho.ca/documents/naho/english/resourceExtraction/Gender_EN.pdf.

[59] Ranchod, Sarita. 2001. *Gender and Mining: Workplace.* Mining Minerals Sustainable Development Southern Africa Research Topic 3: Mining and Society. Birnam Park: African Institute of Corporate Citizenship.

[60] Cotterell, John L., 1986. "Work and Community Influences on the Quality of Child Rearing." *Child Development* 57 (2) (April): 362.

[61] Hubinger, L., Parker, AW & Clavarino, A. (2002) The Intermittent Husband: Impact of home aand away occupations on wives/partners.

[62] Tester, Frank James and Peter Irniq. 2008. Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit: Social History, Politics and the Practice of Resistance. Arctic. 61: 48-61.

[63] Costa, Silvana D., Ana Carolina Silva, and Vivien Hui. 2006. "Opportunities and Challenges of Fly-in-fly-out Camps for Women in the Canadian Mining Industry: An Exploratory Study." *CIM Magazine*.

[64] Lord, Linley, Therese Jefferson and Judy Eastham. 2012. Women's Participation in Mining: What Can We Learn from EOWA Reports? Australian Bulletin of Labour. 38(1): 68-95