

QIKIQTANI INUIT
ASSOCIATION'S TUSAQTAVUT
STUDY SPECIFIC TO NUNAVUT
NUKKIKSAUTIIT CORPORATION'S
POTENTIAL RENEWABLE ENERGY
DEVELOPMENT

FOR THE COMMUNITY OF

Iqaluit

March 21, 2023

FINAL REPORT

Qikiqtani Inuit Association

**Qikiqtani Inuit Association's Tusaqtavut Study for the Community of Iqaluit specific to
Nunavut Nukkiqsautiit Corporation's Potential Renewable Energy Development**

FINAL REPORT / March 21, 2021

Qikiqtani Inuit Association

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Thanks and acknowledgements go to Iqaluit community members, elders, knowledge holders, land users, and to QIA staff, and leadership who contributed. This Report could not have been completed without their support and expert knowledge.

Disclaimer:

The information contained in this Report is based on research conducted by Qikiqtani Inuit Association, with support from Firelight Research Inc., as well as published works and archival research. It reflects the understandings of the authors and is not intended to be a complete depiction of the dynamic and living system of use and knowledge maintained by Inuit. It may be updated, refined, or changed as new information becomes available. All mapped information is based on interviews with Iqaluit knowledge holders conducted within constraints of time, budget and scope. Base map data originate from the National Topographic System and Natural Resources Canada. The information contained herein should not be construed as to define, limit, or otherwise constrain the Nunavut Agreement rights of Inuit.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Qikiqtani Inuit Association (QIA) engaged Firelight Research Inc. to support a Tusaqtavut study (the Study) for the community of Iqaluit specific to Nunavut Nukkiqsautiit Corporation's potential renewable energy developments on southern Baffin Island. This Report (the Report) provides non-confidential information about Inuit values in the region of Iqaluit as well as potential Project interactions, based on knowledge and use data collected during interviews with Inuit participants from Iqaluit. Mapping interviews focused on the Study Area which covered the majority of southern Baffin Island around Iqaluit, including the areas around the potential development sites.

Data for this Study were collected from mapping interviews specific to the Project with 48 participants from Iqaluit, conducted between October 17, 2022 and January 27, 2023. Through discussion and interviews, study participants identified a set of Key Values relating to Inuit knowledge and use that have the potential to be impacted by the potential Project. These are: Marine Hunting; Terrestrial Harvesting; Fishing and Freshwater; Travel, Trails, and Habitation; Cultural Continuity; and Impaired Use.

The site-specific data clearly demonstrate that Iqaluit community members use or have used the Study Area across multiple generations. A total of 1,287 site-specific values were reported in the Study Area, with 315 of these values overlapping with areas of interest. This represents the mapped values documented by 44 of 48 interview participants (4 participants did not record mapped values in the Study Area). As shown in this data, the Study Area contains numerous important sites that support harvesting of wild foods including marine mammals (including narwhal and seal), terrestrial resources (including caribou, geese, and birds eggs), and fish (including Arctic char). Mapped sites include, but are not limited to:

- Sites and areas used for terrestrial harvesting, marine hunting and fishing that provide the food sources that underpin Inuit food sovereignty in the region;
- Important wildlife habitat, including calving areas for caribou and migration routes for whales in the terrestrial and marine environments respectively;
- Important travel routes that are relied upon to access hunting grounds and other communities; and
- Areas relied on for the continuity of culture, such as areas used for transmission of knowledge and IQ, campsites, and gathering places used by numerous communities.

The site-specific data show that the potential Project is situated in an area that is highly valued and has been used by Iqaluit Inuit for generations. This Report documents the historical, current, and desired future use of participants and their ancestors within this area, including the coastlines and interior of southern Baffin Island as well as the marine environment including the sea ice and floe edge, in areas including Frobisher Bay and beyond.

Through data collected during interviews with Inuit elders and land users, the Study has identified a number of potential anticipated interactions between the possible project formats and various Inuit values. Participants anticipate the following potential interactions between the Project and their Inuit key values:

Terrestrial Harvesting:

- Impacts to birds due to the movement of wind turbines;
- Impacts to animal movement patterns due to linear interferences like transmission lines or roads;
- Displacement of animals due to increased Project activities including increased noise;
- Avoidance of preferred harvesting areas due to perceived and actual contamination; and
- Impacts on access to important country food sources due to all of the above impacts.

Fishing and Freshwater:

- Impacts to river ice formation and stability below dams;
- Concerns around water contamination and reduced ability to drink water from former collection rivers;
- Impacts to sea water salinity due to hydro dam outflows;
- Impacts to stream flow and water regimes in lower rivers below dams, potentially reducing their viability for fish; and
- Potentially reduced viability of fishing at previously used locations due to decreased access, reduced populations and avoidance due to contamination concerns.

Many Inuit land uses and values are strongly interconnected, meaning that impacts to values and practices linked with one of the Study's key values will have additional impacts on other Inuit key values. In addition the high value place by Iqalummiut on the use of certain sites (including in some cases those under consideration as Areas of Interest) means that these impacts may be felt particularly strongly in these areas.

In summary, the ultimate project design and siting of NNC's potential renewable energy development, working in combination with impacts from a range of other stressors, has the potential to directly impact the ability of Inuit from Iqaluit to continue resource harvesting, travelling across and using the land, and transmitting cultural knowledge and IQ between generations in the Study Area.

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

Firelight	Firelight Research Inc.
GN	Government of Nunavut
HTO or HTA	Hunters and Trappers Organization or Association
IOL	Inuit Owned Lands
IQ	Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit
km	Kilometre
LSA	Local Study Area
NA	Nunavut Agreement
NNC	Nunavut Nukiksautiit Corporation
NTI	Nunavut Tunngavik Inc.
NU	Nunavut
NIRB	Nunavut Impact Review Board
The Project	The potential renewable energy developments considered by NNC in the area of Iqaluit
The Proponent	Nunavut Nukiksautiit Corporation
QIA	Qikiqtani Inuit Association
RSA	Regional Study Area
Study	Qikiqtani Inuit Association's Tusaqtavut Study specific to Nunavut Nukiksautiit Corporation's potential renewable energy development for the community of Iqaluit
Study Area	The RSA, LSA, and Footprint combined
VC	Valued Component

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 OVERVIEW

This Report (the Report) documents the background, methods, and results of a Tusaqtavut study (the 'Study') for the community of Iqaluit specific to the potential renewable energy Projects (the Project) which are being considered by Nunavut Nukkiqsautiit (NNC) on southern Baffin Island. For the purposes of this Report, the Project refers collectively to all of the potential sites being considered for future feasibility assessments by NNC, including for hydroelectric facilities and/or wind turbines. The effects of any existing developments or projects in the region are considered, however, a full cumulative effects assessment is beyond the scope of this Study.

This Report provides baseline information on the importance of the South Baffin region for Inuit knowledge, use and practice of culture. Additionally, it provides an initial outline of concerns and potential Project interactions and impact pathways on Inuit knowledge and use, as identified by Inuit during interviews. Information presented in this report is based on current and available Iqaluit Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (IQ) data in relation to the traditional lands of the Iqaluit Inuit and within in the vicinity of Project areas.

This Report includes non-confidential site-specific (i.e., mapped) and qualitative information relating to the Study Area. For the purpose of this Report, site-specific data are knowledge and use values reported by Iqaluit participants that are specific, spatially distinct, and that may be mapped (exact locations of values may be treated as confidential).

The Report is organised into five sections:

- Section 1 presents an overview of the scope of work and Report and Study limitations;
- Section 2 presents background information regarding the community of Iqaluit and the Project;
- Section 3 presents information on the methods used for the Study;
- Section 4 presents the key values documented and their importance to Inuit;
- Section 5 identifies overlaps between Inuit values and land uses and NNC areas of interest, including presenting site-specific data describing these overlaps;
- Section 6 summarises concerns with the potential project identified by Inuit, including potential Project interactions; and
- Section 7 summarises the findings and conclusions of the Study.

The Qikiqtani Inuit Association (QIA) engaged Firelight Research Inc. (Firelight) to support a Tusaqtavut study specific to the potential Project. As detailed in the July 6, 2022 services agreement, this includes:

- Work with QIA staff to conduct community scoping meetings
- Work with QIA staff to conduct up to 80 IQ mapping interviews with knowledge holders in Iqaluit.
- Work with QIA staff to conduct 2-5 focus groups with knowledge holders in Iqaluit.
- Analyse and prepare the results from interviews for integration into QIA's IQ database.
- Prepare and submit a draft report based on IQ collected during interviews.
- Prepare a condensed community summary report and presentation for public engagement.
- Verify results of the Study through providing support to QIA staff conducting community meetings with the communities of Iqaluit.
- Finalise report based on QIA feedback.

The deliverables include a Tusaqtavut Study non-confidential report (this Report) that provides a baseline of Inuit knowledge, use and practice of culture within the Study Area. Report components include:

- Identification and discussion of key issues relating to traditional resource use and livelihood specifically relating to the Project;
- Identification of Project-related concerns and potential project-related impact pathways on key Inuit values;
- Maps that indicate Inuit key resources in the Study Area (including fish, animals, migratory birds, water resources, and others); and
- A discussion of the importance of key resources related to livelihood practice, the transmission of Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit, and the current status of knowledge transmission relating to areas or resources in the Study Area.

The report does **not** include:

- A characterisation or assessment Project interactions with resources and areas of importance to QIA and effects on IQ, knowledge and use, and associated impact pathways;

- An assessment of the potential for cumulative effects on Inuit knowledge and use from the Project acting in combination with other developments and human-caused changes in the region;
- Recommendations for mitigation of effects; or
- Recommendations regarding culturally relevant indicators and strategies for monitoring in the vicinity of the Project.

1.2 LIMITATIONS

This Report has a number of limitations and should only be considered a first step in identifying Iqaluit knowledge and land uses and values within the Study Area. Limitations of this Report include the following:

- The study was conducted with the community of Iqaluit, therefore the values, and uses of Inuit from other communities are not included in this report, nor are their concerns with potential Project impacts documented.
- Not all knowledge holders were able to participate in this Study. Efforts were made to include key knowledge holders active within the Study Area, but many Iqaluit elders, hunters, and community members with important knowledge of the Study Area may have been unable to participate due to time and budget restrictions.
- Data collected for each participant are limited by what the participant was able and willing to report at the time of the interview.
- Some interviews were conducted in Inuktitut using simultaneous interpretation. Due to time constraints, translated transcription has not taken place. Interview notes indicate when a quote from an interview participant was from the interpreter at the time of the interview.
- The areas demarcated by mapped site-specific use values should be understood to be a small portion of the actual area required for the meaningful practice of a Iqaluit Inuit rights and way of life. Site-specific mapped values (e.g., cabins and kill-sites) reflect particular instances of use that anchor wider practices of culture, livelihood, and other Inuit rights within a particular landscape. For example, a single caribou harvesting site may be mapped with a precise point, but that point does not capture the entire spectrum of related practices and values.
- This Report does not provide a detailed description of interactions of any potential renewable energy development with Inuit key values. Potential project interactions can only be identified through further engagement with Iqaluit Inuit once a full description of a renewable energy development project is available. Due to this, the Report does not provide recommendations on mitigation, monitoring, or compensation measures for any potential renewable energy development.

Conclusions on monitoring, mitigation, and compensation measures are outside the scope of this Report.

- This Report is based on the understandings and analyses of the authors and is not intended as a complete depiction of the dynamic way of life and living system of use and knowledge maintained by the Iqaluit community.
- This Report should not be taken as a replacement for other studies that may be required, including but not limited to cumulative effects, socio-economics, diet, IQ studies specific to marine and terrestrial wildlife, and health and wellbeing.

Given the above limitations, this Report can be used as a representational account of only some of the knowledge, land use, and cultural values of the community of Iqaluit. It is important to note that the Study does not reflect all current use by Iqaluit community members in those areas, and **an absence of data does not signify an absence of use or value.**

This Report is confidential and is intended for consideration by QIA. However, all data included in this Report are the property of QIA and may not be used or reproduced without the written consent of QIA. Re-interpretation or analysis of the following results will require input and participation from QIA and the Iqaluit community.

Nothing in this Report should be construed as to waive, reduce, or otherwise constrain Inuit rights within, or outside of, regulatory or legal processes. This Report should not be relied upon to inform other projects or initiatives without the written consent of the QIA.

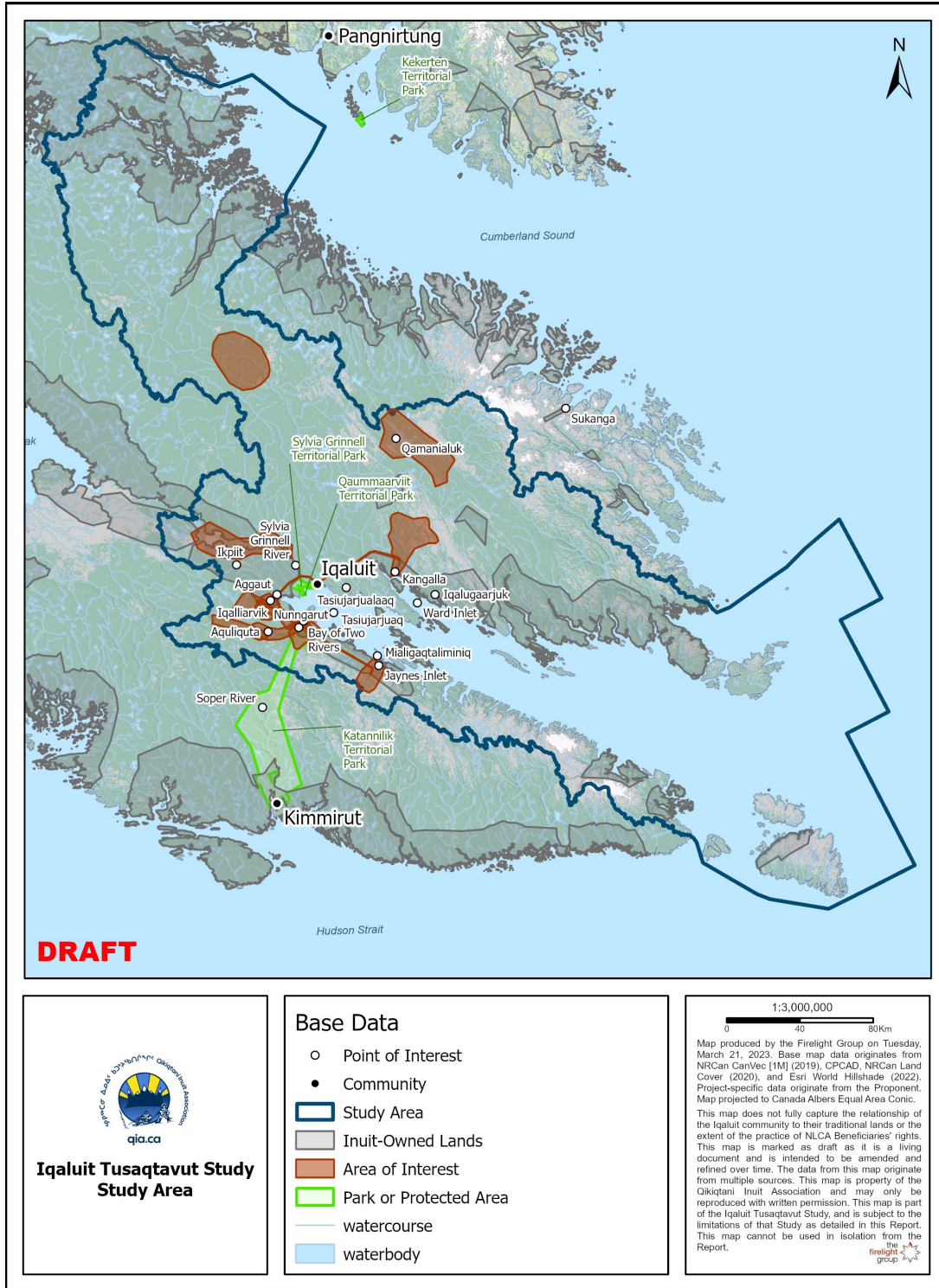


Figure 1. Study Area for Qikiqtani Inuit Association's Tusaqtavut Study specific to NNC's potential renewable energy development for the Community of Iqaluit, including NNC areas of interest

2. METHODS

2.1 OVERVIEW

Data for this Study were collected from mapping interviews specific to the Project with 48 participants from Iqaluit, conducted between October 17, 2022 and January 27, 2023. This section details the data collection methodologies used and analyses conducted, including for both quantitative (i.e., mapped) and qualitative data.

2.2 KEY VALUES

This Report is organised around six key values. The term key values is used here instead of the term valued components (VCs), although they are intended to represent the same type of values. The term VC is not used as this is traditionally a term used during an environmental impact assessment and NNC's potential projects remain (at the time of writing) in the feasibility phase – and therefore cannot be considered to constitute a 'project proposal' which could generate an impact – or which could be assessed as such. Key values can be defined as important aspects of Inuit land uses, values and way of life that have the potential to be impacted and may include tangible or biophysical resources (e.g., particular places or species), as well as less tangible social, economic, cultural, health, and knowledge-based values (e.g., place names or IQ regarding a particular area).

For the purpose of this Study, the key values were chosen to represent the critical conditions or elements that must be present for the continued practice of Inuit culture and that may be impacted by the Project. As such, key values can range from the direct presence of traditionally hunted animals and gathered plants, to continued habitation, travel, and cultural activities on the land. Key values are also designated to include intangible cultural resources, such as the transmission of knowledge across generations. Key values for this Study, which were determined through a qualitative analysis of the data, are:

- Marine Harvesting;
- Terrestrial Harvesting;
- Fishing and Freshwater;
- Travel, Trails, and Habitation;
- Cultural Continuity; and,
- Impaired Use.

2.3 MAPPING INTERVIEWS

A total of 46 interviews were conducted with 48 Iqaluit community members between October 2022 and January 2023. Interviews were conducted at the QIA Offices in Iqaluit. Interview teams prioritised the documentation of values within Study Area.

Interview participants were identified and contacted by QIA staff. Participants were chronologically assigned identifier codes in the form of I## for participants from Iqaluit. Informed consent was obtained for all interviews (see Consent Forms in Appendices 1 and 2 in English and Inuktitut respectively).

All data included in this Study were collected using the same methodology as described in Sections 2.3.1 and 2.3.2, below. Interviews followed a semi-structured format (see Interview Guide in Appendix 3). Interview and mapping protocols used were based on standard techniques (Tobias 2009; DeRoy 2012).

The Study adheres to the following established best practices for IQ/TK/TLU studies in the regulatory context of a Project-specific proposed Project (Olson et al. 2016):

- **Methods development:** A semi-structured interview guide should be developed with the community to ensure that all questions are culturally appropriate. Development of TLU codes for mapping should be done with the community to ensure appropriateness.
- **Informed consent:** Each participant should read and sign a consent form that clearly indicates who is conducting the Study, its purpose, who will have intellectual property rights over the information shared during the interview, and their rights in the interview process.
- **Semi-structured individual interviews:** To obtain detailed IQ/TK/TLU information, individual interviews should be conducted with a broad cross-section of traditional knowledge holders and land users.
- **Data management:** Recording of participant names, dates of interviews, who conducted the interviews, and how the data is stored is an essential part of IQ/TK/TLU research.
- **Mapping protocols:** Mapping should be conducted with a trained researcher. Mapping codes should be developed with the community before the Study begins and used consistently throughout. Proper documentation of sites and attribute data should be collected in a consistent manner. Site-specific mapping should be done at a scale of 1:50,000 or better.
- **Established spatial boundaries:** The Study Area should be clearly indicated on maps during all IQ/TK/TLU interviews.

- **Established temporal boundaries:** The temporal boundaries of the IQ/TK/TLU study should include current use (i.e. use in the participant's lifetime), historical use, and future use.
- **Recording of IQ/TK/TLU interviews:** All interviews should be audio recorded with proper attributions.
- **Data analysis:** Recorded interviews should be transcribed and coded according to emerging themes, or valued components. Map data should be analysed using mapping software, such as ESRI ArcGIS, to understand the types and density of use in the proposed project footprint, local study area, and regional study area.

Participants had the option to conduct the interview in Inuktitut or English. An interpreter or Inuktitut-speaking QIA staff member was present or available for all interviews. All audio was recorded digitally. Where interpreted material has been used as part of the analysis conducted in the preparation of this Report, this has been indicated in the quote citation.

Verification of the findings of this report has not yet been conducted as of March 2023 but is expected to occur in April 2023.

2.3.1 Site-specific Data Collection and Analysis

For the purpose of this Report, *site-specific (i.e., mapped) data* are values reported by Iqaluit community members that are specific, spatially distinct, and that may be mapped (however, exact locations may be treated as confidential).

Shape files for the areas of interest were provided by the Proponent (NNC).

Site-specific data were mapped and managed using a 'direct-to-digital' process in which Google Earth imagery was projected onto a wall or screen. Points, lines, or polygons, geo-referenced at a scale of 1:50,000 or finer, were used to mark areas of reported use and value. Some lines and polygons denoting trails and hunting areas were mapped at a coarser scale (i.e., greater than 1:50,000). A study area was defined in order to guide the collection of mapped values and consists of the watersheds of Frobisher Bay (North and South) and Southern Cumberland Sound. This area was identified broadly as it includes all of the identified areas of interest and enables a more comprehensive regional understanding of the patterns, distribution and connectivity of Inuit land use in areas surrounding Iqaluit. While the Study Area was used as a guide to focus the recording of mapped values, in many instances values were documented beyond this, due to the expansive nature of Inuit use of the land, water and sea ice.

Maps of site-specific values presented in this Report are generated from data mapped during the interviews. Points are randomised within a 250 m radius and then buffered by one kilometre. A one-kilometre buffer is also generated around each line and polygon. Buffering is done to account for a margin of error and to protect information confidentiality (DeRoy 2012).

The temporal boundaries set for the baseline data collection include past, current, and planned future knowledge and use. For the purpose of this Study:

- A past value refers to an account of knowledge and use prior to living memory, passed down through intergenerational IQ-transfer;
- A current value refers to an account of knowledge and use within living memory; and
- A planned future value refers to anticipated or intended use.

2.3.2 Qualitative Data Collection and Analysis

Qualitative data were also collected during the semi-structured interviews. The knowledge and use values of the Iqaluit community have been and are currently important were explored, as well as the potential for future effects from the potential proposed Project. Information relating to additional stressors on Inuit land use and values was also briefly analysed and incorporated into this Report.

The English portions, including translations, of the audio from the interviews were transcribed. Transcripts were then reviewed, coded thematically, and analysed for issues and concerns identified by Study respondents. These data are summarised in Section 4.

All spellings of Inuktitut words used in this report were either verified during interviews, based on spellings encountered in relevant literature from the southern Qikiqtani, or based on the place names in use by the Inuit Heritage Trust ("Inuit Heritage Trust: Place Names Program" n.d.).

2.4 NUNAVUT NUKKIKSAUTIIT CORPORATION'S POTENTIAL RENEWABLE ENERGY DEVELOPMENT

This section provides a description of Nunavut Nukkiksautiit Corporation's potential renewable energy developments in the southern Baffin island area, outside of the community of Iqaluit. This description, and these potential locations, along with additional schematic diagrams depicting standard forms of the considered project forms (e.g. wind turbines, hydro dams etc.) were provided to interview participants, as well as outlined by NNC staff during a scoping meeting in Iqaluit. These materials were provided to participants to help familiarize them with the project.

2.4.1 Project Description

Nunavut Nukkiksautiit Corporation (NNC) is exploring renewable energy options to meet future energy needs within the community of Iqaluit. This includes looking at the potential for an electrical grid that could combine a variety of renewable energy generation sources such as hydroelectricity, wind, or pumped storage hydro, to displace/replace the demand for diesel and oil-based energy.

No current project proposal exists, as NNC is currently in an early phase of investigating renewable energy generation options. These options include hydroelectric power, wind power and pumped storage hydro. A total of 14 areas of interest are being considered for renewable energy development and are in the following areas:

- **McKeand River:** Located approximately 110km north of Iqaluit in the lower reaches of the McKeand River.
- **Cantley Bay:** Located on IOL Parcel Iqaluit 17 and encompassing Cantley Bay and the catchment immediately above it.
- **Jaynes Inlet:** Located on Meta Incognita Peninsula on IOL Parcel Iqaluit 27 at Jaynes Inlet and extending southwest to the valley above the inlet.
- **Sylvia Grinnell:** Located along the Sylvia Grinnell River from approximately 20km north-northeast of Iqaluit as far as Sylvia Grinnell Lake and encompassing parts of IOL parcels Iqaluit 32, 33 and 35.
- **Armshow River:** The lower 30km of the Armshow River, including approximately 2.5km on either side of the river.
- **Armshow South (Lake):** An area including the mouth of the Armshow River and surrounding lakes that fully includes IOL parcels Iqaluit 28 and 29 and parts of Iqaluit 27 and 30.
- **McKeand Cantley basins:** An area surrounding Qamanialuk and close to IOL parcels Iqaluit 12 and 13.
- **Wind Development #1, #2 and #3:** Areas of higher ground to the South and West of Foul Inlet, including Mount Sharat, the area between Kynersley Lake and Qasitujuak Lake, and a ridge to the west of there that parallels the Armshow River.
- **Pumped Storage Hydro:** An area that encompasses Kynersley and Iqalliarvik Lakes.
- **Cantley Bay Transmission:** A potential transmission corridor that connects Iqaluit with Cantley Bay.
- **Jaynes Inlet/Armshow Transmission:** A potential transmission corridor that connects Iqaluit with the mouth of the Armshow River at Nunngarut (Bay of Two Rivers) via a land route that passes Jordan River.
- **Jaynes Inlet Transmission:** A potential transmission corridor that connects Nunngarut (Bay of Two Rivers) with Jaynes Inlet.

NNC-identified areas of interest are shown in relation to the Study Area (as defined in Section 3.2) in Figure 1 below. Inuit site-specific values documented during interviews are shown and described in relation to these areas of interest in Section 5 below.

3. KEY VALUES AND IMPORTANCE TO INUIT

This Section describes key values and their importance to the Inuit of Iqaluit. Participants described a wide variety of land uses and cultural activities from fishing and hunting to gathering at camps and cabins, all conducted on the lands and waters around Frobisher Bay and throughout the South Baffin area. This section describes the importance of the following key values to Iqalumiut:

- Marine harvesting;
- Terrestrial harvesting;
- Fishing and Freshwater;
- Travel, Trails and Habitation; and
- Cultural Continuity.

As Figure 2, on the following page, demonstrates, Inuit use is a widespread throughout the Study Area. While a great deal of activity often involving marine harvesting and travel by boat or by skidoo on the sea ice is clustered around Frobisher Bay, extensive travel inland – generally by skidoo during the late winter and spring seasons – is also conducted for the purposes of hunting terrestrial mammals and for fishing (especially at the lakes in the heart of southern Baffin Island).

Maps showing Inuit values and land uses in the immediate vicinity of NNC's sites of potential interest are provided in Section 4 of this report.

3.1 MARINE HARVESTING

Marine harvesting is a key value for Inuit in Iqaluit. Participants described harvesting a wide range of mammals and other marine life including seaweeds and molluscs from the sea and foreshore through Frobisher Bay, Cumberland Sound and the surrounding waters. Time spent on the waters of Frobisher Bay is important for the food it provides, but also for the gathering it facilitates – whether to hunt, to teach, to learn or to share food and culture amongst Inuit.

3.1.1 Importance of Marine Harvesting

Time spent out on the land harvesting marine mammals is highly valued among Inuit harvesters. The quotes included below describe how participants enjoy their time hunting for marine life, and being out on hunting journeys (whether successful or not).

We all do these fishing, caribou hunting, like walrus hunting, seal hunting, fishing, all at once. It could be all at once. Like ... it can't just be one thing. If we're out there,

then we're out there, going after our delicacy. Seal hunting is one of my favourite things to do. (IQ32 2022)

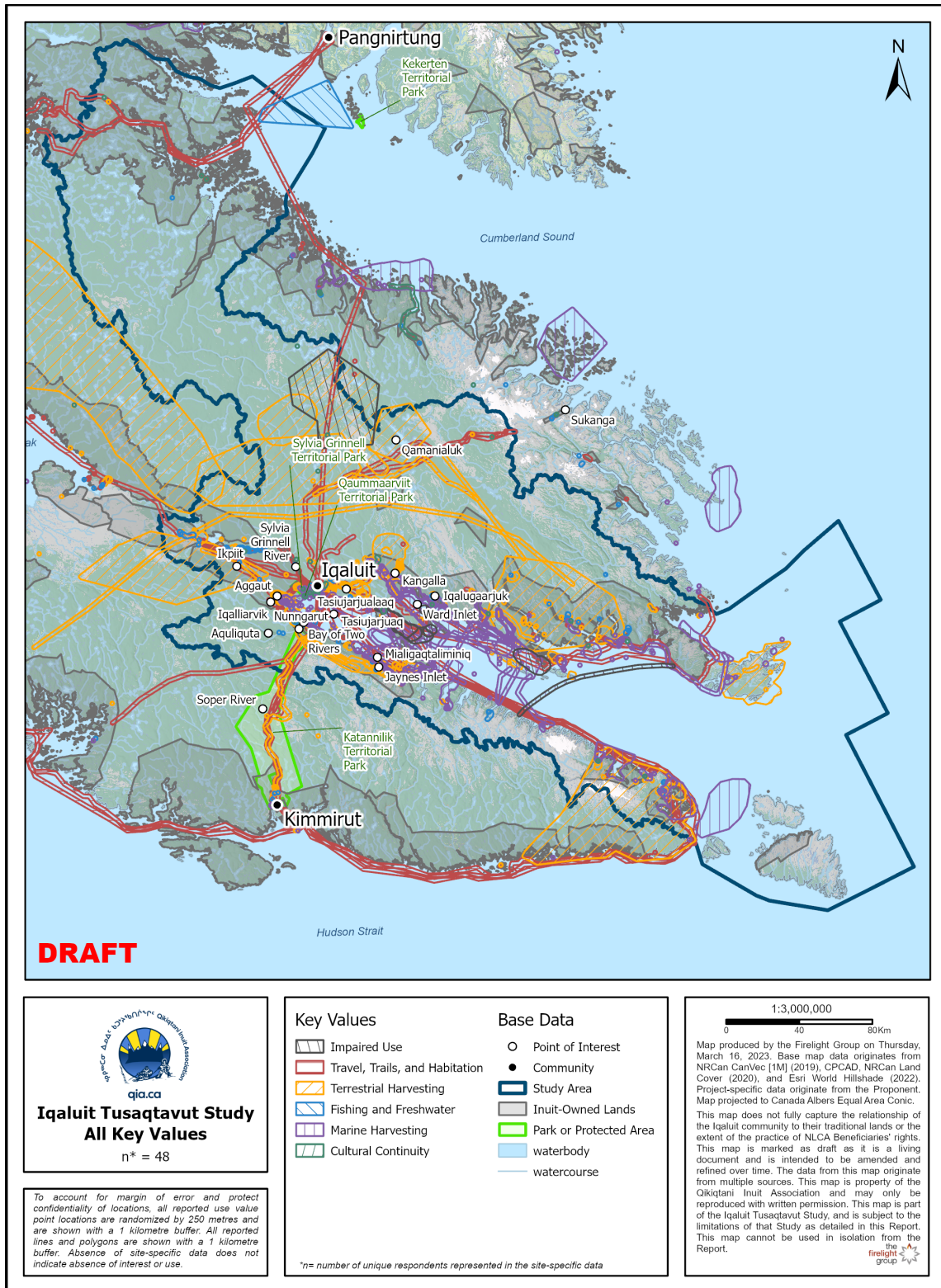


Figure 2. Iqaluit reported site-specific values within the Study Area for NNC's potential renewable energy development

[Interviewer:] What's it like being out here in the spring when you're floe edge hunting? [IQ23:] It's kind of unexplainable, but I love the nature, even if I don't hunt anything. ... Just getting away from like cell phones or media, all the media — all the BS happening in town, so try to go out there and like recharge myself. (IQ23 2022)

I just love being out on the land. So, even if I don't — if it's an unsuccessful hunt, I still say a bad day hunting is better than a good day at work. ... I grew up hunting too, so. ... I love it out there. (IQ23 2022)

Alongside the importance of hunting for food, Inuit also employ the products of marine harvesting in the production of clothing, including seal skin parkas, mitts and boots. While fur prices have historically been higher (notably since the EU import ban), commercial fur sales remain a motivator for some hunters.

Yeah, and then there's like polynya here [Cincinnati Press Channel], like part where it won't freeze. ... Yeah [travel here because it's open], and shoot — wait for [ringed] seals. With a bunch of my buddies. ... Yeah [in the winter]. ... Seal skin parka, boots... (WQ28-IQ48, RZ29-IQ48) (IQ48 2023)

If you happened to see a seal, you know, in the inlet, oh, that's a bonus, really. ... Because if you — because in the '60s, you have to remember that seal pelts were almost at a premium, especially young ringed seals. (IQ39 2023)

Whether they are hunting for food, clothing or for commercial fur sales, the harvest of marine life remains an essential part of Inuit life, and was emphasized by participants as both an important part of their cultural identity as well as a part of life they enjoyed and valued.

3.1.2 Marine Harvesting and Food Sovereignty

Community sharing of food harvested from the sea is a vital part of Inuit culture. In the quotes below, participants describe the importance of this sharing practice, the distribution of the products of the harvest to others in the community who may not have been able to participate.

Yeah, it's beautiful [at The Narrows]. ... We came here November. I usually get like dropped off and then my buddy would go by boat, scare the seals towards me. ... Like running the seals to me while I'm waiting on the land. ... Probably like eight. ... And then just we would go just distribute them to the Elder Center. (IQ48 2023)

My first walrus was caught over here ... We would snowmobile to our outpost camp [in June] and from there we'd go to the floe edge, from floe edge we'd, we would go hunt the walrus in the water ... We all also distribute it, we brought it back to Iqaluit and distribute to everybody. (IQ11 2022)

[Whale hunting in Frobisher Bay] Whales are all the way across, going in through any inlets ... we ... caught bowhead here. Butchered it here ... it was not too bad. It wasn't too big. It was perfect. 28-foot ... [hunted it with] just harpoon and spear, and it was done in a timely fashion — manner. It took like only about 15 minutes ... [there were] I'd say about 25 of us [hunting] ... [they distributed the meat to the public] distribute it to the public — public. (IQ19 2022)

We go house to house and give it out, distribute the meat, the muktuk. (IQ01 2022)

Just past Loks Land where we would go do our community hunt for the community for walrus hunt and bring back, bring back meat for the community. (IQ11 2022)

[Food sharing with beluga whale that he has hunted] I usually take everything home. I have a garage. Take some for my in-laws, and then other family members. Nowadays, even with fish I caught, nowadays, I just group message them, like there's a group, my family group. I just message them, and I have some muktuk or fish. I message, "Come and get some." That's how I usually do ... I don't just go — well, if someone asks me some, I'll give them too, but in Iqaluit there are too many people. I only pretty well share my catch with my friends. (IQ12 2022)

But everything I catch, I give away, so I hardly keep anything at all, so I just give family food, whoever needs food, I give it away ... It's the way I was raised. I don't like people being hungry ... especially elders. I respect my elders so much that I know they like country food, so I always go hunting to feed people. (IQ16 2022)

I always go walrus hunting to feed the community every year, every fall time. (IQ32 2022)

My wife got her polar bear here [Kangiqtuq Kangilliq Inlet] first. Polar bear. It was, it was out here ... right on the shoreline ... when my wife got her bear, I was with her. My whole family went ... that was a family day. Family boat ride ... I keep the hide and I give out the meat and I just give myself a pot, fresh pot of bear meat basically. (IQ30 2022)

I travel with elders, like way older people than me, and when they want to eat something, they tell me, "This is what I want." So, when we see something, I hunt for them ... so, the elder that I travel with said he wants polar bear meat, so we saw a polar bear and we go it. (IQ16 2022)

While in some cases, as above, participants described providing the food to others, in other cases, described below, news would travel through the community and those seeking country food would come and be provided for at the harvesters home.

Ringed seals. A lot of time we'll like harvest seals and share. Just post of Facebook and people will pick up. ... Like I said earlier, not everyone has a hunter or a boat or skidoos to go out. ... There's always people that wants some fresh meat. ... We enjoy the outdoors and people get to enjoy the fruits. (IQ41 2023)

[Walrus hunting for the community] It's a volunteer kind of thing ... plus, QIA also funds hunters, so this is what I love doing. I love to feed my elders, friends, and family, and even people I don't know. They show up, pick up — to pick up meat. (IQ32 2022)

Inuit prepare the meat of marine mammals many different ways. Participants described baking, boiling, fermenting, drying and frying all manner of foods depending on their type, quantity, quality and season.

It's [whale] pretty good baked too. ... Yeah, you can like put like different seasoning of your choice. ... I usually make some too with chowder, adding char and clams and beluga. ... And shrimps. ... I know how to prepare it for fermenting, but I won't eat it fermented. ... My father-in-law [taught me how to ferment]. ... Because I enjoy working with like food that way — harvest. (IQ41 2023)

This summer [2022] too, a group of hunters and we were in the — we were around others. There was some whales harvested. ... Like all around here this summer. ... And we were able to get some too. ... Narwhal and beluga. ... We share it with the community. We eat it boiled. (IQ41 2023)

[After the participant recovered their harvested seal] I took a little bit [of seal meat], my buddies took a little bit and we all just split it up with whoever wanted some ... [he ate it] boiled with vegetables, soup mix, potatoes, carrots, onion ... chicken soup mix, and the seal. (IQ36 2023)

I only know the way they ferment the flipper. ... You take the meat off and then some of the bone, but you leave the flipper on, and then there's the skin you have to leave on and the fat, and you — I don't know, you put — you flip the flipper in there, and ... And make little holes, and you get like a strip of the skin, and you kind of braid along to tie it. ... Hard to explain. (IQ41 2023)

Many different ways [to prepare a whale] But the problem is you don't eat the cow raw. Right? We do. We eat the whale raw. You cook it, you boil it, you fry, dry up, make a jerky or even ferment it. (IQ43 2023)

Seals, harp seals — I like to make harp seals too, dry them out. ... Yeah, oh, yeah, we dry all kinds of country food if we want to make [Inuktitut spoken 00:30:31.29]. ... Yeah, [Inuktitut spoken 00:30:49.00] is dried fish. ... And [Inuktitut spoken 00:30:53.17] is just caribou and seal, some other thing. ... We call them [Inuktitut spoken 00:30:58.20]. (IQ44 2023)

[IQ09:] My favourite dried meat is whale. [IQ09:] Oh, very good. ... [IQ09:] Whale dried meat is tasty. [IQ10:] Granddaughter loves it. ... [IQ09:] I've always loved bowhead, oh my goodness. (IQ09 and IQ10 2022)

[Whale hunting in Frobisher Bay] There were two [whales], but they got two, and we got one. There were two whales that time last year ... we butcher it right there ... we have to butcher it in small, little piece, and put it in the freezer ... and everything was gone, all of it, everything. Every time we got a whale, we share to the other people too. (IQ21 2022)

Healthy animals are vital to Inuit. In the quotes below participants described how fat is an important indicator of the health of animals and one of the qualities which harvesters (and those consuming freshly caught country food) are most aware of.

Sea mammals like seals are quite fat right now [October] and — and these are healthy nutritional foods. And fat is a good indicator of health of an animal. Like, this fall, rabbits' fat, ptarmigan's fat, that's what they're hunting right now. (IQ06 2022)

But it's fun [snowmobiling back to Iqaluit with polar bear]. ... I'm crazy enough to do it again. Well, we get some good meat out of it, right? ... From the 11-footer we probably got like say 1500 pounds of meat. ... The smaller ones — we go for the smaller ones now because it's better eating, not as tough and easier to work with the hide. ... [I choose polar bear based on] Size. If it's fat, I'll get it. ... Yeah, just a good weight — fat. Skinny ones, we just let them be. (IQ23 2022)

If for some reason a harvested animal is found to be unhealthy or undesirable it is left for scavengers which one participant, quoted below, described as avoiding wasting and contributing to a natural cycle.

[Why people don't typically eat harp seal] Typically, we don't eat the harp seal, it's too, like they're, the seal itself can be old, like they're usually older seals so they don't taste the best ... if you do shoot a harp seal by accident, it's, I think wasteful but usually if you don't want it, you open it up and you cut it out open so that all the animals around can eat it and it's not really gone to waste ... like you yourself wasted it, you didn't want it, but you open it up and you leave it there for the rest of the animals to eat. (IQ36 2023)

3.1.3 Teaching and Learning

Harvesting marine mammals is a complex activity requiring deep environmental knowledge as well as a high degree of comfort in exacting Arctic conditions. Alongside this knowledge or skill, harvesters may also have to endure great difficulties while out on a hunt. In the quote below, one participant describes what makes a good hunting partner for one elder hunter, emphasizing that an easy and welcoming manner often signals a partner who will bear the hunts challenges with good humour.

[IQ25:] There's usually people asking him if they can go out hunting with him, but he's particular and he doesn't want to bring too many people. Like most hunters. [Interviewer:] Yeah. What does he look for in a hunting partner? How does he decide who he goes with? [IQ25:] They're happy with him and welcoming. That's what he usually look for in somebody. Or feels comfortable with him. (IQ25 2022, interpreted from Inuktitut)

Marine hunting, especially for larger whales often involves hunting in groups – unlike many terrestrial hunts which can be more safely or easily conducted in small groups or alone. In the quotes below participants identify this larger group hunting pattern and identify some of the reasons why Inuit structure hunting parties this way – including safety and hunting technique.

It all depends [on how many people we hunt with]. Sometimes we can go alone, sometimes we'll go with a few friends. ... the closer places, we'll tend to hunt alone, but when it goes to a longer trip, I'll always have a buddy around just in case. (IQ26 2022)

[Beluga Whale hunting, York Sound, Henderson Inlet] We got two whales in here last year ... Canada Day weekend ... there's five boats. We caught six whales ... we pushed them [the whales] towards the shallow area ... so we saw the two coming down along the shore, which turned out to be three, there was three of them ... we waited 'til they got closer, and then we rushed out and then cornered them. (IQ29 2022)

[Beluga whale hunting, Henderson Inlet] ...And then Henderson Inlet, right here. That's where we caught our [beluga] whales ... we caught four whales in here ... we think we saw 12 in there that day, and we caught four ... when we saw them, we wanted to push them to the end, so we're slowly, by boats, slowly just driving in. As

we're pushing them in, we see six caribou to our right ... a big polar bear on our left, as we're pushing these beluga whales ... it was beautiful. There's so much animals down there. (IQ29 2022)

While some harvesters will go on hunting parties with friends or hunting partners, family hunts are also common practice. Going hunting with family can be an important bonding time away from home life in community.

Right in this little stretch, that's where I caught my first beluga ... I was with my girlfriend back then and we were doing a family hunt. And when I shot at the beluga and it was like maybe 200 yards, one shot, one bullet, and started floating. (IQ11 2022)

Whether spending time with family or hunting partners, a hunting excursion is an important opportunity for teaching and learning. In the quotes below participants describe how they have taught their children (or learned from their elders) how to hunt and travel safely on Frobisher Bay.

We seal hunt around here too. ... [For] Ringed seal. ... Yeah [we were there last summer]. ... Multiple times. ... [With] Family. I just pretty much travel with my boys and Mike. ... They enjoy it. They love being out there. ... Children learn by example, like we all learn too. ... They are learning to hunt. ... He's [youngest son, nine] still trying. ... But everyone has caught a seal. (IQ41 2023)

[Interviewer:] Who did he learn to hunt beluga whale from? ... [IQ25] From his older brother. He learned it from his older brother. ... By observation, and just by observation. You go out hunting with them, and you learn from your — his brother teaching. Not by — mostly by observation. Learning from what he's doing. ... when he was growing up, he was always out with his older brother, and that's how he learned, is by going out with him all the time, and to the point where he was able to become independent and go out on his own. (IQ25 2022)

[Referring to being an Elder for the high school and taking kids out on the land] And if it's winter we go out on the ice and do some seal hunting and go to the floe edge and show them how to read the floe edge and try and show them how dangerous or how good the ice is with our harpoons ... I wanna keep teaching kids that are growing up to become hunters. And I want them to be safe about going out on the ice and showing them especially where the currents are in between the islands and where to go and where not to go. So that's what I do right now as elder instructor at the high school. And the kids love going out with me and my brother. (IQ11 2022)

My father used to let me follow when he used to go walrus hunting so I could, kind of, continue that on ... he was my teacher for everything ... I'm going to be passing it on to my kids, the knowledge I was taught, I'm going to be passing it on to my kids. (IQ33 2022)

Teaching and learning hunting skills becomes particularly important in the context of large and complex hunts like the pursuit of bowhead whales. Bowhead whale hunting, as the following two quotes from one participant explain has assumed a special significance given the infrequency with which the community has been able to complete a hunt. This interrupted tradition of hunting has meant that even experienced hunters are learning from

each other and as the participant describes the hunt becomes particularly celebrated by both participants and the community at large.

[Referring to when he harvested bowhead whale] The experience is kinda like you catching your first animal. It's very, very exciting. To have all of the hunters do that all at once, all together, it's like the whole community got their birthday wish that day. It was very exciting. The elders were very, very excited. We have never harvested a bowhead whale in a hundred years and this was our first time harvesting a bowhead and it, it was different experience, but at the same it felt like we knew what to do and everything was done in a week and a half, two weeks. So it was, for me, I was very excited to have younger people that we were teaching. They weren't all high school students; they were all hunters from the community that wanted to harvest their first bowhead. And it was like amazing. Very happy to see my fellow Inuit get involved with the bowhead whale hunt after never hunting a bowhead for over a hundred years ... the elders that were down there were so happy they were even crying for so much happiness for these young people to catch their bowhead whale. (IQ11 2022)

Hunting marine mammals requires a range of techniques and highly specific anatomical knowledge of the prey in question. The loss or retention of the animal can depend on the correct technique as one participant explained.

Like harp seals, they're on their back, like most of the time, they're on their back when they're surfacing ... So, when my dad used [Inuktitut spoken 01:05:14.13]. When they're on their back, make — shoot it. But the only way to do it is right here, on the chin, opening it up. Sounds inhumane. It's twofold, they sink like a rock if you kill it right away, so you lose it, but when you — when they're on their back, their chin is showing, guess what the salt does? It stings it. ... So, they get up very frequent, because they're surfacing frequently, and this close, when they're just starting to sink, you just go full blast with your [inaudible 01:05:59.00], and you — that's why our gaff is long. It's to go down there and catch it. ... Before it becomes out of reach. (IQ09 in IQ09 and IQ10 2022)

When whales are migrating up the length of Frobisher Bay some harvesters will use nets to tangle or entrap them allowing wider channels to be more effectively hunted.

[Knows others catch beluga and narwhal here. Can check the audio for locatoin or mapped site code] And up there, [Inuktitut spoken 00:20:27.04], this is a lake there. It's called [Inuktitut spoken 00:20:30.00], right here. Our neighbouring cabins ... I've heard their — I've heard them on VHF or their son's fishing up here, around here in [Inuktitut spoken 00:20:49.28]. I'm not exactly sure where, but fishing and they have their nets too, with — it's a beluga net or narwhal nets ... they're bigger than gillnets ... they set their nets like from the shore to like about 100 feet out ... because the — this whole area is like shipping channel, and all the way here, through American Islands, there's belugas going up inside Frobisher Bay. (IQ32 2022)

While seals and whales would traditionally have been hunted with harpoons, now many hunters (especially for larger whales) use firearms or harpoons with exploding charges.

[Bowhead harvesting at Foul Inlet] Lots of bowhead around here ... I killed one this summer ... we only hunt that every four years around here ... there was six boats of us ... we had the biggest boat, so the first harpooner was on our boat, a friend of

mine, and I was the one with the spear ... And there was other boats with spears and harpoons, but I mean, yes, spears, harpoons. There's was a grenade rifle, but that was not even used ... and I just used a spear. Looked for the spot on its body, like the hard area, say. Started poking it ... and I found the spot ... not even one gunshot on that bowhead ... it was — there was four harpoons — maybe four harpoons on it, and maybe a spears, and the spear I used was 12 feet long ... the spear I used, like six feet of it went inside it ... and I happened to hit the heart ... without a gunshot ... it died right there ... [other people harpooned it as well] and that was just for like ... mostly like safety reasons, because if ... it sunk, we'd lose it right, but ... there's ropes on the harpoons and they're buoys attached to it and stuff like that, right ... so, yeah, I guess mostly the goal was to harpoon it so many times, so that if it's — it was trying to sink, the buoys would keep it up ... we distributed [the meat] it all over ... it was a 28-foot bowhead. (IQ35 2022)

[Referring to when he harvested bowhead whale] First, when it was sighted, the captain on his boat would travel towards the bowhead and ... look at it first. And then he would go around the island or go around the bowhead and make it turn so that it won't go into deep water. And that's when we started having spears and harpoons ... harpooning the bowhead whale behind the blow hole towards the lungs. And we had five or six spear, spear guys, so the spear would be about eight to ten feet long and then they would start spearing it and then put it all the way down to where it would hit the lungs and then pull it back out. And there was five of them doing that and when it started spewing out blood, today NTA has that special gun that can shot a bullet, bullet into the lungs and make the bullet explode inside ... that's what we used, but what really killed it was those five hunters with the spear, spearing it back and forth, in and out. And the first person that would throw the harpoon, had a harpoon head that long and make sure it went all the way in and that's when we had the float, just float it down when it's slowed down, they start spearing it and then shot it and then it took about 28 minutes to harvest that bowhead whale. And it took, like I said, two to three days of butchering ... Bowhead whale won't sink ... it's got so much fat. Couple of leaders will tie a rope on a rear flipper and front flipper and we'll start hauling it from the water towards the island and from the island the tides will, high and low tides, will put it in-between big rocks or whatever and that's when we start butchering the bowhead. (IQ11 2022)

While technologies may change, even contemporary hunts may make use of older technologies and techniques, for example, as the quotes above explained with their examples of lance use for bowhead whale hunting, or as the following quote describes in relation to the pattern of hunting at the seal breathing hole.

[Changes to seal hunting practices] My old uncle used to often tell me, too, when my grandfather lived there with his family, like, he would always catch a seal without a gun back then, under the — with his harpoon on — in the hole ... and he would catch them, yea, he didn't — he didn't need a gun too much back then. They started having guns, probably early 1900's but he said sometime they didn't — they didn't need a gun to catch the seals in the winter ... he was good at catching ... the seals with a harpoon, yea, even though he had a gun, too, started having guns and stuff but he — they would catch the seals harpooning in the — in the seal hole. (IQ31 2022)

3.1.4 Important Harvested Species

As the quotes throughout Section 4.1 describe, Inuit target a wide variety of marine species including walrus; ringed, harp and bearded seals; and whales including beluga, narwhal and bowhead; and polar bears.

We would have hunters go on the hills and wait for beluga to start coming. When my uncle seen belugas here when he was on the hill, we had caught maybe 10 or 12 belugas here when I was seven-years-old ... Since we caught those 10 beluga, we tied them up all together and they were all floating so two of my uncles would run on top of each beluga to go from the tenth beluga to the first beluga and we had them all tied up unto the floe edge ... (IQ11 2022)

Because access to seal, walrus ... there were fish if you wanted, you know. So, because my father, you know, before moving to Iqaluit was from what I hear, you know, from people that knew him, including my late brother, he was a great walrus hunter. He always harpooned or tried to harpoon a walrus before shooting it, because he would, you know, once harpooned, you know, the float is attached, of course, usually, you know, with his seal skin float, not the plastic one. We had no plastic ones at that time anyway, so he would — he was a great hunter, year-round, you know, winter too. (IQ39 2023)

And if there's a young walrus ... I won't hesitate to go after it, young walrus. (IQ09 in IQ09 and IQ10 2022)

[Interviewer:] Have any of your sons got polar bear? [IQ41:] No, not yet. ... They try, but it's hit and miss. Like it's not guaranteed you're going to see one. And sometimes like if it's too small, you don't get it, or if it's a female, you also don't harvest it. ... Or like if it's mom with cubs, you leave it alone. So, it's not guaranteed you're going to see ... one that you can harvest. (IQ41 2023)

Many Inuit have one type of hunting that is particularly important or significant to them or their community. In some cases this is deeply personal – linked to hunts they remember or important sites for their family. In other cases it may be connected to the habitat and marine environment around the community that provides a special abundance of one species or another. In the quotes below, participants describe how the hunting of seal pups in the spring is especially important for them.

[Seal pup hunting, Ward Inlet] ... My uncles said this was the best hunting ground. When they had a dog team they would never rush, they would go there and back home that's enough. They don't need anymore ... so that's where they [the seal pups] mostly growing up. And when they start getting their let's say its six months, they're gone. They're mating already ... September, October, they're mating and you don't see much... that's where you hunt seals all the time, that's where the number one outpost camp is there. For pups. (IQ28 2022)

My favorite is seal pup. When they have fat, wow, I'm gone. [laughter]. Its so tasty ... If its some people if its big enough they'll have it all raw but if its me ill boil it ... (IQ28 2022)

[Best time of year to harvest seal pups] That would be from mid-March to, like when they're white, it's from mid-March to, basically May ... they start to change they're colours like April ... they're born white, white fur, and they turn to black fur eventually, yeah; they start from their head and then they go down. (IQ33 2022)

Capturing one's first animal is a significant moment in the lives of young Inuit hunters and often celebrated and remembered. In the quote below one participant describes catching their first polar bear.

And I caught my first polar bear over here [Kangiqtuq Kangilliq Inlet]. ... It was by the shore. ... We were seal hunting. We weren't planning to hunt polar bear, but it was — there was tags. It was open. We were there. It was a beautiful summer day, and we happened to be seal hunting, and when we were just driving super slow, we seen something ... we probably thought it was a rock, because polar bears are very smart, right? And [personal name] thought he saw something move, and he checked again and it was a polar bear, and I had my chance, so I took my chance to hunt my first [inaudible 00:41:23.14]. Scary but ... exciting. (IQ41 2023)

The hunting a bowhead whale is a complex task and due to their scarcity a rare opportunity. In the summers of 2011 and 2022 Iqaluit was able to harvest a bowhead whale. In both cases, as the quotes below describe, this was a complex exercise, involving careful coordination and teamwork by the hunting party. The capture of a bowhead whale initiates a period of gathering while the huge animal is processed, distributed and it's capture celebrated through a community feast.

There's cabins there [Upirngivialuk Island]. ... Summer, winter, springtime, and with the captain next door, we caught a bowhead here, and that's where we camped out in this cabin here. ... When we did our trip, it was in back in 2011. ... And we caught it over here. We butchered it all right there. ... So, during the day, we spend our time there, and during the night we go hunker down at the camp. (IQ26 2022)

And 2011 was the first time ever Iqaluit got to hunt bowhead whale, since over like 100 years or something. ... Our towns so big that one whale isn't enough for the whole community. ... We'll usually have a community feast too for that one. ... Because it's a big game ... We'll usually celebrate it. ... And we distribute everything towards the town of here. (IQ26 2022)

Bowhead harvest. That one was this area. That was 2011. ... But 2022 we were here. ... Last summer. After we harvested, while we were still butchering it. We harvested a bowhead right here. ... [It took] A day and a half [to butcher it]. ... [With] 12, 15 [people]. Depending on the day. Yeah. (IQ43 2023)

3.1.5 Gathering Other Non-Mammal Seafoods

Alongside their marine hunting, Inuit also gather other seafoods from the sea and shoreline. In the quotes below, participants described the importance of clam digging.

I like to clam dig. ... I just enjoy clam digging. ... Wherever there's good amount of clams. ... [I] Fry or boil. (IQ41 2023)

Yeah, we love to go clam digging during the summer, and we just help each other when our clams are kind of heavy. Their kids help us sometimes carry our — our clams when we walk down, down to the beach. ... Very, very nice. ... the highest one, we get plenty of clams. We try to do as — try to do as much as possible before the winter. ... To have them during the winter. (IQ44 2023)

We have ... handful of Inuit divers that can go clam digging any time they want. (IQ10 in IQ09 and IQ10 2022)

Pretty well the entire shoreline of Frobisher Bay [is good for clam digging]. ... Because on our island it's a bit more clay, and they're super clean there. ... Honestly, honestly, they're very clean. ... It's ready to eat. ... Because they're in clay. (IQ09 in IQ09 and IQ10 2022)

They call that Bannock area ... It looks like a Bannock top and its very soft and full of clams ... yeah, there digging all summer there, every summer. Its not, I'm very surprised they haven't been digged out. I mean every year ... the clams are so good, that, over that way, mhm they're good. (IQ28 2022)

Collected during the very low tides, clam digging involves good knowledge of the coastline, and a careful approach to avoid the tides.

And out here we go clam digging. Forget what the name is in English, but usually the shoreline ... around there. ... Yeah, they're called gooey-ducks [geoducks] ... That's — people tend to go there summertime, not all the time, but that's one of the spots for clam digging. Due to the low tide. ... Usually either on full moon or new moon. ... So, you got to kind of time it. You look at the tide charts and say it's going to be tides around like below one metre. ... That's when you usually go clam digging, or below 1.5 metres. (IQ22 2022)

I probably went there [Eggleston Bay] 2018, for clam digging. ... we don't go there every month, but because some one year might be digged out quite a bit, and there won't be much, but we went there in like August/September. ... And we usually try to time it for either new moon or full moon. ... Yeah, when the tides are at their lowest. ... it's usually like we take out the family or our friends, and whatnot. ... Or people that don't have boats. We try to go there before low tide. ... And once the tides going out, we just go up a bit. Then when the tide goes all the way — before it goes out all the way, our boat's on dry land, and we have like an hour/an hour and a half maybe to dig. And dig for clams. (IQ23 2022)

Clam digging, like in the summer, you know, it's one of the — every two weeks, you know, you can go clam digging [in Peterhead Inlet]. We can actually walk, you know, to the clam beds. ... we can go this area, all this area, all this area at low tide, there's a lot of clams. ... A lot of people go here for clam digging. (IQ39 2023)

[Clam harvesting at Coffin Island] These islands, my favourite spot, right here ... we like the clams there. They're medium sized, nice and fat ... nice and salty ... like an oyster. (IQ37 2023)

[Frobisher Bay] We go clam digging, right there ... that's where we go clam digging in the summer ... year ago, we were clam digging around here ... in August ... [harvests] only when it's a full moon ... it's because low tide. (IQ21 2022)

Pretty much on Jaynes Inlet, all this, you could clam dig ... it's lowest tides of the year or of the month is when you go clam digging ... it's all in the summer ... unless you're willing to ice dive here, you're not going to get any. And I do dive, scuba dive ... a lot of it is actually for clams ... it's not really recreational. You just go out there to get some ... some food ... (IQ17 2022)

For some Iqalumiut, clams are a delicacy.

Up here [Inuktitut spoken 01:27:26.17], Peterhead Inlet, all the way through these little islands here ... during high tide, like full moon or new moon, there's good spots for clam digging ... every summertime when it's good weather for clam digging, we take advantage of the good weather, and go clam digging. Even sometimes when it's windy, there's like 10 boats/15 boats going up to ... Peterhead Inlet, Jaynes — for clam digging, because it's our delicacy too. (IQ32 2022)

Inuit will also gather seaweed and other plants from the foreshore. In the quotes below, participants described gathering types of seaweed while on the foreshore.

[IQ10:] During the big tides, a lot of clam digging. Clams ... We eat a lot of this ... kuanik [Inuktitut spoken 00:32:06.12]. [IQ09:] Kuanik [Inuktitut spoken 00:32:07.13] is a particular sea plant. [IQ10:] Yes. Not seaweed, but ... Kuanik [Inuktitut spoken 00:32:15.21]. ... [IQ09:] it's not kelp. It's usually very distinctive, and we've been taught to — how to spot it. ... [IQ10:] Dried ... flakes, yeah. ... Seaweed. ... It's very tasty. (IQ09 and IQ10 2022)

Yeah, and the polynya in the wintertime is also very, very important because it's a—we harvest kelp or seaweed, whatever you call it in English. (IQ38 2023)

3.1.6 Important Areas for Harvesting: Frobisher Bay

Participants described a wide range of areas important to their harvesting. The majority of these sites were within Frobisher Bay, in most cases within a days boat journey from Iqaluit, although on some occasions prepared and experienced parties will travel farther afield when conditions allow.

Frobisher's Farthest, a few hours outside of Iqaluit is often targeted for seal hunting, although the area is treated with caution given the sometimes changeable ice conditions nearby, as the quotes below describe.

In the winter, we go further down, where ice — it's all iced up. ... We go by this Frobisher's Farthest. Usually open here, open water here and there, and we wait around for seals. ... Depending on the ice conditions. (IQ22 2022)

[IQ10:] Pretty much everywhere all over [bowhead go]. ... They feed off fish maybe in the — different areas, like they tend to come August — July/August. [IQ09:] They feed off plankton. [IQ10:] Springtime we see them up the floe edge, big, massive ... [IQ09:] That channel in there, between McAllister Island and Bartlett Narrows. Well, they [bowheads] go through the Bartlett Narrows ... And I've seen them feeding off Frobisher Farthest Island. (IQ09 and IQ10 2022)

Jaynes Inlet was noted by participant as being a particularly productive area for seal and whale hunting, with habitat used by both types of mammals.

I usually pass along this way [going to Jaynes Inlet]. I usually look for seals or whales. Sometimes wait around there or in there and wait for whales. ... Fall time — late fall time, I'll go in there and look for seals. (IQ23 2022)

Seal hunting in wintertime, we'll go all along here, from like this area all the way to near Jaynes Inlet. That's another good spot for seals and whales in the springtime. That way it becomes like a highway for hunters. ... Basically, all we eat is ringed seal and bearded seal. (IQ26 2022)

Seal hunting at Ward Inlet is a favourite activity for many Iqalummiut harvesters due to its proximity and the ease of access throughout the year via land or sea routes. In the quotes below participants describe their use of the area throughout the year for seal hunting.

Anyway, we go seal hunting here [in Ward Inlet]. Winter and summer. I mean, in the summertime you can go anywhere but this is a winter area. Winter seal hunting area. ... Ringed seal. Yeah. Normally we prefer ringed seals. (IQ43 2023)

[Seal harvesting around Ward Inlet and Cantley Bay] Yeah, down that area is heavily used for harvesting seals ... heavy, heavy, heavy [use of area] ... [harvests] ringed seals ... they're big, massive seals ... you know, the more seals you get, the more people you feed. (IQ19 2022)

[Hunting in Ward Inlet/Agustus Island] ...Ice is good there anywhere we go hunt there ... for the whole day, anywhere we travel, travel together ... we always hunt there ... [it's] close by to Iqaluit [which is what makes it a good place to hunt]. (IQ21 2022)

[Seal hunting, Ward Inlet] There's more seals there than the rest of Frobisher Bay ... generally. And there's a lot of, generally, there's so many reefs here ... so, I think it's good feeding ground for seals ... there's a lot of reefs like here, here, and here. So generally, there's a lot of seal hunting in this whole area ... ringed seals and harp ... [the area is good seal habitat because] I think it's the feeding, whatever they eat. Apparently, because it's more shallow with a lot of reefs, so it's easier for them to reach the ocean floor. (IQ29 2022)

I think there's a lot of things in — in that particular little spot [at Ward Inlet], especially this time of year when the ice start to form, that inlet, the bay, when it freezes over, there's a lot of seals hollow outs, and the hunters love to go there in the fall, especially nowadays with their aluminum boat, they can go through slush, ice, anything to get to the seal. So, they also wait for seals to come outside from that inlet, they wait on the island for the seal to come by and there's a lot of — that's very important area, Ward Inlet. (IQ04 2022a)

Frobisher Bay, including the head of the bay immediately outside of Iqaluit, was noted as a site both easily accessed and with occasional animal sightings used by harvesters. In the examples below, participants explained how they had successfully harvested beluga whale and walrus close to the community, especially during the summer boating season.

Those are the hunting grounds for most people. ... All those areas. ... [I go] Looking for wildlife. ... [For] Seal and whale ... beluga whale. ... they caught a beluga just right outside Iqaluit. ... Around the bay. ... Lots of people tend to out after the same beluga, so everybody catches it. ... [At the] End of July. ... Yeah [he was with someone]. ... He's not going to go alone when he's out hunting. (IQ25 2022, interpreted from Inuktitut)

My son caught a walrus around here before. ... Three years ago. ... The oldest boy [16 years old]. ... Yeah [his first walrus]. ... But then he caught his second one just in front of here [in front of Iqaluit], this past summer [2022]. (IQ41 2023)

[Hunting in the waters around Iqaluit] ...All the waters outside of Iqaluit, we look for seal pups, and young seals, mostly young seals and seal pups, but they are — we also hunt the adult seals ... we hunt harp seals, but not as much as ringed seals ... We also hunt bearded seals. There's also hooded seal. (IQ14 2022)

[Beluga whale hunting in front of Apex] ...the last time I got a beluga whale was 2018 and it was right in front of Apex ... my other brother-in-law ... we just finished his boat's, like, annual service; he wanted to try it out so we took it out for a little drive with his family. We took off from breakwater and we were here, and people said there's whales around here, so we went slowly this way then, he saw three of them right here ... we were hunting them around here and one of the two whales went out this way, they went back, and we were right here, they came right under the boat, and I harpooned it ... we take the skin off, we eat it, we call it muktuk ... with the meat we make jerky, me anyways, I don't know about other people; I've heard of people, like, frying it, boiling it, barbequing it, barbequing the muktuk. But me, I just take the muktuk and a little bit of meat and try and distribute what I can ... to relatives or, friends, so and so. (IQ33 2022)

This has always been an important area [Iqaluit] to – to people who have always lived here, and any area are – are deemed very important or very – something of high value for the Inuit people here, it's – everything, everything's valuable, everything's useful. If you're going to go seal hunting, you go seal hunting, if you want to go fishing, you go fishing, if you go blueberry picking, you go blueberry picking in that area. Every little single thing – thing – single thing, you're there, you see there, it's useful for Inuit People. Very, very, very important. (IQ06 2022)

Nunngarut, or Bay of Two Rivers, is an important area for Iqalummiut. In the quotes below participants describe how they hunt narwhal migrating up the shore of Frobisher Bay in this area where shallow water, abundant char (food for narwhal) and many islands produce good hunting.

Last year [2022], we weren't actually in the hunt, but we drove by people who caught narwhal. ... they were up closer to Nunngarut. (IQ41 2023)

[Referring to Bay of Two Rivers] ...people use that a lot. I go there too, once in a while ... Bay of Two Rivers ... People went — go there for fishing, and they also, in that area, waiting for whales in the summer, beluga whales. That's ... It's that it kind of attracts them for the beluga whales. That shallow areas — ... — in that — in that area ... And also, they hunt all the way to the end of the bay, up there. All that area on these islands, people — people look around, like I go there too sometimes and look around myself. (IQ12 2022)

[Beluga whale hunting/watching at Bay of Two Rivers] Yeah, all the way that — basically the whole water is watched all summer ... All the way down. You know I pointed out the — they're all the way down. There's — that cabin's here. Also, cabins in the — further down. Cabins in here. When they spotted whales, people usually go there ... Nowadays, everybody here eats it. (IQ12 2022)

[Campsite at Bay of Two Rivers, why they use this area] Because the whales go through here ... the [beluga] whales, the seals, the fish ... but I caught a narwhal right there, this summer ... I caught a narwhal right in front of my camp ... [it was] about 10/12 feet ... [including the tusk it was] about three foot long ... it was two of them, so the other one was caught there. We hunted that one there, and we caught one and cut it there ... right on that rock there, we butchered it ... we butchered a beluga whale two weeks before that, same spot ... we caught it right there too ... I hunt here in the winter, because it's open polynya — polynya all year long ... Like it doesn't freeze in the winter. (IQ16 2022)

The American Islands group, southeast of Nunngarut, was used by Inuit for the hunting of whales, including in nets.

We set nets, seal hunt, whaling — Mark had a cabin there [at American Islands]. ... He sold it, at the other end of American Island. ... Whale nets. ... Big mesh, like. ... To catch whale. ... You're hunting when you sleep. ... Hunting while sleeping, and you wake up — you go check the net. ... (IQ10 in IQ09 and IQ10 2022)

[Beluga hunting, Frobisher Bay or American Islands] We get a lot of beluga. Like every summer in July at first ice break up, there's always belugas being spotted, and there's both activity, hunting. And I sometimes join around Frobisher Bay or around American Islands. (IQ32 2022)

My first year boating I've gone — you know, that's the furthest I've gone. I — I explored here, but mainly just to — for scenic. It's beautiful. ... American Islands. ... There is [seals], we chased one right in the channel. ... There's lots of harp seals, there's lots of harp seals. ... Too many. (IQ46 2023)

York Sound was used by participants for beluga hunting and acknowledged as an important migration route for the species.

A few of my friends go down there annually too, and they ... go look for fish and whale at the same trip. ... That's another migrating route for beluga whale. ... Usually York Sound, that one there, and the next inlet down, Jackman Sound, this area. ... So, when we first have our ice breakup in June/July, they'll take their boat, and they'll drive down with a group of guys, of course — few boats. ... And they'll all set their base camp at York Sound, there. ... And then, throughout the weekend they'll do a bit of driving back and forth, looking for whale. Sometimes they get lucky. Sometimes they don't. (IQ26 2022)

So, we harvest couple belugas out here [at York Sound]. ... I think we were six boats, all together we got six whales. ... But it wasn't enough [laughing]. ... Yeah, 'cause the boat, there's — there was like three households in one boat. So, when we finally divided it, it was like not much. (IQ48 2023)

[York Sound] ... I've done a lot of trips down to York Sound ... area. So, I do a lot of boating in here and here. And then, generally in the spring, there's — the ice usually

stops right around here ... and that's usually the floe edge in the spring where we seal hunt and whale hunt ... and then the floe edge generally makes a line right here ... we caught one whale once. (IQ29 2022)

Augustus Island in Cantley Bay was described as an important seal pup hunting area with an abundance of seals especially during the spring.

[Cantley Bay, Augustus Island] ... We're constantly there every summer ... in the bay, seal hunting, and we're also visualizing what animals could be in that area ... And we see caribou a lot when we're seal hunting in that area ... it's nice, a nice area ... high traffic area ... [a lot of people here in the] summertime and springtime, seal hunting ... and going to that bay ... looking for seal pups in the spring. (IQ18 2022)

[Augustus Island] ... There's usually a trail this way, depending on ice conditions ... but anywhere along this edge, and this edge, and around all these little islands is where people go seal pup hunting ... [it's a good area for seal pups because] maybe the snow drifts, because there's — this is all high mountain ... so, the drifts will form in a certain way, where they can make their dens properly ... but also, it's narrow inlet, and it has a lot of reefs, when when ice warms, the reef at low tide forms solid, and then during the bigger tides, it'll move sometimes, and then it'll just become a nice seal den ... and probably good food source for any seals in this area. (IQ18 2022)

Nurata (located on Bruce Island at the mouth of Ward Inlet) was described as good habitat where ringed seal were abundant.

The first seal I caught in July, before I got my boat, I went with a friend of mine ... Ringed seal. ... nice baby one. There's a reef somewhere, I haven't found it yet, but there's reefs not far from Nurata [phonetic spelling 00:18:00]. It's called Nurata ... I need to find it, because apparently that's where all the ringed seals are. (IQ46 2023)

Hidden Bay and Pugh Island were described as an important area for seal hunting, with one harvester describing how they could capture some species there that they rarely found elsewhere.

We call this Hidden Bay [channel near Pugh Island]. ... Scouting for beluga and hunting seals. ... Ringed seals, bearded seal, occasionally a harp seal, if like a dog owner wants or my wife wants a harp seal skin, we'll try to get that. Usually all along in here. ... wherever we see seals, we try and get them. (IQ23 2022)

The waters and ice around Chase Island were used by participants for marine harvesting, as well as for fishing and other activities. This area was acknowledged by participants to be a particularly important for polar bear hunting and for spring seal hunting area with many dens.

I got my last polar bear this past winter, in February [at the mouth of Ward Inlet on the sea ice] ... it was a small one ... I was with my cousin, my uncle, actually ... I like the meat so, and a lot of my friends like the meat too, so, I always try and get one a year ... I got five so far from 2009 ... my first one was with my late father, my second one was with my late father, my other three were with my son, and my friends. (IQ33 2023)

Well, that's pretty much covers one area of my long-distance trip. ... this whole area all the way down to maybe Chase Island or closer, all this is seal hunting ground. ... We'll go there either by boat or snowmobile, depending on the time of the year. Usually, there's always seals there, so this whole area, which is like 40/50 miles long is pretty popular for mainly seals. ... Seals, fishing, caribou hunting, polar bear. ... Ringed seal. ... In the same area, we also do the seal pup hunting in the springtime. (IQ26 2022)

The whole area [Chase Island]. ... You get seals, caribou, polar bear, sometimes walrus too. ... That's where we do our — every springtime, well, that ice is pretty busy with hunters. Around April or May, looks like heavily traffic over there for seal hunter. Because we're slowly running out of ice by that time. We'll go through Ward Inlet fishing spot, that main trail, or work our way down through the sea ice, and we usually travel in groups of two or three at minimum. And that whole area is on a good day there's like 20 hunters and working the same area. ... All looking for seals. ... That whole area is seal pup calving grounds too. ... And also calving for ringed seal. ... You get more good luck there than anywhere else. ... Guaranteed to catch a seal or two in the same area in the same day. (IQ26 2022)

I caught a polar bear right where Chase Island — right here, this winter. I got a 10-foot polar bear ... it was February. (IQ16 2022)

At the mouth of Frobisher Bay at the floe edge or farthest ice extent some Inuit will travel specifically to hunt polar bear. In the following quotes participants describe some of the areas that they have travelled to in pursuit of bears.

But I've been mostly spending my winters like down here [Tungait]. ... Yeah, polar bear hunting. ... Usually caribous there or polar bear. ... The last place I got one down there was probably about here in that general — it's probably 2019, maybe, just before Covid. ... Been going every year and been catching some [polar bear] every year. ... It's always [an exciting hunt], yeah. ... Polar bear country down there. There's lots. ... This year [2022] was great for polar bear. There was tracks everywhere. (IQ23 2022)

I got a big 11-footer right there, right here [south of Ukiivik]. ... That one I got at April [2020] one. ... Usually, the big ones start going on the land end of March, because that's when seal pups are born, March. The big ones are usually with the loose ice, right. The — or mostly the bears are hibernating, so I usually not go 'til March/middle of March for polar bear hunting. You'll see occasionally the small one, which are — I prefer them now, because they're better tasting, more tender, and the big ones, like it's hard to sell them. It's — the 11-footer I got, I just ended up cutting the legs of the hide, and now I'm using it for bedding or anything like that. I've got three hides in my shack. And not usually — like the small ones will be out and about now until March. Then the big ones will be at the like fast-moving ice or hibernating. (IQ23 2022)

Actually, my brother-in-law got his first one this year [2022], out here [south of Kujagutsit Islands on the ice]. ... Yeah, his first polar bear. ... We actually left on a Friday, after work. ... And we thought it was just going to be a few — about four hours. We left five in the morning and didn't get to the cabin until like two in the morning. ... Then next day, next day early morning, we took off, and that's when my brother-in-law got his, and on the way back I got mine. ... Left on a Friday after work and came back Sunday. (IQ23 2022)

These areas far down the Bay towards the open water are considered the best areas for polar bears as they have less noise and human disturbance, better seal hunting and the right conditions for bear denning. Participants described how in the small islands and sea ice of this area there is an abundance of large and healthy bears.

That's usually considered a polar bear country, too [on either sides of Frobisher Bay]. ... There's lots around here. ... That's all bear country, like out here's are big ones. ... Because it's moving ice. ... Occasionally, we'll see big ones around here. Like that 11-footer, that was a really, really big one. The biggest one I ever got. And it wasn't still full-grown. ... Yeah, so usually, I go all the way down here for a quick weekend trip and go back to town. (IQ23 2022)

We do a lot of polar bear hunting around Gabriel Island, through these little islands ... This whole area is polar bear country. ... Maybe 30/40 miles. ... Of bear country. ... I guess when they're migrating off land, that's where they usually have success for seal hunting. ... Us, we don't really have success there for seal hunting, because all the polar bears are catching them all. ... From Gabriel Island all the way to Gold's Cove. ... We know it's guaranteed for polar bear in that area. (IQ26 2022)

And all that marine and the land is polar bear territory [Crowell Island], and like they roam. And more and more each year, we are encountering polar bear. Which only means that [inaudible 00:17:08.10] polar bear population is very healthy. (IQ09 in IQ09 and IQ10 2022)

3.1.7 Important Areas for Harvesting: Cumberland Sound, Davis Strait and Hudson Strait

Outside of Frobisher Bay, Cumberland Sound and Davis Strait are also used by Iqalummiut for marine mammal harvesting. In some cases these more distance waters must be visited when pursuing larger whales or polar bears that won't generally travel deep into Frobisher Bay, and in other cases, as the quotes below describe, these more distant areas are used due to their ice stability or their abundance of seals and other mammals.

There was a lot of bowhead whale or white whale harvesting ... You hear about Cumberland Sound, for example ... and further north, you know, there were a lot of activity, you know, year-round. Whalers wintered further, you know, where they had access, like on Davis Strait, for example ... (IQ39 2023)

[Area at the head of Cumberland Sound] It's just the land we grew up in. We — it's in our heart. Everything we need is there, like everything. Depending on what season it is, everything's there ... plenty of food. Springtime, when we first go there, there's seals. Seal skins were expensive then ... the reason why they picked there is because when the ice is breaking up here, all the seals go through this bay going out, moving back and forth. It's just a main — main area where the seals go through ... when they're travelling. And it's shallow there, so they catch seal there all the time, like just seal everyday come ... (IQ16 2022)

[Seal hunting in Cumberland Sound] It's good for sealing ... both by snowmobile and by boat ... Like we don't just go for fish — fishing trip to fill our quota. If we see a seal, then we're going to get a seal because it's — ... you're already going out there,

or that's going to be our meal too, right? ... I harvested many seals in Cumberland Sound when I was growing up. (IQ32 2022)

2019, around Cumberland Sound ... have harvested about four polar bears in this area myself ... [travels there] by ice, like by snowmobile ... I drive my sled and there's other hunting partners with me all the time. (IQ32 2022)

It's called Sukanga. This lake right here ... That's very — beautiful fish. You're able actually catch polar bear there sometimes ... well, yeah, right on the salt water here ... like we've had camp here, and there'll be like a female walk — like den in that mountains around like over here ... like this whole area, and they'll be walking down, and like you'll see a cub with a year-old, same year cubs ... they'll be walking down, trying to get by to the salt water. (IQ17 2022)

I caught polar bear [near Cape Colby along Davis Strait] ... it was on the ice ... in the winter, in January ... [was with] a friend ... we were two of us on the snowmobile ... from Iqaluit there ... it's a good day's ride if ... if you're not going too slow and the trail is not too rough ... we butcher on the site, we always take the skin off and cut up all the meat ... we caught it just before it got dark. after we butchered — butchered it, we just put the tent up and just camped there ... overnight then came back the next day ... it's a good ... 12-hour ride or something like that. (IQ31 2022)

The waters of Hudson Strait are also used by Iqalummiut travelling overland in the winter to hunt at the Kimmirut floe edge.

He goes hunting with the hunters there [in Kimmirut]. Sometimes for whales from the floe edge. ... Yeah, around there, they caught two or three whale — beluga whale. (IQ25 2022, interpreted from Inuktitut)

3.1.8 Marine Harvesting Conditions and Habitat

Marine harvesting whether on water or sea ice is highly dependent on a number of factors. In the quotes below participants describe how currents and sea ice conditions at the floe edge can change and how these shifts can dictate the timing of hunting seasons and hunting success.

Got some belugas there before and another year, we got some around there. ... Because just the sea ice is like every year is different, right. One year we have really good sea ice. The next year is terrible. So, it all depends on where the floe edge is, like in May. (IQ23 2022)

In the springtime, when we go to the floe edge, we'll go as a group of guys again, and sit by the shore [of Avaaqtarvik Island]. We'll get either seal or beluga whale. ... Depending on the time of the month, I guess, or migration route, and stuff like that. It all depends on the time. ... Seals usually by here. ... this whole area is pretty good for seal. ... Caught a few seals in that area. ... ringed seal and bearded seal. (IQ26 2022)

Floe edge, a lot of duck hunting and whale — wait for whales to come in. ... seal hunting on the ice. The seals come out and sunbathe, whatever. And a lot of that, a lot of seal hunting goes on. (IQ10 in IQ09 and IQ10 2022)

[Seal hunting by the polynya, close to Pitsiit] ... So, right off the point is where we typically hang out because right in here is always open water [in Wayne Bay] ... we just hang out here and wait for seal right at the edge ... and I've caught one there. My buddies have caught one there. And it happens every year because of the currents, the currents are so strong there that it doesn't freeze. (IQ36 2023)

Ideal seal hunting conditions were described by participants as being periods of calm, with low winds, and new freshly frozen sea ice, where seal holes (aglu) can be easily discerned.

Last time he went by boat, [inaudible 00:15:02.29]. He went to [Inuktitut spoken 00:15:04.22], right up to that point ... Looking for [ringed] seal. ... Yes, he usually goes to those inlets when it's frozen over, because these inlets tend to freeze over faster than the open area. ... this area is always calm, because it's a long inlet. ... And that's why he prefers to go hunting over there, because of the calm waters. (IQ25 2022, interpreted from Inuktitut)

Year-round, in winter, it's mostly seals. And so, people go, you know, by skidoo ... and they look for seal holes, okay, especially when there's ... newly formed ice, it's easier to see where there's seal holes. So, that's what the hunters look for, if there are no open, you know, water. ... (IQ39 2023)

Seal hunting areas targeted by participants were focused on areas where they knew there was abundant seal food, including as participants explain below, cod, char and squid.

[IQ23:] Usually like a lot of harp seals and bearded seals around here. ... and like ringed seals, like harder to see between — well, they're there, but between July and August I guess they follow the broken ice going down, and they start working their way up again when there's no more ice. [Interviewer:] Why do you think they use different areas? [IQ23:] It's fish, I mean, their food. ... Cod or Arctic char. ... They eat some squid too, I think, and octopus, so it's probably just food. ... That's all I can say, following their food. (IQ23 2022)

Yes, it's a really good hunting ground, because most of the inlets is where the [ringed] seals go in for seeking food. And especially in the spring, there's hardly any seals in the inlets, but during the summer and the fall, it's really good for seal hunting. Because there's plenty of seals going in to look for food. (IQ25 2022, interpreted from Inuktitut)

Abundant food for prey species was a key criteria driving the choice or use of different hunting areas. In the quotes below, participants explained how the mouths of rivers were particularly abundant areas, which while sensitive to change, were essential feeding areas for seals and whales.

The marine life in the — by the rivers that we have now are very sensitive, and abundant that we don't see. ... It's amazingly full. (IQ09 in IQ09 and IQ10 2022)

[Sylvia Grinnell is a good place to hunt Beluga due to feeding grounds] It's the fish and the feeding on the ground, I mean under the water there. It's the feeding like clams, fish, you know that something you make sushi. Sushi that? ... Seaweed, yeah lots of that good stuff there, lots of shrimps. I see it got worse, like people do clam picking and things there. Like so what you'd call those, the mussels? (IQ28 2022)

While beluga are a less commonly captured whale for many Iqalummiut they can still be found – especially, as one participant noted, along the southwestern shore of Frobisher Bay.

I'm not sure if there's any birthing grounds around here [near Frobisher Bay and Iqaluit], but — or calving grounds. Like I said, like all along that other side of the inlet is usually where the majority ... if not all the belugas are harvested. ... I got one this summer. (IQ23 2022)

The waters of Cumberland Sound – especially Clearwater Fiord at the head of the Sound – were noted by participants as being an important area for beluga habitat. Although more commonly used by harvesters from Pangnirtung, one Iqalummiut described how the area was noted as being a beluga calving area, as well as an area where whales might shed their skin.

On both sides, I've been at — up here too, up there. Actually, my father-in-law's from Pang, so we've gone boating all along this way, and I've been all the way down there. ... Yeah. Up there too, Clearwater. ... It's a beluga — beluga birthing ground. ... Yeah. So, if you get on top of a hill, you could see belugas everywhere. ... As far as you can see. ... it's protected by the HTO in Pang. Like you can't — they cannot hunt belugas. ... That's where they go and like shed their old skin too, I guess, and whatnot. ... And give birth to the young ones. ... That's protected. ... Yeah, calving area. (IQ23 2022)

While walrus hunting is less common in the area at the head of Frobisher Bay closer to Iqaluit, many hunters will pursue the animals on summer and fall boating trips down the Bay. In the following quotes participants describe some of the aspects of walrus habitat which they look for, including shallow waters, and their preferred foods like clams and scallops – or in some cases seals.

That area around the islands are shallower than most places, because that's where walrus prefer, is the [inaudible 00:20:29.28]. ... And he's noticed that the Iqaluit Bay has more walrus. There's more and more, he's noticed. ... There's a lake there to there, and because of that, there's hardly any seal when ... it starts sunbathing. ... Because walrus are feared by seals. ... They [walrus] eat seals. (IQ25 2022, interpreted from Inuktitut)

We were there [Tiggaktuq] last winter for seals. ... But in our last fall, there was actually walrus that the guys from town were successful in there, and they were able to harvest walrus. ... Guaranteed to have ringed seals there. ... On a good day, you can come out five to eight seals out of that one little area. (IQ26 2022)

A little bit further up [of Loks Land] is another migrating route for walrus. ... We can only go there by boat, because ice conditions are not the greatest after Gold's Cove. ... The walrus, they'll come from Cumberland Sound. They'll work their way through this channel. ... They'll come from their calving ground somewhere up here. They'll come all along, and they'll go to Gold's Cove, which is more up there, but this whole area is like walrus migrating route. ... They actually migrate ... [during] October, around mid-October/end of October. (IQ26 2022)

The reason we don't see that many walrus, you know, because they're more like open water kind of animals, you know. Because there are a lot of clams, you would think walrus, because of their food source, they would be abundant here year-round.

They're not. We might get a few walrus, you know, that come in from further south, up to the bay, mouth of the bay, and people will — you know, sometimes catch, but it will be in the summer. ... (IQ39 2023)

We saw a couple of walrus near Daniel Island. ... they're coming up through the ice and they're leaving these brown spots on the ice. We went to see them, and somebody, some hunter went to see them, and there were scallops — scallop shells. ... South end, two walrus would be coming out, and eating whatever scallops [Inuktitut spoken 00:34:55.16]. They feed off of other clams too. (IQ10 in IQ09 and IQ10 2022)

... And where we go walrus hunting, we could go down here ... And if you come in, if you're coming from Paunngaqtuuq area or Iqaluit area, you can smell that walrus ten miles away ... Yeah, so stinky ... Before ... we had the accident [boating accident] we would go and harvest 12 to 13 walrus per year for the community feast... (IQ11 2022)

Marine harvesting of mammals and a range of other foreshore foods, like clams and seaweed, is a key value for the Inuit of Iqaluit. Frobisher Bay and the surrounding waters are the source of a rich variety of marine life, from whales to seals, and their pursuit forms a vital link between the Iqalummiut of today and their ancestors which participants identified with and celebrated in their stories, memories and their own contemporary practices of harvesting.

3.2 TERRESTRIAL HARVESTING

Terrestrial harvesting is a key value for Inuit in Iqaluit. Participants described harvesting a wide range of mammals, plants and bird life from the land around Iqaluit. As with Marine harvesting, time spent out on the land pursuing terrestrial harvesting can be as short as a trip of a few hours, a weekend hunting trip, or a serious journey lasting days or weeks. On all these trips Inuit are procuring food, practicing culture and learning about the game they are pursuing and the land they are traversing - as well as passing this knowledge and experience on to the next generation of harvesters.

3.2.1 *The Importance of Terrestrial Harvesting*

The harvesting of terrestrial species is an important Inuit value as it provides an essential source of country food, valuable materials for traditional clothing and an important venue for spending time together on the land.

Eating country food is an important part of Inuit culture. Participants described how much they valued getting to regularly consume freshly harvested country food from the area around the community.

Lots of wildlife out there ... everything's edible, you know. We hunt it all. (IQ35 2022)

It put food on the table for the family, instead of buying groceries, and we like to distribute to other families too that needs it. ... Something we grew up with. Like my dad would bring in food and we just continue it, to do that. It costs a lot of money to go hunting, but wow, it's just life right now. (IQ01 2022)

Participants explained that they will go hunting for animals when community members cannot go for themselves and then share the food.

And when we're geese hunting there [Burton Bay], the rest of the community's — they're either ptarmigan or rabbit hunting in the same area. ... My mom usually eats ptarmigan. ... We're not the biggest fan of rabbits, but we will catch them for others that can't go out. (IQ26 2022)

We prefer that [hunting]. We try and go hunting, it's like feeding other families too. Like our godmothers and sister, they don't have boats or snowmobiles, we send them any kinds of food we get. Like we just don't keep it for ourself, it's always for other people too. (IQ01 2022)

Participants described how whatever they are hunting for, being out in the land in a group is ideal for both enjoyment and safety.

... this area's another popular spot for same geese [Canada geese, snow geese, blue geese], this area. ... When we go geese hunting, we always go out as a big group. ... It makes it much more fun ... when you go out with your friends. ... that's like our emergency spot if we really want something there for geese. (IQ26 2022)

Participants described how hunters will share information about different areas or hunting conditions out on the land, including teaching each other while travelling together..

If I'm being — Iqaluit [inaudible 02:10:31.15], we all pretty much hunt with each other, and we've probably been in the same exact areas together. ... Just from what we can remember is what I can share, but I've just been about everywhere in Iqaluit, pretty much. (IQ26 2022)

Everyone learns from each other [while hunting]. Everyone knows a bit of everything, and we share our experience. ... We all learn from each other. ... Some older guys learn from younger guys. ... Younger guys learn from older guys. It all depends on how much you go out. ... I learn from everyone, actually. ... Yeah, and then people learn from me because I learn from others. ... We just share our experience with each other. That's how we learn to be a better hunter. (IQ26 2022)

I like going far. I like exploring. I always like learning new hunting ground, and I like sharing to teach the younger guys where to go. Not everyone can teach each other, but what someone teach you goes a long ways and helps other people, but that's from how old I am, that's what I learned in the last 20 years or something. (IQ26 2022)

Some hunters will sell some or all of the meat or fur that they capture. Selling pelts and meat provides an income which can support their families and subsidize future hunting and the necessary maintenance of equipment.

Sale of the fur, you know you've got to keep having income to do what you do: harvesting, for example. If you're unemployed, you sell the fur, and you'll have meat — meat to provide as well ... it's food to provide, and then you've got your equipment to keep maintained as well, that you have to do some sale of the hide. (IQ19 2022)

Alongside hunting for food, Iqalummiut also hunt to obtain the materials needed to make traditional clothing including parkas, mitts and boots. In the quotes below participants describe how the fur produced during a caribou harvest would not be wasted but instead used to make the clothing needed for the coming season of winter hunting.

People start going like then men, the men go up for caribou skins and meat for the winter. Because they need that skin every year for the clothing. It has to be changed every year to survive in the cold. I used to ask why do you always change your beautiful parka? And they used to say you have to change it every year. And I said why? Well we have these little stuff and it kind of opens up and in the middle of winter you start getting wind in there. When they're new they're so solid and that's how they survived big time was changing their parka with caribou. They used caribou big time, in the spring the used seal skin. (IQ28 2022)

The men, just look for caribou to get the fur ... there's certain things they want for their clothing, let's say, the big ones, let's say the big male for men and the smaller for the young ones. The small ones ... there's lots they'd go sleep there overnight, you know up and leave their other wife's and go out ... some days they used to be gone for five days, out on the land. They'll come back with caribou then you'll decide not enough we got to go somewhere. These guys were tough wow ... yeah especially in summer, or fall when your carrying caribou, some of them they carry three whole

caribou all fleshed up properly ... on their back for like five days, with their dogs ... and then you find out there's enough caribou for the clothing, they're good and if not they're moving again. Further down where they can see more caribou. That was a big thing for them was the clothing. (IQ28 2022)

I used to save the [caribou] leg for my wife ... to make caribou mitts and kamiks. (IQ36 2023)

Place to get caribou hide for clothing [at placename known as Qilasaisuqvik]. They hunted them in the fall, because in the fall, the fur's a little thicker and warmer. (IQ08 2022)

Participants emphasized how hunting is an integral part of Inuit life, and a core expression of Inuit culture and identity. In the quotes below, participants described hunting as 'fulfilling' and a 'way of life'.

[How it feels to be harvesting animals out on the land] Fulfilling, you know? Accomplish something. Enjoy the scenery, enjoy the hunt, makes you feel like a real hunter, a real man. Especially the big animals like walrus and polar bear. It makes you feel good, you know? I've harvested one of the most dangerous species in the north – polar bear, you know? ... (IQ04 2022)

They used to go caribou hunting in there [Sylvia Grinnell Lake area] in there in the wintertime ... hunting was basically a way of life, and you know, you did that for a living, and you went everywhere. You had to go to go with caribou, and like he went all over the place around here. (IQ13 2022, interpreted from Inuktitut)

3.2.2 The Importance of Caribou Harvesting

Caribou is a particularly important species for the Inuit of southern Baffin Island. While restrictions on the harvest due to a declining population have changed the access Iqalummiut have to caribou, it remains an important practice and one which participants described spending a great deal of time and energy pursuing.

Participants discussed the importance of eating caribou in their diet. One participant explained that caribou is their favourite food to eat.

Caribou was one of the main, you know, food — country food. You know, for a lot of people, including people in Iqaluit. Year-round. (IQ39 2023)

Like, I grew up eating pretty much caribou all the time. We weren't so much into having – we'd eat seal like few times a month, but it would be mostly caribou. (IQ48 2023)

[Interviewer:] Is caribou your favourite food? [IQ22:] Oh, yeah, big time. ... Caribou is my favourite. ... More fishing [now because of caribou tags] and ordering some caribou meat from Kivalliq [phonetic spelling 00:44:50.12] or wherever. ... Like I said, those steaks at the store are too expensive. (IQ22 2022)

Caribou are an important species to Iqalummiut and participants described the importance of enjoying the land while out caribou hunting.

When there's caribou, it's so much more enjoyable. Like he used to go down to the [Barrier] islands, and they used to go get caribou up the islands down there, and you could drive around. And he said Iqaluit is very beautiful. No matter where you go, it's really, really nice country, so. But he did like going down the bay down there ... (IQ13 2022, interpreted from Inuktitut)

Participants described how seasonal changes dictate caribou harvesting practices. The following quotes explain how caribou hunting changes according to the season.

In our — in knowing, okay, we go after the bulls in the summer ... but we go after the cows in the winter, so the cows have more fat in the winter, and the bull has absolutely no — no fat in the winter. (IQ19 2022)

Yeah. In the fall, same thing, there'd be caribou there [Peterhead Inlet] like October ... there's be caribou all along here ... come back at high tide, like high tide, you go catch caribou, come back before the tide goes down ... that's where we go hunting for caribou quickly, because they're all there. They're just not going anywhere. (IQ16 2022)

What we would use [in Inuktitut], a term to describe an outing. Where you went caribou hunting on foot, usually with dogs ... you were going to be gone for a few days. It was not an overnight — it was not a daytrip. It was like a two/three, maybe four days, even longer to look for a caribou. ... What you did was normally, not just one person, but with others, you know. Usually looking for caribou, probably in the fall, when the thickness of the fur was the right thickness to make caribou parkas. That would've been like early September, maybe. ... family members would go. They'd bring some tea, some bannock, and maybe some seal meat, you know, and of course, they stayed in the open water, because they didn't bring a tent, you know. ... (IQ39 2023)

The caribou moratorium that was introduced on January 1, 2015, and a caribou tag/quota system was implemented later that year. Participants discussed how they are no longer allowed to go caribou hunting anymore.

Last fall, apparently there was lots [of caribou at Hamlen Bay], you could pick and choose which caribou you wanted in there. I wasn't pulled, I haven't been lucky since then. ... I haven't been pulled since 2020, but my friends have been here. And they stayed in [inaudible] for a week and it's been really good. (IQ42 2023)

Well, there's caribou everywhere [near Cantley Bay]. Yeah. And they—go up more. This is my caribou hunting spot. ... Four years ago, I think I got a tag. ... Every year [I got caribou before the moratorium]. ... And they're still there. (IQ43 2023)

That's my other caribou harvesting area [in Waddell Bay] too, summer and winter ... I mean we before the moratorium we caught four or five caribou, maybe 10, even 15 a year. During the winter and summer. (IQ43 2023)

Yeah, we used to go caribou hunting along here [at Kangalla near our campsite], walking from our campsite ... It's a very beautiful land, all this. Just too bad we're not allowed to catch any caribou, but this is where when I was growing up, we'd go get some caribou and camp out here for like a week. ... My parents would [get the caribou]. (IQ48 2023)

Here, we keep hearing there's lots and lots of caribous around here ... Kimmirut side, yeah. There's lots of caribous here this summer. ... We kept seeing caribous after caribous after caribous ... and they're saying there's no caribou. They were here this summer, York Sound. ... there's caribous here, all day every day ... yeah, and we couldn't shoot ... my grandkids saw caribou for the first time. (IQ16 2022)

All you can do is look ... cause of the, the ban ... but I've also heard people are, people have been hunting caribou since the ban and haven't stopped hunting caribou since the ban ... [the ban] it was only supposed to last five years I think, and we're well over the five years ... (IQ36 2023)

Every day, we saw caribou, and not being able to hunt them was the hardest part for me, and they were all walking all along here. (IQ08 2022)

Prior to the caribou moratorium, participants described their memories and experiences of the fluctuations of caribou (and past periods of relative abundance) on Baffin and some of the areas where caribou were particularly abundant (including Cormack Bay, the McKeand River area and inland close to Amadjuak Lake).

Years ago, there used to be caribous — caribou roaming around. ... Back in 2000 — maybe 2008, maybe. There was a year when they came into town, right into town where those Tundra Valley housing — what we saw earlier. Around that area they came. They came one year, right into town. Maybe they were moving somewhere else. Moving off to somewhere else. ... Oh, there were lots of them all over Iqaluit that year. (IQ45 2023)

When I was growing up and it was just seeing like hundreds of thousands of caribou. 'Cause they mainly use — like, this is a big valley towards McKeand River. ... they travel through it every winter, like fall they start gathering together and just start going North. ... In groups. ... And then all the males start fighting. ... I know they use this for sure, nice valley. They must use it as a calving ground too, this. ... (IQ48 2023)

Before we had caribou harvesting restrictions, my favourite place was at Frobisher's Farthest. Just climb up on it, up on, you know, up the hill, and sure enough there'll be one of them. (IQ09 in IQ09 and IQ10 2022)

I used to travel, or caribou hunt, before the tag issue, all the way to Amadjuak [Lake] ... we got caribou around here. There's a cabin somewhere around here ... so, we go hunt there, in this area ... 10 years ago ... or 11 years ago, go there and caribou hunt up there, in this area. Go back, back down to Iqaluit ... that time, there was some caribous around here, in this area, around this area ... so, we went there to the cabin. Stay there. Go get some caribou. (IQ21 2022)

Years ago, when we didn't have a banned ... we used to go right from our camp [at Bay of Two Rivers] too ... we would see caribou all along between those three points there ... we'd wake up, and there'd be caribou all along the hillside of our camp. ... I think my sister got her first caribou there. It must have been 2003/2002 ... and you still see caribou there today, but ... you can't do anything about it. (IQ18 2022)

There's always caribou in this area [Cormack Bay], too, people always catch caribou ... every year ... we've caught caribou in this area, too, like around this area ...

before we had a quota, I remember catching caribou about probably 20 years ago or something like that ... (IQ31 2022)

There was an abundance of caribou in the early 1980s, just before he got here, he said there was caribou all over there. (IQ15 2022, interpreted from Inuktitut)

Under the current caribou quota and tag system, the HTA in Iqaluit draws the names of members who are permitted to hunt a caribou. Once their name is pulled, the hunter has three days to harvest a caribou, as the participants quoted below explained.

So, I caught a caribou here [in Henderson Inlet]. ... My mother was chosen, pulled I guess, and she asked me if I wanted to catch it. I said, "Sure." And then me and my stepfather went down ... I'd seen it right here, it was near the, near the shore, so I got off and it was slowly went over the, the hill and I went up and it was still there so I shot it. It's probably like 2 kilometres in ... I radioed said I caught it, so he [stepfather] dropped anchor and then dingy and then came up and we butchered it ... (IQ47 2023)

And then hopefully, I get to go caribou hunting in the summer again ... I think once you get drawn the next year you can be drawn again, like I can't put my name in. But I'll, I'll of course like help like my wife or her family or my mother ... Like I'll be there to help if they get, I hope they get pulled. ... And they're increasing the total allowable harvest ... I think they're incrementally doing that every year. So, we're all happy. ... More people get a chance to harvest. (IQ47 2023)

So I think out of the 65 or 64 tags, five are allotted to elders only ... and they get five days to go out to get a caribou and the rest are split up to anyone else and they only get three days to go out ... (IQ36 2023)

When your name is pulled, you got maybe three days to harvest a caribou, so what a lot of people do is that they go along the shoreline looking for caribou. (IQ39 2023)

[IQ22:] Usually every year, August, you get name tags pulled out. ... August every year. [Interviewer:] And you just go get them right away. [IQ22:] Once, if you're lucky, yeah. ... If you're not, and you don't get it, someone else is going to get their name pulled ... [Interviewer:] How long do you have once your name is drawn? [IQ22:] Three days. ... last it was three days, but the year after that it was five days. ... And then they pulled new names for caribou tags if you don't get it or ... You've got to let them you get it. You bring the meat and stuff to Renewable Resources, test, and this and that. ... Get them tested. [Interviewer:] Have you ever not been successful, and lost your tag? [IQ22:] Oh, yeah. Oh, yeah. ... One time my name got pulled the very last caribou. ... We got winded out. Couldn't go nowhere. We slept in that area. ... We couldn't go nowhere with walking/hiking. We were stuck here for a few days. ... Couldn't take the boat nowhere because it was too windy. That's when I — no luck for me. ... My time was up, and while we were out there, winded out, could do nothing. Couldn't go nowhere. Too windy to go on the boat. (IQ22 2022)

Participants noted that in some cases when names are drawn for the caribou tag/quota system, caribou are not ready to be hunted. For example, the bull caribou are not mature and the cow caribou are either pregnant or calving. The latter quote explains that the names get drawn during times that are as convenient for accessing locations.

In the spring [inaudible 00:59:00.15] — in the summer, you look for, if you're hunting caribou, even in the moratorium, if your name is pulled, look for bull caribou. Even before the moratorium, you hunt because they got fat. Usually, the females at that time would have a calf in them anyways, so why would you want to shoot a female with a calf, you know? ... (IQ39 2023)

I just wish that when the caribou draw does happen, it'd be more towards winter because you can get around the land so much easier on skidoo than you can by boat ... so you're limited to ... you have to go by boat ... that's a lot of gas. Lot of money. A lot of food ... (IQ36 2023)

Due to the tag/quota system, some hunters have opted to go fishing because they can no longer hunt caribou.

But nowadays, like I said, we got no — we're not allowed to catch caribou no more, so pretty much for fish. (IQ22 2022)

Participants explained that they are noticing a resurgence in the caribou population in the region. Participants, quoted below, indicated that they are hopeful to begin caribou hunting again.

[Interviewer:] How are the caribou populations in and around Iqaluit? [IQ10:] It's healthy, I think. We got a moratorium right now, but they give us tags, caribou tags, 64 for Iqaluit. ... we see them all year-round. People reporting caribou healthy. (IQ10 in IQ09 and IQ10 2022)

He used to go caribou hunting down there. ... [Inaudible 00:54:24.12] to Iqaluit. ... I usually go hunting there, caribou hunting. ... Those are very good caribou hunting grounds. ... There's usually been lots of caribou around there. Even now, he's starting to see more and more caribou going back to their habitat areas. ... All the way down [Ward Inlet]. ... They usually are all along the shoreline. (IQ25 2022, interpreted from Inuktitut)

We're seeing five [caribou] at a time, ten at a time, which I think is fairly healthy. (IQ42 2023)

It seem like after like 2004 [and the moratorium] it kinda almost seemed like they disappeared. ... But it seems like the last couple of years, little bit farther you go out of town they're lot more abundant, to me. Which is a good sign. And I hope it's trending in that direction so we can course harvest more. But yeah, it seems like there's more and like this past summer, like, tryna look for one for me, I, I passed by I think three or four boats with like monster antlers. ... Antlers I've never, ever seen them that big before. So that's a good sign. But yeah, it seems like they're on upward trend, which is good. (IQ47 2023)

Like other hunts for large mammals (for example whales), a successful caribou hunt produces a great deal of meat and was often a time for family gathering and celebration. Several participants described the experience of shooting their first caribou. This is an occasion often celebrated by family and friends.

When I was a young boy, Cormack Bay, got one [caribou]. ... they were right at the water, like almost at the water. I said, "There's caribou!" So, my aunt's husband

turned around the boat, he gave me a rifle. He said, "Shoot." So, I said, "Okay." I shot and it went up over the bank and then it collapsed. ... Of course, it was my first one and my grandma was there, so started saying [cheering noises] like. ... Yeah, and my, my sister, and so everybody's like excited. (IQ47 2023)

I was a little bit of course nervous, you know, wanting not to miss. And it was my first [caribou], tryna get my first one and somebody trying to tell you shoot, like quick ... It was a good experience, it was just, you know, everybody's excited and ... want to catch one, right? Don't want to come back empty handed. (IQ47 2023)

Yeah, we did [hunt caribou] this summer when my name was picked. ... so I got my spouse to catch her first one. ... I got so many in my lifetime already [laughing]. (IQ48 2023)

Just me and my spouse ... my spouse ended up getting ... Yeah. [her first caribou] ... Exciting. ... This place [Kangiqtugaarjuk Inlet] is very beautiful, too ... (IQ48 2023)

My son got his first caribou over there [near Illaulittuq Point]. ... Two years ago, so I think he was 11. ... Joyful big time. ... I was excited for him; his grandpa got a tag and then he gave it to him to hunt. ... Me him and my spouse walked up with him. He shot it and I cut it up. ... And then he brought back the skin, and I brought back everything else [laughing]. (IQ48 2023)

Like we just caught a caribou here [Cantley Bay], like this summer ... because my wife's niece got drawn for caribou tag ... her first caribou caught was right about there ... I took her hunting, because she wanted me to ... because she got drawn, so she had three days to hunt ... I was about to go seal hunting. She goes, "Can you take me hunting?" "Well, I'm going seal hunting." "But I got drawn for caribou. Can you just — can I just follow?" Because I love her so much, that I said, "Okay, we'll just go caribou hunting." We went up there, three boats up there already, so they all [inaudible 00:40:59.24] caribou. At the end of the day, like almost late evening, or went to go check around here, those lakes there ... going, following this area, and we spotted a caribou there, and she got it right there ... it had to be a male, so we had to look for a male caribou, so ... she got a nice big caribou, her first one ever. (IQ16 2022)

3.2.3 Key Caribou Harvesting Areas and Habitat

One participant spoke about the ideal conditions for caribou to be healthy. As explained in the quote below, the further you leave Iqaluit, the better condition the caribou are in as they are less exposed to human traffic. In the latter quote, caribou located on islands were described as healthier and fatter because they are not travelling around as much as compared to those on the mainland.

A lot of good feeding there [near Kendall Strait] for the caribou, as not many people go down there, so they have a lot of food to eat around. ... Less traffic down there. ... They just eat lichen and grass. ... Usually the caribous closer to town are smaller because they're younger. They're always being hunted. But the further you go, the bigger the caribous are. ... Only because they're more mature. ... That gives them time to grow and mature down there, because it's further. (IQ26 2022)

Potter Island, usually have caribou and walrus, too. ... And polar bear. ... Yeah, yeah, it's a little island, and pretty full of wildlife too. ... And it's pretty far where the population can grow much healthy. ... Less human traffic down there, so ... the populations grow pretty good like that. Less people — better for the animal. ... We're not disturbing them or anything. (IQ26 2022)

The caribou on the [smaller] islands [like Augustus and Barrier Islands] are a lot fatter. They got a lot more fat, because they're not wandering all over the place. They're just contained on an island, so they don't — they gain a lot more fat ... Yeah. And the Inuit knew that. The caribou on the islands were really, really fat caribou. (IQ13 2022)

How fat caribou we want or how healthy we want, we go further, further from town was healthier ... because around town they — people drive around, so the caribous are always spooky, they're always running, so they don't have fat at all, like they're just always ... always on the move from something, plane or machines driving around ... we tend to go further, a little further out to hunt. (IQ16 2022)

If you want a healthy, like a really healthy caribou, you go here [Nettilling Lake] ... in the wintertime, we don't hunt male caribous ... because they think from October to maybe January or a little further, they — from rutting, that meat is rotten, like it's not good to eat. It's really hard from mating and rutting and they get this taste from not eating food. It's just ... I don't know what you call it. We call it [Inuktitut spoken 00:09:44.05]. We don't — we don't eat it when it's like that ... so, in the winter we hunt, depending what people want to eat, young caribou, female or female with no — no yearling or calf ... that's what we go for in the wintertime. (IQ16 2022)

Sites used by Iqalummiut for caribou hunting are dotted across southern Baffin Island. In the quotes below participants described locations including Cantley Bay, Amadjuak Lake, Newton Fiord, Peterhead Inlet, Loks Land and Foul Inlet as sites where they had pursued successful hunts.

[Interviewer:] You used to do some caribou hunting in this area? [IQ22:] Yeah, in this area [near Ward Inlet and Cantley Bay], yeah. ... In here, yeah, right there on the [inaudible 00:12:16.25]. Caribou, over this summer, when your name gets pulled — your tag. ... Usually, lots of people looks around that way on the land. ... Last time I got one is two years ago. (IQ22 2022)

Pretty much all around there [Amadjuak Lake] is caribou, caribou everywhere. ... And by here, Sylvia Grinnell, usually caribou. ... That's the main area for caribou all around. ... It's nice, nice to drive on. It's rough, but like I said, everybody usually used to go all around there to caribou hunt, too. ... (IQ22 2022)

I've hunted pretty much all along both sides [of Newton Fiord]. ... Like this summer [2022], I was just in there. ... For caribou hunting, and that's usually a good hunting ground, like all these long inlets. ... Yeah, the lady we took out, she got hers there. ... There's caribous all along that inlet. (IQ23 2022)

Over 10 years ago [at the head of Peterhead Inlet]. ... like got my last caribou before — the caribou were at that time, were going down in numbers, but there was still no, you know, quota system. So, anyway, me and wife, you know, just the two of us, you know, we went camping here one summer for a couple of days. Walked ... and then

not very far, you know, we came across ... not a big caribou, but big enough, you know, and we caught it. And that was — oh, that's great. (IQ39 2023)

This [Loks Land] is where we used to go get caribou. ... We were soapstone mining and then I called the spouse, she said, "Your name got drawn for caribou." ... And it was perfect timing, when we were coming back, we were anchored somewhere close in here, we were driving the small boat, one of the guys said, "Look, caribou." Big bull. Sun was going down. But lucky there was like 11 of us after I shot it, butchered it piece by piece, all of it went to the boat. (IQ48 2023)

My first trip down there [Loks Land] was 2012 with my father and my uncle. We were caribou hunting, and I fell in love with that area ... so, I started going down there every year ... we harvested a lot of caribou in this island, so I can't pinpoint exactly where I got them ... so, they're scattered all over the place in this island. (IQ32 2022)

Caribou hunting ... by boat ... not in the winter ... we travel through this [Jaynes Inlet] every year ... we look for caribou everywhere along — driving along all the coasts. (IQ19 2022)

Jaynes is pretty well known for the caribou ... it's not too far away for people to go anymore, with boats and outboards that we have today ... so, that seems to be a high traffic area for caribou hunting. (IQ18 2022)

This [Chase and Gabriel Island], I know there's caribou around from — I know I usually go hunting, this area, on this side ... all the way down, almost all the way down, there's caribou everywhere ... not many caribou, but every time I go down this area, there's caribou tracks, and I see caribous. ... (IQ20 2022)

But this land here [around Nettilling Lake and Amadjuak Lake] is beautiful, because ... it's far. Once you go there, like you — after you've seen it, like it's good land to be in — like good place to go hunting if you want to hunt. Like there's always caribou there. We couldn't hunt them, but there was always caribou there after the moratorium. (IQ16 2022)

It's always a guarantee there [Kendall Strait to get caribou] ... and see all this flat land over here? It's easy to walk, and like because it mostly flat, right, and you can see for like miles ... I was part of the caribou count this spring ... all I can say is there's a lot of caribou right here ... there's like 800, easy. (IQ35 2022)

We're on top of the hill, the highest hill [on the shoreline at the head of Foul Inlet]. I'm looking — I'm looking. Saw two caribou. I saw it. Maybe there were only two, but my son and my wife's niece's boyfriend, and the four of us, Josh, me, and [inaudible 01:10:02.11] stayed in the canoe, looked after the boat. The two — two men going for the two. I told them, "Get them all." Just the — I meant the two. That's what I saw with my binoculars. I saw two caribou. "Take them all." And when they reached that area, there were more caribou — hide, and that didn't show. They were behind the hills. So, they were shooting, and shooting, and shooting. And we decided to go up. [Laughing] "What are guys doing there?" And my son, "What are you guys doing? That's lots of caribou. You told us to get them all." [Laughing] He — I meant two, right? I saw two caribou ... [they had shot] 11. [Laughing] ... anything that wasn't visible to me when I said before the left, "Take them all," I meant two, so ... that was lots of meat for the family. My wife's family, we supported them back then ... with caribou meat, seal meat. (IQ37 2023)

When harvesting caribou out on the land the meat is often processed in situ as the quote below describes.

We did actually go a few years ago, to Potter Island [to harvest a caribou] ... Yeah, we process it on the spot, because one whole caribou is too heavy to carry. ... So, we have to process it on the kill spot. Butcher it down, make it so that the caribou meats are small enough to handle and carry back to the boat. Sometimes it's quite a bit of a hike. With all that weight, you're lugging on your back ... we have to cut it up. ... I always bring a helper. ... A helper goes along ways when you're going up that far. ... when I go long distance, always with my brother. ... We hunt so well together, that we always have the same routine. ... He's like my first mate, I guess. (IQ26 2022)

After butchering caribou, participants described the hard work of hauling their caribou back home to their camp or to their boat.

And then I walked along this big lake [in Ward Inlet], and I shot a caribou. ... Then I walked all the way back [laughing]. ... And carried the caribou. ... I backpacked the whole thing all the way back. (IQ48 2023)

We butchered it there [just west of Jaynes Inlet] ... carried it out ... it was about 2.5 kilometres to the boat ... and there was other caribou too in the area, there was two caribou harvested there ... same time as us. (IQ18 2022)

[People don't go alone] because you might be walking up a mountain to get a caribou. So you don't want to carry all that meat back by yourself to the boat ... (IQ36 2023)

Along with hunting and processing sites, several caribou habitat sites were identified by participants. These include areas with hills where caribou can escape pests and predators, as well as areas with shelter and forage.

They [caribou] look for the food they eat. ... No problem around there [Ward Inlet and Cantley Bay], lots of food. ... Moss and stuff like that. ... Because we used to go up on the hills too, up here. A lot of caribou used to be up here. (IQ22 2022)

Actually, he say he usually hunts in that area. There's just outside of Iqaluit, further up inland, all the way over there, down towards where he was going to, just behind Apex, there's more and more caribou now. Every time he goes out, he sees caribou. That's the ... habitat area. ... Where they go back and forth. ... [At] Kangalai [Kangalla]. (IQ25 2022, interpreted from Inuktitut)

Wintertime too, you'll see them [caribou] there [Jaynes Inlet] all the time ... it seems to be a very nice little microclimate ... with a lot of growth ... there, and it's just got everything they need. There's plenty of fresh water, and so much food for them. (IQ17 2022)

Yeah, that's it, yeah, McKeand [River]. Right about there is where we would caribou hunt ... they just seem to go there and not move. It's a hillier area ... a lot of stuff around it is very flat ... I don't know if it gives them better wind shelter or — the tops of the hills tend to be more blown off, so they don't have to dig for their food. (IQ17 2022)

A lot of caribou [at Loks Land] ... I don't know what they're doing there, maybe salt licking or something. I don't know. We started calling them salt-lickers, because they were just like — like there ... you don't even see any food that they could eat ... we counted over 350, just in that ... just in that island ... not much bulls. Bulls are caught, I mean a lot of bulls are caught down there. Lots of calves and cows. (IQ35 2022)

There used to be plenty of caribou around there [Mount Joy in between Joy River and Soper River], back in the early '90s ... probably vegetation for food maybe [is what brought the caribou there] ... I know caribou, they like to stay in a rugged area to counterattack I think wolves, Arctic wolves ... we got about four [caribou there] ... me and my cousin, yeah, there were only two of us there. I think that was early '90s ... (IQ36 2023)

Other important areas for caribou include caribou mating and calving grounds, as several participants identified in the quotes below.

Apparently that's mating caribou ground [near Javakst]. I'm very new, but a good friend of mine said this — there — we saw a bunch of antlers that had fallen, so it's a mating — apparently that's a mating caribou. (IQ46 2023)

Same with the one near Ikpiit. ... Nice, flat spot. ... That's — that's where they [caribou] go have calves, too. ... Like every spring they have calves. (IQ48 2023)

Foul Inlet, around here, used to be 100s of caribous mating ... every time there's fall, there'd be caribous here all this area in the fall ... in the summertime when there's lots of caribou, they used to go to the shoreline to eat seafood. So, you'd always see 10/12 caribous around the shore ... eating seaweed. I think their salt intake or something ... so, there'd be caribou. But in the fall, the mating time, people would go here at high tide. Come back home with caribou ... because there'd be all caribous there all summer; all winter. In the fall, they would be plenty there because they're mating and rutting. (IQ16 2022)

While they do not engage in huge mass migrations like some of the herds on Nunavut's mainland on the shores of Hudson's Bay, Baffin Island caribou will move through the landscape in smaller groups. Participants described several of these movement corridors.

And you can also get a caribou in there [Barrow Peninsula] in the same area, by snowmobile or by boat. That way's another migration route for caribou. ... this whole area is where they migrate from the mouth or from the inlet of this point, all through here is caribou migrating grounds, right here. ... After that we'll look for seals and bears all around there, but usually, when we're on the inland trail, we'll be guaranteed to see caribou there all the time. (IQ26 2022)

There was a small little valley or a crack among the hills. ... it was just like enough path just for a caribou to walk along. ... And there was rocks build right beside it where there's caribou — a caribou path. That was pretty neat to see. ... And there was a stone blind, so I guess back then Inuit waited right there for a caribou to walk past. ... It was pretty cool to see. (IQ48 2023)

And a lot of this, the [American] islands and the mainland, is the migrating route for caribou. ... Either the mainland — they come from the mainland, and they — and you

will and can find one of them or a few of them on the island. They're island hopping. (IQ09 in IQ09 and IQ10 2022)

Mostly caribou hunting in that area [Jaynes Inlet] ... the vegetation in that area is really good, and it's always been a like a migration — not really migration route, but between there and Bay of Two Rivers, there's a long valley, so they tend to go back and forth, up and down that one. (IQ18 2022)

Caribou migrate over that [Ward Inlet] area, and we harvest caribou. (IQ15 2022, interpreted from Inuktitut]

Deep knowledge of the caribou lifecycle is vital to Inuit stewardship over caribou and an essential part of a successful hunters toolkit. As participants described below, hunting is entirely dependent on being in the right place at the right time – which with caribou demands an intimate understanding of their seasonal cycle.

Animals are not in one place. The animals are always moving. My father and grandfather always used to say, "Don't go to the same place all the time. The animals are moving all the time." So, sometimes are better places, are where the ones lots of hunters are. They're not anybody's favourite, that's where the animals go by all the time. And saying that, there's hunters here in Iqaluit that are almost out there every day. Almost 365 days a year, almost. (IQ11 2022)

[Patterns of caribou movement] In the summertime ... because there's so much mosquito and it's so hot, they're on top of the mountain areas ... they're in high grounds. As the weather cools, they go a little bit lower ... and they go to valleys, or if it's a flat area, and there's no mountains, they go to the water, to cool down near the water, like a low tide area. In the fall, like September, they start moving to low land, like flat area. In October to November/December ... they're in the flat area, because they're mating, because they're eating in that area ... in the wintertime, same thing. They'll stay in flat areas, but they'll start going to valleys and creeks and rivers and stuff, where there's rocky areas, where they can eat depending how much food there is around there ... in the spring, they'll start moving all over, like ... they'll walk longer. You'll see tracks over mountains, and they'll start travelling to wherever they go in the summertime. And they come back in the ... fall. (IQ16 2022)

3.2.4 Harvesting Furbearers

Iqalummiut pursue a range of furbearing game, including larger predators like wolves and foxes, as well as other species like Arctic hare. While hare may be eaten, most of these animals are skinned, their hides tanned and then used for the production of clothing.

Participants described a number of areas where they have harvested wolves, particularly inland up the Sylvia Grinnell River.

Actually, quite bright [northeast of Amadjuak Lake]. It's not dark-dark, but used to travel, leave town at three in the morning to go up wolf hunting quite a ways up inland. ... I love it up there, actually. It's no big mountains. It's rolling hills. ... And you can see far. Once you start tracking a wolf, you could just beeline it, and keep following it. ... Arctic wolves. ... Just where the caribous are, there'll be wolves. ... I

think we got seven [wolves] in one trip before and another trip we got a couple. (IQ23 2022)

And we went there [Amadjuak Lake], and hunt there and hunt — hunt wolf ... I got one over there ... close by to the cabin ... it's called NCC Cabin ... when there's caribou, there's always wolf. (IQ21 2022)

The [Slyvia] Grinnell River. ... That's where you see caribou tracks, there's foxes, there's a cabin, there's that [Inaudible – 0:16:34] lake ... there's a herd of about 20 caribou. We took off and there's a group of about five that left after us, they caught wolves that were following that herd. ... That was in 2020-2021 ... There's a little abandoned cabin somewhere in this area where most people stop, and just after that we saw the herd of about twenty tuktu and they caught wolves there. (IQ42 2023)

One participant emphasized that a healthy wolf population is indicative of a healthy caribou population.

I hear they [wolves] are being seen, which is a good sign, a really good sign, because there's caribou around, they follow caribou. ... So, that's a really good sign. (IQ42 2023)

After processing the wolf pelt, many Iqalummiut, including one participant quoted below, will sell the fur.

It's [wolf hunting] a lot of tracking, and sometimes it's hard because the snow is very hard ... you kind of have to time it where there's been a fresh snowfall, and you're able to track them a bit better ... used to send them to Winnipeg. It'd be a 100 bucks a pelt ... to get them tanned [and used for clothing] ... The face and the feet start to freeze really quick, and it gets really hard to butcher it or skin it ... So, you have to do it — you'll be able to get one. Sometimes you'll get two or three more, and I'll bring them to one spot, and you'll ... do all the legs and face, right away. (IQ17 2022)

Participants described bringing their children on hunts for furbearing animals so that they can learn the required skills.

We do a lot of wolf hunting. ... Yeah, I had my kids with me, so it was end of March ... Yeah, I had them in my lap while I was ... snowmobiling. They got to see me shoot them ... Yeah, we skin it right away. (IQ17 2022)

My daughter, 16-year-old, she loves going here. She loves going rabbit and ptarmigan hunting. (IQ46 2023)

Participants described a number of areas where they will hunt or trap foxes close to Iqaluit, including at Nunngurat, as well as close to Apex.

I only know of from listening to Elders, cause you know, I caught those elders in time before they passed, you know? And there's another one in here, Bay of Two Rivers. On this side. That's where — right here. Right there. Right there. Hudson Bay. They were trying to go places where Inuit can catch the most foxes ... It's not so much that they can sell the most products, it's how Inuit can catch the most fur. Seal, polar bear, foxes, anything with fur, hey? (IQ04 2022)

I live in Apex, so, I just walk all the way my trapline like about to around here. So, from Apex to there, my trapline. ... Just fox ... Rabbit. ... Instead of skidooing I just walk, nice hike, it's just a couple kilometers from there. ... My son's actually been taking care of it, he got one fox so far. ... 13-year-old. ... [Taught him] Since he was maybe like eight, seven. ... Trap wherever. ... I just picked the spot 'cause I don't need to drive my skidoo or anything, I could just walk. (IQ48 2023)

I've actually caught fox right in town last year [laughing] ... like just outside of town, like going to Apex ... there was rabies at the time that were found in two foxes here. So my other buddy ... he was saying if you see one outside of town and if you can get it, get it. Because they're being caught and they're rabid and there's a bunch in town. It was crazy. It was like, it was a weird year for fox because they were everywhere in town ... so that, that time last year just before Halloween, I caught five just on the outskirts of town ... this winter so far, I've caught two with a trap ... just up towards plateau, just off the road. So here in town we're allowed to trap off the road a kilometre as long as we're out away from the road a kilometre away we can trap ... and as long as we're away a kilometre from any building ... I have a, a foothold and a couple of body grips, but I prefer the body grips cause when they set off the trigger, they touch their nose with the trigger first and it comes down and gets their neck and it's, it kills them pretty well instantly. So it's more humane to use the ... body grip ... cause with the foothold, it could be caught on their toes or their ankle and they, they could just be sitting there in pain, but people do use footholds ... so I skin them, flesh the fur, and dry them out. And I have one right now hanging in my house, an arctic fox ... just as a decoration. (IQ36 2023)

One participant described how they would skin fox when preparing the hides for sale or for use in clothing.

So, you get a fox. You skin it. I skin from the bottom, the back legs first. I hang it. Do the back legs, peel the skin right to the head. Peel and cut off the nose. Then I put it on a stretching board, so it's kinda like a pointed board. You put it on inside out so that the skin is face out. And you take a tool that has, looks like a tea handle and it's a scraper. You can scrape the, the fat and meat off the skin. And that gets enough of the fat off so that when you put salt on it, it takes away the rest of the fat, like the oils. Then once the salt is done and absorbed everything it can, you put it in the salt bath to rehydrate the skin. Then you can put a, it's a tanning solution, and you tan it. And then you're good to go ... or I guess after you put the tanning solution on, you can wash the fur itself with like, I think people use Dawn dish soap ... so that the fur's nice and clean ... fluffs back up. (IQ36 2023)

3.2.5 Harvesting Birds and Eggs

Inuit harvest a wide variety of bird species across southern Baffin Island. Birds are hunted for their meat and feathers and their eggs are also gathered as food. Species hunted include geese, ptarmigan and various seabirds.

Participants identified many areas, including along the coastline of Frobisher Bay where they can find different bird species including eider ducks, snow geese, seagulls, ravens, falcons, murres, cranes, owls and others.

[IQ10:] But a lot of birds. All these [American Islands] have birds, and ... Eider ducks. ... Snow geese. [IQ09:] There's seagulls. There's ravens. [IQ10:] [Agreement] [Inuktitut spoken 00:16:27.18], falcons. ... [IQ09:] Yeah, there's falcon, and bald eagles. There's some ... locations that are high enough for bald eagles to nest in. (IQ09 and IQ10 2022)

[IQ09:] All the islands [have bird nesting areas]. [IQ10:] Pretty much all the islands, everywhere. [IQ09:] All the islands have birds. ... Eider ducks. [IQ10:] Seagulls. ... Geese. ... Ducks. Murres. ... [IQ09:] We're starting to have mallard ducks up here. ... [IQ10:] Whooping cranes. [IQ09:] Barn owls. ... Tundra swans. [IQ10:] Trumpeter swans. ... Sandhill cranes ... Ravens got — get their eggs April, maybe. (IQ09 and IQ10 2022)

And snow geese is along Jaynes Inlet ... area ... but we go up this way sometimes, and we'll snag a few ptarmigan in here as well. (IQ17 2022)

Here's [Tarr Inlet] there's goose too later in the spring ... goose and swan. I've never seen swan here, but people do see 'em. There's goose, swan, and crane here. There's, there's sandhill crane and I think it's a whooping crane that you can see in here ... cause this is all, the river itself is like a little, little valley, but the rest on top is all pretty flat. (IQ36 2023)

Some Iqalummiut will use the area at the head of Tarr Inlet close to Apex to hunt ptarmigan without travelling too far from the community.

Oh, yeah, ptarmigan hunt, yeah. ... Here and there. Just to Tarr Inlet, behind Apex, further down. ... Pretty much around here for ptarmigans all over, pretty much. ... any time of year. ... I went for a ride that way to go out fishing. Seen a few good ptarmigans but didn't really go for them because I was in a rush to go. Because daylight, you don't have much daylight left, right? ... Seen ptarmigans here and there. There's always ptarmigans. Teenagers or whoever always going hunting there for ptarmigans. ... That's the main area for ptarmigans. (IQ22 2022)

The ptarmigan generally hang out in little valleys [at Tarr Inlet] because they can get easier access to the plants and little pebbles. Cause they eat little pebbles to grind down their food also ... I think we have rock ptarmigan here, I think it's called ... but they change colour seasonally. So they're, summertime they're just like the tundra, they're camo-ed to it and wintertime they have a little red spot on their head I think and they're all white ... this was only maybe last month, beginning of the month [that he hunted them]. (IQ36 2023)

Sometimes ptarmigan are hunted opportunistically during other hunts. In the quote below, one participant describes catching ptarmigan while travelling along a trail to the floe edge.

[Hunting along the trail taken to Ward Inlet and the floe edge] Caught ptarmigan there last year ... When we're — when we're travelling, if there's any game, we hunt them down. (IQ14 2022)

Another area where Iqalummiut will hunt ptarmigan is at Bay of Two Rivers.

My buddy's cabin is here [Bay of Two Rivers], so there's usually ptarmigan all around the hills here, and anywhere between — around that fishing lake too ... the Bay of Two Rivers. (IQ18 2022)

Because they may be easier to hunt or available closer to Iqaluit or camps and cabins, ptarmigan can sometimes be a prey pursued by young people. One participant described how young people hunt ptarmigan to give to their relatives.

[Interviewer:] Yeah, is ptarmigan something that a lot of young people hunt? [IQ22:] Oh, yeah, oh, yeah. ... [For] Food. ... To eat. ... To give away or give them to their grandparents, or you know ... when they want it. (IQ22 2022)

Iqalummiut will also hunt several species of geese, including Canada geese, snow geese and blue geese.

More like on the water out here; use for like snowmobile, geese hunting ... Then I usually go here springtime, for geese hunting. (IQ23 2022)

[Inaudible 00:32:45.10] really not big fan of eating Canada geese. ... Just tougher meat and they spend a lot of their time in ponds and lakes, so their [snow and blue geese] meat tastes a little bit different ... than Canada geese. It's all what they eat, right? ... Well, I'll get occasionally Canada geese too. ... But mostly, it's snow geese ... and blue geese. (IQ23 2022)

But I like going up here [Aggaut at the head of Foul Inlet] too during spring. ... By snowmobile. There's snow goose and Canada geese up here. ... I'm sure they're all over, because we went — one time, we went from like up here and then all through land, [personal name] and I, just kind of exploring. ... Through the ice. ... but we just went back to Iqaluit through the ice. ... And there was some geese all around. ... Yup [we harvested the geese]. (IQ41 2023)

Participants described a range of techniques used while hunting geese, including creating blinds or calling geese to the area.

Yeah, I hunt geese actually, right there [on the east side of Foul Inlet]. ... I'll wait for them. ... Yeah, a makeshift blind. I made on with racks. ... They've been getting more and more geese every year. ... usually when they start going here — early May. ... that's where I've got to start waiting, but people will drive around there, trying to get geese that are on land with a rifle, but I like shooting them down with a shotgun. ... Just less damage to the geese, because with a rifle, you either try and do a headshot/neck shot, or if you do it on the body, you're blowing up quite a bit of the meat with a rifle. (IQ23 2022)

We get Canada geese, snow geese, blue geese. ... Usually we give away all of the geese there. We don't sell them. ... We just sit there [at the blinds], pull out the decoys, and use the goose call. We just sit there all day. On a good day, we can catch maybe 20/30 geese a day. ... That's between all the guys. Sometimes we're three guys. Sometimes we're five guys. It all depends on the day, I guess. (IQ26 2022)

But with geese, like we call — calling them and letting them almost land close to you and then just shoot them down. ... Yeah. (IQ23 2022)

Participants described Resor Island as well as the area east of Apex and Iqaluit as being good areas for hunting geese.

I hunt geese ... it's very in rocky area [Resor Island] and some of it, all most, so can almost see the green. It's all good for traveling ... [hunts for] Canada geese ... we could hunt them any, anytime, but when they start — migrating up usually — middle of May to like first week of June ... weather permitting ... I normally go along alone [to hunt them]. (IQ30 2022)

This area's [east of Iqaluit and Apex] good geese hunting. I've caught a few geese. ... Right when we got there, we shot a geese, and it friggen flew away and landed on the other side, couldn't get it. I even made home-made — out of garbage bag, I don't know, hip waders? ... Tried to make it across. ... Yeah [too deep]. ... all this area is good geese ... My sister caught her first geese here. ... Canada geese. (IQ46 2023)

One member spoke about how sometimes they wait for geese to fly by during their spring migration. Although they may not catch one, one participant described how it is good to be outside of town and out on the land regardless.

Usually, I'll wait [to Foul Inlet]. Go like on a high spot, and just wait a bit, and try and study where the geese are constantly flying. Usually, there's one path that the majority of the time geese will be flying that way. ... I'm not sure if it's from the wind or like current up there. I'm not sure what it is, but some — a lot of times, they'll just keep going back the same path. ... Different flock. ... So, kind of try and narrow it down to where they're flying, and try and wait there, and try our luck. Sometimes I'll wait all day and get one, maybe nothing, but still better than being in town. (IQ23 2022)

Participants described how they are teaching the younger generation how to hunt while geese hunting.

This whole island, Pugh Island, has a lot of geese during springtime ... I have a boy. He's 14-year-old. I take him there every chance, like every chance he wants to go — whenever he wants to go. Camp with him and go geese hunting ... [hunts close to his cabin] that's where my cabin is, and around here open field, so — and up here, so it's good spot for geese hunting ... Canadian geese and snow geese. (IQ32 2022)

Iqalummiut will also travel to certain known bird nesting areas to gather eggs. In the quotes below several participants described collecting eggs from eiders, seagull and other birds.

He [father] was one of the few guys, you know, few men in the camp that went regularly ... on a dog team. Of course, in spring, you know, you get seasonal food source too, including fresh eggs from eider duck and other, you know, other migratory birds. Because the area where we were, our access to home was — they had these little islands where the eider ducks, seagulls, and other birds, you know, laid their eggs. So, that would have been the reason why, you know, the — why that camp existed for so long, because of the food source. (IQ39 2023)

We pick eggs too around here. ... Yeah, on the islands [near American Islands]. ... Eider eggs. (IQ41 2023)

In the spring, lots of egg picking [at Milikkat Island]. ... you come in this way, by skidoo in the spring. ... Duck eggs, goose eggs, in there. (IQ42 2023)

[A neighbouring Island near their cabin on Aqukkaluit Island] There's an island that got a nest. We went there last year, and there's about 50 eggs ... our family eat them, yeah. They were good ... There's eider ducks ... up there ... (IQ21 2022)

Eider duck ... this one island [in Fletcher Channel]. We get the eggs ... usually, we start going June till probably the first week of July ... [goes with] usually with friends and family ... [the eggs] they're a bit more fishy. I hardly have them. I never grew up having eider ducks, mostly snow goose, so I just give them away to people. (IQ30 2022)

Much of this egg collection occurs on the small islands dotting inland lakes and Frobisher Bay, where ducks and seabirds often nest to avoid disturbance and predation.

So, these areas throughout the years I've found that it's very important some areas like these islands here, and these islands are—have duck colonies, so in early springtime. We hunt and do some egg picking, in these little islands here. (IQ38 2023)

Spring was ... usually when the birds are coming in like ptarmigans are number one or little birds, bunny were or how would you say the little bird, the white come first, the white birds, then the brown ... before we had to eat a lot like some days we were starving and we were along that area [Ward Inlet] and we looked for food a lot and that was our source. Sometimes birds, eggs, you know anything that you could survive on, I was tough those days ... that area was full of berries, full of birds, and little bit of caribou then ... Eggs, if you want to go eggs in the spring time all those islands were all full. (IQ28 2022)

3.2.6 Collecting Plants and Berries

In addition to small and large game, Iqaluit participants are also harvesting berries. Participants indicated several species such as blueberry, blackberry, cloudberry, cranberry and crowberry.

Of course, you know, berry picking was popular, so late August/early September, you know, the crowberries ripe, so people — so, especially in these sort of valleys ... they grow — they can be quite plentiful, so the women, including men too, harvested, you know, as much crowberries as they could, including blueberries. (IQ39 2023)

They're [cloudberry, blueberry and cranberry] good. ... Ate them just like that and also made jam and used them for baking. ... I make all my family help me pick. ... It was me, Mike, and our four boys. (IQ41 2023)

[IQ09:] Pretty well the entire land is — is open for berry picking. ... [IQ10:] Blueberry, blackberry ... Cloudberry. ... [IQ09:] Crowberry. ... Crowberry, cloudberry, cranberry. We have the tiny, wee cranberries that are super tasty, and also [Inuktitut spoken 00:38:57.19]. ... I think that we have two types of cranberry up here. ... [Interviewer:] Are there any like good places for berries in and around Iqaluit? [IQ09:] All of it. ... [IQ10:] Depending on the rain and sun. (IQ09 and IQ10 2022)

Iqaluit participants indicated several locations for harvesting plants such as berries. There are certain areas that are particularly good habitat for berries.

Berry picking too. ... And then seal hunting around there [American Islands] too. And then sometimes there's [beluga] whales around here. ... Crowberries. ... Last time I went there ... when I know they grew really good was not last summer, but the summer before that. (IQ41 2023)

Berry picking here [near Paurnganngualik]. Almost there picking anywhere as well. But yeah, there's certain spots for berry picking. ... This area is cloudberry. And there's no other cloudberry in that—anywhere else. You go blueberry picking everywhere. Or the blackberries. ... Very special place for the cloudberry. They're big. And blueberries are this big. ... Well, depending on the season, too. (IQ43 2023)

And then there's also cloudberry picking [south of Qairulittuup iqalulinga Lake]. ... Yeah blueberry, blackberry. ... cranberries ... Sometimes for a good summer, probably about two gallons. Not two, maybe about a gallon. It can even go up to five gallons. It also depends. Last summer I didn't even go. I ate them. ... I didn't pick them for jam. Yeah. ... (IQ43 2023)

And Sylvia Grinnell too, some areas are good berry picking areas. ... all over the land is a good picking area, where there's like tundra — where tundra is not spoiled. (IQ48 2023)

My parents have been going there [Soper River] for many years [to collect blueberries and blackberries]. (IQ01 2022)

One good thing about the Elders we went with was back then, we didn't really use GPS, so he used his compass ... to get to there ... to, there's blueberries there, seals there, caribou ... fish, polar bears ... we camped there ... we were mainly targeting blackberries ... an Elder told me that I wouldn't pick berries here around Iqaluit anymore and she told the truth ... they're small and tasteless [in Iqaluit]. Down there, they're big and juicy. (IQ34 2022)

There's bake apples, cloudberry ... and again, the Elder showed us about this spot ... there was abundance of it, and quite a few people went there to pick it, and in this area, there's bearded seals ... [this area is abundant in berries because] that's where the most heat is. (IQ34 2022)

Iqaluit participants are harvesting berries in and around Iqaluit and Apex area.

And around that area [near the DEW Line buildings in Iqaluit], good berries there. ... But further to the left side, down the valley, is good berries. Not as — not as abundant as before, but very good cranberries. ... But you pick those in October — the first frost is when you picked the cranberries. ... The crowberries were — they are too abundant, but hardly any. There were a few last — last fall. (IQ45 2023)

And Apex is a good place to pick berries towards Tarr Inlet. ... We go up the hill, and there, behind there, behind — down the hill a little bit is a good picking — berry picking area. ... Along the river. ... Apex is — where it's moist it's — that's a good — in there, that's a good picking area. ... (IQ45 2023)

[Berry picking near Iqaluit] Blackberries, blueberries, cranberry ... And whenever we're at the cabin people walk from our cabin and go. (IQ01 2022)

While participants are camping, they are also often engaged in picking berries nearby.

You know, the falls, we walk to the falls from our cabin. ... During the summer. ... And there's lots of berries going to the river too. ... During the summer, we pick berries at the same time, and enjoy our outings from our cabin to the falls and back to the cabin. ... Crowberries, what's that little — cranberries — little cranberry-sized berries, yeah. ... And blueberries. ... They're all over. (IQ44 2023)

Some participants spoke about the way they process and eat the berries that they harvest.

[Interviewer:] What's your favourite way to eat or use the berries? [IQ44:] Frozen — not frozen. Make jam out of them. I never made jam yet, but jam, and with caribou fat [Inuktitut spoken 00:29:20.20]. They make [Inuktitut spoken 00:29:24.03] — they call it [Inuktitut spoken 00:29:25.19]. They make their own, almost like salad, but not really salad, but with berries, [Inuktitut spoken 00:29:35.04], and everything, that's our favourite dessert. (IQ44 2023)

Three years ago, I made about this much jam. ... Blackberry [jam is my favourite]. ... Without a seed. Just the juice—becomes a jelly. (IQ43 2023)

[Interviewer:] What's your favourite way to eat or use berries? [IQ45:] Just eat them as they are. ... Yeah, I like that, and I also put them in loaves. ... Or you can put them in bannock — add them with bannock loaves or make caribou fat. You mix it, and you have dessert like that. Mix it with caribou fat. ... And use the little plants ... leaves from the tundra, particular plants. You can mix them with berries and [Inuktitut spoken 00:50:58.00] and you make dessert. ... Like a little salad, but different than salad. (IQ45 2023)

One participant described their berry harvesting spot at Anna Maria Port where they have gone since they were young.

And then we were berry picking just north — north of there [by Anna Maria Port]. ... It's like 'Berry Picking Spot.' It's very nice, like all this and it's nice vegetation. ... It's really beautiful when you get in there and the nice hills. I would come here since as long as I could remember, being like six, seven years old. ... Coming here, pick berries. It's where we picked cloudberries. (IQ48 2023)

Iqaluit participants identified areas where only certain berries will grow.

They [cloudberries] don't grow anywhere else except that one spot. ... We were there [Anna Maria Port] this past August. ... I think we picked like four gallons [laughing]. Well, the two boys and me and the spouse picking. ... There's only a certain time of year you could go pick them. ... When they're ripe. ... So, this is like towards end of August when we go pick them. (IQ48 2023)

[Around a lake in Ward Inlet] It's the only area where cloudberries exist around there on this island ... they're around all summer, but they're not edible yet in July or August ... until they're ripe. (IQ29 2022)

In that area on the left side there's a place — there's no other place that I know of, there's [cloud]berries there that they don't grow anywhere else. (IQ04 2022)

When they're ripe, so, yes, that's very crucial area now for berries. Not just that, there's other berries, too, but that particular one's the only place in Baffins that you have berries. There's lots in Keewatin, millions of them all over the place, but Baffin,

that's the only place there is. So, that, we could call that a critical area for berries, special berries. (IQ04 2022)

Iqaluit participant identified that they wanted to build a cabin at Kangalla because the blueberries and blackberries in the area are abundant.

We'd be berry picking there [Kangalla near campsite] as well. ... Blackberries, blueberries. ... People were camped out here this summer, but they were doing same thing, berry picking over here. ... That's why I want to be that cabin spot where I showed you earlier. It has a nice hill with a sandy spot. ... And usually our berries grow bigger when it's by the warmth. (IQ48 2023)

In addition to berries, Iqaluit participants are also picking other food plants such as mountain sorrels, Quaraq, lichen, arctic cotton, sassafras, and kelp/seaweed.

Mountain sorrels [phonetic spelling 00:36:07.07] are very much like rhubarb. ... Very sour plant. ... They're not that big, but they're absolutely wonderful. (IQ09 in IQ09 and IQ10 2022)

Tastes exactly like kale, this little leaf. ... And it's very abundant, and when you pick them all and grind them up, put some nice seal blood, and seal fat, oh, my god, it's to die for. ... Quaraq [Inuktitut spoken 00:37:41.15]. (IQ09 in IQ09 and IQ10 2022)

[Interviewer:] Are there other plants, edible plants that you guys collect or know of other people collecting? [IQ09:] Yeah, we use lichen. ... Which is abundant, anywhere you go ... to put a flavour in our tea, teapot. ... Arctic cotton. ... [IQ10:] Purple sassafras. ... We'll eat the roots of those. ... Mountain sorrel. (IQ09 and IQ10 2022)

Whether harvesting large terrestrial mammals like caribou, collecting eggs on offshore islands or gathering berries, terrestrial harvesting is a vital part of Inuit culture and the lives of Iqalummiut. Terrestrial harvesting provides valued country food, important materials for clothes and crafts and important time for learning and enjoyment spent together with friends and family out on the land.

3.3 FISHING AND FRESHWATER

Fishing, especially for Arctic char, and being able to gather freshwater on the land or from glaciers and icebergs is a key value for Inuit. Free access to clean water, for drinking or fishing was considered to be important to the sanctity of the land, the continuation of Inuit culture and participant's enjoyment of time on the land.

3.3.1 *The Importance of Fishing to Inuit*

Fishing provides Iqalummiut with a highly valued source of country food. Participants described the importance of being able to fish, noting that time spent on the land while fishing was 'peaceful' and that they wanted to be out on the land 'as much as possible'.

So, I went fishing twice without him, following my friends, couple of times, as I would love to go out on the land as much as possible. And for sure I'm going to do that again. I'm going to have to follow my friends to go out fishing again. (IQ44 2023)

[Interviewer:] Can you describe what it's like being out on the land somewhere like your fishing spots? [IQ44:] Nice and quiet, peaceful — hearing geese, little bit ptarmigan — nice and peaceful. Fresh air. (IQ44 2023)

In the words of one participant, fishing was fun!

Like great fishing there [in Cormack Bay]. Summertime, the fish fight like crazy. ... I've never fished where they fight like that before. ... So, it's fun. (IQ47 2023)

Fishing is for many Inuit an intergenerational activity. In the quotes below participants explain how in many cases fishing is a teaching and learning experience, and often something that generations can do together.

[Activities he does at his cabin. Now they look different because he has had to rely on others more after a spinal surgery] ... Yeah, so I have to adjust, so that's why I bring my boy – my grandkids, my boys. They do all the stuff, they sit, they put the nets in at low tide down on the beach, and wait for high tide. Get some fish, wait for another low tide to take them off. Then I teach them how to dry fish. My wife does most of the drying of fish. ... (IQ04 2022)

[Interviewer:] when you're up here camping and fishing with your family, do you try to teach them about these activities? [IQ22:] Yeah, pretty much, but the way we were taught, we just watch and learn, you know? ... They never taught us how cut which way, or this/that. We just watch and learn. ... That's how it is. ... But nowadays, I teach my son, you know — you do it this way. When I was taught, I was never told, you know, how to cut it this way or cut it that way. It was just watch and learn. That's it. But nowadays, I teach my son how to cut this/that and ... gut out fish, and you know, stuff like that. (IQ22 2022)

Right now, I'm elder for the school, high school, and I take out kids out on the land to go fishing ... we set nets there [at both Bay of Two Rivers and Sylvia Grinnell River] and in springtime we'll drill holes and then do ice fishing ... [for] arctic char. (IQ11 2022)

My father was a — he is still a fisherman, like he's a full-time fisherman from ever since I could remember up 'til today ... [was taught] mostly by my father. I went everywhere with him. He never really taught me like "this is how you supposed to do it." He would correct me if I'm doing something wrong, but he wouldn't explain. I learned from watching him ... I learned from what he was doing, by observing him. Yeah, that's how I learned from my dad ... [Inuktitut spoken 01:01:51.15] in Inuktitut. (IQ32 2022)

3.3.2 Fish as an Important Country Food

Fishing is an important source of highly valued and sought after country food for Iqalummiut. Country food, as the quote below explains, is acknowledged by many Inuit to be preferred to store bought, southern or processed foods.

Really like fishing. ... My parents, that's all the eat is country food, so we got to try to go out much as we could. ... We prefer to eat the country food more than the store-bought food. (IQ26 2022)

Participants indicated that, as with other harvested country foods, they share the fish they harvest with community members. When fish are abundant, harvesters will be sure to take enough to share with those who could not get out on the land or who need support in accessing country food.

[Fishing at Nettilling Lake] In April of this year, my first time driving further up, was a 12-hour drive from Iqaluit all the way to Netsilik Lake [Nettilling Lake] ... that's 12-hour drive, one way, and this is — this Netsilik Lake [Nettilling Lake] is very far, and not many people go up there anymore, and there's a big quota for Arctic char there ... and my father-in-law and I went up there this spring, and we got some Arctic char, and we got funding through QIA, and then we fed the community during Toonik Tyme, here in Iqaluit ... so, this is one of the places I like to explore more, like in the future, and I'm planning to go up again this year ... we were setting nets for Arctic char. (IQ32 2022)

It's a very deep lake [Suka] ... it was my first time going there this spring ... nice, big char here ... about six-hour drive with the snowmobile ... I stayed there two nights ... there's I think over here tent, set up tents ... my friends, we left I think just before lunch, 11, got there seven or eight in the evening ... it was in May, so we had lots of daylight ... [gives away the fish he catches] we give them out. Lots of giving out ... [to] family, friends, the community ... whoever wants fish. (IQ27 2022)

And there's Iqalugaarjuk that's a really fun fishing spot, we were up there this summer and we caught quite a bit. We caught three tubs full ... you know the big fishing, the big black fishing tubs ... we caught three of those ... we gave a bunch away and ate a bunch. (IQ36 2023)

So when I was here [Iqalugaarjuk at Cormack Bay] summertime, we're right on this point and we had set one net from this point out, and another one down and out. And only one, one net caught one fish, but the other net caught the rest of the, the three fish tubs full [laughing] ... so, I filleted a bunch of them ... I took home 10 with me and that was enough for me. I filleted all of them, gutted all of them, and I kept I think 3

for myself and I gave the rest away to my, to my friends and my common law's family. (IQ36 2023)

Participants described the processing of fish, including how char might be dried, cooked or smoked. As the quotes below explain, sometimes this processing can take place out on the land or in the community, while at other times fish are consumed raw and no processing is required.

That's my cabin right there [in Peterhead Inlet]. ... in the summertime—also—I mean, if we want to, we go ptarmigan hunting. And in the summertime we go fishing in the ocean, arctic char. ... We put the nets right here. Yeah. ... Good spot everywhere on the sea, ocean, on the beach. ... However we want to do it [prepare arctic char]. We get dry fish, or cook them, or even put them in the freezer. Or eat it right there while it's still alive [laughing]. ... As fresh as you can get. ... (IQ43 2023)

Ney Harbour. ... So, in there there's cod fish on, on this lake. ... I do like cod fishing. I like to fish. ... It's very good fish ... Cooked, it does not matter to me. ... you cook it I eat it. Doesn't matter if it's just fried like that or batter or boiled, like I'll, I, I like, I like cod. It tastes, it's different from, I do like char, but we get a lot of char so ... Different fish, I like it, right? (IQ47 2023)

Fishing [at Sukanga]. ... I have to say 60 plus. ... Shared with friends and family. ... Yeah, I do [prepare them a certain way]. Sometimes I dry them. ... Or smoke them or eat them frozen or bake — boil. ... I like them [fish prepared] anyhow. ... I don't think I have a favourite way of eating char. ... I dry them at home. ... [I catch them] With the jigger. (IQ41 2023)

Some participants described how they will sell part of their catch to fund their next trip out on the land. One participant, quoted below, explained that the further they travelled the more successful they felt they had to be in order to justify the increased cost in time and gas.

Okay, so from York Sound, we usually drive to the next inlet, over here. There's another fishing spot by the sandbar. ... This lake actually has fish, but we do our fishing over here in the fall time. ... We go out that far, and we want to make sure we catch lots. Because we're going out that far, we want feed a whole lot of people. ... At least 50 fish, we'll be happy. ... Because it costs a lot of money to go that far. ... Because we want to recuperate some of the money back too, from that trip ... so we can fund the next trip. (IQ26 2022)

Yeah, yeah, we always share [fish]. If we can, we sell some of it, so we can get some hunting money back ... so we can fund the next trip. ... Yeah, give away, sell some. (IQ26 2022)

Commercial fisheries have been attempted on some lake systems, including at Nettling Lake in the interior of Baffin Island. One participant explained how they travelled to the area to sample fish to determine the viability of the fishery.

We tried the commercial fishing stuff right here [at Nettilling Lake] ... like we were just sampling to see if there like fish we can fish ... but here you can hardly tell after a blizzard or something, you don't know if you're on land or ice, because ... like there's lots of little lakes here ... there's ice everywhere ... when it freezes, so you don't really know where you are until you start trying to drill. It's just you'll hit land, or

you're — look like it's all ice. You'll hit the ground on an auger, and when we finally found a place to net, it was too shallow ... so, we went back up here, like after four or five days. ... we knew it was feasible. There's was two species of fish there ... (IQ16 2022)

3.3.3 Inuit Fishing Techniques

Several Iqaluit participants described different fishing techniques at various locations. Different techniques include using a gillnet, dipnet, jigging, rod, catching fish with hands, and using a kakivak (fish spear).

[Fishing at Sylvia Grinnell] Yeah. And fishing — where is it? Right there ... yeah, [uses] a gillnet ... like this time of year ... there's high current areas like here are thawed ... but this stuff here, where you could set a gillnet is already frozen ... and there's been people putting nets up there. (IQ17 2022)

I mostly go this one, Sylvia Grinnell ... I bring my spouse up here in June. ... We were there last year a couple times, just probably like almost two-hour ride. 'Cause there's other fishing spots where we go like halfway to Pang but can't really bring the family all the way up there. ... We usually get our fish fall time right at the falls, but not snagging, we use the dipnet. (IQ48 2023)

We used to go to a different — different place in the spring and the winter, it's ... Bay of Two Rivers ... we start going there sometime after January when the bay freezes over ... can go across the bay to — on the snowmobile ... 'til like May ... sometimes June ... we go ice — ice fishing to this lake ... everywhere on the lake ... sometime in the spring you'll see 100 people on the lake fishing ... yea, ice fishing ... families and people camping ... I always jig, I don't put the nets there, but some people put nets there, too, yea. Mostly jigging ... (IQ31 2022)

Bay of Two Rivers. ... Up the lake during spring, for fishing and rodding during the summer. ... we can only go up during springtime. ... But summer is around the shore ... for rodding. ... because the tide, when it goes low, it goes super low. (IQ41 2023)

Amazing fishing [at Iqalugaarjuk in Cormack Bay], like this all filled with fish, you can basically grab them with your hands. This [Cormack] bay they fill up with fish and then they go up this little creek, river in here. That must be it. They end up in this lake and ... And along the shore, because if you have a [Inuktituk — 0:30:08] — or a spear or whatever—you're guaranteed to catch dozens easily, easily, easily, it's amazing. (IQ42 2023)

This is abundant for fish here [near Iqalugaarjuk in Cormack Bay] ... the river itself ... and then this lake in the winter. This lake in the winter in this area in the summer ... and then even this river, when they're starting to go back upriver, we'll catch them with our hands ... because they'll like — they're trying to go up the river ... but it's hard for them ... so, like you'll find [inaudible 00:35:29.15], tuck your hand under the rocks, feel it, and then grab it ... In August, late August ... they go back upriver. And then in the winter, this, you'll do ice fishing in this like. (IQ29 2022)

Ward Inlet, [Inuktitut spoken 00:27:37.05], okay. [Inuktitut spoken 00:27:38.13], right here. That's another fishing — good fishing spot ... I love fishing there. That's one of my favourite spots ... we always set our nets from the shore to the ocean. So, both

nets, like setting nets there, over there, and like this is a place where it's like — I don't know how to explain it. When the fish are ready to go to the — back to the lakes, when they're going up the river, that's when the most excitement happens. Like ... you just grab them. You grab the fish. (IQ32 2022)

Yeah, kakivak. So it, it's, it's Inuktitut name, but I guess it would be like a fish spear in English. Kakivak ... It almost kinda looks like a little trident, so it's a long stick like 8 foot long, spear in the middle, little spear, little rod or nail, and then two plastic pieces that have hooks pointing back towards the spear. So that when you hit the fish with the kakivak, it locks it in there with the two hooks. (IQ36 2023)

We had set a net [at Cornelius Grinnell Bay], I think we got around 20 to 30 with the net. And we had got maybe seven by kakivak which is like a fish spear ... this place is always good for fish ... [because] I guess the easy access to the ocean ... cause char, char goes down, down the rivers into the ocean summer time and then winter they go back up towards the lakes and rivers up, up land. (IQ36 2023)

Inuit will often share their knowledge of particularly abundant or productive fishing locations. Participants explained how they heard about good fishing spots by word of mouth from other Iqalummiut.

I wanna say I caught two [arctic char near Kendall Strait]. ... I think word of mouth from people fished there before [told me about this spot]. Especially people who, who are from here, who grew up here, who have deep family roots. They're very knowledgeable. That's what I tend to rely on. ... (IQ47-2023)

Allen Island. ... That's where I want to go. I hear there's a — this is a good fishing spot, too. ... So, I want to go down there ... and I know people that have been there, and they say it's a beautiful spot. ... I hear that that's got a lot of fish too. ... just wintertime. I've only heard of it being fished wintertime. (IQ23 2022)

Fishing spots are used on a seasonal basis, based on access, but also the health and abundance of fish. Participants explained that some locations, including the example described below, are targeted primarily during the fall run of char when they return to their natal streams.

All the fishing spots are like seasonal. ... So, we'll go there when it's the right timing for them. ... There's also areas we can go further inland, wintertime, or other fishing spots by boat in the summertime. ... [The best time of year for char is] Just when the ice is breaking up, there's a lot of fish coming from inland to the ocean. ... That's one good spot, and another good time is fall time when the fish are about to climb back into the mainland. ... When they're doing their runs, that's the best time for fishing. (IQ26 2022)

Inuit often express a preference for fish from one location or another. For some, like one participant quoted below, anadromous (sea-run) Arctic char are preferable, and taste fresher to those populations trapped up rivers or in small lakes.

[Fishing at Sylvia Grinnell River] Way, way up there, three and a half hours ride up there, and back three and a half hours ... it's a big river though, so somewhere around there, along that area, but quite far ... every year, they go fishing up there ... most of the time, up there, it's a good fish ... but some of them are landlocked ... landlocked are — they don't go in the water, in the salt water ... I'd rather eat Arctic

char, like real char, not landlocked ... Landlocked, they have no, I think, no taste maybe. It's like white skin. (IQ21 2022)

3.3.4 Important Sites for Fishing: Sylvia Grinnell River and the interior lakes

Iqalummiut focus their fishing on certain important areas, notably lakes and rivers or bays where char are known to occur, or where Inuit feel the fish are particularly tasty or healthy. For many participants the Sylvia Grinnell River was seen as an abundant area important in part because of its ease of access from Iqaluit during the spring season when skidoo access is possible.

Where we usually fish, that's the main trail we use too, up the Sylvia Grinnell. Lots of people go up there and fish. ... On the river. ... [Went a] Couple of weeks ago. ... Yeah. Went for a ride with buddies, and oh, there was a bunch of fish. ... I'm sure the whole river has fish. (IQ22 2022)

This here is Sylvia Grinnell — or Amadjuak. This is Sylvia Grinnell Lake, and we'll do a bit of fishing all along — all along the river. ... Anywhere on the river is where we'll usually go. (IQ26 2022)

Yeah [we fish along the Sylvia Grinnell]. Usually when we bring the ladies, they'll have the jigger. We'll make a hole for them. Clear it. ... Set them up so that they can just sit there and jig away, but usually not too many guys are doing that kind of stuff because sometimes we'd rather be doing something else. I don't have the patience to be sitting and just hoping we catch a fish, yeah. ... Most of the time we'll set a net for guaranteed fish [inaudible 02:01:31.16]. (IQ26 2022)

This area [Sylvia Grinnell River] too in here has got good fish. ... In here there's lots of people that go fishing. Then we went up in here, lots and lots of fishing in here. ... This is open all the time. So, you fish here, and here is really deep. ... You're getting close to that big lake Grinnell Lake. There's some really good fishing there. And like foxes, caribou tracks up in there as well. ... [I fish with] Nets or jigging. ... Mostly nets. (IQ42 2023)

It's up the Sylvia Grinnell River ... it's like an hour and a half skidoo ride. ... there's the upside down cabin, where I've gone — we caught fish there, and also nets last month. A friend of mine. ... that's where people jig. ... And then the netting is further up that way. ... Yeah, my wife caught a fish. (IQ46 2023)

In November me and a friend of mine, we left nets further up [the Sylvia Grinnell River]. And we caught, I think, 15 fish. ... We'd go there after work in the dark. We'd go and take — take — cause, you're not supposed to leave them for more than two days. ... That's what we were taught, so we'd go after work, check on the nets, take them, put them back in. ... I love going there, yeah, cause it's a nice trail. It was probably fished out, cause I think somebody caught like 500, cause they had, like, six or eight nets. ... (IQ46 2023)

I mostly go this one, Sylvia Grinnell ... I bring my spouse up here in June. ... We were there last year a couple times, just probably like almost two-hour ride. 'Cause there's other fishing spots where we go like halfway to Pang but can't really bring the family all the way up there. ... We usually get our fish fall time right at the falls, but not snagging, we use the dipnet. (IQ48 2023)

With the dipnet, right at the Sylvia Grinnell falls, close to home. ... And then we use a dipnet – we used to snag, like I used to snag a lot and then I find it's killing a lot of fish. ... Everybody else is like snagging and then we're there with dipnets, probably like half an hour and we already got what we need. (IQ48 2023)

[IQ09:] North of Iqaluit, and fishing up in Sylvia Grinnell Lake, and all the lakes in between — Frobisher Bay, and Sylvia Grinnell. So that — and there's, like I said, all the — all the lakes are marked, and they have lots of fish along the shoreline. ... [IQ10:] Landlocked char. [IQ09:] Either landlocked or char, and some people have caught salmon down the bay. Atlantic salmon. [IQ10:] And some cod. (IQ09 and IQ10 2022)

[Sylvia Grinnell Lake] ... That's where I go mostly fishing in this area ... Yeah, we usually netting [phonetic spelling 00:16:39.29] it here ... This area here all the way up to here, people use it a lot. (IQ12 2022)

That's where people go is fishing a lot in springtime [at Sylvia Grinnell] ... it's a good spot for fishing ... there's a lake down there too ... that's where people go fishing. That's where we go fishing too ... we go up there for a day, just for the day ... we're jigging. Bring my family up there and ... come back home in the evening. (IQ20 2022)

Further inland from the Sylvia Grinnell watershed, Iqalummiut will also travel into the Baffin Island interior to the larger lakes, Amadjuak and Nettilling. In the quotes below, participants describe fishing in these areas, including testing fish from these areas to determine their health.

I go up there to go to Nettilling Lake. ... Pass through here to go Nettilling Lake to go fish — fish sampling for — to see if it's feasible to have a fishing quota set for Nettilling Lake. (IQ16 2022)

[Nettilling Lake, Amadjuak] It's — it's a good place to be, like there's fish everywhere here ... (IQ16 2022)

The first year where we sampled them, they gut the fish and sampled them here [Nettilling Lake], to see if there's any parasites or ... see if it's like a — good to eat. So, it was, so they sent us again next year, and we caught more fish, and they brought it here again ... but there's always people going there, in like '80s ... the [inaudible 00:21:52.22] used to go there to go commercial fishing, like where the big lake there ... there was a cabin there before. There's an airstrip there ... they went fishing all the time. (IQ16 2022)

3.3.5 Important Sites for Fishing: Nunngart (Bay of Two Rivers)

Nunngarut, or Bay of Two Rivers, is a popular fishing spot for Iqalummiut. Participants described how they would travel to the area throughout the year and fish using a range of techniques including jigging, setting nets, and using rods.

[Inaudible 00:23:27.07] went fishing the other day, and no fish. Usually go across the bay too, to fish. ... [At] Bay of Two Rivers. ... They usually jig for fish too. ... All that area's usually being used or skidoo or ... drive on and fish ... Boat over here, yeah. ... We camp out here. ... just camp up, tent. ... And over the summer, we fish, set

nets here. ... [During] June, July, August pretty much, before the fish starts climbing up August/September. (IQ22 2022)

Bay of Two Rivers, usually fishing. ... Yeah, wintertime I'll go on that lake too. ... That's called [Inuktitut spoken 00:36:11.26]. People — like people will be fishing there all winter and spring. ... but people will be fishing there all winter. ... [I fish with a] Net. ... [but] jig after April, because the HTO has, after April one, they stop hunters from using nets. ... It's so that ... [there is] Less pressure on the fish population, and more — so that more people can go there and actually get a fish. ... it's more to not overfish the lake ... So, it's just to — for more chance of people getting a fish with a hook or jigging. (IQ23 2022)

Bay of Two Rivers is another fishing spot. ... This big lake is our — one of our main fishing lakes [for arctic char]. ... In Inuktitut we call it Nunngarut. (IQ26 2022)

This is my favourite spot also. ... Nunngarut means Bay of Two River, but we call — we don't say Bay of Two Rivers. Normally, we'd say Nunngarut. So, this area, this lake, it's also one of the favourite spot. People camp there. (IQ39 2023)

That's one of the favourite spot [Nunngarut/Bay of Two Rivers]. A lot of people go there in the spring. I go there, yeah, and you have a choice, like jigging without seeing the bottom or if you go closer to the shoreline. (IQ39 2023)

Participants described how much they enjoyed fishing at Nunngarut and how tasty they found the char from this location.

And then we go to Nunngarut. ... That's our favourite spot, me and my husband. ... We usually go to that river instead, but once in a while to the lake when we can't use that river, because that's our favourite spot. ... And then, people use nets in that lake, and we don't like people using nets in our fishing spots. ... That lake is usually half nets once in a while. So, that's our favourite spot to fish, and sleep over nights when we can. Our holidays, we usually stay over there. (IQ44 2023)

So, that's where we usually fish [Nunngarut]. Where that big mountain — under the mountain. ... The scenery, fresh air, no traffic. Once in a while, spring, lots of skidoos going back and forth, of course. ... Oh, yeah, to enjoy outdoors. ... And to fish, nice fresh fish that we don't have to buy from — in front of Northmart or anywhere else. ... (IQ44 2023)

We just have to wait and get them, catch them [fish]. ... With our [inaudible 00:14:17.10], we use a [inaudible 00:14:21.05] with a handle. ... We go look under the ice, and we could see the fish is going there and there, but at the lake it's a lot different. ... Because it's more blurry sometimes. It's a lot easier to see at the river, because it's more closer to fish down there, because of the ice. (IQ44 2023)

[Interviewer:] How does the fish from this area [Nunngarut]— how do they taste? [IQ44:] Oh, good, very good. ... I don't why they taste different from that area and that area. I have no idea, but ... Maybe they're a little bit further than Iqaluit area or something like that, and other communities, when they send us some food and fishes, they're very different taste too, but they're good. (IQ44 2023)

There's, there's the river I go fishing to in the spring, and I'm pretty sure a lot of people have mentioned it. The Bay of Two Rivers. (IQ38 2023)

Participants explained how Nunngarut, or Bay of Two Rivers, was a popular fishing spot due to the comparatively fast and easy access from Iqaluit. As some participants explained this can make it quite busy during periods of good weather, or holidays when Iqalummiut can get time away from work.

It's pretty popular here in town, because that's one of the main fishing areas [Nunngarut] in town — easy access, not too far. ... The habitat is really good for [arctic char] fish over there. ... Just a regular hook. Some people go jigging, or ... springtime, it gets pretty popular for ice jigging. ... That's where they do most of the IQ Days for fishing. ... You can do both netting and jigging. (IQ26 2022)

I'm a summer person for seal hunting, but I do have a machine, so but it's usually to go fishing in this area. Not so much, you know, Iqaluit Lake, you know, but more like Nunngarut or Bay of Two Rivers. ... there's quite a few fishing spots, you know, like close to Iqaluit. This is one of the more popular one. Like there are actually two Bay of Two Rivers. ... (IQ39 2023)

I think Bay of Two Rivers, Sylvia Grinnell Lake, and that area because the travel is different to here and to across the bay to Bay of Two Rivers. Good — where I like to find good fish is at Sylvia Grinnell River and Bay of Two Rivers. Just for my travel. (IQ11 2022)

[Fishing at Bay of Two Rivers] Winter and spring, we go to this lake [at Bay of Two Rivers, Nunngarut]. ... springtime, is pretty hectic over there ... like everyone goes, and it seems to be on the same day. I don't know. You just go up over the hill and go to one side of the lake, and it's just filled with people ... in groups. (IQ18 2022)

The popularity of the Nunngarut means that the Iqaluit HTO must pay close attention to the stewardship of char in the area, including as is described below, instituting restrictions on the use of certain gear.

It [Nunngarut/Bay of Two Rivers] is [a popular spot], yeah. Until early April, the Hunters and Trappers Association — the local Hunters and Trappers, allow net fishing. So, people can set up their winter nets, like set up a net, and harvest ... char, and usually, you know, if they catch enough ... they'll sell them, you know, to anyone that wants it. ... But in early April, the Hunters and Trappers — okay, no more fish — no more using net. (IQ39 2023)

Participants described taking their families to Nunngarut, or Bay of Two Rivers, to fish for Arctic char, throughout the year.

So, after April, because it's a lot warmer, daylights are longer, it's easier to take the family out [to Bay of Two Rivers], so and it's close by to town, right. So, April 1st, they say no, no more fishing with nets. Everything's going to be jigging. ... And people go there. Take their family out for day or camp for the weekend and ice jig. ... we have a pretty big population of people that go there and ... fishing, all winter. ... Springtime, could be 100/couple 100 people, maybe ... on a weekend. (IQ23 2022)

That's where I usually bring my wife fishing [near Bay of Two Rivers]. ... 'Cause there's other places where it's nice but it's like seven-hour skidoo ride. ... Yeah [I have kids]. ... 12, 11, five-year-old. ... Bring them out in the spring. ... Yeah [the kids enjoy getting out there]. My sons mostly. ... Daughter's finally getting to that age

where she's going to want to come all the time. ... [Yeah, they like] Hunting, fishing, trapping. I still trap. (IQ48 2023)

[A lake at Bay of Two Rivers] But there's a big fishing area here that we use ... It's called Nunngarut. Bay of Two Rivers, this lake right here ... a lot of the town uses that lake ... yeah [it is used] here in the summer, and there in the winter and spring ... I take the family there for like a day trip and people like to jig ... I bring an ice auger ... it's a good way to get a sunburn ... and people set nets here a lot ... yeah, and down there in the summertime. [Pause] So, big netting area, and this one here ... we set nets here sometimes. (IQ17 2022)

Nunngarut, has a number of specific conditions which Inuit felt combine to make it a valuable fishing place, including the depth of the lake (allowing better overwintering survival) and strong ice (allowing safe winter fishing).

I guess it's the size of the [Nunngarut] lake. ... And the depth. ... Fish need water to survive through the whole winter. ... Because the ice is only getting thicker. ... So, they need deep water to swim around and do their thing. (IQ26 2022)

[Fishing at Bay of Two Rivers] My wife likes fishing, so we go fishing here ... fishing to this lake ... but this, open — that little water here that doesn't really freeze, so people go fishing there ... people were fishing here all winter ... [people fish for] char ... they just go through the ice, like they ... drill a hole and jig. (IQ16 2022)

Along the Armshow River in Nunngarut, or Bay of Two Rivers, is a popular fishing site for Iqalummiut. Pools in the river are deep enough that they can be fished throughout the year, by rod in the summer or by jigging through the ice or using a net in the winter.

But you can also fish winter here, like you know, when they go upstream here and also here. This is one of my favourite spots. If I have a choice, you know, I would go there ... I like winter fishing more than summer, because I can actually see fish that I want to catch. I don't want a small one, you know. I want a bigger one, so I have a choice when I'm ice fishing, and I want to see [inaudible 00:41:14.20] jigging, jigging. I mean I can — it's fun too, but I prefer to see what I'm going to catch, and you know, you can do that because you can see the bottom of the — because this is not deep, okay. (IQ39 2023)

We fish in here [Armshow River]. ... I fish in these — these little ponds. ... It's actually like the river, but it's deep enough to have fish, even in the wintertime. So, we do fish in this. ... We were there last fall. Got fish in here and that smaller little lake. ... Every spring we come up here too, go fish. (IQ48 2023)

3.3.6 Important Sites for Fishing: Sukanga

Sukanga, sometimes shortened to Suka, is a popular fishing spot accessed across the Hall Peninsula towards Cumberland Sound. Participants described travelling here during the winter and spring to access the abundance of char.

Yeah, Sukanga. ... Popular fishing spot. ... Really, really, really good fish. ... I try to go there every year. ... it's a small lake, but there's like 1000s and 1000s of fish there. ... it's always been one of the only place where the fish taste — Arctic char

taste really, really good. ... One of those things where you just want them. (IQ23 2022)

In springtime there are families that go up to that Suka area and they say don't bring nets because there's too much fish. It's amazing fish. ... I think they are fish from that Cumberland sound area compared to Frobisher Bay. So, you can tell, they are really healthy fish. Almost every single one is—they are larger fish, really good tasting, healthy fish. (IQ42 2023)

And Sukanga ... up there for fishing. Great fishing spot, the best I've ever been to. (IQ47 2023)

I've only been there [Sukanga] once, and it was last year. ... Incredible. ... Like the best ever. Lots of fish. Like it's beautiful over there. Little hard to get to, but it's like nothing I've ever seen or done before so it's a lot of fun. It is hard to get like through here, right like from, from here to here is a little bit not fun at times. Especially if you have a load of fish. ... great fishing, great views. So, I, I 'd love to go back. (IQ47 2023)

Like it wasn't windy and sunny [at Sukanga]. Great fishing, just like I can't get over how great the fishing was like you got, you get your hook down, 10 seconds later you have a fish on that hook and you're like ... I think I caught like maybe 40 [arctic char]. ... And I had to put a bunch back cause they were smaller. ... Like you want bigger ones, of course. ... But yeah, great like the absolute best fishing. ... I really don't want to go fishing anywhere else after going there. (IQ47 2023)

So, I do a lot of fishing there [at Suka], and as soon as we get more snow, I'll be going there. That little [inaudible 00:45:21.01], there ... it's abundant ... and it's the best tasting char ever ... they're all so big, and like every fish will be nice and red meat ... we usually go there for two/three days ... [where they camp] stay on the lake ... we have a nice tent, an Arctic oven tent ... and we catch them [the char] by jigging ... and spearing them ... half the fish we caught there was from spearing, with kakivak [phonetic spelling 00:47:59.12]. (CR27/PX28) (IQ29 2022)

So, I usually go fishing to Sukanga ... I fish for arctic char ... I jig ... the last time I was there was in April. (IQ34 2022)

I get cut off from fishing because I catch too much [at Sukanga] ... because we have to go up the mountain, along the side of the mountain ... to climb up, so our load can't be too heavy, that's why we leave our five gallons ... at the cabin ... [to transport the fish home] we have a Qamutiik and my common-law builds my Qamutiik box a little higher, so we put all the ... fish ... so, our first day when we get there, of course we settle and then they make fishing holes, then I start catching fish, and then I stop fishing around seven and then get up three o'clock and then go fishing at four ... and then I'll fish 'til lunchtime and the men will take all the fish that I caught and bring it – bring it up to the cabin. (IQ34 2022)

Inuit use a number of different fishing techniques at Sukanga. In the quotes below one participant described using the fish spear or kakivak to fish through a hole in the ice.

Yeah, we've made a bigger hole so you can see, and I used the kakivak, that was fun. That was my first time using kakivak [at Sukanga]. ... So, you lure the fish in, you

lower and then you sit and watch and — that was fun. ... Oh, like my, my stepfather [taught me] ... He's been there quite a few times. (IQ47 2023)

We made a bigger hole [fishing at Sukanga] and he's [stepfather] like, like how you see the fish is a little bit different from like where your kakivak is, I guess there's like — what is that — refraction or something. So, when you go down with the kakivak you gotta be a little bit more careful cause where you think you're gonna hit it and where you're actually hit it is different. So, like I thought I was gonna, like I always try to aim for the head, but I was like, like six inches back from the head. ... So, you know, takes getting used to and like you gotta keep the kakivak kinda high up so they don't see it. ... And then like you're gonna go way down pretty quick. ... So sometimes I missed probably like 20 fish that way, tryna, tryna get 'em cause it's not, it looks like you're going for the fish, but like you miss. It's like frick, especially cause you're tryna make a quick movement ... and they're not exactly where you think they are. It is fun, but it's more work. (IQ47 2023)

3.3.7 Important Sites for Fishing: Iqaluit Lake and Cumberland Sound

Like Sukanga, Iqaluit Lake is also a char filled lake close to Cumberland Sound. Iqalummiut will travel along the trail to Pangnirtung by skidoo before deviating to the lake to fish in the winter and spring when the skidoo trail is passable.

Around Pang, like Pang, you can fish anywhere. There's fish everywhere ... almost everywhere you see a lake, there's fish. (IQ16 2022)

I grew up in Pang, and all around Cumberland Sound, I've done fishing and hunting with my dad. I can't pinpoint exactly where, but from Pangnirtung all the way up and all the way down this way, and even on this side, there's fish. Pang has the best — one of the best fishing for char and turbot. (IQ32 2022)

At Iqaluit Lake, the Iqaluit HTO has established a cabin, due to the extensive use of the area. Participants described how much they enjoyed the area and the frequency with which they visited.

There's a cabin here. HTO owns the cabin. And this whole lake, you can fish anywhere on this lake. ... And we call that Iqaluit Lake. ... And we do our annual fishing there too. December, January — all the way through April. ... the whole lake is ... good for fishing. (IQ26 2022)

[Fishing in Iqaluit Lake] ... I even have a cabin there ... People go there. Some of them get to go there a lot ... It's only for netting sort of. It's a big lake ... It's got very good fish ... we go there in the winter. (IQ12 2022)

[Fishing at Iqaluit Lake] ... I fish two nets on this lake ... I have nets set over here, right up on this side of this hill here ... my father and my late grandfather used to set their nets right here, this point here going out this way — I remember my father setting nets here too before, but a lot of people set their nets around this general area right here ... when I used to go up there with my father, we used to go up there like February, March and sometimes in April, sometimes ... we used to try and make at least 3, 4 trips up there. When my father used to love the char. (IQ33 2022)

On Iqaluit Lake, he used to go fishing here every – when he was in his prime – in his prime days. (IQ15 2022, interpreted from Inuktitut)

Okay, this is where we go fishing, Iqaluit Lake. Okay. There is where we go fishing. There's a cabin there ... we'll go there in the winter, from December to April or May. (IQ16 2022)

[Fishing in Iqaluit Lake] And around here is called Iqaluit Lake, and that's where I love to go fishing as well. (IQ32 2022)

Some participants described going beyond Iqaluit Lake and fishing on Cumberland Sound itself.

There was everything there [Cumberland Sound] that you need in the winter that you don't have to go far. Its open sea. There's whales there all year round, almost everything is there all year round just mating ... caribou, fish, you'll get sick of fish. So much fish there [laughter]. All kinds, every corner you go there's fish. That's how bad it is. Island Island got close by three places you can fish, one, two, three, four, I mean. That's the fish your talking about, they're humongous, they go there almost every spring ... (IQ28 2022)

Participants also described how areas Iqaluit Lake and Cumberland Sound were important to char as they include important spawning sites.

We go fishing here, on the [Iqaluit] lake. ... I think my fishing net is right there, I leave them behind. ... We fish from here to here. ... Too many red fish down there, from here to here. ... There are arctic char. Yeah. You know, salmon are several colors, when they start going up they turn red. For spawning. ... Arctic char is the same thing they turn red for spawning. Same species, they change colour, on their cheeks. (IQ43 2023)

Fishing is here, like main fishing areas are here [head of Cumberland Sound] ... and there's three lakes here. We put our boat up three lakes ... this lake here, it's all this — it's called a spawning area, like the fish are all red, like they're landlocked ... the first lake when they're coming up, is fish with all white belly ... like thousands and thousands if you go to the end of the mouth of the bay, just from the bottom to the top, it's just fish. (IQ16 2022)

3.3.8 Other Important Sites for Fishing

A number of other important sites are also targeted for fishing by Iqalummiut. In the quotes below participants explained how they fished close to the community of Apex just outside of Iqaluit.

[Fishing at] Apex, behind Apex. ... There's a little lake too and river. ... He [husband] used to go fishing with his late brother, closer to Apex, yeah. It just takes from here, maybe just half an hour ride or less, somewhere around there. ... And we find them a little bit smaller, and some kind of big ones, they're a lot smaller than Nunngarut that we usually go. ... And they're good sizes too. Not too big. (IQ44 2023)

There's little pool where I like to go [east of Iqaluit], land-locked char, my wife's favorite. ... this past summer was the first time I didn't catch one in five years. ...

People drill holes there, and when I drove by a few — last month, there was somebody fishing, and he caught a small one. ... Yeah, my wife's — this is the first time she ever tasted land-locked char, cause she loved it. So, she doesn't mind me hiking there. Even though it takes all day, spend 3, 4 hours fishing, 2 hours hike back. (IQ46 2023)

And then I usually go fishing [east of Apex], there's a lake or there's a little river some — a bit further where I hiked in the fall time when there's no more fish in the ocean. Into here, this river here, right there. I go get some fish. Some Elders always say she likes having char from here, so I walk from Apex to there and then walk back home. ... once in a while she'll call and say, "I want fish from that river." (IQ48 2023)

York Sound was also widely used by Iqalummiut. Participants explained how they used the area, particularly during the summer months when they would travel there to fish and to hunt for caribou and other species.

It's called York Sound. ... That's a good — a really good fishing spot, summertime. ... Yeah, or you could set your nets here. And rodding, because this part's shallow. ... You can only get there at high tide. Anchor your boat there. Set camp there. ... And caribou and fishing. (IQ23 2022)

Yeah, we can do York Sound. ... The fishing spot is around here. Yeah, there's a fishing spot over here. ... And that one's only accessible by boat in the summertime. ... We were out there last summer in August. We were also there for caribou hunting. ... It's supposed to be the other way around ... but I go out more than my brother. ... On a good day, minimum is like 30-40 fish. ... On a good day, maybe 200 fish. (IQ26 2022)

Down here is called York Sound ... and there's a good fishing spot there. We go there almost every summer ... we fish for arctic char ... along this shoreline here, we set nets, and around here is where we cast the most, because this area is a big shallow ... and behind the sandbar, we have our boats parked, and this area gets really shallow, but around high tide we cast — cast our lines for fishing ... [goes with] family and friends. There might be like two or three or four boats ... we were there July ... July 2022, yes. But throughout the whole summer there's always people there ... camping, fishing ... our last trip around July, we spent four days there ... my longest stay there was three weeks. (IQ32 2022)

One other I know most would be if you go down to York Sound area, south, way south ... I do a lot of fishing in here ... it's beautiful ... there's a glacier here ... there's a lot of fish in here ... so, there's a big river that comes down, and it's still freshwater here, but when the tide comes, that right rises too ... and then, every trip we've gone down, I've seen belugas ... and there's always caribou, always, every trip ... it's very abundant with animals ... seals, whales, caribou, fish, and polar bears. (IQ29 2022)

Clearwater Fiord at the head of Cumberland Sound, was also identified as a good fishing spot.

I've been everywhere over here. Fishing is really good; Clearwater Fiord over here. ... We used to camp around here too, and I've caught char before, because there's this Clearwater Fiord. It's really fishing spot, so I'm pretty familiar with this area. (IQ41 2023)

One participant spoke about Kaiijaarvik River in Newton Fiord as having the best tasting river they have ever had.

Quite a few fishing spots where the lakes or the Arctic char would go to the respective, you know, upstream [of the Kaiijaarvik River], you know, in the fall, like late August, early September. ... this is what we call Kaiijaarvik. It has — I remember having one of the best tasting fish. (IQ39 2023)

Participants described the Cormack Bay area at Iqalugaarjuk as a productive one for char, where with low enough water levels they can actually pick char out the stream as an area where they can pick up arctic char due to not enough water flowing.

There's a river here [in Cormack Bay] that's when people go ... we just pick up — pick the [Inuktitut spoken 00:41:23.19], the fish. ... Because sometimes there's not enough water coming down or, yeah. ... [The fish] Can't get up. ... My son and his girlfriend were picking them up, and my husband would gut them, and I would make pitsi [phonetic spelling 00:41:51.22]. ... A good team. (IQ24 2022)

There's fish up here [a lake north of Iqalugaarjuk in Cormack Bay]. Like rodding around here, and then this little lake has fish too. Yeah. We've camped up here before in the springtime. ... Yeah, with snowmobile. ... But during summer, rodding. (IQ41 2023)

[Fishing at Cormack Bay] We usually go fishing here ... in the summer ... casting and netting and stuff ... And picking fish from the river ... In some years, river is too shallow. The — lot of fish trapped in deeper areas ... between the rocks. We used to go the river, literally almost picking the fish, like ... grabbing them ... [goes there in] July when we have access to go there when the ice has melt ... People goes there a lot. We still go there. When I go there, this summer, there were already two boats there, while we are still there. They left, but few more people came ... Yeah, it's a popular area. (IQ12 2022)

People go camp and fish — fish here [north end of Cormack Bay near Iqalugaarjuk] ... for arctic char ... I've been there lots of times ... you just set your nets anywhere around anywhere here in this area and you'll catch char ... the lake here, that's where the char stays in the winter when they go up the river ... yeah, so the lake's right there. And sometime we would go ice fishing in there, too, in the ... spring — springtime [inaudible — 0:58:28.2]. (IQ31 2022)

People in the river [at the north end of Cormack Bay near Iqalugaarjuk], sometime they go — just before they [the fish] start going up the river, and they just pull them out of the water ... with their hands and stuff, 'cause ... sometime the — the river doesn't flow, if it didn't rain too much the summer, it's barely a little river, so, sometimes the fish — some — sometime they can't go up the — the — the lake, and people just pull them out by hand. (IQ31 2022)

So in here, Iqalugaarjuk [at Cormack Bay] there's actually land locked fish [at the lake just north of Iqalugaarjuk] and they're called [Inuktitut spoken 0:30:06] in this lake. They're called [Inuktitut spoken 0:30:11] because they're orange and they have white fins ... So there's a river here that they can get up and down, but they have to be smaller because the river is quite shallow. You can walk around and you can see fish in the river and you can grab 'em. (IQ36 2023)

Several participants described Uukkat Lake as having large cod. This area is used by Iqalummiut to go fishing with family and friends.

There's a place called Uukkat. ... Because there's a lake. That's the shore, and then there's a little river, and then there's a lake. They have cod. ... Yup [went with my family]. ... It's either we're going on the land or sports or family or work. ... Some of them [cod] are huge. (IQ41 2023)

This is a big lake [Uukkat], and we park our boats over here, and we walk up on the land and to the lake, and we fish along here for Arctic cod ... we anchor our boats in the salt water, and wake up — we walk up the land. It's like five-minute walk to the lake ... and we fish for cod from the land, like just casting ... we go there every year, and we were down there in August [of this past year]. (IQ32 2022)

This big ... [Uukkat] lake ... it's full of massive cod ... so, they'll catch a small cod with a regular lure, and then they'll switch it up with the cod they just caught. Throw it back in the water, and then the big ones will eat the small ones ... I've gone with friends, just to see how they — where it was ... So, it's a small hike from the ocean, up to the lake. Then they'll bring a small boat and catch these massive cod in there. (IQ29 2022)

In many cases, no matter where they are camping, Inuit will pursue fishing as a quiet evening activity – something that can be done with little equipment or effort, in many different places. In the quotes below, participants describe this sort of opportunistic fishing while on camping trips on the land.

Yeah, right in front of my cabin [PX17, near Jenvey Island], right in front of there, it's amazing fishing. Right here. I think anywhere along here is good. I think anywhere along this coast has to be good. I got lots in there, I got lots in there. Lots of fish. (IQ42 2023)

I've been all over like these, fishing. ... York Sound it's called, beautiful fishing place ... get a lot of fish here. ... There's a nice sand – sand bar here, so, we'd drive the boats, anchor them up here, even when it's windy it's nice and calm. ... We'd be camping there for like four or five days. ... (IQ48 2023)

Tikiraaluk, beautiful fishing place, nice river. ... Get fish all the time here. We'd camp here just overnight, get what we need carry on. ... We would always get our country food, fish from here. (IQ48 2023)

Up [Slyvia] Grinnell River ... we follow the river all the way up and I think our fishing spot is if you go up a tad, it was in, right in here where it, the land narrows a bit ... and that was actually our first fishing trip this, this winter. So 2022 ... we stayed there overnight. It was November 11. We stayed there overnight, we caught I think it was 10 fish, so 10 arctic char ... that trip only took us two hours to get there ... my buddy that I went with he actually jigged for fish too and he caught one ... my fishing is netting [laughing]. (IQ36 2023)

3.3.9 Importance of Freshwater

Being able to collect clean and pure freshwater while out camping or travelling is considered a key value for Inuit, facilitating as it does the health of their environment, and their own lives (and those of the animals and fish they pursue) on the land.

Yeah [it is important to be able to collect water from the land] because we need water every time we're out hunting. And sometimes, if there's any rain water or snow, we use snow, if we have to in the winter. (IQ01 2022)

Right in there [on the mainland across from Thompson Island], this is shallow. It's shallow but when it's windy it's a shelter to go back home. ... there's a creek or a river where you can get fresh water. ... There's a cabin there, somewhere in here. You can get fresh water [Inaudible 0:40:04]. ... Oh yeah [right close to the shoreline] you can get a drink right from the boat. ... Yeah, it's really cool. It's mountainous ... And good water. Fresh, fresh water. Lots of geese. In springtime there's lots of geese in this area. (IQ42 2023)

[Interviewer:] Do you guys ever collect water? [IQ10:] Yeah. [IQ09:] Everywhere. ... Where there's nice — nice fall or a stream or river. ... Like, you get it anywhere. ... It's pretty well consistent. [IQ10:] Consistent. ... Tastes like 10,000-year-old water. ... [IQ09:] Keeps you young looking. ... Since the ice age, though. (IQ09 and IQ10 2022)

There are watering holes right here [near my cabin across from Anchorage Island] ... that's our watering hole ... (IQ29 2022)

Close to the community of Iqaluit, participants described how they would gather water from the Sylvia Grinnell River.

When the weather gets better, we go to the closest places as possible while it's still very cold. ... The closest one to the airport, when we go there to get water — to get ice water, from the airport area [along the Sylvia Grinnell River]. ... Some people go fishing over there. It's very close to the airport strip [north]. ... So, we like to get water from up there — from anywhere. ... This is the closest one. (IQ44 2023)

Yeah [I feel safe to drink the water]. We always find it better than tap water and people chose to pick their water from the river, [Sylvia] Grinnell River here. (IQ01 2022)

One participant described how they particularly like the taste of sea-ice which has been melted, finding that it provides a particularly desirable taste.

[IQ10:] But we pick it up off the saltwater floating. Let it sit in the boat for a bit. Melt a bit, and fresh water. ... Like, yeah, the salt washes off itself. Very clear red tea, like clearest tea you'll ever have. Not like tap water, kind of blackens a bit. [IQ09:] Like one of the — one of the waters that I really like is the melt, snow melt that's on the sea ice on top, and it's naturally distilled. ... And it's right in the middle of the bay and it's so good. (IQ09 and IQ10 2022)

One participant discussed how freshwater is important for the health of the land, including for berries and other plants which need water to grow.

I've taken ladies out berry picking. Pretty much where everybody goes ... at the end of this inlet, in front of the river. On the sides of the river. Berries will grow because there's so much water moving, fresh water, and all that little spray or whatever that's coming up from the river goes unto to land and, and keeps the plants growing. And that would be again, end of August till maybe end of September. (IQ11 2022)

Some areas are used strictly for getting water from a glacier, as one participant described in the case of a water gathering site close to Sukanga.

We drink the water from this lake [Suka] also ... and because the glacier ... the glacier that's up there, it's coming down to that lake ... this area is shallow, so we try and stay over here ... we make a hole anywhere, that's just for ... drinking ... or getting water ... that certain one hole is for getting water only ... no one fishes in it. (IQ34 2022)

Inuit use a variety of indicators when assessing the relative purity or safety of freshwater gathered on the land. In the quote below, one participant describes how they gauge whether or not to drink or boil water they have collected.

[When asked how they know that the water is good for drinking] Whenever we don't see little bugs or anything, that's when we're all good. And from way back, grandparents, fathers, and, they always get water from anywhere, but there's always certain water where there's little bugs and stuff. And you can tell if it's good or not, you pour it in the tea kettle, look inside, nothing. Just boil it and make tea or whatever. (IQ01 2022)

Fishing on the lakes, rivers and ocean around Iqaluit is an essential tradition for Iqalummiut. Fishing is an important source of country food, and as with other land-based activities a space where Inuit can gather together to learn, teach and practice their culture. Gathering freshwater is a similarly important practice, essential to life on the land, and through an appreciation for the importance of water's purity, a part of life where Inuit traditions of stewardship become particularly important.

3.4 TRAVEL, TRAILS, AND HABITATION

For Inuit across the Nunangat, travel on the land is an essential reality of life, central to the practice of many of the most important aspects of Inuit culture and identity. This remains true for Iqalummiut who travel on the land, ice and sea to visit other communities, spend time on the land harvesting and hunting, or simply for their own pleasure and the enjoyment of exploring their homeland. Before colonisation and the forced settlement of Inuit in communities, families or larger multi family groups lived together in camps scattered across the south Baffin region. While the participants interviewed now live in Iqauit, they described retaining a deep affection for living on the land whether in camps while hunting, at longer term cabins or while visiting the sites of ancestral outpost camps.

3.4.1 *Important Trails for Harvesting in the Iqaluit Area*

Iqalummiut use a wide range of trails in the immediate vicinity of the community. Some of these allow easy access to hunting and fishing areas, while others may be used to travel to camps or cabins for weekends away from the pressures and stresses of community life.

Immediately outside the community are traditional trails linking Iqaluit to the nearby community of Apex.

Back to Iqaluit area, and when we first moved here, there's — there is a traditional trail down, down towards Apex from Iqaluit, the graveyard area. ... And along there is a natural trail. And have been used by Inuit, because it's a natural and it's — the ground hasn't grown back, because it's used all the time. (IQ45 2023)

Ward Inlet is one commonly used area which has both sea ice and land trails, used by participants depending on the weather, season and trail conditions, as the quotes below explain.

And if the ice conditions are good in the wintertime, Skeena Trail goes through here, down to Ward [Inlet] ... [it takes] maybe an hour ... something like that. I haven't used that trail like a few years now. We were using this trail last spring, but the ice, it's no good. If it's open water, we use this one [inaudible – 0:33:23.2]. (IQ27 2022)

Pretty much the only trail [Ward Trail] to get onto the sea ice to get into Ward Inlet. ... So, everyone uses that trail to get on the sea ice too, to go look for seals. (IQ26 2022)

Nunngarut is widely used by many Iqalummiut and participants described the importance of this trail and the amount of time it takes.

It depends [time taken to get to Nunngarut], like if you're going that way, depending on the trail it could take anywhere from six to eight hours. And maybe coming back when there's a trail about three to four hours. ... Yeah [it is longer via snowmobile]. ... Sometimes I go by boat, load up a snowmobile or ATV on my boat and just unload it over there. And I got an ATV over there right now. (IQ01 2022)

[Other fishing spots, chosen because they are easy to travel to from his outpost camp] I think Bay of Two Rivers, Sylvia Grinnell Lake, and that area because the travel is different to here and to across the bay to Bay of Two Rivers. Good — where I like to find good fish is at Sylvia Grinnell River and Bay of Two Rivers. Just for my travel. (IQ11 2022)

Iqalummiut will often use the trails along the Sylvia Grinnell River to access fishing sites, as well as the interior lakes area at the centre of southern Baffin Island for hunting.

[A trail to from Foul Inlet to Amadjuak, going through Sylvia Grinnell] Used to travel all the way to Amadjuak ... with my uncles, and that would be in the trail ... there used to be a trail going up to Amadjuak, this way. I don't know if anyone uses that trail today ... maybe the odd ptarmigan hunter. (IQ18 2022)

[Area from Sylvia Grinnell to Amadjuak Lake] I can't hunt in the wintertime anyways ... we only use that during the winter ... only when there's trail ... it's mainly winter and spring accessible, like there's no road. There's no trail going up there. (IQ16 2022)

It's following the skidoo trail [along the Sylvia Grinnell]. That's the trail we use. ... Some of the land there is too treacherous, and we stick to the river. We try to go too much to the far right, and we'll drive into big mountains and stuff like that, where it's not easy access. ... You can go there [Sylvia Grinnell] all year long. (IQ26 2022)

Members have travelled across the Hall Peninsula towards Cumberland Sound to get to Sukanga, a fishing spot. One participant described the abundance of wildlife they see while travelling.

[Sukanga in Cumberland Sound, travel route to get there to go fishing] When you're driving there, it's quite a drive, but it's a smooth ride, and on your way, you get to see a lot of caribou ... sometimes you see a herd of 18, sometimes you see a herd of 10, herd of four, herd of two ... you see rabbits, fox and some area is rocky, some area is smooth, and then before you get to the lake, there's a place called Tumaivik [phonetic spelling – 0:06:09.7] ... (IQ34 2022)

3.4.2 Important Trails between Communities

While some trails and travel routes are used for local harvesting or shorter trips, other trails are used by Inuit wishing to visit the other communities on south Baffin Island. In the quotes below, participants described how they used one well-established trail to travel by skidoo from Iqaluit to Kimmirut each year when the snow conditions were good.

He's travelled to Kimmirut [inaudible 01:03:30.19]. ... Yeah, there's a trail ... to Lake Harbour or Kimmirut. ... he usually travels to Kimmirut by skidoo by himself, but last year he didn't go. ... The only time he didn't go was last year. ... So, he goes every year, I guess. (IQ25 2022)

Yeah [been to Kimmirut]. ... Snowmobile so it was the race, so my cousin did the race, so I helped him out. ... That's a beautiful trail too. ... All along there is beautiful. That's a beautiful – some areas you gotta be careful, this is a valley that will fit one snowmobile. ... So, it could be clear on the sea ice, lower altitude, you end up on the

trail up top, could be storm. ... It's a big difference, but it's beautiful. It's so nice. All is beautiful, especially in here. It's really nice. (IQ42 2023)

Pretty from Kimmirut, grew up here, and along the shoreline, all the way from Kimmirut to Iqaluit is not heavily travelled, but people travel for fishing, whaling, and walrus hunting. ... And the Kimmirut skidoo trail. (IQ10 in IQ09 and IQ10 2022)

[A trail to Kimmirut in the valley used for hunting] This is the also the main trail between here and Kimmirut ... between January and May [is when the trail is used] ... I've travelled that many times. I don't know how many times. Too many times. Ptarmigan hunting, ptarmigan hunting, fishing, cod fishing ... I've also hiked that way ... [it took her] 11 days. (IQ14 2022)

Iqalummiut will also travel from Iqaluit to Pangnirtung by skidoo. In the quotes below, participants describe using this trail - primarily to access fishing at lakes like Sukanga or Iqaluit Lake close to Cumberland Sound.

Because that's the Pang trail, but this way to Sukanga. ... because we go through McKeand River. ... It's [the trail] always different every year. ... Roughly six hours [from Iqaluit] if the trail's good. (IQ41 2023)

There's a Pang trail and then [Inuktitut placename - 00:08:49] and you turn East right there just before the cabin, and then we started coming back. So just before the turn off, because this is hilly, you need to come back here, and start coming back to Iqaluit. In here somewhere towards the east, you can come out, we saw more caribou before we got to cabin number two. But they were gone as soon as we got over the hill, two or three caribou, they were gone, we couldn't even catch them. Then we saw more tracks just east, in there somewhere. This area is still two or three hours out by skidoo. ... (IQ42 2023)

[Interviewer:] What time of year do you usually have to start traveling on the trail to Pang? [IQ43:] Never will be the same. One time we tried before Christmas so we could have fish for Christmas. Never able to make it. And then we go there in January. This year, well, last year we went after Christmas, on the 26th. We were able to make it, but before we were not. So, it—the time of year depends. (IQ43 2023)

[Use of Pang Trail to access fishing areas] There's a Pang trail going over there. They go fishing out there too ... I put nets out there and got some fish ... that's where they [the community] always go fishing too, like every year. (IQ21 2022)

3.4.3 Safety while Travelling

Travelling on the land during the challenging conditions of the Arctic winter requires extensive knowledge of the land, effective and reliable equipment and plenty of planning. In order to facilitate the safe use of some key sites for Iqalummiut, trail markers have been placed in some areas to assist in navigation. One participant described how this practice has been used to assist travellers on the trail from Iqaluit to Pangnirtung.

Been halfway [to Pang]. A lot of people travels that way to Pang on skidoo. ... That's the main trail anyway. ... Because you have poles standing up, wood poles, going up

towards that way. ... Yeah, that's why you see Pang One, Pang Three, Pang Two, Pang Four, all the poles. (IQ22 2022)

Travel on the land or the sea ice depends on extensive and up to date knowledge of conditions on the trail. In the quotes below participants describe the importance of ice and snow conditions for accessing several key areas, and the ways in which these conditions can limit when travel can take place and the routes that must be followed.

There's two ways to get there [Nunngarut]. ... There's an inland trail, and you start from town. ... Hug the shore. Go through the inland, the crossing from Peterhead Inlet to Foul [phonetic spelling 00:22:16.28] Inlet, and we climb this way, and we make our way all the way to the main lake. Sometimes that takes two hours. Sometimes that takes four hours, depending on the trail condition. ... Yeah, snowmobile trail. ... There's also the ice trail too. ... Yeah, start from Iqaluit. Go through this way, and kind of got to cut through the mainland here. ... We drive through the ice again, and then there. ... When the ice is thick enough, that's when we start using that trail instead. That saves a lot of daylight time. ... Because we're limited on daylight right now. ... Pretty much from January to June, you can use the ice trail. (IQ26 2022)

Depends each year [where the floe edge is], depending on the cold temperatures. ... Usually a good full month is required to have a safe travel. (IQ09 in IQ09 and IQ10 2022)

[Travel to go Fishing at [Inuktitut spoken 0:17:08]] [Travelled there] Last year, it would have been March or February because you have to get there when it's colder because part of the trail there doesn't actually freeze ... so you have to get there the coldest months so that it does freeze and you can actually get past where it's commonly slush, I guess, and not frozen. But when we were there, it was all good ... so it's part of a big valley that met the river and where the glacier broke off you could see it. It was like a 20 foot wall of just ice from the river itself it was cool. That was my first time driving on a glacier like that. Just the, it was maybe a kilometre and a half long or two kilometres wide from the top and it came down a kilometre or two too down towards the river. (IQ36 2023)

Yeah when the ice forms up, and they used to start travelling back and forth I guess to Iqaluit and Kimmirut as early as the – when the ice formed. I've heard it before, that when the ice formed it was a time to socialize. Cause there was no other way to travel. (IQ15 2022)

Sharing knowledge about trail conditions is key to remaining well-informed about ice and snow conditions. Participants described how this information travels through the hunting community by word of mouth and by following the tracks and trails of the most knowledgeable and experienced hunters.

Through like Rabbit Rock [phonetic spelling 00:23:28.27]. ... It's very high current. Like the currents are strong, so sometimes even around here. Sometimes the ice doesn't form that well. ... You hear about it from hunters. ... Everybody shares information to each other about the ice conditions. (IQ41 2023)

[When asked how they have learned about reefs and dangerous areas] Talking to guys like [Inuktitut names – 0:54:20], and Mike, and following people that know the

area and are from here. And [Inuktitut names – 0:54:30] they gave me [inaudible – 0:54:33] cause they're from here and know the area and I talk to them or follow them. ... Those guys—you know safety really, they know. (IQ42 2023)

There's spots you have to be careful of because there's water on top of the ice commonly and that means it's not safe ice. It's called [Inuktitut spoken 1:12:14], water on top of the ice makes the ice softer. So, you're more susceptible to fall through if you go unto that part of the ice ... just growing up from people I've, they tell you "Hey, if you see this, stay away." Or "Hey, that's what this is." ... as Inuit, you try to teach other Inuit what areas are, are like, what their names are, what common dangers there can be, or just, just everything in the area that you're at, at the time. Inuit try to tell other people of everything they know about that area so that it can be passed on to other people. (IQ36 2023)

While adequate knowledge and experience are key to safety on the land, the right types of equipment and supplies are also critical to safety and survival. Participants described how they will pack survival gear and extra supplies in the event of accident or simply a delay due bad weather.

[Interviewer:] Yeah. So how do you prepare for a trip that is that far away? [IQ43:] Just look up how much and start to pack everything up. ... It depends [how much food and supplies I bring]. More than—I pack about a week's supply. Tea and bannock. But, you know, when we go hunting, we never really bring country food. Because you're gonna get them over there. That's the purpose. Sometimes nowadays, we bring muktuk. Because we're not going to get muktuk over there. No. We don't bring caribou, or we don't bring rabbits. Yeah. So that's how it is nowadays. (IQ43 2023)

You can make it in one day. It's just probably six hours by boat, but you're travelling and, you know, burning more gas. ... And then like, tides have a role to play in that. Weather conditions and then the sea conditions on top of that. And it's better if you go with someone with another boat just in case something happens that way you have someone there. But again, that's a lot more planning and a lot more supplies, more gas. So it's a little bit more distressful in a way, just cause you're kinda so far. And then like making sure you have like contacts, just in case something happens or like your satellite phone, people know where you're going, they can be your contact if something does happen but yeah just, that's pretty much it. ... (IQ47 2023)

You gotta be prepared for a week [when travelling via snowmobile], if it gets tough. ... That's what my dad taught me anyways. Like anytime you go out you gotta be ready for a week. Even though it's nice out, weather comes in or your machine breaks down, nobody's gonna come cover you. That's how you gotta prepare, that's what my dad taught me. ... If you're not prepared, you're done, you know, that's the risk you take every time you go out. So, you gotta be ready for that, all the time. IQ42 2023)

And of course, like accessibility of getting there. ... Is it hard? You know, how's the terrain, weather, and again like there's a lot of factors that go into everything. Especially the farther you get out. So you gotta be more careful. ... From like, mainly from my parents [I learned this]. My stepdad is great at like preparing, making sure we have everything we need. ... like you prepare] long, longer than, especially for the longer trips cause you don't have much room for error. The preparation probably's

like a week of just slowly gathering stuff for the trip. ... And then double and triple checking during the week, right? ... But it, like planning is critical for me. (IQ47 2023)

3.4.4 Modes of Travel

Travel has always been conducted throughout the year, but it remains an activity which like all Arctic life depends on the season. Changes in weather, day length and snow and ice conditions have always dictated the use of important areas, as well as the ease and mode of travel between them.

In Nunavut, you know, that have — where the people didn't have to move, because they were — the food was there, unlike Iqaluit. You know, because Iqaluit — even though Iqaluit had been used, there's people here, you know, for thousands of years on and off, and it was more like seasonal, like right close to Iqaluit. (IQ39 2023)

I have a friend that has a cabin at Jaynes Inlet, and ... like during summertime, we get a lot of north winds, and sometimes it takes us a while to get home, and this is where I anchor usually, during summer, waiting for weather. I wait, like sheltering from the wind, and when it gets better, we start travelling up to Iqaluit. (IQ32 2022)

Travelling before the advent of skidoos was conducted by dog team, kayak and eventually by sailboat or rowboat, as some participants described.

In those days, of course, you know, it was by dog team in the winter. If you were — like you might have a powered boat, which was rare, so it was, I know my immediate family before I guess I might've been born, but I would have been a child. ... they [family] rowed, you know, like a boat with a sail. If there was no wind they had to row [inaudible 00:29:31.00] with my mother, my father, and my sister, and my brother, who was at the tail ... So, and they rowed, and anyway, that was how they moved. That would have been in the 1940s late '40s, because my parents were roughly born around 1923 and '24 ... (IQ39 2023)

[Moved] Back [to Iqaluit] in '57. ... By dog team. ... Over the land. ... I remember moving from our village and coming down to Iqaluit over land. ... probably five days [it took], yeah. (IQ45 2023)

My grandfather used to go take RCMP ... they used to dog team from this place [a trading post in an inlet in Frobisher Bay] to Kimmirut and from Kimmirut to Kinngait and from Kinngait to Nettilling Lake and from Nettilling Lake to Paunngaqtuuq from Paunngaqtuuq all the way back down to here and Iqaluit and back. And then they would do that vice versa and these are the stories that my father always used to tell me. My grandpa would always take the RCMP from one community to another because they didn't have so many RCMPs so they had to travel with the RCMP. (IQ11 2022)

[Trail in Jaynes Inlet to Kimmirut] An older fellow that my girlfriend's father says this used to — is a dog team trail as well Kimmirut trail, back in the day ... it was a little bit of a shortcut if you were down the bay, and you can go this way and there's a way. I don't know the trail, myself ... but it was also a dog team trail to get to Kimmirut. (IQ17 2022)

Since the arrival of the motorized boat and skidoo/snowmobile, travelling time has decreased and more distant hunting journeys are possible in hours rather than days.

Today, it's a little bit different because with the power machines that we have right now, you can go both in winter and summer, go in a short period of time to a hunting area that maybe would have taken you maybe three days to get to by dog team, and now you can be there in a few hours. ... (IQ39 2023)

[Pang trail, travel to Sukanga for fishing] Just to the cabin, you're — when you're not speeding, like maybe you're going 40/50 clicks — six/seven hours to the cabin. Maybe another hour to go down ... seven hours altogether, maybe ... if you go fast, you might go there early. Yeah, or less hours ... from Iqaluit. (IQ37 2023)

Many Iqalummiut do their fall, winter and spring hunting by skidoo on the land or sea ice and so will be following snowmobile trails while out hunting or fishing.

That's the main route when they go fishing too, to Suka [phonetic spelling 00:52:21.03]. Every spring, people go there to fish. ... It should say somewhere. [Inaudible 00:52:36.24]. Yeah, somewhere in here they go fish. They take the route, the skidoo route. ... That's the main trail they use too, to go fishing, springtime. (IQ22 2022)

In towards if you go from Iqaluit towards Cumberland Sound. There was a trail — two trails that came from Iqaluit and that went up this way. ... those are our other fishing spots [for arctic char]. ... there's a lake over here we go for char, and then the — at the other end of the trail, that's another fishing spot, Iqaluit Lake, it's called. ... you can only get there by snowmobile, but if you were living in Pang, you can go there by boat too. ... Takes about six hours to go there on a straight drive. (IQ26 2022)

Yeah, we actually got a beluga along here. As we'll drive the snowmobiles through here, through this channel, and then the floe edge kind of starts over here, so we're limited to driving in some areas. Pretty much this area is the farthest we'll drive through snowmobile, and we'll just sit there all day, and enjoy the scenery. ... And hope something pops up close by, and that's when we start the hunt. (IQ26 2022)

So, [Inuktitut spoken 00:33:43.28], you know, it's only like what, by skidoo, about 15 — about half an hour away, you know, from here [Iqaluit], and so that was [inaudible 00:33:56.00] because even this time of the year, there main source foods here would have been seal, ringed seal, because of course, beluga only come here, you know, around early July to maybe end of July/early August sometimes. You know, but of course, it depended on the food source. ... (IQ39 2023)

Boats will be particularly used for summer hunting and fishing trips. However, some participants also described how they will transport boats to the floe edge for winter hunting off the sea ice platform.

Other places like Iglulik, for example, and Cape Dorset, if you look at their history, they've been inhabited, you know, by Inuit people for over a thousand years, especially Iglulik, because the people there really had no reason to move sort of year-round, because they — right now, they have access to open water, so it only like a couple of miles away, you know, from the community, so they can harvest walrus — seal during that time. In Iqaluit, a little bit different, because you have to go

a little bit further out, because there's no open water close to Iqaluit. But in Cape Dorset, people still — people go boating, even in winter, dead of winter. They put — they tow their boat onto the floe edge, put it in the water at minus 40, you know. When it's calm, and you know, they go walrus and seal hunting. ... (IQ39 2023)

3.4.5 Teaching and Learning while Travelling

Travelling on the land is an important opportunity for the transmission of land skills and place-based knowledge between generations and between travelling partners. In the quotes below participants described how travel was a vital opportunity for this teaching and learning.

[Walking trail to look for caribou in Ward Inlet area] And every time we go caribou hunting, we look for caribou in summertime ... my father and his brother used to walk almost every day, like on the land ... they go by the valley or by the hill ... look for caribou, that's how we — I used to follow them a lot ... I used to follow them a lot. I used to help them a lot, and watch them ... learn from them. (IQ20 2022)

[What it feels like to take the youth from the highschool out on the land] It's like me taking my boys out. It's like me taking my kids out. Go enjoy being on the snowmobile, lake, do some ice fishing and enjoy being together. The important thing is to show them where we are and to show them what love is on the land with family. I enjoy, I really enjoy taking students out because it reminds me of my past. My father taking me out, showing me how to do this, showing me how to do that, and it like my turn to do that to these students and kids. And most of the kids that go to high school, weren't born and raised here, so me and my brother we take our time and teach them how to go along the side of the river because at full moon or new moon when the tides are really high, that affects all the rivers and lakes on, mostly on Baffin Island. They were, they will overflow and sometimes the whole river will sometimes melt even in the middle of winter cause there, there's so much flow. So we gotta go along the side of the, side of the river on, on snow ... [is teaching them] safe travel and where the bad part of the rivers are. (IQ11 2022)

Yes. That, that's why I like taking kids out on the boat too. What I'll do is, I'll go along the shoreline if it's very windy and if we have to move from point A to point B, I'll go along the shoreline and make sure I'm going through a safe places, safe trail. And go from point A to point B safely. And during that time, I'm teaching kids how to drive the boat in the, in the big waves and go, how to go and hide in, inlets and wait out for the weather. (IQ11 2022)

[How to travel safely on a snowmobile] Same thing on snowmobile. But it's more whiteout so we have to remember where the wind's coming from. Either north or south. There's barely any east or west winds on, on our bay, on, in winter. So if it becomes whiteout in the springtime, and if there's little bit of wind coming from the south or coming from the other side, I try and keep, teach kids to keep the wind on the right side cause we're travelling this way. South wind has to go from Bay of Two Rivers to here. The wind should be ... hitting your face on the right cheek ... those are the knowledge that my grandfather and my father taught me ... And it's also vice versa from when it's north wind. When it's north wind, let's say we're coming from Bay of Two Rivers, the north wind will be more over here than back here. Cause we're travelling almost diagonally to, towards Iqaluit ... Those are the things that my

father and my grandfather taught most of the family what to remember. And if go out alone remember where the wind is coming from. Always try and remember because that wind, if it shifts, but in the winter it never shifts, so you gotta know where the wind's coming from all the time. And if you start turning, you, you will know that you're turning. And if you try and go from point B to point A, let's say Bay of Two Rivers to back to Iqaluit, this is a very big bay and sometimes even a great, good hunters will go on the ice and they'll start doing circles. These are the things that as Iqalummiut we have to remember where the wind's coming from all the time. (IQ11 2022)

3.4.6 *The Enjoyment of Travel*

Time spent on the land while travelling is enjoyed for its own sake and many Inuit take pleasure in the act of exploration and seeing new areas. Iqalummiut described how they enjoy travelling and going on long journeys to see new places.

I'll hunt as long as I could, and I'll go wherever I could, as long as I could. If I could drive to Greenland, I'll drive too Greenland — somewhere far, really far. I like doing expedition type of hunting. (IQ26 2022)

Go super far. ... Go to places where you never see before. It's much different everywhere you go. Not one place looks the same. Everywhere you go is different scenery, and it's always eye catching, and makes you want to go further and further and explore the rest of your land. (IQ26 2022)

And this summer I received my first ever boat, so I spent a lot of time seal hunting around this area, as well as this area [Jaynes Inlet to Nunarvik [phonetic spelling 00:03:05]]. ... So far, I've only gone here in the winter, but I plan on exploring more areas. ... Yeah, I tried to go once a week, just learning, always with someone who knew the area, or if I didn't, then it would just be myself and another person. But I almost went — almost once a week. (IQ46 2023)

[Travelling during the long trips is like] It's silence ... I think I like silence. I like to go somewhere where I never been before ... and see the land or water, whatever, how it is like travelling and learning at the same time about the areas and how they look. ... (IQ12 2022)

For some participants, journeys undertaken by boat are the most enjoyable.

I like going. I like — I like just the boat, on the boat, just you know, look for seals around here. ... That's what I like. I just — all day. Just being on the boat. ... My favourite part is ... boating, yeah. ... [In the] Summer, if I'm not working, if the weather is good, I'll go out with them, like all summer. (IQ24 2022)

I like being out [out of town with my husband]. ... I like the ocean. ... Quiet — and I like the land, just looking at the land. ... Yeah. Even if there's nothing on the water, like if there's no seal, I don't care. I just like boating. ... And hunting. (IQ24 2022)

While so much of the travel Inuit do is now by boat or skidoo, some participants described the pleasure they derive when walking out on the land during camping and harvesting trips.

This is high terrain, caribou here [Hamlen Bay]. So, you climb up, walk up, there's that valley there, there's that rock that is beautiful there. Beautiful. I'll probably go back there this summer. ... And there are birds all along, like it's noise, the birds are acting hey, the terrain is really high, they must nest ... (IQ42 2023)

I just love it, and we go to our cabin during the weekend sometimes, not too far from here [Iqaluit], but 15/20 minutes by skidoo ... And we used to walk to the river from our cabin for the day and go fishing on the falls. ... Going up the river, take a walk — fresh air. So nice. ... Just for the day. ... Any time we have a chance, we try to go there. (IQ44 2023)

It's nice, nice to walk to the river. ... For the day, bring food and everything. (IQ44 2023)

3.4.7 *Camps and Cabins*

Many journeys on the land or by sea can take several days, requiring overnight shelters, and for some these overnight trips – especially to camps or cabins maintained or this purpose – is a welcome break from community life and an opportunity to gather with friends and family and enjoy life on the land.

During hunting and fishing expeditions, participants described pitching their tents to stay overnight.

Yeah [he has camped around Iqaluit and Frobisher Bay]. ... When they go out hunting, they overnight sometimes. ... Anywhere out on the land where it's good to pitch a tent. (IQ25 2022)

In some cases, when travelling by boat, participants described sleeping in their boat to avoid having to bother with camps or tents. As one participant quoted below explains, sleeping out on the land can ease the stress of having to race back to town after a long day of hunting or fishing on the land.

Usually when we're going that far [to York Sound], we'll do a weekend trip. ... Because it's kind of too far just to go on a day trip. ... It takes a lot stress on you, doing all that work, and having to come back in the same day. ... Usually, we'll do a weekend trip there. ... Us, we stay in the boat. Some people stay in a tent. And then the same, exact same area, people also do caribou hunting. ... [During] August/September. ... Because we're under moratorium, right now. We're only get a month or two of caribou hunting. (IQ26 2022)

But one time we slept in the boat here anchored. ... Sometimes [we stay in the boat], like even when we went to York Sound, we stayed. We slept in our boat for four or five nights. ... It has a cabin. ... And then the outside has a canopy. (IQ41 2023)

Many participants described how the area around a camp or cabin will be the focal point for a wide range of land uses and activities.

Our cabin there. ... when the ice freezes up, usually go around in here, wait for seals. ... Never really freezes up in the winter ... [Built] About two years ago. ... [Visit] All

summer. ... Waiting for ice to form up. Can't get there by skidoo right now, because it's all rocky ... (IQ22 2022)

Every summer, growing up, we'd go here [near Pang]. That's Iqalugaarjuit [phonetic spelling 01:24:14.08]. ... My family has cabins here. ... So, there was always like caibou, berries, fish, clams, seals — whales. There's a river here too, around here. We'd go to the river and try and catch char. Clam digging around here. There's — like there'd be caribou, whales, seals, clams, berries all around. My favourite spot. ... Like we've been going there forever, my mom and my grandpa were born there. ... So, my family's been going there forever. ... And it's — it's beautiful there. (IQ41 2023)

Yeah, that's where my cabin is, yeah. My summer cabin ... yeah, that's where I take — we take our grandkids. We do fishing, whaling, you know, seal hunting, duck hunting, egg picking in spring time ... we go there by boat. (IQ04 2022)

Some Iqalummiut will use their camps and cabins for only short trips away from the community over weekends or holidays, as participants describe below.

And wintertime, I usually set my camp there [near Bay of Two Rivers]. ... [I camp with] A tent. ... [For the] Weekend, usually, yeah. Like leave Friday after work and come back Sunday — Sunday evening. ... Go back to work Monday. ... Oh, yeah [it is nice to leave town like that]. ... I leave after work in the dark. I love — actually in the dark, like wintertime, with the full moon, you could actually see quite far. (IQ23 2022)

It's only about a 45-minute skidoo drive. ... Towards Pang. ... There's a cabin here. ... [Stay at Iqaluit Lake] Every time. I mean three or four times a year. ... HTO [cabin], yeah. ... For the weekends, mostly weekends. We leave Friday morning, to reach it there is a one-day trip. Depending on the trail conditions we set up the fishing nets that evening. Or if you're too late we set up in the morning. Couple of days fishing, then we'll be back Sunday or Monday. (IQ43 2023)

This is my cabin spot [west shore of Pugh Island] ... we try to go there almost every weekend by boat ... or during our holidays, we spend a lot of time there ... And that's where we kind of leave to go fishing down, like to where we want to go fishing or seal hunting [like a base camp] ... so, our cabin — current cabin is overlooking the polynya, so we can see the ice going up or down every time, like when tide changes ... so, when the tide is switching, that's when we go to the other side, before the ice goes to the main ice, and that's where we wait for seals. (IQ32 2022)

For other participants, their camps or cabins are the site of multi-week or multi-month trips, where their whole family may move out of town (for example during the summer vacation when children are out of school). During these periods brief visits may be made back to Iqaluit to restock any needed supplies.

That's where we stayed all until fall, like September/October [area at the head of Cumberland Sound]. The latest we came home was October 23/24, somewhere there ... like this is where I grew up, like all around here ... [would go there] June, end of June ... [Inaudible 00:25:43.10] July, yeah. And we'd just go Pang, to go get supplies, come back and just stay there all — like everywhere around here ... depending on what my mom wanted to do or where we wanted hunt. (IQ16 2022)

McKeand, right there, yeah. This is my area too. This is where I — we stayed all summer, like ... we used to camp here in the summertime. (IQ16 2022)

We all had our tents out here [near Ward Inlet]. ... We were there almost a month. ... We would just go back to town, pick up supplies and come back. ... My dad was helping her [late spouse] out while I was just exploring, like walk up to go look for a caribou or whatever. (IQ48 2023)

That's my late-uncle's cabin ... traditionally with my late uncle, we used to go here every — every summer by canoe ... back then, that's like 30, 40 years ago every — every summer we would go camping there and just hunt caribou, seals and caribou in the summer, and we would stay there, like, about three weeks, set a time every summer, go there for three weeks and then come — come back to Iqaluit ... (IQ31 2022)

Choosing a camp or cabin location is a complex decision, mediated by a number of factors. In some cases Inuit reuse sites that have been in use for generations, while at other times they may occupying a new site as they discover it during their travels. In the quotes below participants described some of the factors they considered including the appearance and beauty of the site, the ground cover, tides and wind exposure and the possible abundance of animals nearby.

[Minnguqtuuq? - Inuktitut spoken 00:13:50.29], yeah. ... That's a beautiful area. I remember that, because my mom was particular where she put her tent, so dad knew where to go put the tent up. It was beautiful. It was pebbles, where it's not sand. ... Dry land, where the pebbles are, the underneath is not wet — it's not mushy, and it's dry, and it's easy to keep clean, and it's — it is — it's beautiful area to put tent up. ... (IQ45 2023)

I was taught by my father to go through or be inside Frobisher Bay in the summertime and wintertime and look for places where we could camp out and put up our camp. Where would be safe from the winds and safe from the tides. We have very high and low tides so most of Frobisher Bay, in here, my father had taught me where to go camp and where to camp out where there's abundance of animals, for instance caribou, rabbit, fox, and fishing lakes and fishing rivers, and that, that's mostly all in Frobisher Bay. (IQ11 2022)

Several participants described their camps and cabins throughout Frobisher Bay and Cumberland Sound. Some locations include Tiikqu, Jaynes Inlet, Hidden Bay, Nunngarut, Loks Land, Iqaluit Lake, and Thompson Island.

[My cabin is at] Tiikqu [phonetic spelling 00:30:15.16], yeah, it's about there, like I said earlier. That's where me and my family usually go, you know? ... We go chill out or ... We harvest — mostly seal hunts. ... On the sea, pretty much on the sea. ... [For] Ringed seals. ... That's the main one we usually go for and eat. ... In the springtime, yeah, usually around here opens up, closer to cabin area. ... Wait for seals or whatever — ducks. (IQ22 2022)

So, cabin is right there [in Jaynes Inlet] ... there's — one is almost done. We are constructing another one ... and mom also has a tent frame there ... cabins are recent, but we've had tent frames there for almost 20 years now ... I moved here in

2001 ... mom and dad were already here, so they had started this camp by the time I had moved here. (IQ17 2022)

Hidden Bay, yeah. ... There's a cabin there that belongs to [personal name]. ... Yeah. And if we're going to — like if we leave late after work, that's where we go to, to spend the night like in the boat. ... Because it's shallow all in there, and the anchor — anchor bites the ground pretty good. (IQ23 2022)

My family cabin is pretty much right across town. It's only like 20 miles away [from Iqaluit]. ... And just before Nunngarut [phonetic spelling 01:17:52.15]. ... Right near the Kimmirut trail, my family has a family cabin. ... Ideal place for my parents. They're pretty old. They can't go too far. All kinds of wildlife there, depending on the time of the year. ... Seal, fish, whale, caribou. (IQ26 2022)

The main places where I've been camping most of the time is in Frobisher Bay and just past Loks Land ... (IQ11 2022)

There's a cabin somewhere along the sandy area [of Iqaluit Lake]. ... It's like a community cabin. Everyone's welcome to go there, because that's the only shelter over there. ... Usually when we go out that far we'll go as a group, and all sleep in the cabin. If the cabin is full, someone always brings a ... canvas tent. Either we sleep in the tent or inside the cabin, depending on how many people in that area in the same time. (IQ26 2022)

I have my own cabin across the bay there [on Thompson Island] too. ... I used to camp in here quite a bit, my friend has a cabin there. I used to camp quite a bit there ... And there's four or five cabins in here. And that's where mine is. There's mine, there's [Inuktitut name - 0:43:33]'s cabins all in here. And I was there New Year's Eve [2022]. (IQ42 2023)

3.4.8 The History of Outpost Camps

Before the move into settled communities, Inuit lived on the land in small groups of a few families. During the period of settlement these camps have often been referred to as outpost camps – outside of the community. Many participants described the locations of these camps which they or their families occupied before moving into Iqaluit.

In many cases these sites were described as having special significance attached to these histories of family and ancestral occupation and use. Some participants still feel a connection to an area because they grew up at outpost camps. They described camping as 'quiet' and 'peaceful'.

Like the [Sylvia Grinnell] river, that's very important to me. ... Oh, yes, I really like it up there because it's quiet and no houses, peaceful. Because I grew up like in outpost camp ... So, if I go up there, I feel more peaceful, like I feel that I'm on outpost camp. You know ... I just really like it. And get away from town and sleep in tent and get together with people that I haven't seen in Iqaluit for a long time. ... Yeah, you're free up there just being yourself and ... with friends. And fishing, and I like fishing very much — ice fishing. ... That's my favourite. (IQ23 2022)

It [Iqalugaarjuk in Cormack Bay] special for a lot of people. ... There's more people, yeah. I know a family that comes here, like they'll go there every year, and there was

a camp there too for a long time. They're — she's still living. Yeah. She had a camp. And they had a camp there. (IQ24 2022)

Some participants described how they or their parents were born at outpost camps.

That's where my dad was born, there in Iqalugaarjuk [in Cormack Bay]. ... And then, they moved to Kimmirut by boat, I think. Of course, because we didn't have plane — they didn't have plane, that time. They had to go maybe by dog team or by boat. ... [It was at a] Hudson's Bay Company [camp]. (IQ24 2022)

In many cases, participants described these outpost camps sites as their traditional homes. For many Inuit – even during contemporary settlement life – these sites remain locations they will return to with their families on an annual basis to stay, and relive this ancestral connection.

[When asked where they were born] A place called in Inuktitut [Inuktitut spoken 00:01:09.10], which is roughly about 120 miles on the left side of the Frobisher Bay, facing south [near Minnguqtuuq Point/Brewster Point]. ... It was a summer camp, but we had a winter camp or winter home ... roughly about 15/20 miles further, a bit north of the — north of the place where I was born. We moved to Iqaluit, my family, in 1959, so I was about five years old when the family moved from our traditional home, and I've been here since. (IQ39 2023)

It was used mainly as a summer — summer camp for families, and because my parents and other family members lived there [near Minnguqtuuq Point/Brewster Point], they knew the area around it very well. So, it was — when they had a chance, they went back there along with, you know, family members like myself, you know, roughly about six weeks, around there, maybe, or roughly about at least for weeks, and we would spend the summer there. That I remember. We would often leave maybe late July, and then go back to Iqaluit probably before school started, probably late August, so we'd spend about a month, and so that was my sort of first recollection of, okay, this was a place where my ancestors, my family, lived until they moved to Iqaluit. ... (IQ39 2023)

So, this was our ancestral home [near Minnguqtuuq Point/Brewster Point], and then after we moved to Iqaluit, we would often go there until at least my family — until the mid '70s, maybe. After my mother died, you know, 1978, you know, we didn't really go there anymore. ... (IQ39 2023)

There were numerous camps where families lived, like all along the Frobisher Bay. For the same reason, kind of, you know, the place probably would have been sheltered. There was good hunting year-round. They were probably close to fish, you know. So — so I'm just saying that area, you know, this is where my immediate family, you know, lived until we moved to Iqaluit. ... (IQ39 2023)

Before moving into larger communities like Iqaluit, outpost camps could still be bustling places with several families all sharing an area. In the quotes below participants explained how a camp might be made of several smaller groups all living together.

The families ... sometimes 10 maybe tents, or at least maybe six/seven family groups that would meet or stay here, and then they would go to if you would call their favourite ... fishing area or look for caribou. So, all this, I think this is called [Inuktitut

spoken 00:09:36.05] in Inuktitut. ... all this area, you know, was intimately, you know, known by the older family members, you know. So, but this area, we would often camp there, because there was a good camping area, kind of sheltered. (IQ39 2023)

There were other relatives living there [at Qimmiqsuuq]. ... Yeah, as a family — a small village. ... I do not like using the word camping. I never liked that word. ... Because we were living there. ... That was our small, tiny village. ... There were five other families with all — with all the children, you know, children. ... Yeah, home year-round. ... (IQ45 2023)

And not just our outpost camp, there's other outpost camp that we visited. Who were living there were our cousins and most of the outpost camp that are in Frobisher Bay were all related to each other. So from here to all the way to Iqaluit there was outpost camp and most of the people that were living in those outpost camps were part of our family, my family. (IQ11 2022)

In many outpost camps shelters might range from small wooden houses or huts, to seal-skin tents or sod houses (qarmaq). Some participants described the shelters they remembered in their camps growing up.

There was in our ancestral home, there was a house that was built, not like a qarmaq [phonetic spelling 00:23:52.10], but made out of wood, and we called it — what we call [Inuktitut spoken 00:24:00.23], like a little house. But I was talking to a friend who also spent time, you know, year-round, you know, before moving to her family. She said that [Inuktitut spoken 00:24:18.21] was initially like a store. So, there was — there would have been probably a independent trade or something, you know, that, you know, that built the house. Because of course, you know, early 1900s, late 1800s, after the whalers came, you know, the traders' store ... [had] fox furs, seal pelts, and all that, you know, and you would make good money out of it, so there was — I don't think it was the Hudson's Bay Company either, you know. I think it was more like maybe a independent trader. ... maternal grandfather, he grew up in this area in the early 1900s ... (IQ39 2023)

But there are areas like [Inuktitut spoken 00:33:14.15]. That was also a place where people wintered, like lived year-round, because you see old sites, you know? Like [inaudible 00:33:27.14] sites, you know, where they had qarmaq [phonetic spelling 00:33:29.08], you know, with the bowhead whale ribs, you know, used, you know, for holding up, you know, the seal skins and all that, the hides, and then moss and everything to make qarmaq [phonetic spelling 00:33:42.00]. (IQ39 2023)

Beautiful there [Anna Maria Port], it's all sand bar. White sand bar, its so beautiful there ... just certain time of the year, let's say the ice is melting from May till maybe between end of August and then we start moving out more. Go to where caribou are hibernating ... [they lived in] a tent and it was all made out of seal skin and caribou ... that was we were out on the land four or five months for seal skin, just for seal skins, and come back for maybe three months to Iqaluit. And then come back every summer. (IQ28 2022)

The familial or ancestral value of these sites, as well as their value for harvesting was identified by one participant as underlying the involvement of the HTA in regulating the locations of contemporary camps.

Including camps have — in the old days, that's where the camps came from ... original camps of Inuit people ... And based on those original camps, basically the entire Frobisher Bay and the shoreline is in the interest of our hunters and trappers members' interests. (IQ09 in IQ09 and IQ10 2022)

3.4.9 Shelter While on the Land: Cabins and Safety

Shelter on the land (and knowledge of the location of these shelters) is an important part of safe travelling. Participants noted several shelters scattered across the land, especially in areas of high use (or further away from the community) that could be used by travellers to shelter overnight while out on the land.

Gold's Cove is another place, right across in this area. There's cabins there. ... I'll sleep there. Rest up. ... Depending on time of the year, if we go there by boat, we'll go there, hunt caribou, or walrus, but if it's in the wintertime, sometimes you can go there, hunt caribou, and mainly polar bear. ... Yeah, it's owned by a couple local guys, but everyone's welcome to use it for shelter. ... There's like a small little house, maybe 40 by 40 or something. ... Couple little houses there — mini house. (IQ26 2022)

And we go Nettilling Lake, because we build a shelter for Department of Fishers, I think, or whatever ... we built a weather haven up there ... so, if someone goes up there, there's a weather haven now that has heater, generator, and stuff, so ... like it's an emergency shelter, because it's still usable. (IQ16 2022)

We stayed up there [Nettilling Lake] for four days ... at the time. There's a weather haven up there that's been put up by Department of Environment ... we stayed in the weather haven, and it's like two-minute drive from weather haven where we had the nets. (IQ32 2022)

The cabin's right here [at Suka] ... I think it's Hunters and Trappers ... HTA's cabin ... it was one day we got there a bit too late, and it was getting cold, and I had my son, six-year-old son, with me ... so, we decided to stay in the cabin, instead of going down to the lake ... last time I stayed there was in February. (IQ29 2022)

And then there's two cabins right here [at Allen Island] and an airstrip ... this is close to southern Cumberland ... there's two cabins here ... I think one's a weather haven ... and the other one's personally owned. (IQ29 2022)

Yeah [slept in the boat], bear country. ... I mean it's okay if you're in a cabin, I guess. It'd be okay in a cabin, but like summertime, I wouldn't sleep in a tent ... I'd rather sleep in a boat. That way if a boat try and get — a bear try and get on the boat, you can actually feel the boat moving. (IQ23 2022)

In some cases these cabins were noted as being public, and others they are private cabins whose builders or owners acknowledge their potential use and leave them ready to be accessed by others in emergencies. Participants described the potential importance of this access in the quotes below.

Iqaluit Lake ... there's the cabin there. My late father actually built that cabin ... back in 2004. 2003, 2004, around that area ... everyone can use it ... 2021 was the last time I was there. (IQ33 2022)

On my map pretty well every one of these waypoints is a cabin ... and not all of them are HTO cabins, a lot of them are personally owned, but it's like a general rule that if you're by or you're in trouble, you can go to that cabin and get warmed up and get yourself safe ... generally, every cabin is unlocked and you can get in, warm up, or stay the night. (IQ36 2023)

Aside from the cold which comes with Arctic life comes the possible threat of polar bears. Cabins and hard-sided shelters offer travellers a measure of safety from bears. In the quotes below participants described how they felt safe in cabins, and explained some of their safety protocols to avoid human-bear conflicts at their camps – including in some instances (where a cabin might not be available or adequately robust) sleeping in ones boat.

We feel ... safer in a cabin now other than a tent. ... Everybody used to take a tent, camping gear, and the whole thing to go camping for the weekend, but you can just walk into a cabin down the bay and feel safe — half safe. (IQ10 in IQ09 and IQ10 2022)

[Cabin, South of Ward Inlet] It was there for like five or six years but tried to go there and it wasn't there when I went there [Kangiqtugaarjuk Inlet] ... little cabin, 'cause I used to go there every year and – and sometime I wanted something solid instead of just staying in the tent 'cause usually there's polar bears and stuff like in the – ... the vicinity and stuff. (IQ31 2022)

[We] Sleep in the boat [near the shoreline of Kujait]. It's too risky to camp out on the land, because, you know, polar bears and shit ... we're not going to be in a tent or — and plus the old cabins all around here are not really like up to date ... So, yeah, they're old and the wood's falling apart and stuff like that. (IQ35 2022)

3.4.10 The Changing role of Camps and Cabins

While in the past many camps were used for longer periods, the time constraints of wage labour in Iqaluit means many Inuit participants explained that their use was becoming focused on more intermittent use and shorter time periods.

Regardless of the length of time spent on the land, camping remains an important activity, which in the words of one participant, leaves them feeling 'refreshed' when they return to Iqaluit.

[Interviewer:] What's it like being out on the boat, just in the summer for a few weeks, just spending time with your family? [IQ41:] Fun, tiring, but fun. ... I'm used to camping. ... We did a lot of that growing up. (IQ41 2023)

We used to camp around here. Go fishing up here. I was all around here too. Last time I was in Pang during summer, my dad made sure to take me — my parents took me all around. Made sure I saw all the places ... that I wanted to see. We used to camp here. There's a good fishing spot over here at [inaudible 01:31:55.17], this little area. And then, [Inuktitut spoke 01:32:04.07]. Yeah, all around there. ... Very much [an important place to me]. (IQ41 2023)

Oh, I feel sometimes refreshed after coming back from, from the camp. (IQ01 2022)

Camping on the land was noted as an important time for teaching and learning and participants described it as a site where knowledge is transferred and Inuit can pass on traditional activities, skills and knowledge.

[Cabin to take high school kids to on Jaynes Inlet] I work with high school so on that island we have a high school cabin ... we built that about six years ago ... And we would be going there to do overnights, so that our snowmobile ride from Iqaluit to this island is like three and a half hour ride on snowmobile. (IQ11 2022)

Because there's a cabin — cabin right there. It's called [Inuktitut spoken 00:12:45.28]. HTA cabin. Anyone can use it. ... There's a couple cabins there, both belonging to HTA, and the high school uses them. ... [in] springtime, the high school uses them to take out high school kids for the weekend or the week, because it's open — it's usually open water by the time they're there, so. ... Teach them traditional knowledge and stuff like that. (IQ23 2022)

[Interviewer:] Are there any like I guess specific like teaching spots or like camps that they do for youth? [IQ26:] Yeah, yeah. They usually teach us the camping ground first, the main camping ground, and then, once we're set up in our camping ground, they'll teach hunting ground. ... As long as we have a camp, we're able to go out further, because our camp would be our safety spot. (IQ26 2022)

[Learning about certain areas from family members] My wife parents used to go camping. We used to follow them up all the time, every year ... or they're gone now, so we try to do the same thing ... as they did before ... and my father-in-law hunting ground or caribou hunting ground, where he used to go, that's where we go still ... we still go down, even though we don't go for caribou hunting ... because we like the land down there. It's so nice, peaceful. (IQ20 2022)

The construction of a camp or cabin remains for some Iqalumiut an aspiration activity – a goal connected to a return to an area or to a particular activity on the land. One participant described how they were excited to build a cabin to access the area around Ward Inlet in the future.

I'm planning on making a cabin in the Ward Inlet where – that's where I usually grew up when I was with my parents, like all this, we would be camping in this here, Kangalla be camping out here all the time. ... Berry picking, caribou hunting. ... walking up 'cause it's a nice valley along the river. Just go look for caribou, berry picking out here. (IQ48 2023)

In addition to building cabins for future use, Iqaluit members can apply to have an outpost camp to the Hunters and Trappers Association (HTA) along the Frobisher Bay shoreline. Approval depends on other outpost cabins, abandoned cabins, burial sites, and areas of significant importance due to family history. HTA cabins can be used anybody travelling in the area.

So, on top of all the Inuit use of harvesting marine life, plant, animals, we also keep in mind areas that are potential for our members' interest to create an outpost camp as per the claim. They have a right to apply, and through us [HTA], once we approve it, that they can create an outpost camp. So, which covers the entire Frobisher Bay shoreline. (IQ09 in IQ09 and IQ10 2022)

[IQ09:] There is outpost camps, and our members have applied under outpost camps, which our organization the HTA have to examine and approve. ... [IQ10:] We have one 30 miles out, so ... Crowell Island, [Inuktitut spoken 00:10:17.00]. ... Used to be Americans there. [IQ09:] So, all together, there was something like just under 200. ... [IQ10:] Maybe more now. ... [IQ09:] And so, there is outlying, throughout the whole shoreline of Frobisher Bay from Iqaluit down to Resolution Island, down to Loks Land — Loks Land Island camps. Either some of them are abandoned — the old ones down on [inaudible 00:10:50.18], are the ones that have been abandoned, since the patriarch passed on, but it still is the family, the family's right to those cabins. (IQ09 in IQ09 and IQ10 2022)

And we are conscious about that particular article, Article 7, where our members have the right to set up outpost camp, once we approve it. ... We do have restrictions, especially when a family comes in, and says please don't approve this, because we have our family burial site in there. ... Or significant importance to them, in terms of family history. ... Nesting areas is the other one that we usually use to say can you find some other place. (IQ09 in IQ09 and IQ10 2022)

[Purpose/use of HTA Cabins at Sylvia Grinnell Lake] There's a bad weather. Well, it depends how travel that they'd done. For example, if you went [Inuktitut spoken 00:34:49.20] Lake, and if the weather's not nice enough that you — we go into camp ... camp in these cabins. (IQ19 2022)

Iqaluit members spoke about spending time with their family while camping.

[Southeastern/eastern shoreline of Frobisher Bay] That's where we go for camping sometime ... that's where we go for caribou hunting, fishing — be with my family down there in the summertime, mostly ... we have a cabin down there. We use a tent while we go camping. We move to another area, and we move to another area in ... a couple of days later or a week later. (IQ20 2022)

Like I got a cabin close to that area [Frobisher Bay] ... I had it for about ten years now ... I use it every year ... winter and summer ... with my family, we go there every year ... got everything there, so we go there every summer. In summer camp too, we stay there ... for two weeks at a time. Back here and go back. (IQ21 2022)

Spending time on the land while camping and travelling is an opportunity for Inuit to enjoy the beauty of their homeland. Participants described how moved they were by their surroundings as they travelled to various areas around southern Baffin Island.

It's beautiful, beautiful landscape is beautiful there [Hamlen Bay], like you can build a cabin there, all of this is mountainous, all of this is really high, high terrain, all of this in here. Birds, lots of birds in this area as well. (IQ42 2023)

I camped quite a bit — so that's where the cabin is [PX17 near Jenvey Island], so that's mine now, but I camped in here all the time for the last ten years. Beautiful in here ... (IQ42 2023)

There's a cabin right there [on Pitsiit]. Beautiful area. ... we've been using it [cabin in the area] or been camping by tent in that area. This is flat, this is really nice, it's all tundra, and then all of this is terrain surrounding it. And this is water at high tide and land at low tide. So, you gotta time it going in. Beautiful, beautiful. (IQ42 2023)

[Speaking about [Minnguqtuuq? - Inuktitut spoken 00:13:50.29]] The animals, not too bad, not much, but the scenery is beautiful. It's surrounded by water, and the rock, the rock is beautiful, all different colours and it — the appearance is like sandwiched, sandwiched rock. (IQ45 2023)

Inuit travel widely across their homeland, by boat, skidoo, dog team or on foot. Whether accessing hunting grounds, fishing a distant river or travelling to a favoured camp or cabin, Iqalummiut interviewed described the important role that travel on the land played in their lives and identities.

3.5 CULTURAL CONTINUITY

This section addresses the importance of cultural continuity to the Inuit of Iqaluit. For Study participants, cultural continuity was about their ability to practice important elements of Inuit culture, including practices like carving and crafts, their connection to their ancestors and history through archaeological heritage and landmarks, the enjoyment of gathering on the land and the place-based knowledge that was transmitted orally, and the ability to learn and teach Inuit values, knowledge and Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit.

A range of practices are important to Inuit cultural continuity. Subsistence activities and time spent on the land in their pursuit play a central role in Inuit culture and this role is largely discussed in the preceding Sections 4.1 to 4.4 of this report. Alongside subsistence activities, Inuit developed a rich tradition of carving and crafts, and across Baffin Island have left scores of archaeological sites and remains, treasured to this day by the descendants of those who built the Inuksuks, tent rings and sod house pits. Transmitting culture and Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit and knowledge through stores and travel as well as experiential learning is also an important component of Inuit cultural continuity.

3.5.1 Country Food and Inuit Identity

For many participants, the ability to share the food they harvest – indeed to have access to country food at all, is a central aspect of their personal and cultural identity. Sharing country food is held to be an important Inuit value and one which Iqalumiut continue to value.

Give away half and sell half [of arctic char]. ... Mostly we give out to people that can't afford to go out or can't get out anyhow. ... So, we always share to some friends/family. ... Not everyone is able to go out that far, so we've got to help each other out ... and feed each other. (IQ26 2022)

Yeah, I have some aunts and uncles. ... Yeah, I'll share with. (IQ41 2023)

Yeah [it was a special caribou hunt]. ... got eight tags and they wanted to feed the whole town. ... And give some away. And so, we got them all and came back. (IQ22 2022)

That's where we go summertime [Ward Inlet] ... for berry picking ... we all pick berries ... we bring them home. Put them in the freezer ... my wife get lots ... she give them away too ... Her friends or she send them out somewhere down south for her friends too. (IQ20 2022)

Summertime, right through here [Ward Inlet] for seal hunting ... by boat ... maybe three or four [seals] is enough ... for one week ... mostly, we give them away to the elders ... I always bring young people with me ... and they shoot seal, and I show them how to cut the seal — skin the seal. (IQ20 2022)

So it's kind of a I guess it's kind of cultural that you don't just hoard your food and give it away and feed family and friends. And kind of something that kind of instilled in you, my family to share your what you have. (IQ07 2022)

When circumstances and supplies of country food allow, Iqalumiut will hold community feasts or gatherings to ensure everyone can have country food, as the following quotes from participants explain.

I'll do a community hunt or a community feast after the community hunt. Everyone from the town gets together, eat together. (IQ26 2022)

It was more for community hunt again and it was all taken care of by my uncles and my father and the other families. And we brought most of the muktuk, I mean all of the muktuk up and some of the beluga meat, so that we could distribute the meat to the elders and, and then what we did was we had a feast. Community feast, and had it either at high school or in front of Nukasuk School and the, my father would ask one of the Anglican priests to come down and pray for, pray for the food and then start eating as a great big community. And whatever was leftover, it was taken by the Inuit of Iqaluit or anybody that wanted muktuk and whale meat. (IQ11 2022)

Not only do Iqaluit participants share food within the community, but they also share food with other communities such as Grise Fiord, Kimmirut, Pond Inlet, Arctic Bay, and Sanirajak (formerly Hall Beach).

[Interviewer:] What, what other communities have you got fish from? [IQ44:] Grise Fiord ... [Inaudible 00:15:54.10], Kimmirut — everywhere. ... Pond Inlet, Arctic Bay, Hall Beach — everywhere. Oh, yeah, they're nice and fresh. ... Oh, yes, that's where we get them from [family and friends]. ... When they come here for visiting or a medical, we sent out each other foods. (IQ44 2023)

One participant recalled that sometimes hunters will go on the community radio and let the community know that they have meat to share and Inuit can come and take some country food.

We do get a little bit of beluga from people that hunt them there ... I just take our little boat over ... or sometimes they'll be coming in. We'll hear them on the radio ... and then they'll give us a small little piece, at least ... so, they'll catch them around this area ... the beluga. And that's usually a skinning spot there ... or butchering ... [it is a good spot for butchering and skinning because] it's just got a little ledge on it that's — when the tide goes down, the whales able to go on. (IQ17 2022)

Participants spoke about the importance of being able to share their country food. The latter quote explains how this is also important for Inuit youth, allowing them to forge a connection and show respect to elders.

Oh, yeah, [I share] all kinds of country food. ... All kinds. ... Oh, yes [it is important to me]. It's more healthier with country food, because there's no fat or salt or anything on them, so ... more healthy. (IQ44 2023)

Some of the kids really want to learn how to cut up a seal and distribute to the elders here in town ... we do the elders first and then whoever has no husband, that has no hunting equipment, we'll also distribute them to these ladies that don't have hunting partners or their husband has passed away. That's what we do, we distribute to the elders and then the wives that don't have husbands anymore, and then in the end,

we'll say, "There's seal meat for anybody that want to pick up seal meat at high school and there's, they're all bagged up ready to take." (IQ11 2022)

Part of the importance of sharing country food stems from teachings from parents.

I've been doing it my whole life. ... Give out country food for free. Even when we were allowed caribou, I'd go caribou hunting, I'd shoot three. I might keep one or two and then give the rest away to like widows and Elders. ... My dad [taught me this]. ... That's what we learned from my dad. (IQ48 2023)

Even the Inuktitut language ensures everyone has access to country food.

And that's one of the things that here and there, things are being misused or of the true meaning. [Inuktitut spoken 00:57:46.18] is one of them. It's not asking, "How are you?" It's literally asking, "Are you hungry? Are you okay?" That is the first thing we ... make sure, that one word, [Inuktitut spoken 00:58:01.17], is asking for the person to come forth — either they're sick or they're hungry — to come forth with that, because you've got to help them. ... That's the first thing you always do, because you'll find yourself, you got food, you know, you're ready to help; do it. (IQ09 in IQ09 and IQ10 2022)

Accessing country food depends on the season. It is important that members have access to country food because they are not offered at the local grocery stores.

In the summertime, the hunting is good, the seals. ... The seals are good, and that's — and that was the — that is and was and still is very important for Inuit the seasons, of the hunting seasons, and the seasons of mammals and ducks. Mallard ducks that lay eggs. ... All of those are our — what we ate. ... We didn't have a store where we grew up. ... (IQ45 2023)

Just put it this way, when you're living south, you don't have a monthly eating habit, like spring, fall, summer, winter, so where each month here, our diets are different for each month. (IQ08 2022)

Some Iqaluit participants reminisced the types of country food they used to eat in the 1950s. Country foods also included vegetables and seaweeds.

[Back in the 1950s] As you walk down towards Apex, there's buildings you will see, which were Hudson's Bay Company, and one of those Hudson's Bay Companies were a small store run by Hudson's Bay Company. Little store — that's where we used to go on foot before there were cars in Iqaluit. And I remember I loved going with my mom. We would bring our backpacks, and to — to go and buy few little things that we can use for stew — stewing seal meat or caribou, like vegetables and canned — canned vegetables that we didn't — that we never had when we lived in the traditional village. We didn't have vegetables or anything. It was all — it was all either picked from the shoreline — the seaweeds, or in the summertime were very much used in the soup. (IQ45 2023)

3.5.2 Heritage Sites

Inuit have occupied the south Baffin area for thousands of years, and this extensive history of use and occupation has left a long record of land and resource use. Participants described ancestral homes in the region where Inuit lived for over 100-200 years up until the mid-1960s. Other ancestral homes are also identified by participants.

That was, like I said, you know, our ancestral home. I say that because people have lived there, I don't know, before we moved to Iqaluit or other family members moved to Iqaluit, it has been a place, you know, where people lived for maybe over 100/200 years, or maybe longer. Because I remember growing up, after we moved to Iqaluit, we would often go, like almost every summer. There were graves on the ground, like above ground, and some below ground. So, it must have been like a place where my forefathers lived. ... people lived there I think until the mid-1960s. And then I think around that time, you know, or early '60s, the last family, you know, went back — not went back, but moved to Iqaluit ... (IQ39 2023)

My late mother used to tell me that she grew up in this area [island across from Qaummaarviit and Peale Point] too — 'cause before Iqaluit was formed, she — her childhood years were in this area, 'cause my grandfathers would stay there in the winter, and they were nomadic, but they would stay in the wintertime in this area ... 'cause the seal hunting was good in the winter in — in — in around area here ... [they lived in a sod house] it was like a ... sod house ... (IQ31 2022)

I was born in a small, little village called Qimmiqsuuq. ... it was beautiful. ... I grew up traditionally. So, I have a fond memories of where we grew up. Yeah, I have a very fond memories that I have, because I grew up knowing our traditional ways of living off the land, and how our parents managed the home, how our dad hunted full-time — our mom managing the home and raising children. ... (IQ45 2023)

Participants also described old Hudson Bay Trading camps or posts in Frobisher Bay that were in use before the growth of Frobisher Bay (now Iqaluit as the regional centre).

And this is an old — there's an old Hudson's Bay site [at Cormack Bay] that used to be a trading camp, trading post or whatever at one time, but they moved ... Right in here there's an old — where the buildings used to be, but they took down the building and brought it to Iqaluit before. It was in the '50s ... 1950's from what I hear. (IQ31 2022)

There used to be a trading post [at Cormack Bay in the 1950s], just until the war ended, started way before the point before ... we'd [her family would] trade lots, like the seal skins ... lots of seal skin trading. There was carvings, everything. (IQ28 2022)

They [Inuit] were all at camps, everywhere ... Yeah, Iqaluit started to get Inuit people from not so much from surrounding. Cause Hudson Bay moved in ... Hudson Bay started here. Hudson Bay Company ... so, the — all the Inuit surrounding areas used to get their daily tea, tobacco from Hudson Bay Company from in there. You know, in this area here ... in the old tradition, trappers used to go sell their fur products to Hudson Bay Company. And then from then on, most of the new people were from other regions like Qimmiqtuuq [ph. 01:09:18]. (IQ04 2022)

Several participants described Inukshuks they have seen out on the land while travelling and hunting. In some cases these symbols used for waymarking, navigation and hunting remain in use and are well known to Inuit.

Used to go caribou hunting out here [near Ipkiit] and then there's like Inuksuk's where we – they would be funneled into, like ancient ones. ... Yeah, pretty neat to see along the hills or just Inuksuk and then it goes into like a little valley ... And it gets narrower and narrower inside. (IQ48 2023)

[IQ09:] Inukshuks, there's inukshuks all the way from here to the other side of Cumberland — yeah, Cumberland Sound, same from here to Kimmirut ... [IQ10:] From the dog team days. ... Or people walked. [IQ09:] Yeah, there's inukshuks in lakes that most of us have never seen. If you see a rock by the lake, it's got fish. (IQ09 and IQ10 2022)

And the biggest inukshuk I've ever seen ... It was four pieces, but it was about six feet tall. ... Four pieces. Each piece was about three and a half feet long, about two and a half feet wide, and about two feet thick each. (IQ09 in IQ09 and IQ10 2022)

But my co-worker and I created a shortcut to go we call Iqaluit Bay, and we found these [inukshuk] on the hill, on top of the hill. (IQ08 2022)

But they always say, "But pay attention to an inukshuk that is on a rock, like that." ... A rock on a boulder. ... This shape. It has to be this shape. And if you see a rock like this on a boulder, don't go beyond it. ... Even if there's caribou in there. ... The land has evil spirit that will take you. ... what it means: turn around ... go the other way. (IQ09 in IQ09 and IQ10 2022)

One participant indicated that they have seen old camp fire sites.

My cabin site is Inuksulialuk. ... Pitsiit Island. ... The interesting thing about that island is even though it's a Crown land, we situated our cabins away from very old fire — the three stone fire — fire site. It's an old hunting stop way ... (IQ09 in IQ09 and IQ10 2022)

Some participants described burial sites throughout the region.

[IQ10:] You have graves there [Pitsiit Island] too? ... [IQ09:] Yeah. [IQ10:] Yeah, same with the American Island. (IQ09 and IQ10 2022)

I'm pretty sure there's graves there [island across from Qaummaarviit and Peale Point], too, like old graves and stuff ... there's old sod huts there, too ... they say that one it's like – I think they call it [inaudible – 1:55:00.0] maybe from over 700 years ago ... and I know there a plaque there and stuff [inaudible – 1:55:07.7]. (IQ31 2022)

In that [Iqaluit] area, there's some old Inuit graves there, too, but some people don't even know it, but there's ... there's a lot of old graves ... but they were just covered just in rocks and stuff and sometime I feel like telling people, like, "You shouldn't be touching those rock 'cause there – those are graves from before Iqaluit was a town." People used to just bury – bury the dead people just on the – on the, like, under the rocks and stuff. I know there's quite a few, I've seen them, too, myself and – and my old relatives that before they passed away, they used to tell me, "Your grandfather helped bury those people, I know, I – I used to be there." And then when the old

people, they told me that before ... that's an old burial site there, I know there – I know there's – 'cause in Inuktitut, they call this, they call it [Inuktitut Spoken – 1:47:14.0] that means, 'Where dead people are.' ... my kind of like a distant relative of this old lady that sometime I used to go visit with the family ... she used to tell me, "Yea, your grandfather buried people over here." She told me that. (IQ31 2022)

There's some [burial sites] on that [Crowell] island. ... (IQ01 2022)

Participants also described historical portaging areas near Nettilling Lake where boats could be brought into the inland lake systems from the ocean.

[Historical portaging area used by Inuit close to Nettling Lake. He also used it while tagging caribou] ... I was one of the very first individual conservation officers who ever did caribou tagging. Put a tag on a caribou up in Nettling Lake. We did that for three years ... we portaged from here – I was stationed in Pang ... three motors, all our gear, one zodiac, and we portaged that for a week. We keep going back, picking up things, going back, cause there was little ponds here. Ponds here, go up. There's a pond there, go up. There's ponds here. We went through here ... This historical portage area, you know? ... By Inuit. We used it. I used it. It was very experiencing, you know? (IQ04 2022)

One participant identified fossils near Iqalliarvik Lake.

We thought there'd be fish there because it's in its name, Iqalliarvik. The place to go fishing [laughing] ... but we were wrong there was no fish ... and apparently there really are, you can see fossils right in the mountain, but I've never ... never been, so I would, I don't know how true it is ... so we set up a tent there and woke up next morning and set our nets. (IQ36 2023)

Other participants described collecting soap stone near Cape Dorset for use in carving and crafts.

I used to go soap stone mining. ... that'd take us a week from here to halfway to Dorset. ... Yeah, I did that for like almost 10 years. ... From Iqaluit to halfway to Dorset. ... the person that owned the business. ... he would pay us out and keep all the stone. ... And it's QIA owned land, that's called Kangiqsuarjuk [phonetic spelling]. (IQ48 2023)

It's called Kangiqsuarjuk [phonetic spelling 00:47:24:0]. ... Yeah [it is a well-known spot], people from Dorset go there. ... Man, sometimes we'd take off like couple hundred-pound pieces. ... We'd mine like 60,000 pounds. ... The most we ever did was 67,000 pounds. (IQ48 2023)

The soapstone is over here [near Dorset], so we mined it for a couple days. (IQ08 2022)

3.5.3 Knowledge Transmission

Teaching and learning Inuit culture was described by participants as an important activity and central to cultural practice including the retention and transmission of Inuit identity. In particular participants described the importance of being out on the land while teaching or learning.

Oh, yeah, [it's nice being out on the land with] friends, family — anyone that's new to hunting. Try and teach them just a good, safe way to get down there, and what the places to avoid. ... Watching people get their first seal, polar bear ... So, yeah, I like it. (IQ23 2022)

I think I learned my Baffin knowledge through people ... You know? People I met, elders I met. And go hunting with families, elders, good people, you know? They taught me a lot. ... (IQ04 2022)

The other place of good seal hunting at floe edge is right here ... We also teach them how to cut up a seal and butcher it up after. And try and utilize all, all of the, all of the guts that are inside the seal and what's edible and what's not. So we're ... teaching them how to do that down there. And also at the high school, we do demonstration of cutting up a seal and butchering up a seal in front of most of the students at high school ... some of the kids love the seal meat ... (IQ11 2022)

Big time. Very, very strong [connection to the land]. More – probably more strong now that I have knowledge of it. You know, before when I first came to Baffin in 20- in 19 you know – late 1900s and 1969, my first step to Iqaluit. It was like I was Joe Boy. Really didn't care what was around me. But now that I'm learning, learning from elders and hunters, going out with them, the value. I'm trying to intake the value of the land. And understand the culture uses, the traditional, you know? It's a very valuable area for wildlife ... (IQ14 2022)

I like hunting or camping because of that — everybody's helping each other. ... That's a team; teamwork. (IQ24 2022)

One participant explained how the Government of Nunavut has implemented IQ Days, which are training programs for students to go out on the land.

Even high school they have land trips. That's part of their training programs in high school. Or any other elementary school. They take them down, land trips in springtime when temperatures warm. Even coming up Nunavut, they call IQ days. I dunno if you've heard of it or not. It gives the government staff – let's say it's a finance department in spring time, fishing time through the ice and temperature's much warmer. Government of Nunavut has the policy – guideline to approve staff IQ days – Qaujimajatuqangit days. This means that whoever wants to go, let's say Friday – Friday morning, the government will allow staff to leave the workplace and go out for the day with the group. And it's called IQ day ... (IQ04 2022)

Other participants explained how they had learned from their parents or grandparents.

[Learned all her skills like hunting] From my parents, it's our hunting grounds ... And as far as I can remember, hunting and berry picking, seal hunting — we also do our seal hunting all in the waters in the summer and winter ... it's part of our lifestyle. It's our culture ... it's tradition. (IQ14 2022)

That's how we grew up [at Qimmiqsuuq], and learning — learning the traditional ways from a very young, young age, and learning how to sew from our mom, learning how to attend to the qulliq [phonetic spelling 00:07:14.26], and the used for qulliq [phonetic spelling 00:07:18.17]. So, I — I have — I don't have whole lot of traditional ways, but I was there when our parents were still living off the land. Like my dad being a full-time hunter. And my mom being a seamstress, making all

clothing out of skins, and my dad attending two beautiful dog teams. Those are very good memories I have. (IQ45 2023)

Like I said, it — all of in and around Iqaluit is our hunting ground ... We would go there anywhere. My parents would go out on the land since beginning of life, so they would take us there since — many places, one of those, and other areas, since I was on my mom's back. (IQ14 2022)

Yeah, put the powder on [cuts]. Not sure what they're called but, it's, it grows like a that and then open it there's some powder inside. And people used to use them for like big cuts or whatever. That's all I know. [parents and grandparents used it]. (IQ01 2022)

One participant stressed that the teachings they received from their father and grandfather allowed them to survive off the land during a boating accident.

The accident happened October 29 and we were rescued November 2. Me and my buddy were in the water from our waist down for three nights and four days ... those are one of the things that my father and my grandfather taught me ... how to survive. (IQ11 2022)

One participant explained that being out on the land reconnects Inuit with the land and ancestors, as explained in the quotes below.

As being [inaudible 00:51:54.10], you reconnect not only with Mother Nature, but also with your dad, grandpas, where who they learned it from is coming down to you, and that you're able to be out there comfortably and confidently. It makes you realize what a wonderful gift and knowledge that's been passed on to you. ... (IQ09 in IQ09 and IQ10 2022)

And you learn — and they taught you how to keep an eye out, and how both land and birds, like ravens, behave, and that Mother Nature is always giving you heads up on everything. And for example, if you see ravens swooping down at something that you can't see, it's most likely a bear that they're swooping down at. So, everything has a potential meaning to it, and this is what they teach you, and you pay attention to, and you consciously pay attention to it, so you're constantly observing. ... (IQ09 in IQ09 and IQ10 2022)

But it's important to be out there, where we connect with Mother Nature, but also makes you remember all the good things that's been passed onto you, so. ... (IQ09 in IQ09 and IQ10 2022)

So, it [going out on the land] makes you reconnect and put everything together the past month. And you pay attention to other hunters, of what they've seen in this area, either caribou, geese — ptarmigan. You pay attention to all that. If there was a sighting of polar bear, you pay attention to that, where it was. It's much easier these day with marine vehicle VHF handheld radio, and we can communicate easily. ... (IQ09 in IQ09 and IQ10 2022)

As an example of the sort of knowledge which is best passed down while out on the land, one participant described how they had learned about weather and reading the skies.

[Knowledge passed down from his grandfather and father about what the skies can tell about the weather] How to read the clouds and if it's pink sky in the springtime, the pink sky will say it'll be nice weather tomorrow. And if there's clouds that kinda look like long, little pillows, not fluffy ones ... Long, little pillows, that's when there's gonna be wind. Yeah. And at nighttime, if it's clear, when the hunters are out there, I usually try and tell them that night if it's very clear and if you can see the stars, it'll either be little bit of wind or very nice next day. There's stories of how to read the stars and how to read the sunset and the sunrise. And then the, the clouds ... The sunrise, when the sun is rising, if it's blurry out, there's gonna be some wind. In the wintertime, when the sun rises, and if there's a big sun dog around it, it's gonna be very, very cold and windy. And then in the springtime, if the sun dog is nice and small, close to the sun area, that means it'll be good weather for the whole day ... When it's full moon, if you see big moon dog that means it's gonna be cold tomorrow. And if it's a small moon dog, it'll be nice tomorrow. When it's clear like that, it's good. If there's little bit of cloud, and you see the sun or the moon and it's, there's no moon dog or sun dog, there's no need to worry about any bad weather. (IQ11 2022)

Other participants emphasised that teaching the Inuktitut language is crucial for Inuit culture. Given the rich heritage of place and harvesting specific vocabulary this knowledge transmission may best occur while being out on the land with different generations together.

How important it is to keep the culture, it's the thing about Inuktitut vocabulary, is when we're out there, we're using the word. ... when we take our younger generation out there, we're actually using the words, so they're picking it up. ... (IQ09 in IQ09 and IQ10 2022)

When we're out there the vocabulary comes out, and that's ... the only time they really learn it. (IQ09 in IQ09 and IQ10 2022)

[His wife teaches kindergarten in Inuktitut] So she passed the knowledge through education, and the parents love it, you know. Cause some of the students, she's given don't really understand Inuktitut the language. But at the end of the school year, they're bilingual. (IQ04 2022)

And that's the true meaning of the word [Inuktitut spoken 00:58:26.17]. And these are the kinds of things that we try to carry on and pass on to our next generation. And that's what the entire Frobisher Bay and all the — the inlets, and the island, the mainland, and the freshwater — everything, is — makes you who you are; builds who you are. And it's a great way to develop personal boundary. (IQ09 in IQ09 and IQ10 2022)

Participants stressed that teaching Inuit skills and culture can often involve physically showing the activity and having the person watch – rather than a more western/southern Canadian approach where questioning may elicit explanation.

We love being down with our family — so peaceful. We teach them how to hunt ... well, I let them watch while I hunt ... or cutting up the seal, cutting up the fish, or the caribou. I let them watch me and they learn from me ... that's how we learn. I say you need to watch and learn ... you have to be ... down the bay ... where the animals are ... that's how we learn. That's how I learned from my father. That's how I learned from my father-in-law. (IQ20 2022)

I'm good at like hands-on stuff and like even without saying — or talking. Like just show them. Like I don't even need to say a word, and like do that, and a friend will be like, "Can I try?" ... yeah, I don't really know how to put it in words, but the practical work. I'll show you. And you know, like that kind of thing ... just show me the tools; I'll show you how. (IQ35 2022)

Very important [to pass down my knowledge]. Because I grew up not with a textbook. Parents, brothers, uncles, sisters, all the things I learned and from friends from different communities, it's all verbal education. And physical education, by physical I mean showing them how to set nets. I was saying earlier, take the fish off, gut them, teach them how to cut the fish to dry them, you know? There's a whole physical education. We don't need text to do that ... Aboriginal culture to do that. It's a very powerful tool ... (IQ04 2022)

3.5.4 Ceremonies and Gatherings

There are important Inuit traditions attached to many activities on the land and in communities. One participant described a 'candy toss' gathering, celebrating when young Iqalummiut catch their first animal.

For those young students that have caught their first seal, they will get their name put on paper. And in January 1st ... where they do candy toss and whatever they, go on top of a shack and toss candies, yarn, and whatever that's in the box, for their first animal of the year ... that's run by the Inuit here in town and me and my buddy have been doing it for quite a bit of time now and I'm always looking for hunters that caught their first animal and then I collect their names and then end of December we'll call them up and say, "Are you guys ready to do candy toss?" And we have 10 or 12 new hunters that caught their first animal. And we'll do it two or three at a time. The tradition of candy toss was started by an old lady and old man with, with their son catching animals. Once a month or once every two weeks, every time he caught his first animal, they will do candy toss on top of their house. And that would be a mark of him starting to become a hunter. (IQ11 2022)

Another participant described how traditionally the first whale to arrive during a migration is not harvested. This ensures that the whales will continue to come, this first whale being considered a type of leader or pathfinder for the others.

But we have a tradition. The first beluga that is sighted, one or two, we don't hunt them right away. That way nobody jumps to it. (IQ08 2022)

3.5.5 Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit

Encompassing aspects of Inuit Knowledge and cultural values, Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (IQ) is a body of knowledge, epistemology and behaviour norms central to Inuit culture and identity. Teaching and learning IQ occurs best or many Iqalummiut out on the land where they can practice traditional tasks or activities and learn by doing in the company of their family and peers.

In the quotes below participants spoke about the importance of being out on the land and outside of Iqaluit and the job site in order to learn and to relax.

[Interviewer:] Why do you think that is? I mean, why is quiet so important? [IQ24:] Like we work all day ... in the office ... it's important to us, because I grew up, like I said, I grew up in outpost camp. I like it because it's quiet and my father was a hunter, so ... I like to eat our food. ... Yeah, that's important to me. ... Yeah, and it's like it's more active. Like we're more active out than being in Iqaluit — more active, you know? Get off the — I mean from the boat, and walk around, and you know, it's more physical. ... Like when you're in the office, you just do computer ... (IQ24 2022)

It's calming [to be out on the land]. Good for the mind to get away from the phone, TV, everyday life — whatever, especially if you have a stressful job, like I used to. Policing for 28 years, and that's my saviour. Get away, like get away from people, just spending time on your own or with family. Respecting the land. We're taught to respect animals, especially bears, known to have spirit. If you bother them, they'll come back and get you or your family back someday. They remember. And just enjoy outdoors and lots of 22-hour daylight in the springtime, May/June. [Pause] Yeah. (IQ10 in IQ09 and IQ10 2022)

It first and foremost, having a stressful job, and being dictated by the hour, you know, contracts and deadlines, and all these kinds of things, it's a great way to get your bearings back. Like Jimmy says, it's serene. ... (IQ09 in IQ09 and IQ10 2022)

Calming [to be out on the land], and you — when you go out there, it makes you realize the stress and all the stress that you're feeling. [Inaudible 00:51:30.24] another thing, really when you think about it, that's what it makes you think. Oh, it's really nothing. So, you come out rejuvenated and when you're out there, you're reconnecting with Mother Nature, her energy, her soul, you know, and her rules, right. ... (IQ09 in IQ09 and IQ10 2022)

So, the stress that you had at a job is all gone, because it's a whole snap of a finger refocus, and then you're back into reconnecting with Mother Nature, because Mother Nature is going to be telling you everything. ... (IQ09 in IQ09 and IQ10 2022)

Participants stressed that the many demands of contemporary community life, particularly in the environment of a large community like Iqaluit make balancing work and culture particularly important.

To keep our culture going or knowledge, that's why we get out on the land. In order to succeed today, you got to have both worlds, like the working English and — but hang onto your culture, like putting the two together. I think it's a balance. You've got to find that balance. You can't just have one side, like you're on the land too much, hey, you might not have a job. (IQ10 in IQ09 and IQ10 2022)

You work too much, you're going to lose your culture. That's what I encourage my daughters and, yeah, whoever I go with, right. You can't — you can't do just one part. Like you've got to keep your culture — very important. ... I think most of us feel that way. (IQ10 in IQ09 and IQ10 2022)

Feeling connected to the land is central to the personal and cultural identities of many Iqalummiut. In the quotes below participants described their connection to the land and the

ways (and places) where this was learned. Being on the land was described as producing feelings of 'joy', 'happiness' and 'harmony'.

[His connection to the land, why he likes being out there] To be out there, the feeling is very nice. I love it and even if I see, you know, powerline going from one side of Iqaluit to Bay of Two Rivers, it won't bother me. I work at high school, I listen to these social studies teachers and they say, "Oh, we're doing this. We're doing that. We're, we're using lots of fossil fuel." And I'm not worried about that, I'm worried about me taking maybe you guys out on the boat, go enjoy being out on the land. Take your mind out of this office to go out on the land and say, "Holy cow, this is very nice. Beautiful day and beautiful sun." If I go snowmobile, I'll take anybody out on the snowmobile, go out on the land and, isn't this better than being in the office? Isn't this better than being in the classroom? And I, I tell, ask a kid, "Right? Isn't this better?" He'll go, "Oh, yeah. I wish we can do that more often." They always give me that answer. Yeah. You love the land, you were brought in, you were brought up and it'll never change. Yeah. (IQ11 2022)

You know, we're taught to hunt early, and that was a way of life. You just basically looked at it that way, and everything has its beauty, and nothing is better than any other place, so he said as long as we have access, we have access to places then that's what he likes. And when you're hunting, you really don't slow down. You do appreciate that it's beautiful, but you're worried about the wind, you're worried about whatever, like to be ready and prepared and ... and all those things related to hunting. (IQ13 2022)

[When asked what it felt like to be connected to the land] Wanting to live the way my grandparents lived, because then there was no alcohol. There was no cigarettes. There was only food. There was no screaming, no shouting, no anger, and everybody just lived in harmony, right. Like there's no houses. We didn't have these clothing. Everything was all made, so. And I have that at home now. When I go hunting, I got polar bear pants, parka, boots, everything — mitts the way they did, so. (IQ08 2022)

All the areas on – you see on the coast, is very, very important to people, it's an area rather – really high. (IQ03 2022)

I'm really enjoying getting back to going out on the land and doing hunting. ... So, it's a big part of my life and makes me and my family happier. The joy my wife sees in me going out. And she's kind of old fashioned. She's from Arctic Bay. She's like, "I'll never stop you from going out hunting. If you wanna go," she said, "you don't need to ask." ... (IQ46 2023)

A central tenet of IQ is respect for others – human and animal. Participants emphasised the importance of treating the land and animals with respect, explaining in the quotes below how stewardship of the land for future generations was a core responsibility of Inuit.

[IQ09:] We have to respect every animal, and highest level, respect, because if you stray away from that, and make fun of animal that's before you, the king will remember. And there's been stories where, and not just in Pang area, but there's been few stories where the whole community's going after bowhead whale and cutting it up, and bear comes in, and there'll be 15 other people before the person that the bear is eyeing on, because these people in between them is in the way.

They're actually looking for that person, who has made fun and disrespected ... wildlife. ... And they'll pass these people to go after that person. And that's — it has happened, and it's a proven knowledge that's been passed on to us that by all means, always respect. (IQ09 in IQ09 and IQ10 2022)

That you have to be respectful all the time. And be kind, and you know, help out. ... (IQ09 in IQ09 and IQ10 2022)

Just protect this whole area, please ... it's everything is everywhere, you know, like ... there's no particular spot ... and it's old campsites, there's so many, right, and there's just wildlife everywhere. I mean, just protect the whole thing. (IQ35 2022)

...We have to think about our future — future grandkids, our grandkids' kids, and grandkids. We have to — we have to think about them. The way we've been hunting and harvesting, it'd be nice to carry it on to our grandkids and their kids ... with no means of pollution in our area, Iqaluit area, you know, keep the tradition alive. (IQ37 2022)

Cultural continuity – including the ability to freely and easily practice and transmit Inuit culture out on the land remains a vitally important value for Iqalummiut. This section addresses the many ways Inuit culture is continued and the important and intangible aspects of culture which Iqalummiut learn while engaging in the more tangible tasks and harvests described elsewhere in this report.

4. MAPPED INUIT VALUES OVERLAPPING NNC AREAS OF INTEREST

This section addresses the key Inuit values and land uses that were mapped within the vicinity of the ten NNC areas of interest under consideration as potential project sites. For each area of interest, mapped values are described using three different formats: firstly, a map is provided to give a visual overview of this overlap, a site-specific table then provides a quantitative summary of the mapped values displayed on the map, and, lastly, a description provides further details and context for the mapped values documented by Inuit within these areas.

For both mapping and analysis in this Section, mapped point locations have been randomized within 250m and all use values have been buffered by 1km to protect confidentiality of locations. See Section 3.3 for a further description of methods used for documentation and analysis of mapped values.

Section 5.1 provides an overview of all values mapped within the Study Area and areas of interest. Mapped values within each area of interest are then described in Sections 5.2 – 5.11 below.

4.1 OVERVIEW

The site-specific values documented during interviews clearly demonstrate that Inuit from Iqaluit use the lands, water and sea ice of the Study Area. This section summarizes the nature and distribution of mapped data from interviews associated with each of the studies key values. Detailed qualitative information associated with the spatial data regarding the importance of each key value is located in Section 4 of this report.

Iqaluit community members reported 1,287 site-specific values within the Study Area, with 315 of these values overlapping with areas of interest. This represents the mapped values documented by 44 of 48 interview participants (4 participants did not record mapped values in the Study Area).

As noted in Section 1.2 of this Report, **an absence of data does not signify an absence of use or value**. In addition, sampling was limited; not all Iqaluit elders, land users and knowledge holders were able to participate. The above limitation is a necessary consideration when interpreting the geographic distribution and quantity of mapped values. It is possible that new information regarding use of land and resources by Iqaluit Inuit will become available in the future.

Table 1: Iqaluit site-specific use values, by key value reported within the Study Area and Areas of Interest.

Key Value	Within Areas of Interest	Within the Study Area
	# of reported values	# of reported values
Cultural Continuity	13	64
Fishing and Freshwater	111	283
Marine Harvesting	34	323
Terrestrial Harvesting	92	351
Travel, Trails, and Habitation	65	266
Total	315	1287

While not every site-specific value recorded includes time information, Inuit use was reported from the 1920s to current (i.e., 2023) and continued use. Participants noted that Inuit use of many areas stretches back through many generations, as ancestral homes and camps in Cumberland Sound and Frobisher Bay were described.

In Table 2. below, mapped site-specific Inuit use values are tallied for each of the Areas of Interest.

Table 2: Iqaluit site-specific use values, by Areas of Interest.

Area of Interest	# of reported values
McKeand River	0
McKeand-Cantley basins	6
Cantley Bay	29
Jaynes Inlet	49
Armshow River/Armshow South (Lake)	101
Wind Development #1, #2 and #3	7
Pumped Storage Hydro	16
Cantley Bay Transmission	32
Jaynes Inlet Transmission	18

Jaynes Inlet/Armshow Transmission	95
Sylvia Grinnell	51

4.2 McKEAND RIVER

The McKeand River Area of Interest is located in the lower reaches of the McKeand River. No site-specific values were recorded in this area during interviews. The lack of recorded values in the area does not imply that this area does not hold values of importance to Inuit. Nearby mapped values and descriptions from interview participants note that there is good caribou habitat nearby, including potential wintering grounds. As surrounding values are largely focused on caribou, the moratorium on caribou hunting may contribute to the lack of documented Inuit use in this area of interest. Additionally, challenging terrain and travel conditions in the area may be hampering Inuit access to the area.

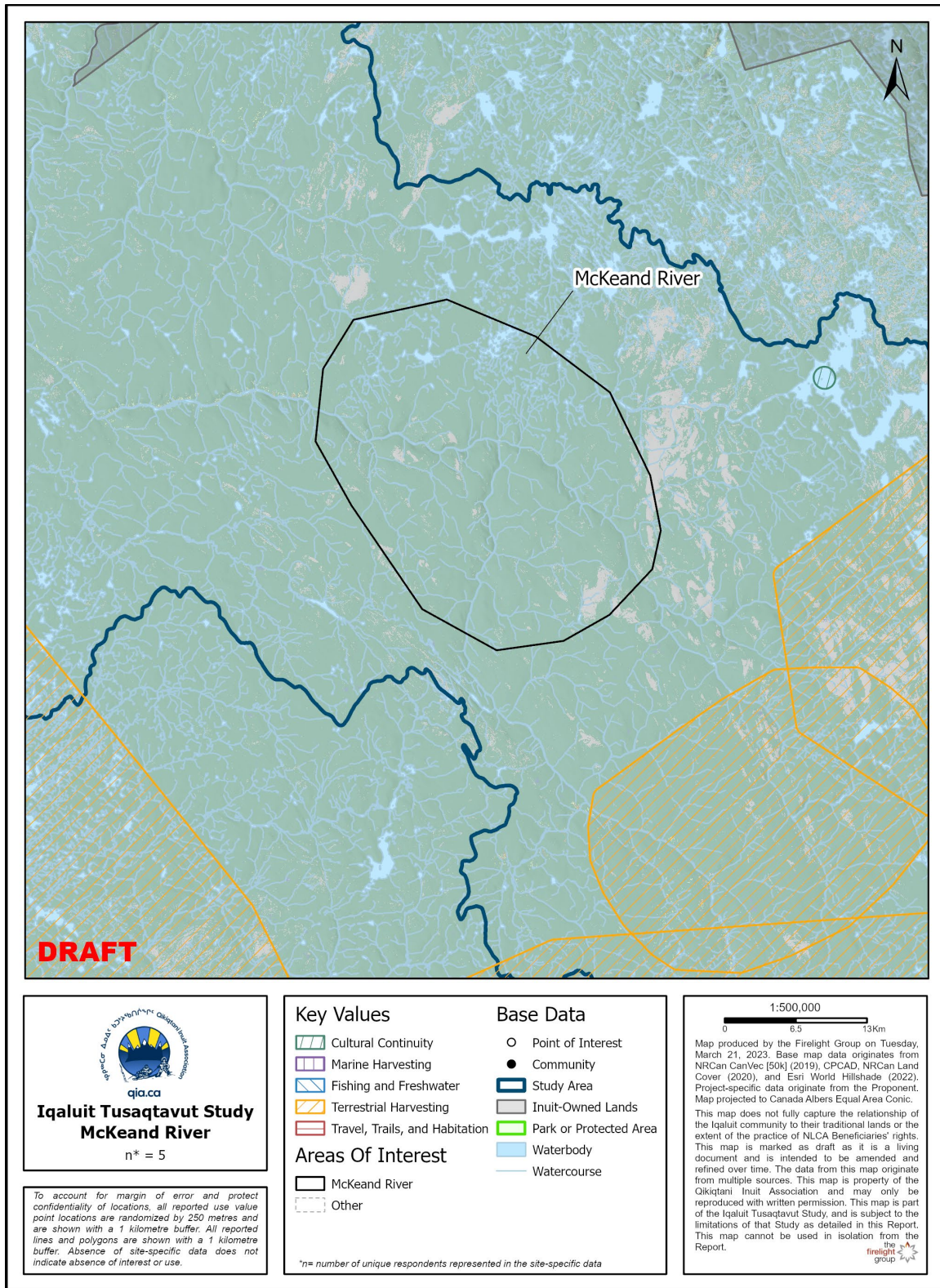


Figure 3. Reported site-specific values in relation to the McKeand River area of interest.

4.3 McKEAND CANTLEY BASINS

Within the McKeand Cantley Basins area of interest, 5 Iqaluit community members reported 6 site-specific values. While not every site-specific value recorded includes time information, Inuit use was reported from 2001 to 2022 and continued use. Mapped values recorded within the McKeand Cantley Basins Area of Interest include:

- **Terrestrial Harvesting** values including: an area used for harvesting caribou; an area where migrating caribou travel through and use for calving; and an ancestral caribou hunting site;
- **Travel, Trails, and Habitation** values including: routes travelled by snowmobile during the winter and spring to access caribou hunting areas, campsites and cabins and a fishing spot

Participants noted that this area holds a number of important environmental features important for caribou populations in the area, including a valley to the southwest that acts as a migration corridor as well as a calving ground for caribou populations. Recent harvesting of caribou was documented in the area, as well as by ancestors prior to the mid-1900s.

Travel routes through this area include trails taken by snowmobile during the winter and spring. These routes connect areas to the west used for camping, fishing and caribou hunting with the main Pangnirtung-Iqaluit trail. In particular, the trail to Sukunga passes through this area of interest.

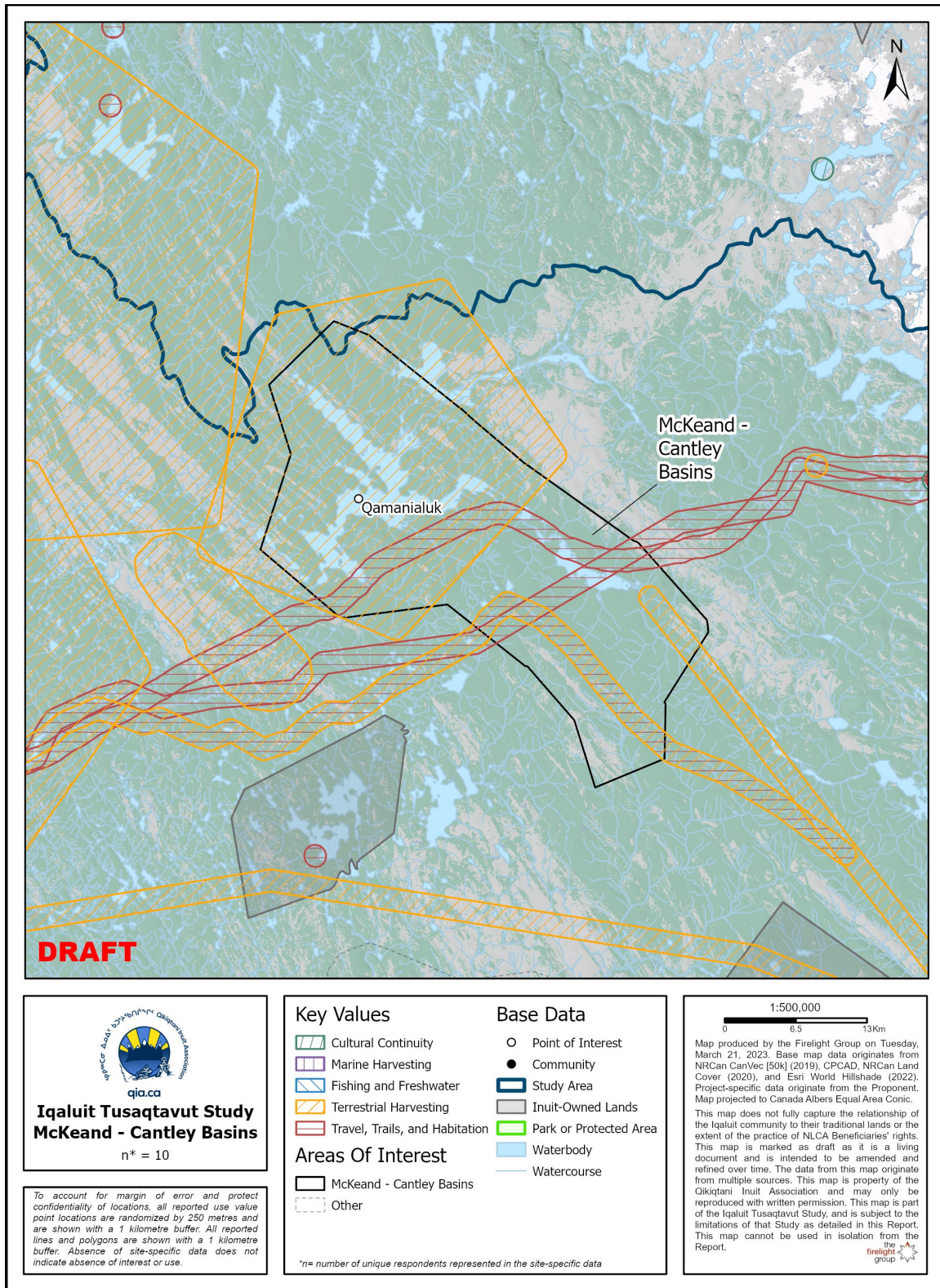


Figure 4. Reported site-specific values in relation to the McKead – Cantley Basins area of interest.

4.4 CANTLEY BAY

Within the Cantley Bay area of interest, 13 Iqaluit community members reported 29 site-specific values. While not every site-specific value recorded includes time information, Inuit use was reported from the 1970s to fall 2022 and continued use. Mapped values recorded within the Cantley Bay Area of Interest include:

- **Marine Harvesting** values including: areas used for harvesting ringed seal;
- **Terrestrial Harvesting** values including: caribou harvesting locations; numerous sites where caribou were butchered; areas where large herds of caribou have been seen; a caribou calving area; sites used for harvesting crowberries, blackberries and blueberries; and an eider harvesting location;
- **Travel, Trails, and Habitation** values including: cabins; campsites (including historic ones used by Tuniit); and a row of inukshuks; and
- **Cultural Continuity** values including: a place name.

The mouth of the river serves as a hub for a range of Inuit land uses in the area. Interviewees described campsites and cabins being used in these areas, with berry harvesting nearby, along with eider harvesting on islands in the bay and ringed seal hunting close to the mouth of the river. Caribou hunting trips start at these camps and travel further up the valley, with caribou harvesting recorded by numerous participants in the area. A caribou calving ground is also documented in an area to the north of the river mouth.

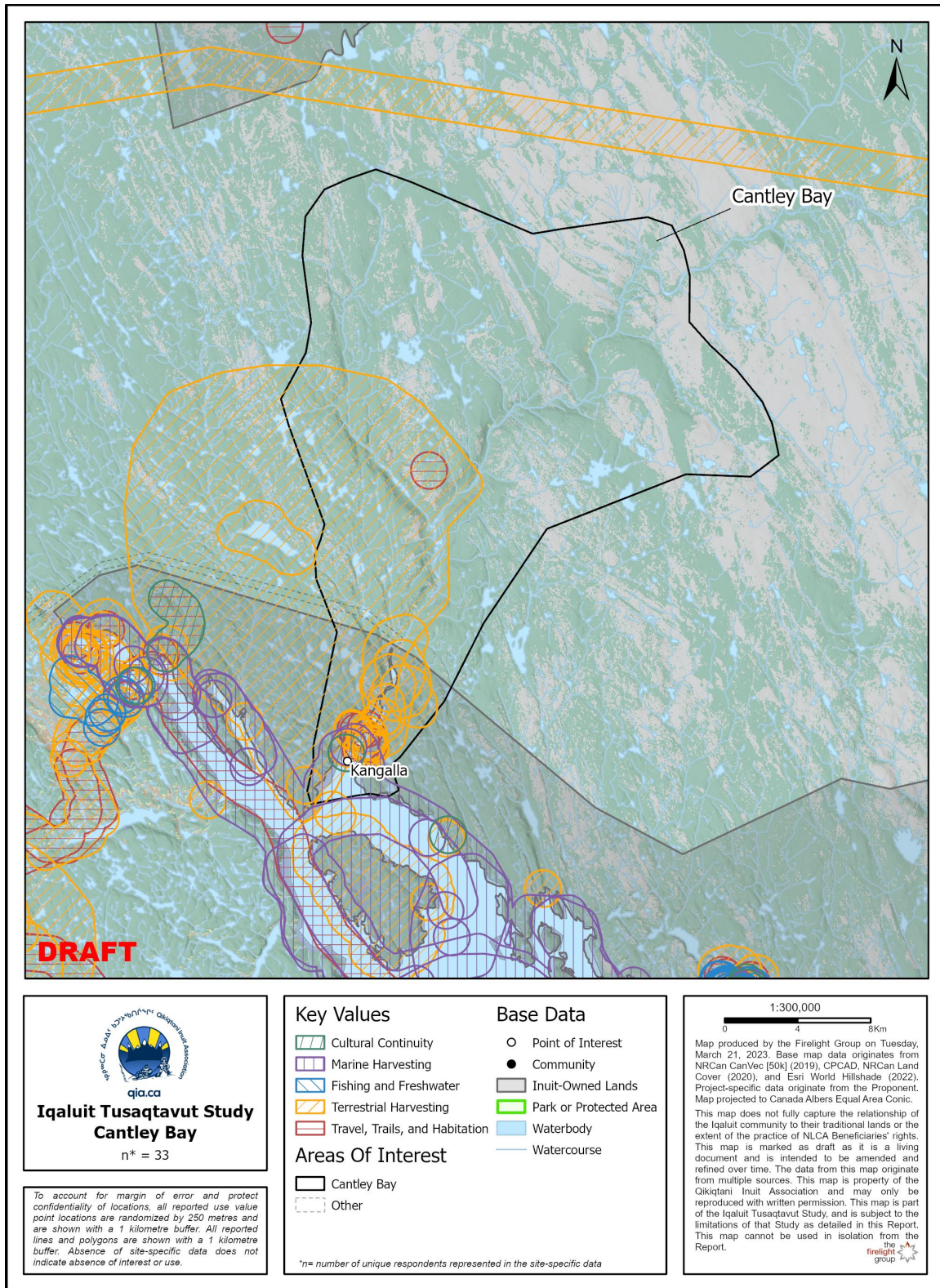


Figure 5. Reported site-specific values in relation to the Cantley Bay area of interest.

4.5 JAYNES INLET

Within the Cantley Bay area of interest, 16 Iqaluit community members reported 49 site-specific values. While not every site-specific value recorded includes time information, Inuit use was reported from the 1980s to 2022 and continued use. Mapped values recorded within the Jaynes Inlet Area of Interest include:

- **Marine Harvesting** values including: sites where narwhal and beluga are harvested; a beluga migration path; valued habitat for beluga, ringed and bearded seal, and bowhead whale; a polynya used for seal hunting; and clam digging locations;
- **Terrestrial Harvesting** values including: sites where caribou were harvested and butchered; important caribou habitat, including a valley used by herds as a migration corridor; areas used for the harvest of snow goose, Canada goose and ptarmigan; an area used for harvesting eider eggs; and crowberry picking sites.
- **Fishing and Freshwater** values including: sites where Arctic char have been caught; and sites used for collection of drinking water from both river and ice sources; and
- **Travel, Trails, and Habitation** values including: cabins owned and/or used by community members; and water routes used to access hunting areas, water collection sites, serpentine collection sites and other communities.

Areas to the north and south of Jaynes Inlet were noted as containing valued caribou habitat. The area has been used by a number of participants for caribou hunting since the 1980s. Cabins at the mouth of Jaynes Inlet are used as a base for hunting trips as well as clam digging nearby. Rivers and lakes nearby provide a source of drinking water for groups and families staying at these cabins.

Iluilliqtiqpaaq (Cincinnati Press Channel) contains important habitat for a number of harvested marine mammal species, including bearded seal, ringed seal and beluga. Narwhal and beluga harvesting sites are also recorded in the area. Additionally, Iluilliqtiqpaaq is used by many Inuit travelling by boat to the southern reaches of Frobisher Bay and beyond. The islands beside Jaynes Inlet, including Mialigaqtaiminiq (American Island) are used for caribou hunting, berry picking, camping and harvesting of eggs.

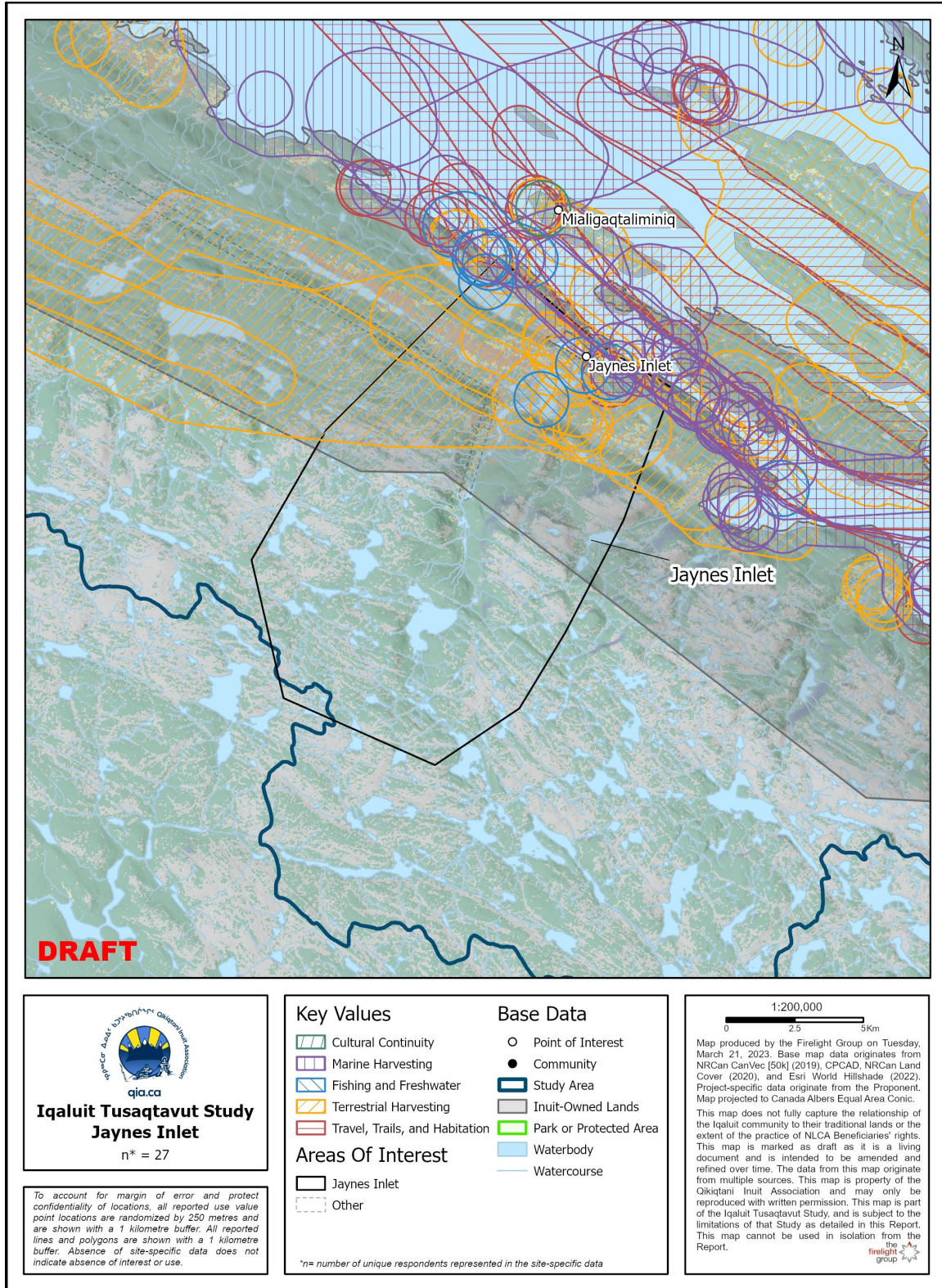


Figure 6. Reported site-specific values in relation to the Jaynes Inlet area of interest.

4.6 ARMSHOW AND ARMSHOW SOUTH (LAKE)

Within the Armshow and Armshow South (Lake) area of interest, 28 Iqaluit community members reported 101 site-specific values. While not every site-specific value recorded includes time information, Inuit use was reported from the 1970s to fall 2022 and continued use. Mapped values recorded within the Armshow and Armshow South Areas of Interest include:

- **Marine Harvesting** values including: locations where beluga and bowhead whale were harvested; a clam digging location; a seaweed harvesting location; a polynya that is important for marine harvesting; and a migratory corridor used by whales, seals and fish;
- **Terrestrial Harvesting** values including: ptarmigan and caribou hunting locations; crowberry, blueberry and blackberry picking sites; and valued caribou habitat including a valley that acts as a migratory corridor;
- **Fishing and Freshwater** values including: char harvesting sites recorded by 20 different participants; valued char habitat; and a site where drinking water is collected;
- **Travel, Trails, and Habitation** values including: campsites and cabins; numerous trails travelled by snowmobile and dog team to travel between Iqaluit, Iqalliarvik Lake, Nunngarut and Kimmirut; and
- **Cultural Continuity** values including: a place name; and areas used to teach fishing skills to younger generations.

Site-specific data documented within these areas of interest are predominantly concentrated in the Nunngarut (Bay of Two Rivers) area and where the trail to Kimmirut crosses the Meta Incognita Peninsula (just north of Kanginiktaqtuq). In the immediate area of Nunngarut, numerous participants reported camping and staying at cabins near the mouth of the bay and using these as a base for fishing and other harvesting in the area. Water sources and berry picking locations were also reported near these camps. A total of 20 participants reported fishing for char at Nunngarut, and noted use of the area on a year-round basis. Participants reported use of this area for teaching younger generations how to fish. Other terrestrial resources are also hunted in this area, including caribou and ptarmigan. Between Nunngarut and Aulatsivik (Bishop, Hill and Faris Islands), an important sea mammal and fish migratory corridor was documented, as well as numerous locations used for harvesting beluga and bowhead.

Further south of Nunngarut, a number of community cabins are documented near the start of the Kimmirut trail. This trail routes from Kimmirut across the Meta Incognita Peninsula, south of Aulatsivik (Bishop, Hill and Faris Islands) and onward to Iqaluit. Clam digging, beluga hunting and fishing for char and sculpin are also reported in this area.

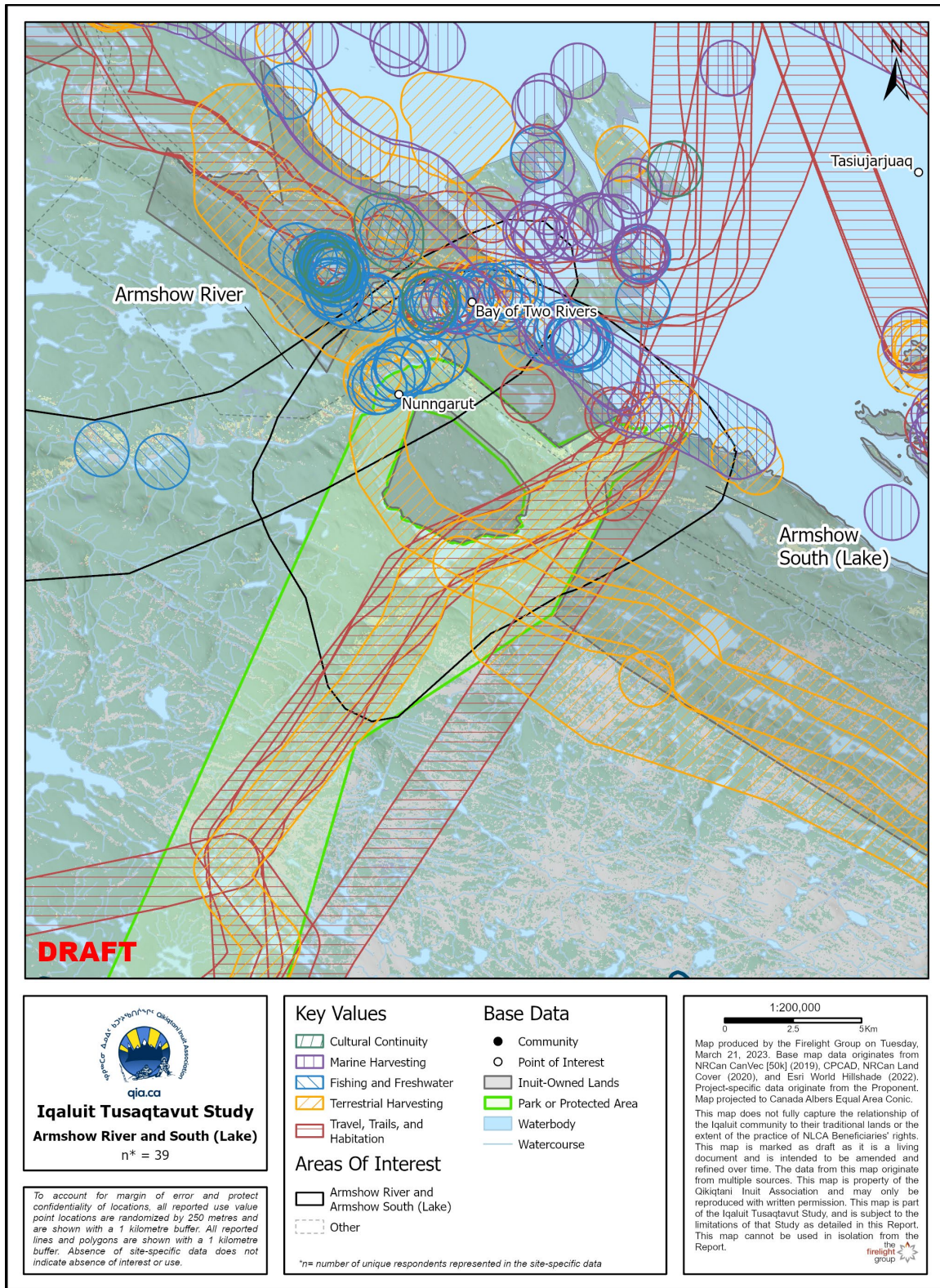


Figure 7. Reported site-specific values in relation to the Armshow River and Armshow South (Lake) areas of interest.

4.7 WIND DEVELOPMENT #1, #2 AND #3

Within the Wind Development #3 area of interest, 7 Iqaluit community members reported 7 site-specific values. No site-specific values were reported in the Wind Development #1 and #2 areas of interest. While not every site-specific value recorded includes time information, Inuit use was reported from the 1980s to 2022 and continued use. Mapped values recorded within the Wind Development #3 Area of Interest include:

- **Terrestrial Harvesting** values including: an area used for harvesting crowberries; a site where caribou are harvested; and an area used by bull caribou; and
- **Fishing and Freshwater** values including: char harvesting sites used during winter, spring and fall.

Mapped values recorded in the Wind Development #3 area of interest are concentrated at the southern end, close to Nunngarut (Bay of Two Rivers) and nearby lakes. No use values were documented to the north of here, nor in the Wind Development #1 and #2 areas of interest.

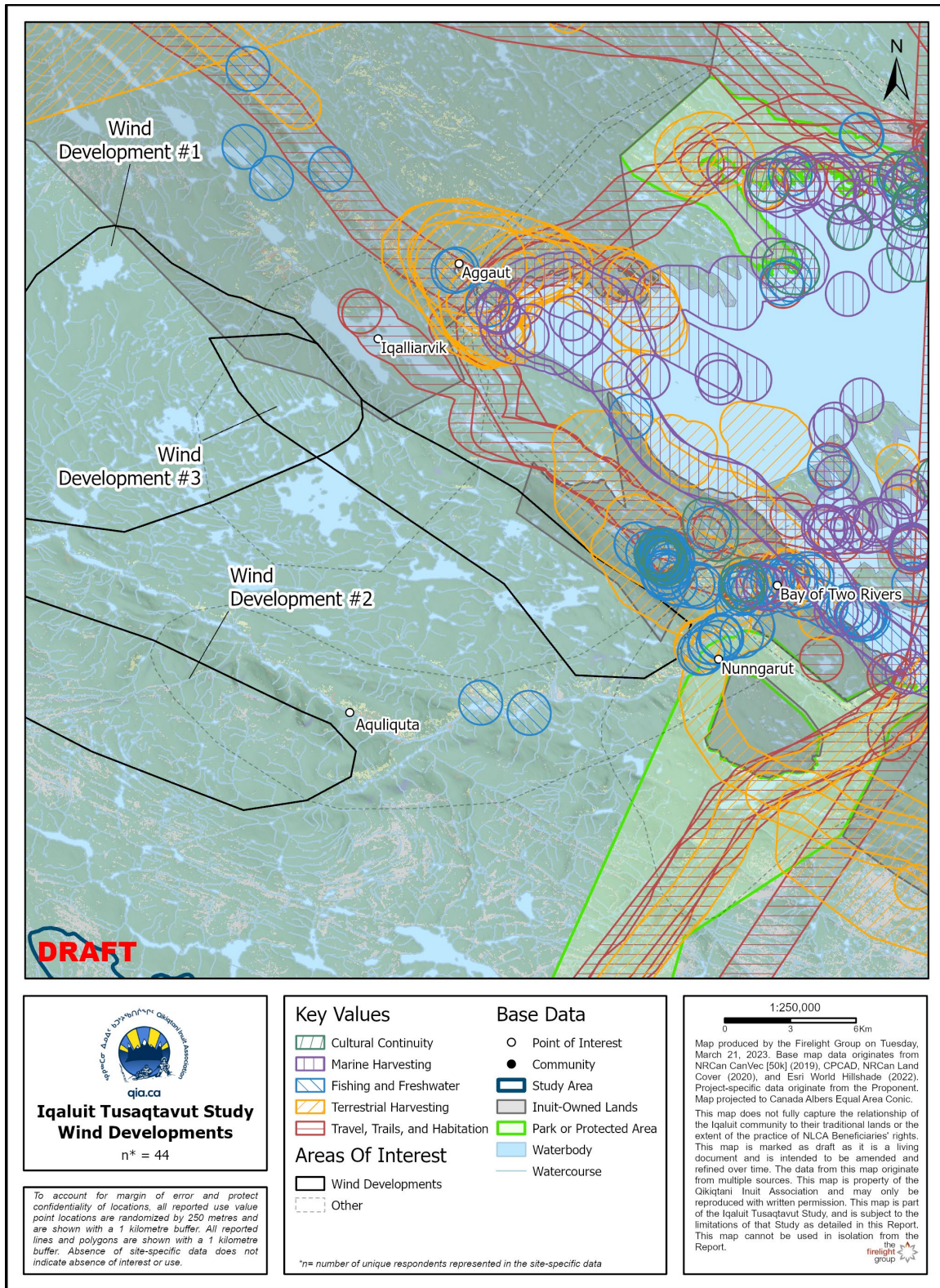


Figure 8. Reported site-specific values in relation to the Wind Development areas of interest

4.8 PUMPED STORAGE HYDRO

Within the Pumped Storage Hydro area of interest, 9 Iqaluit community members reported 16 site-specific values. While not every site-specific value recorded includes time information, Inuit use was reported in 2021 and 2022. Mapped values recorded within the Pumped Storage Hydro Area of Interest include:

- **Terrestrial Harvesting** values including: areas used for harvesting ptarmigan, snow goose and Canada goose; caribou hunting locations; and habitat used for caribou prior to calving;
- **Travel, Trails, and Habitation** values including: a campsite used during a fishing trip in the area; a trail used to travel to Iqalliarvik Lake from Nunngarut (Bay of Two Rivers); and trails used to get from Iqaluit to Nunngarut (Bay of Two Rivers) by snowmobile.

A winter trail from Nunngarut (Bay of Two Rivers) to a fishing and camping location on Iqalliarvik Lake was documented by one participant. Additionally, trails from Iqaluit to Nunngarut connect with this winter trail near Iqalliarvik Lake. Harvesting values in the nearby Aggaut (Jordan River/Foul Inlet) area include fowl and caribou harvesting locations, as well as important caribou habitat.

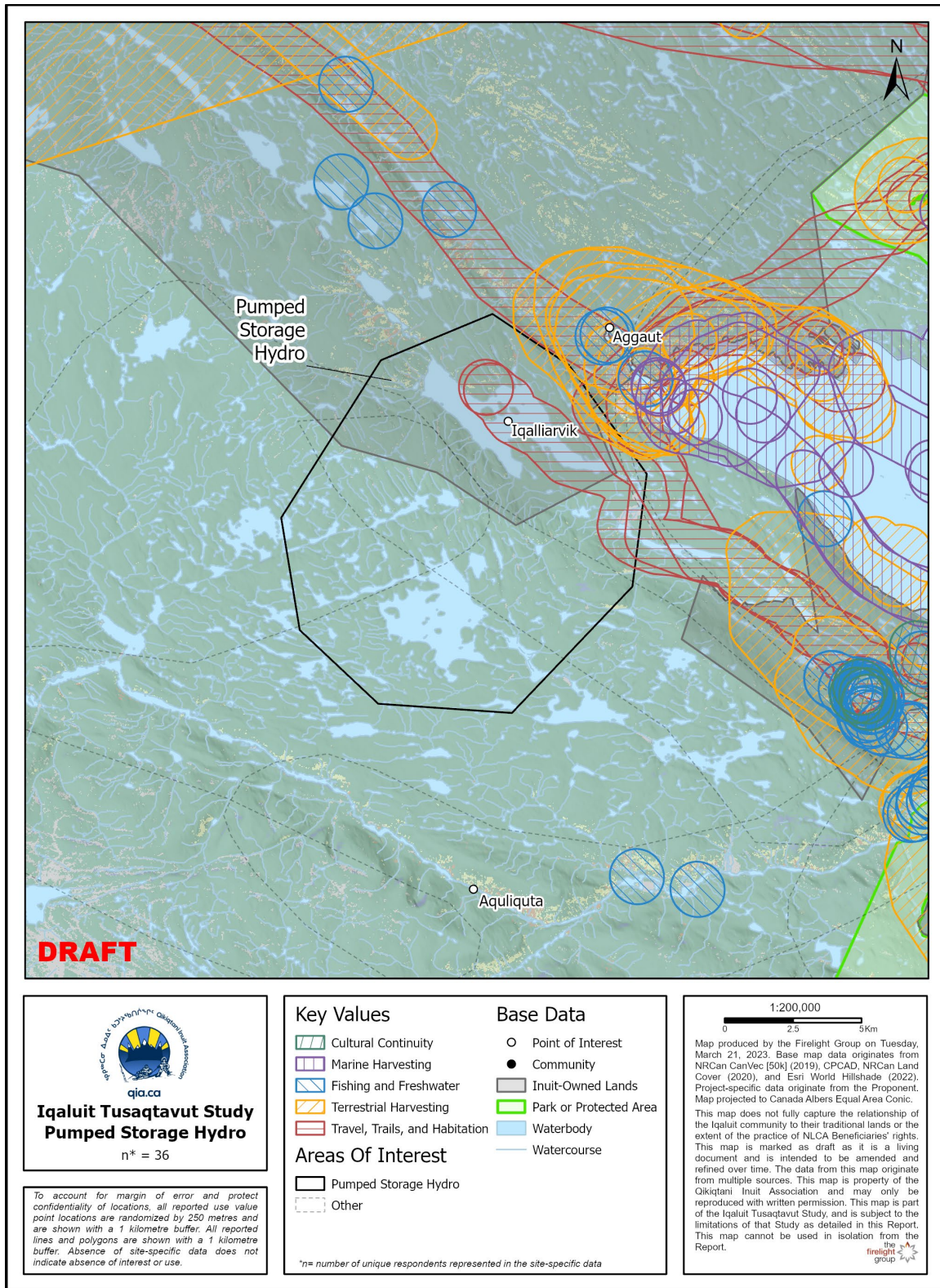


Figure 9. Reported site-specific values in relation to the Pumped Storage Hydro area of interest

4.9 CANTLEY BAY TRANSMISSION

Within the Cantley Bay Transmission area of interest, 16 Iqaluit community members reported 32 site-specific values. While not every site-specific value recorded includes time information, Inuit use was reported from 1969 to 2022 and continued use. Mapped values recorded within the Cantley Bay Transmission Area of Interest include:

- **Terrestrial Harvesting** values including: cloudberry, cranberry, blueberry and blackberry picking locations; caribou hunting spots; important caribou habitat, including a caribou calving area; and Canada goose harvesting locations;
- **Fishing and Freshwater** values including: arctic char harvesting sites;
- **Travel, Trails, and Habitation** values including: a participant's home; a location where an interviewee built their first igloo; trails travelled by skidoo and dog team to access areas including Nunngarut, Kimmirut, Pangnirtung for fishing and accessing cabins and camping locations; routes travelled by boat and used for hunting, fishing and accessing camping locations; and
- **Cultural Continuity** values including: sites used for community gatherings and harvesting ceremonies including celebrations of youths' first hunt and feasts following beluga and walrus hunts.

Cantley Bay Transmission area of interest travels inland to connect Iqaluit to the Cantley Bay area of interest. There are three main areas of this route where values were recorded during interviews: near the city of Iqaluit; to the north of Qairulittuuq (Anna Maria Port); and in the Cantley Bay area.

Near Iqaluit, a number of trails used by Inuit to access cabins, fishing areas and other communities (Pangnirtung) cross the Cantley Bay Transmission area of interest. The city of Iqaluit is also a focal point for a range of important values, including the homes of participants and family members, gathering sites, ceremonial sites, and other transportation routes.

Further west, the transmission area of interest crosses a small river that drains into Tasiujarjuaq (Burton Bay). Values documented by participants in this area include goose hunting and char fishing spots as well as a hiking trail used to access the area.

A large number of values were documented throughout Qairulittuuq (Anna Maria Port). Caribou hunting and berry picking values to the north overlap with the Cantley Bay Transmission area of interest.

Near Cantley Bay, valued caribou habitat was reported by a number of participants. With flat topography and ample food and water supply, large numbers of caribou have been observed

in this area. Additionally, one participant noted that there is caribou calving habitat in the area.

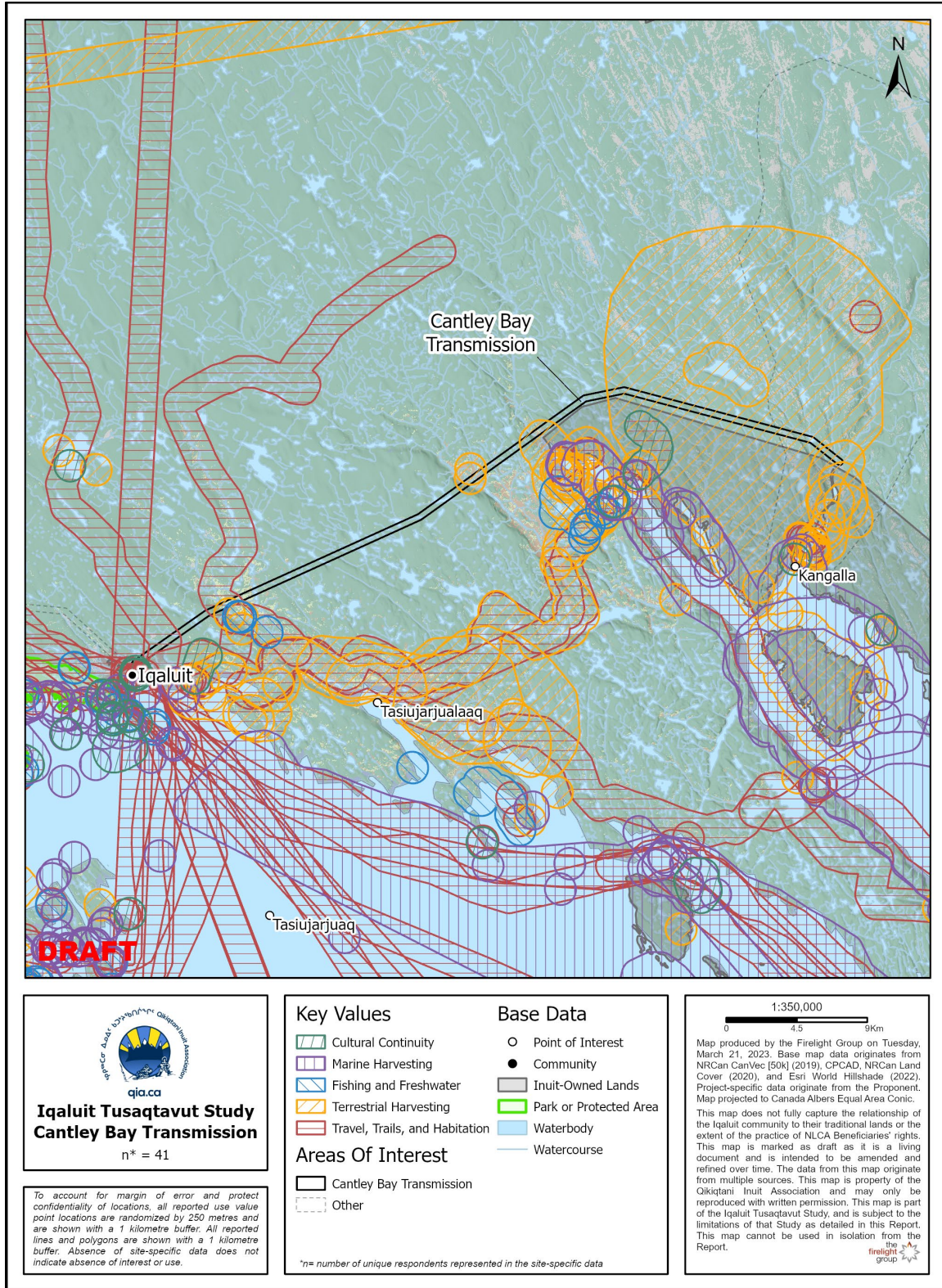


Figure 10. Reported site-specific values in relation to the Cantley Bay Transmission area of interest

4.10 JAYNES INLET TRANSMISSION

Within the Jaynes Inlet Transmission area of interest, 11 Iqaluit community members reported 18 site-specific values. While not every site-specific value recorded includes time information, Inuit use was reported from 1982 to 2022 and continued use. Mapped values recorded within the Jaynes Inlet Transmission Area of Interest include:

- **Terrestrial Harvesting** values including: a site used for harvesting crowberries; ptarmigan and snow goose hunting areas; and important caribou habitat, including a migration corridor;
- **Fishing and Freshwater** values including: sites used in the winter and spring for catching arctic char; and
- **Travel, Trails, and Habitation** values including: the main trail used for travel from Iqaluit to Kimmirut; a location where snow huts were built in the past while travelling to Kimmirut.

The Jaynes Inlet Transmission area of interest crosses the main trail used by many Inuit to get from Iqaluit to Kimmirut, as well as accessing fishing and hunting areas between the two communities. This trail has a long history of use and continues to see regular traffic.

Values documented in the area near Nunngarut include berry picking and char fishing locations. At the southern area of this area of interest, numerous participants reported valuable caribou habitat as well as harvesting areas for caribou, snow geese and ptarmigan.

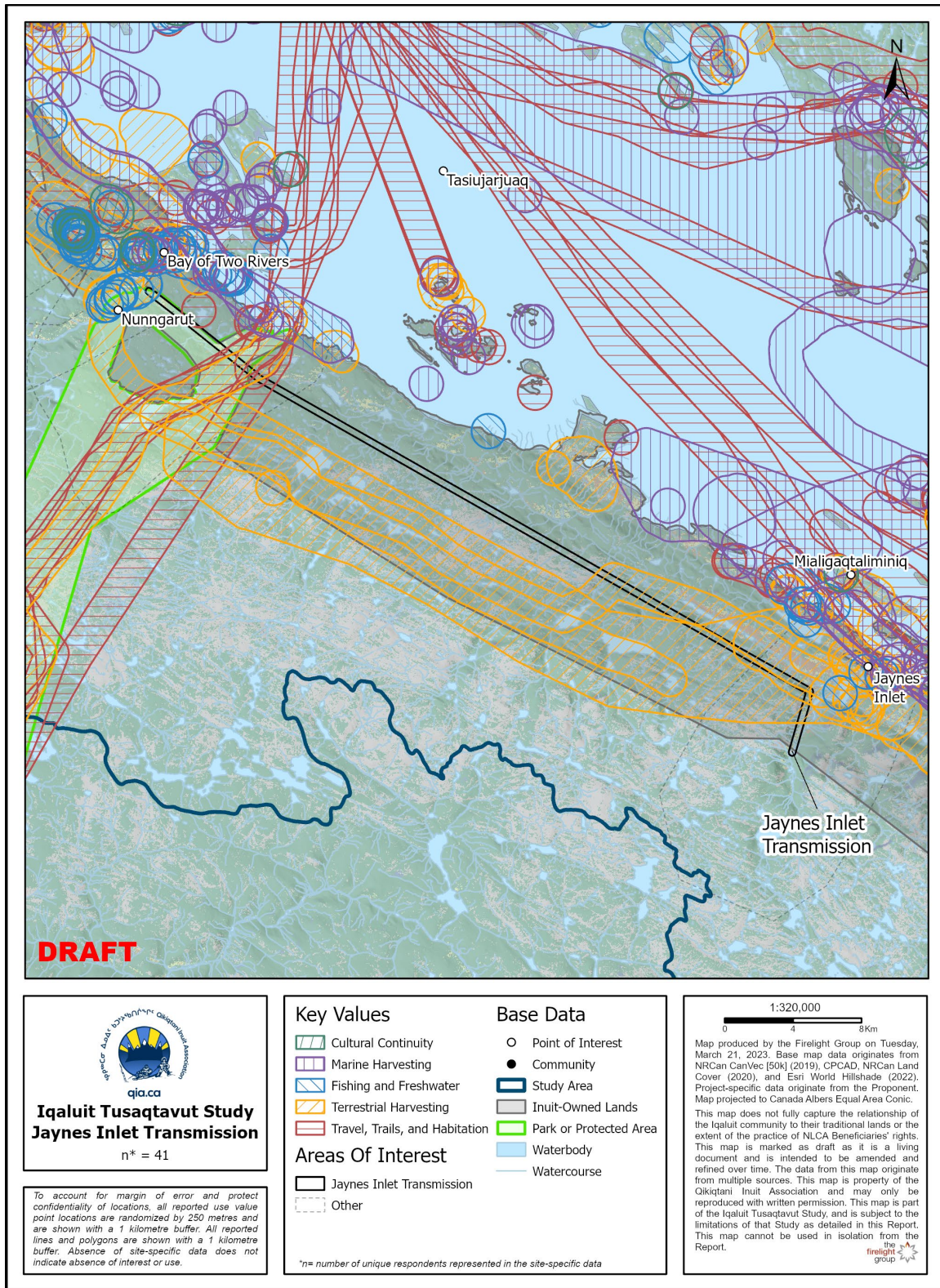


Figure 11. Reported site-specific values in relation to the Jaynes Inlet Transmission area of interest

4.11 JAYNES INLET/ARMSHOW TRANSMISSION

Within the Jaynes Inlet/Armslow Transmission area of interest, 34 Iqaluit community members reported 95 site-specific values. While not every site-specific value recorded includes time information, Inuit use was reported from 1976 to 2022 and continued use. Mapped values recorded within the Jaynes Inlet/Armslow Transmission Area of Interest include:

- **Terrestrial Harvesting** values including: crowberry, blueberry, cranberry and cloudberry picking sites; ptarmigan, snow goose and Canada goose hunting sites; caribou harvesting sites; valued caribou habitat; and a caribou migration corridor;
- **Fishing and Freshwater** values including: numerous locations where Arctic char are caught; and sites where drinking water is collected;
- **Travel, Trails, and Habitation** values including: campsites and a location where a participant built their first igloo; trails used to access the Sylvia Grinnell River and Lake, Amadjuaq Lake, Kimmirut, and Pangnirtung; and
- **Cultural Continuity** values including: sites used for community gatherings and harvesting ceremonies including celebrations of youths' first hunt and feasts following beluga and walrus hunts; place names for an important fishing location; and areas used for teaching fishing skills including gill netting, ice fishing and processing fish.

As well as intersecting with numerous values in the Iqaluit area, the Jaynes Inlet/Armslow Transmission area of interest crosses the popular trail taken by numerous participants to campsites, cabins, and fishing and hunting locations on the Sylvia Grinnell River and Lake and beyond to Amadjuaq Lake.

Harvesting values in the Aggaut (Jordan River/Foul Inlet) area include berry picking locations, char fishing spots, fowl and caribou harvesting locations, as well as important caribou habitat.

A large number of values were documented in the southern portion of this area of interest, near Nunngarut (Bay of Two Rivers). Char fishing was recorded in rivers and lakes in this area on a year-round basis, as well as campsites used during fishing trips in the area. Valued caribou habitat and ptarmigan hunting areas were documented to the north of Nunngarut (Bay of Two Rivers). A trail to Iqalliarvik Lake was also documented in the area.

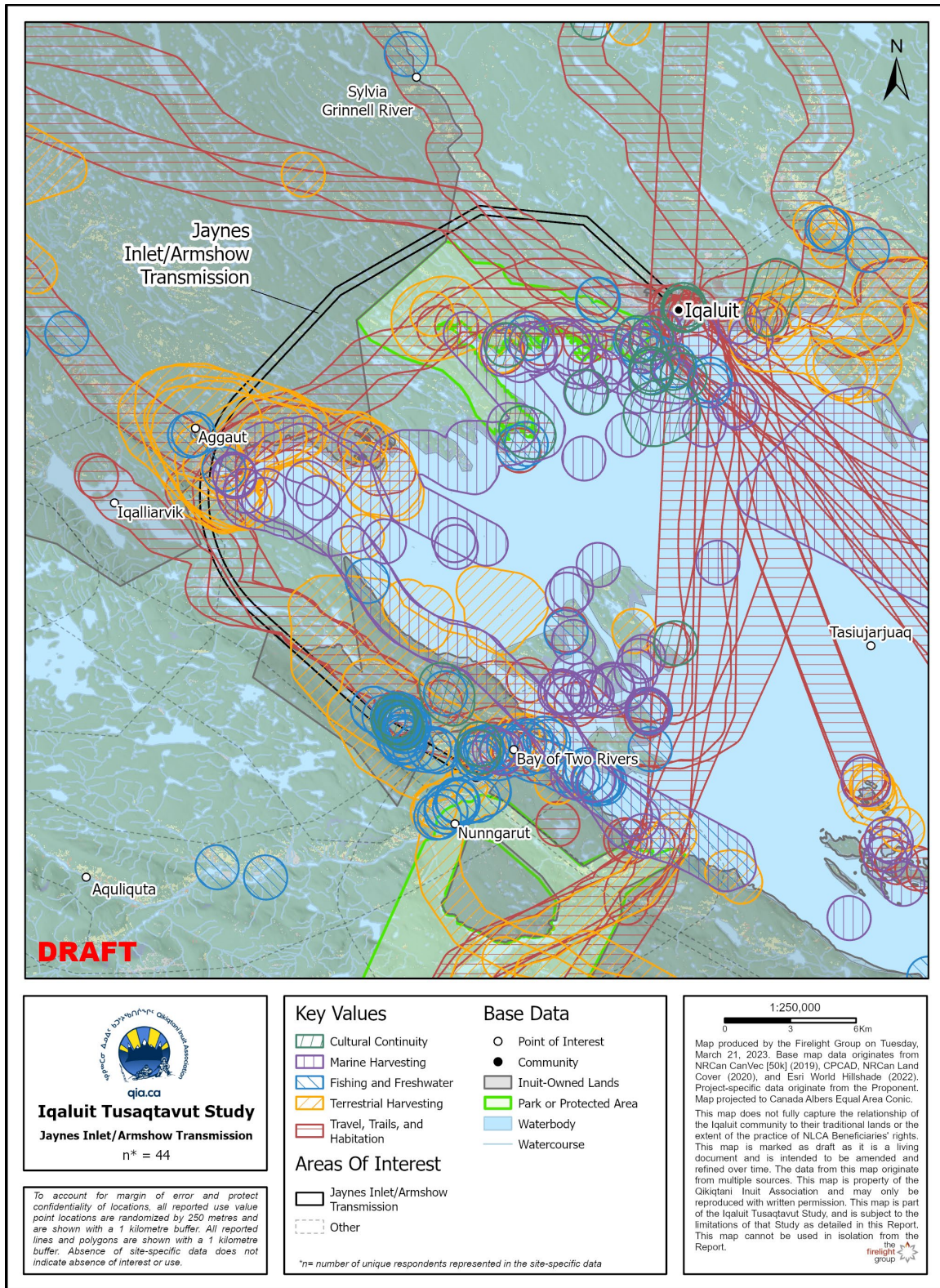


Figure 12. Reported site-specific values in relation to the Jaynes Inlet/Armshow Transmission area of interest

4.12 SYLVIA GRINNELL

Within the Sylvia Grinnell area of interest, 22 Iqaluit community members reported 51 site-specific values. While not every site-specific value recorded includes time information, Inuit use was reported from 1982 to 2022 and continued use. Mapped values recorded within the Sylvia Grinnell Area of Interest include:

- **Terrestrial Harvesting** values including: ptarmigan and goose hunting sites; caribou harvesting sites; caribou calving areas; and a caribou migration path.
- **Fishing and Freshwater** values including: numerous locations along the Sylvia Grinnell River where char are caught; and sites where drinking water is collected;
- **Travel, Trails, and Habitation** values including: cabins used by community members that are owned by the Hunters and Trappers Association and community members; and trails used in winter and spring to access the Sylvia Grinnell River, Sylvia Grinnell Lake and Amadjuaq Lake; and
- **Cultural Continuity** values including: a location used for teaching fishing skills, to youth during the winter and spring.

Site-specific values are recorded almost continuously along the Sylvia Grinnell River throughout this area of interest. Char fishing locations are distributed across a number of areas on the Sylvia Grinnell River and to Sylvia Grinnell Lake, with campsites and cabins located nearby a number of these. Four different routes used to travel to Sylvia Grinnell Lake and Amadjuaq Lake were documented during interviews, including use of the river itself. Caribou habitat and migration routes were documented in the western portion of the area of interest with caribou harvest locations recorded in the northern half of the area of interest.

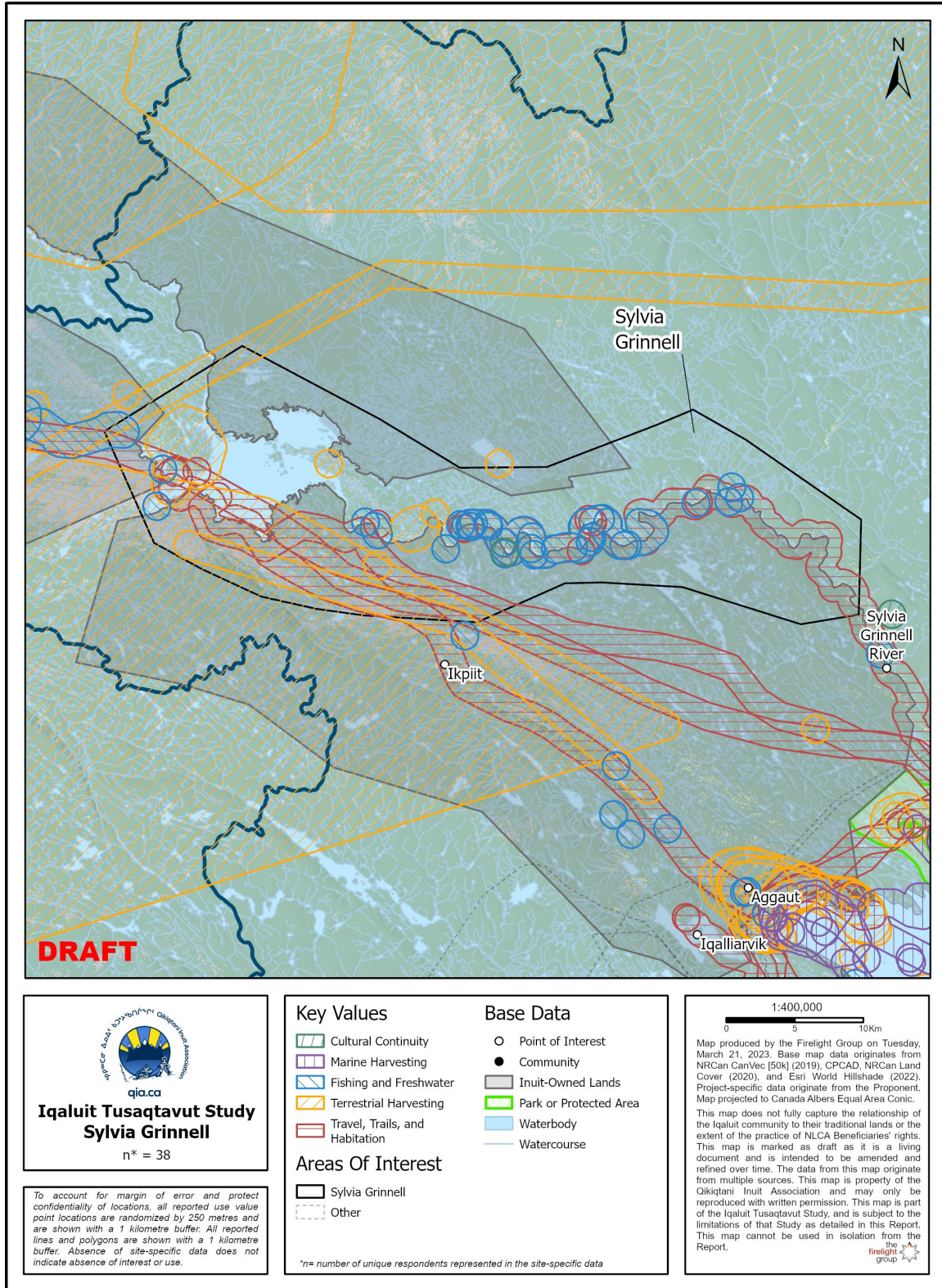


Figure 13: Reported site-specific values in relation to the Sylvia Grinnell area of interest.

5. IDENTIFIED CONCERNS AND POTENTIAL INTERACTIONS

This sections describes some of the concerns identified by interview participants in regard to the potential project. This includes general concerns relating to the nature of the types of industrial developments under consideration, as well as specific concerns related to potential interactions, key sites or impact pathway interactions with important Inuit values or activities.

5.1 IMPACTED BASELINE AND IMPAIRED USE

Iqalummiut interviewed noted a wide range of impacts to the land including social and environmental changes which are already altering their land use or their access to key Inuit values. These impacts include but are not limited to:

Marine Harvesting:

- Decreasing or reduced wildlife populations due to natural fluctuations in populations.
- Decreasing or reduced wildlife populations due to changes in migration routes of some whale populations.
- Reduced harvesting success due to increasing competition from other hunters in key areas, particularly close to Iqaluit.
- Reduced access to high-value fur species and harvests (e.g. polar bear due to importation bans) has reduced access to needed income for hunters.
- Increased predation of whales by orca whales.
- Reduced access to harvesting due to the rising costs of equipment, including maintenance and gas (operating) costs.

Terrestrial Harvesting:

- Decreasing or reduced wildlife populations due to natural fluctuations in populations.
- Diminished access to key wildlife resources, including caribou due to the current quota system.
- Reduced access to berries due to contamination concerns in areas close to human habitation.
- Decreased access to preferred country foods (including caribou) due to diminished availability.

- Reduced harvesting success due to increasing competition from other hunters in key areas, particularly close to Iqaluit.
- Reduced access to harvesting due to the rising costs of equipment, including maintenance and gas (operating) costs.

Fishing and Freshwater:

- Decreasing or reduced fish populations due to natural fluctuations in populations.
- Decreased or reduced fish populations due to overfishing of some lakes including through the overuse of gear like nets.
- Changes to water quality including increased incidences of water collected on the land appearing contaminated to Inuit.

Travel, Trails and Habitation:

- Overall increase in land use of key areas close to Iqaluit. This has become noticeable participants explained, during the past few years with concerns around Covid-19 and desires to be outside.
- Increases in cabin construction decreasing the ability of Iqalummiut to peacefully enjoy time on the land due to crowds and noise.
- Reduced safety when travelling on the land due to increasingly unpredictable weather and unseasonable conditions, likely due to climate change impacts.
- Reduced access to hunting areas and travel routes due to changing seasonality of necessary conditions including enough snow for skidoos and strong and stable sea ice.
- Reduced ability to travel due to the rising costs of equipment, including maintenance and gas (operating) costs.

Cultural Continuity:

- Impacts to cultural transmission due to reduced ability to practice key harvesting activities (e.g. caribou hunting).
- More garbage left on the land, as well as more alcohol use at camps and cabins.

The project concerns and anticipated impacts identified in the following sections 5.2 and 5.3 should be understood to be potential occurring against the backdrop of this impacted baseline and the impaired land uses Inuit are currently experiencing in Iqaluit.

5.2 PARTICIPANT CONCERNS RELATED TO LAND USE AND PROJECT SITING

This Section identifies interview participant concerns with the proposed project connected to their Inuit land uses and to the overlap between project activities and these land uses due to siting. The following Section 5.3 identifies participant concerns relating to impact pathways anticipated in connection to the possible types of renewable energy development being considered.

5.2.1 *Wildlife and Habitat Concerns*

As one participant explained, many Inuit find it difficult to identify any one area as less when the unity of the environment is valued, as well as its intact and undisturbed nature.

[Responding to a question about places that should be protected with regard to renewable energy development] Yes, like no place is more valuable or more precious than any other place. Like when you think as an Inuk, it's all the same ... It's all valuable. It's all — ... — worthy of — and we don't put values on land like that... (IQ13 2022, interpreted from Inuktitut)

Participants voiced concern for the habitat and wildlife populations which they worried would be disturbed by Project activities.

Yes, I would [have concerns about renewable energy developments in that area] if they would — if it would mean that there's a possibility that it would harm the natural habitat of wildlife and fish. (IQ41 2023)

I don't think I would support hydro. ... Wind, I'm not sure. I don't know enough about it. ... But either way, like if it would have an impact, like a negative impact on wildlife and their natural habitat, then I don't think I could support it. ... Like it's so important to me for like me being able to go out, having grown going — like going out all the time with my family and trying to continue that on with my own family, in hopes that they can continue that on too. So, I guess it depends like what impact would it have. (IQ41 2023)

Well, I think depending on where it [renewable energy developments] could, like, impact wildlife, but again like that's depending on where they, like, want the potential development to happen. (IQ47 2023)

[What QIA and other Inuit organizations should focus on in relation to renewable energy development] I'd say making sure that animals are undisturbed as much as possible, but I know you can't always have that option and if you have to interfere a bit ... [species that should be undisturbed are] fish, caribou, and I'd say seal. Polar bear, too, I guess if it's on land because of, because they do go upland to den. (IQ36 2023)

Environment impact is the best one. ... I'm sure it could be done, but it would affect the migration of ... certain animals, birds — Inuit camping areas. (IQ10 in IQ09 and IQ10 2022)

Participants spoke about their concerns for development in areas that have been identified by the community as important for harvesting.

I'd be concerned, probably the McKeand River and Jaynes Inlet, and is the Cantley Bay ... Those three I would be concern, and probably the first one at Nunavut, this one. ... Yeah, those four would be concerning to me, just cause kinda like to go either through or around there for hunting stuff. ... those are the ones that are concerning to me. (IQ47 2023)

I would just say [to NNC], please, don't ruin our land. Our fishing spot and country food spots, our favourite spots to go seal hunting and all that, and berry picking — everything. (IQ44 2023)

Participants voiced their concerns over the ability for future generations to use the land if developmental activities commence in the area.

I don't know what the next generation will be like in terms of taking part in traditional activities, where like fishing. I know that the way I harvest food, country food, is different from what my parents' generation, in that, you know, they had to harvest, especially winter, to heat their qarmaq [phonetic spelling 01:24:13.00], to feed their dogs, to feed the people. To survive for today, survival doesn't depend on harvesting country food, you know for survival. ... (IQ39 2023)

My parents' generation, my generation, and my children's generation, and then perhaps their — my grandchildren's generation, you know, will probably look at life, you know, like the land, the environment, differently, you know, than — than what I am doing ... Or my generation — some people, of course, you know, are not — they're not pro — how do I say this? Pro-development, irregardless, you know, you know, but anyway, that's how people, you know. You cannot blame people for that if that's how they think, that's how they think. (IQ39 2023)

The potential for long term impacts was a concern for participants, with some noting that the unique conditions of the Arctic environment would mean any possible changes or damage to the environment would be slow to regrow, regenerate or be rehabilitated. The potential for these impacts to emerge slowly over the life of the project was especially concerning.

I guess one comment is that in these areas, unless, you know, you see it, people might not have too much concern. Where they can see it, people say, hey, that's not good right away. Yeah. But sometimes, even if what you don't see, you know, if it could have — because everything is kind of interconnected, you know, could have an impact, you know, on — down the road. (IQ39 2023)

[Doesn't know enough about the proposed projects to agree or disagree, but expresses the need for caution] I have to be very careful whether it's harmful for the environment. I really need to know that. And if they're to make a dam on the other side of Iqaluit, back here ... It'll change the whole picture of migration of caribou, cause like I was saying the other day, the caribou around here migrate to — you know the calving grounds. This is a calving ground over here, right where this is, you know? And calving ground up there. You know? ... Yeah. There's wintering areas for caribou here. Wintering area. (IQ04 2022)

In particular, Iqaluit participants have concerns over the ability of the land to rejuvenate itself.

So, yes, you have to be, I guess, conscious all the time, you know, that — especially, you know, not just in Nunavut, but across the world, where the land is being used in a way that it doesn't have time to regenerate itself. For example, in the forested areas, you know, especially in countries where they don't really have laws, you know, to try to put the land back to what it was before, if they're going to take something out. I don't know if you can something like that, you know, with these, because, you know, land, moss, and all that take years, you know, just more slow — takes a while for, you know, for the land to sort of come back. (IQ39 2023)

5.2.2 Interruptions to Harvesting

Alongside concerns about the integrity of the environment and key habitats, participants were also concerned that project activities might have an impact on their ability to continue their harvesting of key species in frequently used locations.

Some of the people's going to be happy, [with development] maybe someone's going to be pretty upset because every rivers, they go in summertime, fish — fishing, fishing area, seal hunting, right up to the — right here, in that area. (IQ06 2022)

[talking about potential development area] This would be a no-no area, because I've been there, where they want to block the mountain. They have a water counting station there too and everything. I don't think it's because the area's always used every year for either berry picking, hunting — harvesting caribou. People have got cabins over there, too, so. This one, same thing, because the — that main area is where belugas travel. (IQ08 2022)

[talking about development area] Depending if it's too close to town or if it's in a good hunting area, that's the only problem. So, yes, it would affect Iqaluit. And people would complain, for sure. Like our areas that we hunt or travel or go fishing, is all around Iqaluit, regardless of where it is. Like if you go way down to Iqaluit Bay, Cormack Bay, Ward Inlet, the other left side, we said York Sound, fishing, and the beluga migration areas. There's people got cabin where that big red blotch you just showed me. And this one's a no-no, because that's a park. So, I — and this one's where belugas have their young. (IQ08 2022)

I know it'd be a big investment for the company and everything, but it'd be bad for the people that lived and hunt there. (IQ08 2022)

[In response to a general question about what QIA should focus on in relation to the project] Impact on Inuit ... Not only the men, but the women too. They need their berry picking areas and stuff ... Or stuff that they enjoy doing, going for walks and — ... I find Inuit culture tend to focus more on hunting and that kind of stuff, but we've got to think about our other halves too in all this stuff that's important to us ... berry picking, land use, fishing areas ... (IQ17 2022)

[Concerns with regard to renewable energy development in the highlighted areas] I think with the whole caribou in those areas, and the way it might affect more, like if they're going to be using helicopters there to go check their equipment or the more frequent visits of their maintenance or whatever in those areas, if they do end up —... — having hydro or wind, they might — I think it's just going to push the caribou away of those — from those areas ... it might. It might not. I don't know ... I mean there's always human traffic everywhere — ... — as a hunter, so you're always seeing

caribou in areas, and they must be used to it, but I don't know how it would be with those — with the equipment there. (IQ18 2022)

[Caribou habitat in Iqaluit, must take into consideration when planning for projects] About the land? I know this spot here, it's also a hunting ground for caribou. It used to be a hunting ground for caribou ... before the calves are coming out in the early spring, May/April ... Also ... geese hunting ... because when we would do our regular caribou hunting for some family who has infants — ... Like my mom, she would ask to get — ... — a cow, a pregnant cow, so we could get the skin of the fetus. (IQ14 2022)

5.2.3 Sylvia Grinnell River

The Sylvia Grinnell was noted by participants as a key area of frequent and intensive use for the community. In the following quotes participants expressed their concerns with a possible project location in this area.

I definitely would have concerns around here [Sylvia Grinnell], because people go fish. It's close. ... And not everyone has like — not everyone has somebody that they can follow to go far like or to take care of them. Lots of women and even women with children go out. ... And they follow other people. But maybe they don't have like somebody that they can really depend on to go somewhere further. (IQ41 2023)

Oh, yeah, that [Sylvia Grinnell area] too. [Inaudible 00:41:25.11] from here too ... That's a nice area to go fishing too. There's lakes and river going up. It's very nice, and we'll be sad if they have to make trails or something around there. Yeah, it will be a big change too. (IQ44 2023)

Like especially this, 'cause it's our main — main fish from here, right? Climbs up to this [Sylvia Grinnell] river. ... That's why we're [inaudible — 1:25:35.1] — that's why we're named Iqaluit, 'cause of that river there. 'Cause all the fish that go up, and they go up to the Sylvia Grinnell Lake. Bay of Two Rivers, too, same thing, there's quite a bit of fish that go up. ... (IQ48 2023)

[Concerns about building a hydro dam on Sylvia Grinnell] If it would be a hydro-electric dam then I could see it being unliked by people of Iqaluit, due to not being able to fish there or it blocking off fish to go further up inland or come back down into the ocean ... I could see that being a little bit unwanted. (IQ36 2023)

[Concerns with building a project at Sylvia Grinnell] Sylvia Grinnell Lake. Yeah, I have a concern on Sylvia Grinnell Lake area ... all the way down, these are all hunting grounds, fishing grounds, you know. If that — either one, like especially the dam I'm worried about. If they want to build that one, then you know, Sylvia Grinnell Lake, [pause] Sylvia Grinnell River would be [inaudible 02:04:51.12], for sure. That's where the fish goes up from Sylvia Grinnell Lake to all the way up to Amadjuak, maybe — the fish goes up there ... yeah, I have a concern about that Sylvia Grinnell Lake area. If they were to build a dam, then that's the only way the fish goes up there. (IQ37 2023)

[Areas of importance to consider when planning for potential developments. Sylvia Grinnell River.] Sylvia Grinnell ... the river ... that's where people go fishing all the

time ... we always go up there ... that's where people go fish. As soon as we get snow... (IQ20 2022)

One area, to the south and west of the Sylvia Grinnell watershed was identified as a possible area for wind turbines, due in the eyes of one participant to its lesser importance for land use by Inuit.

[Qairrjuktaaq, the ridge between Crazy Lake and the Sylvia Grinnell] The highest ridge, if you're ever going to build a wind turbine —... I think that'd be the best place, because it's a high ridge ... if you're ever going to build a wind turbine, this is all flat area of land — ... — up to that ridge, and that long ridge goes up, like right up to here. If you're going to build multiple wind turbines, it's always the highest the highest ridge there, and it's always windy there ... so, that's visible from way over there, way up there, like the high ridge there, and it's flat enough — ... that you can build roads anywhere down to here, like this ridge here ... you can build roads, accessible roads, because it's flatter — easier to work on ... that'd be a good place for wind turbines, that area there ... if you're ever going to — like it's out of — it's out of people's way ... so, that place up there, to me it'd be the best to put wind turbines, if they were going to build wind turbines. Because it's a higher ridge. You can see from where we are, it's not covered by mountains. The wind would be from every direction ... Qairrjuktaaq. It's called Qairrjuktaaq. (IQ16 2022)

5.2.4 Nunngarut/ Bay of Two Rivers

The Nunngarut or Bay of Two Rivers, and the Armshow River which flows into it was noted by participants as a key area of frequent and intensive use for the community. In the following quotes participants expressed their concerns with a possible project location in this area.

And also, like around Bay of Two Rivers. That's another popular spot too, and [inaudible 01:17:47.00], around here. There's like different birds, like snow goose, Canada geese, and other ones too. [Pause] Like not everyone has the luxury of being able to go far. Not everyone has a job that they'll make them be able to afford all this gear or the gas that — and for some, it's like an important diet for ... it could be something that's — it's a food source that people depend on. So, I would definitely question this area. ... That's just [inaudible 01:18:48.21] because it's important for me. And not just for me but looking at other people. (IQ41 2023)

[talking about proposed development area] Bay of Two Rivers, people wouldn't be happy. Because people go here for fishing all the time. In the summer, winter, don't matter what time of the year. So, it wouldn't be feasible like — agreeable. (IQ15 2022, interpreted from Inuktitut)

[Bay of Two Rivers, concern for project development. Other important areas also mentioned to consider when planning for development] This area is our main hunting area ... Like for whale, seal — I mean, caribou, if you're going to caribou hunt. If we can ever hunt caribou again. Fish, this is our main fishing area ... and there's fish there. That's main — that main fish we have is there. Sylvia Grinnell River, that — ... and further down, like the main fish areas are Bay of Two Rivers — ... Sylvia Grinnell River — Cormack Bay fishing area ... There's fish in Ward Inlet. (IQ16 2022)

[Bay of Two Rivers, suggests no dam should be built here] But this is like main hunting area all for Iqaluit, so I don't know if they — if you built a dam, it'd be no good ... yes, and like even this bay here, like right now ... All the seals are here, like every — they go seal hunting here, here, all along here. Like right now, it's just these bays now because they're freezing up. That's where we're hunting seals now. (IQ16 2022)

[Concerns with building a project at Bay of Two Rivers] ...And Bay of Two Rivers, this is a fishing area, and this area here, Kanga [phonetic spelling 02:05:45.12] Lake. Hall Peninsula, this is a caribou — that's where caribou goes ... there's caribou in this area ... maybe here too, McKeand River. (IQ37 2023)

[Bay of Two Rivers, Armshow River] Places I'm worried about ... I wouldn't support damming around here. I wouldn't support around here ... — a popular — one of my fishing places ... And ptarmigan hunting, caribou ... Berries too ... I do here ... [the concern with damming would be] I know it would overflow the land, would it not? (IQ14 2022)

5.2.5 Jaynes Inlet

The Jaynes Inlet area was noted by participants as a key area especially for caribou. In the following quotes participants expressed their concerns with a possible project location in this area.

[Areas for caribou hunting (Jaynes Inlet, Baffin tip, Kimmirut, Ward Inlet) of concern due to renewable energy projects] ...As a conservation officer, I get to see where caribou are being harvested because they are reporting their catch to us ... and they show their location where they harvested the caribou, and I can tell you a lot of those caribou that are being harvested are, and most two particular areas, and that's where energy is kind of being — renewable energy — ... — is being looked at ... so, that's a big activity for caribou, and good area for caribou hunting, so around Jaynes Inlet area. Jaynes Inlet is very good for caribou hunting. All along the shoreline, all the way down to the point is very good for caribou hunting now ... all the way down to — ... — the Baffin tip ... even to Kimmirut, all this area is good for caribou hunting ... like Ward Inlet, this is Kangalai [phonetic spelling 01:33:44.10], that's where, I guess renewable energy is being looked at. Bunch of those caribou harvested this summer were around this area, all along here, and when I'm doing my fishing, seal hunting, when I'm driving slow around, like all the way down, looking for seals, you see caribou. Like they're in there more so than since moratorium was started. (IQ32 2022)

[Specific concerns with regard to how projects will affect caribou in the areas of Jaynes Inlet, Baffin tip, Kimmirut, Ward Inlet. Other notes about how projects will affect the landscape] ...It's going to affect the caribou migration, where they are staying, where they are feeding, even the marine life, it's going to be affected, because this area is already open during springtime ... around here, it's already open. It's already thin enough, right now. With the dam here, there's going to be freshwater flow. This whole area's going to be affected, and there's already thin spots around here that we have to avoid, just to get seals. That's going to be affected. Around Jaynes Inlet, that polynya, I think it's going to get bigger because of the freshwater. The clams are going to get affected, and my only trail to this island, I have to go this way, by Jaynes Inlet, to get to my campsite ... So, this area's going to

get thinner quicker in the season. Like towards spring, it's still good to get there. Like last time I was at my camp was mid-May, and it was pretty melted, but the ice is still good. But with the freshwater going into the saltwater, it's going to make a big difference and it's going to get thinner quicker. It's going to be unpredictable... (IQ32 2022)

[Suggests Jaynes Inlet as a place to build a dam] ... This area here, if they were going to build a hydro dam, I think this is the best place, here ... because you have high mountains, and you put a dam at the bottom, that would just like be right there ... but there's caribous down there, too. Like all year long, that's where they caught most of the caribous this summer ... who got drawn — they were catching caribous right there ... I think it would be the best suitable place to put a dam there, because you can get the most amount of water in a small amount of area ... because the valley's — the high mountains are high, and the flat area can be easily — ... — covered, and I think that'd be the best place ... but that's just me though. (IQ16 2022)

5.2.6 Ward Inlet and Cantley Bay

The Ward Inlet and Cantley Bay area was noted by participants as a key area of frequent and intensive use for the community, and important for key species like caribou and seals. In the following quotes participants expressed their concerns with a possible project location in this area.

[General concerns about projects being built in the Ward Inlet area] But I do know people travel from Ward Inlet down this way and through [Inuktitut spoken 1:57:02] down this way. I guess it would be in the water for seal I could see it being bad, but I don't know. I've heard of renewable energy using the tide system, using the currents ... but I'm ... not sure. And I guess it's on a river so maybe hydro-electric, too? But that's I've never heard of anyone fishing up here so I don't know. (IQ36 2023)

[Second-hand knowledge about Cantley Bay being an important area for caribou hunting, to be considered when thinking about project development] ... I personally have never got one, but caribou get caught here quite a bit too ... yeah. But that's just heresy from me. I don't know if you — maybe better not to put it down. Just something to think about ... hunter-kill return sheets, we call them. Where people get their caribou tag and stuff. The reports were a lot of — about the same caribou there as what Jaynes Inlet were caught this year. (IQ17 2022)

[Cantley Bay, concerns with energy development] Here, this is caribou — this is caribou land ... like this is really kind of where the caribous are, I guess ... maybe, I don't know if it's a calving ground, but there's caribou there all the time. Okay ... winter, summer, there's caribou there all the time, and caribou on these valleys here all the time, like I see caribous all year long, like here. Especially this summer — been lots of caribous around this area in the wintertime ... and down here, like it's just lots of caribous around here, in this valley here, all year-long — this winter — winter/summer, there's caribou there. (IQ16 2022)

[Cantley Bay, concerns with hydro dam development] So, that — that area, you were talking — that Cantley — Cantley Bay, they — they're proposing to do a hydro dam before? But that's a big valley there, eh. Like it's kind of a big valley there ... that would [inaudible 00:45:49.03] all this area, so — but that's seal gutting area ... seal

here all the time, seal dens, we go seal pup hunting all the way from there to there, all along here, here. Like it's dangerous here all the time though. It never really freezes. Always thin ice there. That's a place to stay away. (IQ16 2022)

[Important areas to consider when planning for potential developments. Canley Bay and Ward Inlet.] I know there's — caribou are getting their calf on this side, on this area, for sure ... because when I was working for a caribou biologist, early '90s — ... that's where we see — we were seeing caribou — smaller caribou ... caribou calves, whole bunch of it around this area ... in springtime. (IQ20 2023)

[Considerations for project development] I, for me as a hunter, I like — I don't know. I wouldn't want them — ... — too close where people go fishing or where the caribous are ... Because the caribou stay in one — almost in one area in wintertime ... — I wouldn't want them nearby that lake where people go fishing all the time ... I wouldn't want them to go to the Sylvia Grinnell River or [inaudible 00:46:25.02] River ... even Ward Inlet River ... because in Ward Inlet that's where fish are too. (IQ20 2022)

5.2.7 *McKeand River*

While some felt that the relative distance from the community of the McKeand and its natural conditions made it a good choice for a site, other participants expressed their concerns about the possible downstream effects into Cumberland Sound.

[McKeand River would be a good place for hydroelectric dam] I would look at McKeand River if you go up, its pretty straight down from McKeand River straight down that way. I mean it's a river all the way down twenty four seven ... because its very close to the trail that used to go to the mine. And they made it look so easy with tons and tons and tons of all this stuff. And the waters right there the rivers right there. Right on top of the hill. (IQ28 2022)

[Concerns with renewable energy development, McKeand, Cumberland Sound] I don't know where the watershed — if that would contaminate some of the like the runoff into the fishing area here ... I was worried about contaminants ... Or whatever. The mining techniques that they might use to — I'm sure the water doesn't stay clean — ... — as much as companies always say ... So, that was my actual main concern was for the fish ... caribou will always like just pass through ... and wolves and stuff, so they'll always never be in that concentrated area ... which I feel they won't get as contaminated or like able to absorb something that —... — will be permanent ... they might be exposed to it ... but they're not absorbing it. (IQ17 2022)

5.2.8 *Iqalummiut attitudes to renewable energy*

While Iqalummiut interviewed were broadly positive about the possibilities of renewable energy and understanding of desires to move away from diesel power generation, some participants did also have concerns about the viability and likelihood of this transition. In the quotes below, participants describe their thoughts on a renewables transition in the Territory's capital.

And diesel will be here forever. [Laughs] There's just no other alternative for fast and reliable energy. ... It's dirty, but it's quick. ... Reliable too. I know people want to get

out of fuel, but it's just it won't happen in the next eight years. I can guarantee you that. (IQ23 2022)

There's a few small ones in town, like in front of houses and solar. This one guy, Mr. Rose, his energy bill was one cent. Going to be paying nothing now. Just to keep the account open, I guess, billed him one cent. It's a — I think it's an alternative. Unless somebody — something comes up — solar. (IQ10 in IQ09 and IQ10 2022)

I think our generation realized that there needs to be an alternative to diesel. ... Diesel is a real hazardous byproduct — really bad for the environment and for us too. It — and this project's I think here and they're going to have be explored a number of times, and with the cost of living going up more, and now food prices going up more, and alternative energy that could be cheaper, maybe then the people will embrace it, and accept the tradeoff. (IQ09 in IQ09 and IQ10 2022)

Unfortunately, we will have to abide by the ... land use plan that will come out. ... But certainly, we're open for alternative ... energy for sure, because diesel is not the way to go. ... And if we can have a steady supply of renewable energy ... we will not only be helping our environment ... but also going a long way to help ourselves. (IQ09 in IQ09 and IQ10 2022)

Unfortunately, the timing of the project is both unfortunate, because of the land use, but at the same time, it's fortunate, because food prices are going ridiculous, because of the global unrest, and so it's going to be hard. It's going to come to a point where we are seriously looking at renewable energy. (IQ09 in IQ09 and IQ10 2022)

[Responding to a question about how proposed development by NNC will impact the areas being researched] Modern day, today, growing up I don't think it's gonna have an impact cause if we do the change today, it's better for the kids tomorrow. If the elders keep saying, "We don't want this. We don't want that." We're gonna keep coming back and coming back to this, this question. The development of the hydro thing and like, I'd rather see it done now than, than tomorrow. (IQ11 2022)

[Would like to see renewable energy projects happen now, sooner than later] For our future. The kids. We can't go back to 1980, we can't go back to 1994. I can't bring my dad back, I can't bring my mother back. If we move forward, and start developing all these stuff, it'll be better for the community. Example, solar whatever you call those solar things that some people are putting on their house now ... Solar panels, I like that idea, but I also like the idea of getting power from a river. If we get that power from the river, we'll eliminate at least half of fossil fuel. And it won't be just Iqaluit getting the power from wherever we're gonna make that hydro plant, it would be Iqaluit, Kinngait, and Paunngaqtuuq, that would be very, very useful for the full communities ... We're still gonna use fossil fuel regardless, but if we wanna eliminate, eliminate half of the fossil fuel and start using hydro power, it'll be better for our future and the climate. It will take away most of that damn smoke that's coming out of our chimneys or vehicles and that's what I'm thinking about. I want it to go forward with whichever get put up ... There's one, one house up here, homeowner, he's got solar panels all around his house. He pays 23 cents a month for, for his power and he's giving away power to other, maybe power to the power plant. He's getting paid instead of him paying. (IQ11 2022)

[How renewable energy would benefit future generations] For my future. I have, I have three boys and they don't have girlfriends, but I also have brothers and sisters that have grandkids. They would benefit from all this cause they'd be learning new stuff instead of old stuff. Like no, no more fossil fuels, we would be using a lot more, less energy if we used hydro and solar panel and that would really help the future. (IQ11 2022)

[Suggested location, Sugvaq, for an underwater energy generator] If they ever want this channel, ever want underwater generator, that's the places because the current is so strong ... You know? The current is so strong here, in here, it's like – it's like high and low tide. It's like a river ... Yeah Sugvaq means, it's open all year round. It doesn't freeze. There's so much current, it doesn't freeze. This freezes, but this doesn't. (IQ04 2022)

[Concerns with hydroelectric damming. The pricing aspect is one as he is not sure why they are being quoted a much higher amount than Greenland paid to put one in] ...I've mentioned as well, what's the big difference on the quotation for putting the hydroelectric dam for \$600,000,000 versus when Greenland can put it up for \$150,000,000 ... and in some areas, it would definitely have a big impact for fish, fishing, especially Bay of Two Rivers ... Bay of Two Rivers or Sylvia Grinnell Lake area, would not be favourable to even have a consideration to — ... — be focused on. (IQ19 2022)

5.2.9 Understanding the Potential Project

While the project remains in this early phase, communications around the exact nature of plans and proposals must necessarily remain non-specific. However some participants found themselves frustrated at their lack of knowledge and the lack of communication around the exact nature of what they are being asked to assess.

Yeah, my concerns [of renewable energy developments] are, I think, lack of knowing what these energy would — how they would be built and how well our land is going to be kept. Those are my concerns. Lack of — my — more my concern are lack of knowledge about energy such as you guys talked about earlier. ... how much energy would we gain as a city. How much energy would we gain from and how long — how long is the energy going to last? I have no idea about these energies that you talked about. ... what's the duration of these such energies. ... I think people would have to be very well-educated, very well-communicated to, prior to — much, much, way prior to even beginning to plan [inaudible 00:55:59.21] the things up there. ... (IQ45 2023)

Like obviously don't know too much about renewable energies so like how they would present like what it's gonna be like, I guess transparency on their end on their ... like short-term plan, long-term plan. Like mitigating risk. I think that'd be the biggest thing, like planning, design, again shelf life depending on like, was it like the dam you're talking about, high dam, low dam, all that stuff like ... Again, maintenance cost and is it gonna be I guess worth it to build something like that? ... And same thing with the wind turbines, it gonna be worth it? Are we gonna actually offset, I guess, carbon footprint? Stuff like that. (IQ47 2023)

Some participants found that they struggled to assess the project given their imprecise understanding of project location, layout and the components and possible impacts involved,

as the following quotes describe. Their concerns are described in the quotes below where they described their desires for more information and more study of the possible project effects.

[how does the development effect your ability to use the land, access the land or your sense of place on the land?] ...Hard to say because we never really have anything like that. Growing the development, for sure it would impact some caribous to come closer to the shore. And after that, I'm not sure how, if there's always people going back and forth maybe it would affect the, at least it wouldn't be like a mine, like where they always drive back and forth all the time. So, it kinda hard to say how impact, to what — (IQ01 2022)

[do you feel connected to the lands] Yeah, there's like route, I told you guys about, that's my trail in the fall and I got a cabin down there, so it's very close to where, where my cabin is. And it's kinda hard ... some of the questions you guys are asking it's kinda hard to answer them because, like I said, if I was educated ... about the impact, maybe I would have a better idea. (IQ01 2022)

There's got to be some sort of a public consultation someday, and include neighbouring communities: Pang, Kimmirut ... Iqaluit. ... because what affects us here, will affect the other communities too. ... Maybe there would be something in the future for a win-win situation for all communities, so. (IQ10 in IQ09 and IQ10 2022)

[Expressing the need for testing and surveying on impacts to animals should there be renewable energy development] ...We don't tell the animals what to do, you know, they tell us. They way we do that is by monitoring, surveys, Qauijimajatuqangit, and other factors too, to monitor that particular population of species. Different species, you know, this – this possible hydro electric is probably will have some effect on some of the areas, you know? But, it won't happen overnight. We need to understand what the possible effects would be, cause there has never been a hydro – a major hydro electric projects in north – north like the possible ones here. You know? It's a huge project, very huge, and it won't happen overnight, you know? There will have to be a very heavy serious surveys on all species, and that will take millions and millions of dollars.... (IQ04 2022)

5.3 POTENTIAL PROJECT INTERACTIONS AND ANTICIPATED IMPACTS

Participants expressed a number of concerns about potential project interactions and anticipated impacts on the land and animals. Given the prefeasibility stage of the development, and the fact that a final proposed site choice has not been made, these concerns focused primarily on the possible form that a renewable energy development might take and the associated impacts on the landscape.

5.3.1 Wind Turbines

In addition, participants felt that wind turbines would like require large areas both for their pads and for the access roads required for their construction and maintenance. One participant described the impact wind turbines have on bird populations.

For solar and wind, probably would be the best place around there [at the head of Foul Inlet], because it's flat lands, right? ... There's really no big mountains like around down the bay. Like this, all this is flat. ... And once you start going up, there's little hills in there and whatnot, so for logistic-wise, like running a power cable or whatever the — they're planning to do, I'd say that'd be a good — I don't know how it is for wind-wise. ... But for logistic-wise, easy to get there and back to town for if the maintenance needs to be done. (IQ23 2022)

But out here, I'd say "no" to wind turbines. ... Just the fact that they're hard on birds because there's quite a bit more migratory birds now going this way. ... Yeah [by Foul Inlet]. ... And some are being seen out there now. Because when I first moved here, there was just mostly Canada geese. ... Now, we're getting more snow geese, blue geese, and other kind of migratory birds. That's where I usually go May — May/June. (IQ23 2022)

Wind turbines great too, I guess, but they're hard on birds too, and like you need so much area of land to — like we have — I think wintertime here, our peak is like 10 megawatts now, wintertime, so for wind turbines, you need quite a bit, and majority of the turbines stop working when it's colder than minus 30. So, that'd be like from December 'til end of March. (IQ23 2022)

Noise impacts were a concern for some participants, including some who suggested that decreasing the size of the proposed turbines might reduce the noise and impacts on wildlife. Participants were concerned that noise would drive wildlife away from the area.

Instead of a big, huge wind turbine ... Make them small, but together. They don't make as much noise. And that it — something that a corporation can handle, that a household cannot pay for, but it still would be renewable energy. (IQ09 in IQ09 and IQ10 2022)

[Interviewer:] Do you have any concerns with wind turbines? [IQ10:] Noise, animal affect ... Depends on where it is. [IQ09:] The turbines that they tried in the past were huge. Now, how about smaller ones, but many? ... Have never been tried. The big ones tended to frost up and the smaller ones that we have up here don't, because they're too small. They spin too fast for the frost to develop. (IQ09 and IQ10 2022)

Oh, yeah [I have concerns about wind energy developments], for everybody, like even the animals, country food that we eat, they — of course, they're animals. They don't see them every day. They would just go all over the place for sure. The sounds of the equipment and all that ... They would be around that area too, for sure, and we will have to hunt further up or somewhere. ... (IQ44 2023)

Although wind turbines have some anticipated impacts, as described in the above quotes, some participants indicated that they would prefer wind turbines over hydroelectric power.

[Interviewer:] Do you have thoughts about differences or potential impacts from hydroelectric power versus wind turbines? [IQ22:] Less pollution. ... That's what I think, so — better air to breathe. ... That'd be alright, wind turbines. I wouldn't mind seeing that. ... I'm not sure about that [hydroelectric power]. ... Power — Power Corp [phonetic spelling 00:49:42.25], no? Well, the hydro, I don't know. I'd say wind turbine. ... I prefer. (IQ22 2022)

[Would prefer wind turbines as a renewable energy project. Concerns with transmission lines] Wind energy, I think that would be the best option, but I don't know if it's going to work ... during the year, like the months are always different. We get calm days for a long period of time, and you know, if there's enough wind in that area where they choose to do wind energy, that's a good idea. I would go with that ... if that, the gridlines, if they were to build it ... I would rather like to see it off the ground ... if we were to put it on the ground, there's always a [pause] some kind of a lot of buildup on the lakes or small creeks or on a river, and that could be more ... hazardous to me ... I'd rather go with the poles there ... off the ground. (IQ37 2023)

[Would be less concerned about wind turbines compared to other renewable energy projects] I don't know. Maybe because it'll affect less water flow ... Yeah. I'm not really familiar with wind turbine ... I think I fear that with hydro, and I don't know how big a hydro dam — ... — would be created. I'd rather not see the land be flooded. (IQ14 2022)

[Responding to a question about wind turbines (compared to other renewable energy projects) and areas of concern] I think I would support wind turbine more ... I know I don't want a hydroduct [phonetic spelling 01:10:56.19] ... [along Sylvia Grinnell] Because we, yeah — we do our fishing in here ... Up in there. Right up — we have a very small cabin, mobile cabin, so we do our fishing in here, in here, netting ... ice fishing, netting up further there ... caribou, we also do our caribou and ptarmigan hunting. (IQ14 2022)

5.3.2 Hydro-electric Developments

Some participants described their concerns around hydro-electric developments, including potential changes to the salinity of the ocean and to the formation of river or sea ice.

I think it's [renewable energy] great. Like there's like both — like a dam has — you hear there's some good stories and bad stories about it too, because like outside of [inaudible 00:27:30.07], they're having more — the salinity of the ocean, I guess is a little bit not as salty, and freezing up faster. But there's — great there for like energy wise, I guess. I guess that's in Quebec, right. [Inaudible 00:27:50.10] dam. But the people in [inaudible 00:27:52.24] are feeling the effects of — because they have eider ducks there all year-round ... and on their polynyas are starting to be ice all year-round too. ... Like everything else, there's positive and negative. ... (IQ23 2022)

It [renewable energy development near Iqaluit] might have some effects, and sometimes we worry about the ice conditions, like if there's hydro, maybe the ice wouldn't form as much as before. Because they have to release some water every now and then some of that area in Jaynes Inlet or Cantley, Cantley Bay is it? (IQ01 2022)

Other participants expressed that they would no longer collect water near a hydro development. The latter quote explains how the land and animals will be affected if a dam flooded the area.

I mean definitely wouldn't pick water where it's too close to the hydro. (IQ01 2022)

There will be an effect on marine or land life. If you're going to flood the whole valley, then there's bound to be some effect. You can't just say, well, everything's going to be okay and it's not. (IQ07 2022)

Interruptions to fish movements in important fishing rivers was a significant concern for participants in relation to the sites where hydro-electric power projects were proposed.

But this one [Sylvia Grinnell River], the fish are kind of attached to this area, so it will kind of make an impact to the people of Iqaluit. (IQ15 2022, interpreted from Inuktitut)

Most inlets, rivers, where there's lakes and rivers, fish come down end of June. Go back up end of August, early September, back to the lake. Migrating fish or they feed off of the ocean for the summer, and then go back nice and fat. ... if there's any development to be done, it's very important that Inuit have a say if it happens or not. (IQ10 in IQ09 and IQ10 2022)

And it's [renewable energy development] going to affect a lot of freshwater fishing. Inuit are very seasonal. There's spring camp, summer camp, fall camp, winter camp, like we don't hunt just one animal. You go [inaudible 00:07:13.12] animal, you might catch fish, okay, whaling — duck eggs. Whaling season comes around. Different in some — most communities. Lots of beluga here, some narwal, and shrimp — scallops. Outside of [inaudible 00:07:39.17] Resolution Island, Davis Strait, there's a lot of fishing for shrimp. Turbot too, eh? (IQ10 in IQ09 and IQ10 2022)

[When asked about impacts of renewable energy development] Very much so, yeah. It's going to affect the fish. And it will be for clean energy, I guess ... (IQ10 in IQ09 and IQ10 2022)

[Interviewer:] Do you think if there were to be any sort of renewable energy development, do you think it'd impact your ability to use these areas? [IQ48:] Yeah, for sure. 'Cause I do make some income making dried fish. ... And these places is not too far from home compared to the ones I showed you like we'd drive seven hours up just one way, right? ... But these ones are pretty close. ... And I'm not the only one come here and fish, there's a lot of us. ... From town, come here to fish. (IQ48 2023)

[Interviewer:] And this is one of the areas that, you know, they're looking into whether it's possible to do hydro in this area. Do you have any concerns with hydro development — [IQ44:] Oh, yeah. ... That's our favourite fishing spot. We get lots of fishes from here to take home, to share with family and friends, even the — send some fish down south to family and friends too, so this — so mainly, favourite spot to go fishing. So, if they have to do something here, it's going to be a big change. Especially when we're not young anymore. Starting to get [inaudible 00:40:55.09], and if we have to go further up or anywhere — different place, that will be a big change. Oh, yeah. (IQ41 2023)

The production of mercury in the environment due to damming of rivers was a significant concern for some participant who described their knowledge of the experiences of other northern communities, including in northern Quebec.

[Concerns with building a dam at McKeand River] ...McKeand River, yeah. So, the only way I'm thinking McKeand River is a big river ... you know, if they want to build it, build something or a dam, you know, that's still going to produce mercury, you know. I think mercury comes from the ground. [Inaudible 02:06:52.00] around, I don't know ... those are my concern, this. You know, the fish, the seals, beluga whales, harp seals, all the mammals that goes in Iqaluit Bay that'll be affected also. (IQ37 2023)

A lot of things can be learned from James Bay Agreement, like burial sites on the water now, and stuff is — and a lot of land loss, cultural loss in some ways. We don't want that to happen here. But it'd be good to have, if it can be done safely. ... (IQ10 in IQ09 and IQ10 2022)

The power lines are not, you know, 100 percent retainers of the power. A lot of it leaks out. And but, first and foremost, is the two things. Is the mercury that will — that the dam will create, and the — it would alter the salinity of where that dam is running to, the ocean, and that's well document in James Bay and in Manitoba. In fact, in Manitoba, they have people dying from mercury. We don't hear about it. ... (IQ09 in IQ09 and IQ10 2022)

Science has proved that any time there was a flooding of water, it does create mercury. Plant decomposing underwater, and we don't know how lichen and all that, and all the marsh and everything would — how it would create — what level of mercury it would create. And because the — a lot of the land is permafrost, we don't know how a dam would alter the permafrost, and what kind of issues that, you know, have to keep in mind of all these — because they've looked into having atomic type of power plant, but it — the whole island, and the whole land is constantly cracking from permafrost. That it's too unstable for putting an atomic plant. That's why it was not put forward. So, all these things, both the land, wildlife, and the potential creation of hazards that a dam would create, we don't know, and the whole land is very unstable, so. (IQ09 in IQ09 and IQ10 2022)

[Concerns with hydro and damming] ...From the past experiences with a dam or making a dam on a river, for example, like northern Quebec, James Bay — James Bay River area, we have seen in the past — is I'm worried about is about the mercury that would eventually go into food chains — chain, you know? I'm really concerned about that. Our environment is very fragile. Even the sea mammals and land animals would be affected by this. If they were ever to build a dam, you know, that mercury is — I'm worried about. I don't know if that's going to be the case. You know, I worry about our fishing grounds. Worried about the sea, and the sea mammals, how they're going to be affected if this was supposed to go ahead. (IQ37 2023)

[Concerns with how building a dam will affect caribou and clams] ...From the past experience to northern Quebec, there were tens of thousands of caribou were floating in the river due to the dam ... you know, if they were to build a dam anywhere in the areas where they are highlighted, I don't — I don't think there's any solution to eliminate mercury, or if they were to release the water from the dam, and then you would be creating what you call it — more flash floods. Our hunting trails would be affected — our hunting ground. That's what I'm worried about ... Iqaluit is known for famous clam digging ... our clams would be affected too, you know, if they were to build a dam, and I don't know if they have — have made a study on mercury,

how to slow it down or I don't think — I don't think we can, and then if it releases into seawater, then — then all the mammals, clams, seaweed, and then I think they would be polluted. (IQ37 2023)

Where I might have some concern, where they use water. Especially if there's land animals or fish or sea mammals if they would be affected. Because I think, you know, we can see some of the concerns, and some of them are still arising, as in northern Quebec, you know, with the — around [inaudible 01:23:08.07] River, and all that, you know, where [inaudible 01:23:10.23] area. Where the, you know, Quebec government, you know, had that Hydro Quebec project. (IQ39 2023)

Yeah, it'd be probably nice to see turbines. ... I rather see turbines than dams. ... 'Cause if you like dam a place like dam it and then you know you're flooding all this nice land. ... And then the fish would stop coming for sure if the river's not flowing in. I would — it'd probably be easier to see turbines. ... Than to see dams. ... My opinion is that I'd rather see wind turbines. (IQ48 2023)

Participants described how they were concerned about what dams might do to water flows in the river below, noting that this would alter the natural flow regimes of these water systems.

What concerns me more is the water — the dam. In the last year, our city has communicated that we are running out of water. That concerns me. How much water, what such energy dam use, and if they block, how much of it would continue to flow naturally? And how much of it will be healthy, uncontaminated water. Those are my concerns — more of the dam — damming the river; blocking the natural flow of the river. (IQ45 2023)

And because we're running out of water, according to the city, is it wise to dam rivers? That would be my other concern. (IQ45 2023)

5.3.3 Transmission Lines and Roads

Participants described their concerns that linear interferences including transmission lines and possible roads could potentially impact trails as well as the movement of caribou through the region.

That [transmission line] would impact some trails maybe. ... I think I'd be more concerned about the lower [line]. ... Because that could possibly have an impact on the trails. (IQ41 2023)

It [hydro project] would probably [affect the caribou coming to the area]. Maybe during construction when they are using helicopter ... they would scare the caribou away and I would not go closer to the shore. (IQ01 2022)

And that [project] would basically create a barrier for wildlife migration or trails. (IQ05 2022)

When asked about transmission lines, participants discussed they would prefer a line that runs on the ground to minimize the impact on the scenery.

[Interviewer:] Do you have any concerns about like how a transmission line would be built, sorta like on the ground or above the ground or? [IQ47:] Well, I think above the

ground would be concerning to me, not so much as on the ground. I think like above, like above ground like it's a lot more visible so I wouldn't personally like to see that. ... I'd prefer like on the ground, something not so big ... and kind of blends a little bit more would be preferable to me. (IQ47 2023)

[Concerns with transmission lines and caribou] The transmission line doesn't look very good [laughing] ... cause it's right in line with the caribou. Cause caribou come and they travel here. So I guess if it is, like I wonder what kind of transmission line, like just a powerline? ... I'm not sure how caribou react to wires and towers like that so I don't, I could see them being annoyed by it, but I'm not 100 percent sure. I don't know how they react to telephone lines or telephone poles here ... but if it was like a, like surface level I could see it being bad because then they wouldn't be able to get across. (IQ36 2023)

One participant also expressed concerns about the possible health impacts of transmission lines.

It's well-known, documented down south, where there's power lines it does affect people, the animals. ... Mentally and the constant energy being emitted ... (IQ09 in IQ09 and IQ10 2022)

6. CONCLUSION

6.1 SUMMARY

This Report outlines the importance of the Study Area for Marine Harvesting; Terrestrial Harvesting; Fishing and Freshwater; Travel, Trails, and Habitation; and Cultural Continuity to Inuit from the community of Iqaluit. Current impacts to these key values from a range of sources are described in Section 6, along with potential anticipated impacts from NNC's potential renewable energy development.

The site-specific data collected during the course of this Study, and summarized in Section 5 in relation to NNC's potential project locations, demonstrates that the Study Area is of great importance to the communities Iqaluit. The mapped data clearly demonstrate that Iqalummiut use or have used the Study Area across multiple generations. A combined total of 1,287 site-specific values were reported in the Study Area, with 315 of these values overlapping with areas of interest. This sites of Inuit use within areas of interest, included (but are not limited to):

- Sites and areas used for terrestrial harvesting, marine hunting and fishing that provide the country food sources that underpin Inuit food sovereignty in the region;
- Important wildlife habitat, including calving areas for caribou and important rivers and lakes for char in the terrestrial and marine environments respectively;
- Important travel routes that are relied upon to access hunting grounds and other communities; and
- Areas relied on for the continuity of culture, such as areas used for transmission of knowledge and IQ, campsites, and gathering places used by Iqalummiut.

Through data collected during interviews with Inuit elders and land users, the Study has identified a number of potential anticipated interactions between the possible project formats and various Inuit values. Participants anticipate the following potential interactions between the Project and their Inuit key values:

Terrestrial Harvesting:

- Impacts to birds due to the movement of wind turbines;
- Impacts to animal movement patterns due to linear interferences like transmission lines or roads;
- Displacement of animals due to increased Project activities including increased noise;
- Avoidance of preferred harvesting areas due to perceived and actual contamination; and

- Impacts on access to important country food sources due to all of the above impacts.

Fishing and Freshwater:

- Impacts to river ice formation and stability below dams;
- Concerns around water contamination and reduced ability to drink water from former collection rivers;
- Impacts to sea water salinity due to hydro dam outflows;
- Impacts to stream flow and water regimes in lower rivers below dams, potentially reducing their viability for fish; and
- Potentially reduced viability of fishing at previously used locations due to decreased access, reduced populations and avoidance due to contamination concerns.

Many Inuit land uses and values are strongly interconnected, meaning that impacts to values and practices linked with one of the Study's key values will have additional impacts on other Inuit key values.

In summary, the ultimate project design and siting of NNC's potential renewable energy development, working in combination with impacts from a range of other stressors, has the potential to directly impact the ability of Inuit from Iqaluit to continue resource harvesting, travelling across and using the land, and transmitting cultural knowledge and IQ between generations in the Study Area.

6.2 CLOSURE

Should you wish to discuss any aspect of this Report further, please do not hesitate to contact Rachel Olson at 604-563-2245.

Sincerely,

ORIGINAL SIGNED

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APPENDIX 1: ENGLISH LANGUAGE CONSENT FORM



**Qikiqtani Inuit Association Tusaqtavut Study for Iqaluit, Specific to Nunavut
Nukkiksautiit Corporation's Potential Renewable Energy Development**
Declaration of Informed Consent and Permission to Use Information

I (name) _____, on this day (complete date) _____
give permission for The Firelight Group to interview me for the QIA Tusaqtavut Study for
Iqaluit, specific to Nunavut Nukkiksautiit Corporation's Potential Renewable Energy
Development.

The Qikiqtani Inuit Association (QIA) is collecting Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (IQ) to support protecting and advancing the rights and interests of Qikiqtani Inuit. IQ will be collected on areas of traditional use, marine and terrestrial environments, wildlife, activities on the land, water and ice, harvesting, customs, beliefs, values and other aspects of cultural expression and IQ in the Iqaluit area. The information collected will show how Iqalumiut use the land and water in this area and document how renewable energy development may interact with Inuit land use.

By signing below, I indicate that I understand the following:

- (a) I understand that the study is being conducted by QIA. The purpose of the study is to document the rights and interests of Inuit in Iqaluit in the southern Baffin Island area.
- (b) I am free to not respond to questions that may be asked and I am free to end the interview at any time I wish.
- (c) I maintain intellectual property rights over any information or recordings collected through my participation.
- (d) I consent to having the information and recordings I provide through my participation stored securely by QIA for an indefinite period of time, or until I decide to have my information removed from QIA's records. I can request to review the information I provided for this project at any time.
- (e) I understand that QIA will take all reasonable measures to protect my identity and maintain my anonymity around my participation.
- (f) I consent to QIA using the information I provide through my participation to defend and communicate the rights, interests, and values of Inuit under the Nunavut Agreement. This includes, but is not limited to, sharing information for the purposes of negotiation or participation in regulatory or court proceedings.



Privacy Statement

At Qikiqtani Inuit Association (QIA), respecting privacy is an important part of our commitment to our members. We uphold the 10 principles of the federal legislation known as PIPEDA (Personal Information Protection and Electronic Documents Act), which sets out rules for the collection, use and disclosure of personal information.

Any time you participate as a respondent, you can be assured that your individual responses will be kept confidential and never linked to your personal identifying information without your express permission. We safeguard all personal identifying information by password-protecting and storing it on a secure network.

If you have any questions or concerns about how your privacy is protected at QIA, or if you wish to review your information, please contact our Privacy Officer by e-mail at ExecDir@qia.ca, or by mail to Igluvut Building, 2nd floor, P.O. Box 1340, Iqaluit, NU X0A 0H0, or by telephone at (867) 975-8246.

For more information, please contact Solomon Awa, Director of IQ and Engagement, 867 975 8424. Those wishing to obtain a copy of their IQ contribution may apply to QIA at any time.

By signing below:

- ☐ I agree to be interviewed.
- ☐ I consent to having my words and responses recorded on maps, in notes, and using audio and video recording equipment.
- ☐ I consent to being quoted anonymously in reports and other deliverables, and I understand that these deliverables may become permanent in the public domain.

Signature of participant _____

Witness _____

APPENDIX 2: INTERVIEW GUIDE

Interview Guide for the Qikiqtani Inuit Association Tusaqtavut Study for the Community of Iqaluit Specific to Nunavut Nukkiqsautiit Corporation's Potential Renewable Energy Development

This guide includes:

- Pre-interview setup guide
- Interview questions
- Mapping notes
- Mapping codes

1. PRE-INTERVIEW

Before formally beginning the interview, ensure the following steps have been completed:

Introductions

- Introduce yourself and the research team, who you work for, who you were hired by and who you report to.

Give the participant an overview of the developments being considered.

In advance of the interview, the research team will have developed a one- or two-page summary of the renewable energy developments under consideration. Provide the participant with the summary document and/or describe potential developments in detail verbally and demonstrate on Google Earth where potential renewable energy developments would be located in relation to landmarks such as the community, Inuit owned land, roads, rivers, lakes, etc.

Explain the mapping and interview process and goals of the research

Read the following:

The purpose of this research is to document community members' knowledge and use on the land in areas being considered for renewable energy development. This means we will be mapping places and areas where community members hunt, trap, fish, collect plants and medicines, camp, practice other culturally important activities and spend time out on the land. We will also be recording other cultural places and environmental features that are important to you and the community such as sacred sites, teaching areas, or gathering places. We will be focusing on the watersheds of Frobisher Bay and Southern Cumberland Sound, with a

particular focus on the following areas: Armshow River; Armshow South (Lake); Cantley Bay; Jaynes Inlet; McKeand Basin; McKeand River; Kynersley Lake; Iqalliarvik Lake; and the Sylvia Grinnell River. Afterwards, we will map other areas that are important to you.

From this, we will be compiling all of the data and preparing a report for QIA based on community members' knowledge and use in the Study Area. This report will be given to the community so that they may use it to support community goals and objectives.

Provide an opportunity for the participant to ask questions

- Providing accurate answers to participants' questions is an important aspect of free, prior and informed consent.
- Technical questions relating to renewable energy development should only be answered if you have the necessary information from the proponent.
- All other questions relating to the potential renewable energy developments should be documented and directed to NNC to allow for a response. All of these questions will be addressed in future community engagement sessions led by NNC and partners.

Review the consent form

- Read the consent form aloud to the participant.
- Ask the participant if they have any questions.
- Once the participant's questions have been answered, ask them if they give their consent and, if yes, ask if they will sign the form are comfortable signing the consent form.
- If the participant would prefer to give verbal consent, ensure that the audio recorders are on, read through the consent form, and have the participant provide their verbal consent for the recording.
- If the participant does not sign the consent form or provide recorded verbal consent, do not continue with the interview.

2. INTRODUCTION

[Complete the interview checklist and pre-interview section above, then read the text below with AUDIO & VIDEO RECORDERS ON at the start of each interview.]

Today is [date]. We are interviewing [participant name] for the Qikiqtani Inuit Association Tusaqtavut Study for the Community of Iqaluit Specific to Nunavut Nukkiqsautiit Corporation's Potential Renewable Energy Development. Thank you for coming.

My name is [name] and my co-researcher(s) is/are [name]. We're at the [building/office] in Iqaluit, Nunavut. [Participant name] has read and signed the consent forms, and we have assigned him/her participant ID [number]. We have explained the purpose of the study, mapping process, and interview plan. We will be mapping in Google Earth at 1:50,000 or better, unless otherwise stated.

Primary Goal: to document community knowledge and use in potential development areas and surrounding watersheds. We'd like to know how you have used these areas, as well as what you may know about how community members have used it.

3. BACKGROUND AND EXPERIENCE

3.1 PERSONAL INFORMATION

- What is your full name?
- Where were you born?
- What is your age and year of birth?
- Where were you raised?
- Are you a Beneficiary of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement?
- What are your parents' and grandparents' names?

3.2 GENERAL USE QUESTIONS

Be sure to ask the following questions with Google Earth centred on and displaying the entire Study Area. Questions in Section 3.2 are designed to give an overview of the parts of the Study Area that are important to participants, and how they use this area and its resources.

For this first part of the interview, we are hoping to get an overview of how you or your family members use this area and whether it is important to you. We will map these locations in more detail afterwards.

Have you ever used the areas identified for potential development, or areas nearby?

- If yes, what activities have you done there?
- Which locations or areas are used?
- When did you do them?
- Who with?
- How did you learn about this area?
- If no, why?

Have your family or community members ever used areas identified for potential development, or areas nearby?

- If yes, how have family/community members used the area? What did they do?
- Which locations or areas are used?
- If no, why?

Are the areas identified for potential development important to you / your family / your community?

- If yes, what makes these areas important?
- If no, why?

Do you use any other areas close to the Study Area?

Are there other areas that are important to you?

Are there other areas that are important to your family or your community?

4. DETAILED DISCUSSION OF USE AND OCCUPANCY

Section 4 of the interview will focus on a more detailed discussion of the participant's use and occupancy of the areas identified in Section 3. Skip to the subsection below for each identified activity or value as appropriate to find relevant questions.

The goal is to discern why an area and/or activity is important, whether the participant's use or experience of an area has changed in any way and how the participant feels renewable energy development may impact their use and experience of the area.

Mapping notes

Ensure all features are mapped below an eye height of 10 km, where possible. Note when features are mapped at a coarser scale (see modifiers below).

When mapping routes and linear features in Google Earth, follow the actual route indicated by the participant and follow natural features. Do not record a straight line from A to B.

When mapping polygons in Google Earth, avoid mapping large areas where possible; follow natural features and avoid recording straight lines. Ask the participant to be as precise and specific as possible.

For each site mapped in Google Earth, ensure to include the following in the Name field:

- The activity code (e.g., Permanent Habitation, PX)
- The mapped site number (i.e., sequence in the interview)
- Any relevant modifiers:
 - If second-hand knowledge, map with a *
 - If they were with someone who carried out the activity, map with a +
 - If the activity was for commercial purposes, map with a \$
 - If an approximate location given, map with a ?
 - If mapped above 10 km eye height (i.e., 1:50,000), map with a ^
- The Participant ID

Example map code:

PX01*?^\$-X01

[ActivityCode/SequenceNumber/Modifier(s)-ParticipantID]

For each mapped site, ensure to include the following in the Description field:

- Who was there? (Spell out all proper names)
- What activities took place at the site?

- When they were first there, last there, how frequently they return there, and whether they plan to return there in the future? (Include the year, month and season)
- Relevant value-based information on why that area is used for that purpose. This may include the importance of the site for kinship, ecological, or knowledge transfer values. (See follow-up questions below)
- Reference to any other recorded values that may be related (e.g., cabin access by recorded route TR02-X01)
- Include trapline number, if applicable

Make sure to record all other activities and values in this area. See further detailed questions on additional values throughout Section 4.

Next, we will talk about each of the important areas you just discussed, and we will try and record as much as possible on the map while we do so.

Leading questions

It is important not to ask “leading” questions. A question may be leading if it suggests a particular answer or assumes a particular answer or reality. Ask yourself if the questions you are asking encourages a particular answer over other possible responses?

DON'T ASK: “This development will impact fish populations. How does that make you feel?”

DO ASK: “Do you think this development will impact fish populations? How?”

DON'T ASK: “You like camping here, right?”

DO ASK: “Do you like camping here?”

4.1 HABITATION

Permanent Habitation (PX) & Temporary Habitation (TX)

Can you show us where you were born? (BP)

Can you show us where you live? (PX)

Can you show us where have you stayed overnight in one of the following?

- A cabin you built or used, campsite, tent, other temporary or permanent structures?
 - How many times have you stayed there?
 - Once or short-term (less than 3 days): (TX)
 - More than once or long-term (more than 3 days): (PX)

Read the map code aloud for each mapped feature.

Example map code:

PX01*?^\$-X01

[ActivityCode][SequenceNumber]Modifier(s)-[ParticipantID]

Example note:

[Participant name] stayed at this cabin with [names] in February 2018. [Participant name] built the cabin in 2010 and they have stayed there every summer since 2010. [Participant name] accesses this cabin through the trail recorded as TR02-X01. They plan to return there in 2023.

Make sure to record all other activities and values in this area. See detailed questions for additional values throughout Section 4.

Follow-Up Questions

Use the following questions as prompts to ensure you have a full understanding of why this place is important.

- When did you first stay here?
- When did you last stay there?
- How frequently do you use this location?
- Can you describe where this place is?
- Can you describe what this place is like/the current conditions of this place?
- How do you get there?
- What is this place called? Does it have any other names in Inuktitut?
- How did you find out about this place? Who showed it to you?
- Why do you go there?

- What other activities do you do when staying there?
 - Follow up with questions from the relevant parts of Section 4.
- Specifically, have you taken younger generations there? Do you teach them there? If so, what do you teach them? (Map as TA)
- Is this place important to you/your family/community? Why?
- Is this place important for your culture/way of life? Why/how so?
- Can you describe what it is like to be in this place? How does it make you feel?
- Are there many places like this one, or is this place unique? What makes it unique?
- If this renewable energy development [specify wind, hydro or transmission line] were to go ahead, how would that make you feel about visiting/staying at this place in the future?
- How would you explain the importance of this place to people who do not know it/the government/industry?

4.2 TRAVEL ROUTES

This refers to routes used specifically for hunting, trapping, gathering plants, accessing camping or fishing areas etc, rather than just driving on a highway.

Trail (TR)

Can you show us routes you have travelled by foot, quad, snowmobile, truck or other means?

- When did you first use this route?
- When did you last use this route?
- What did you use this route for (e.g., for hunting or plant gathering, or to reach fishing, camping, or other locations)?

Can you show us old trails that have been used by community members? (Map with *)

- When was this route used?
- Who was using this route?
- What did they use it for (e.g., for hunting or plant gathering, or to reach fishing, camping, or other locations)?

Water route (WR)

Can you show us routes you have travelled along creeks, lakes or rivers by boat?

- When did you first use this route?
- When did you last use this route?
- What did you use this route for (e.g., for hunting or plant gathering, or to reach fishing, camping, or other locations)?

Can you show us old water routes that used to be used by community members? (Map with *)

- When was this route used?
- Who was using this route?
- What did they use it for (e.g., for hunting or plant gathering, or to reach fishing, camping, or other locations)?

When recording routes and linear features in Google Earth, follow the actual route indicated by the participant and follow natural features. Do not record a straight line from A to B.

Read the map code aloud for each mapped feature.

Example map code:

PX01*?^\$-X01

[ActivityCode][SequenceNumber]Modifier(s)-[ParticipantID]

Example note:

[Participant name] travels along this route with [names] in order to access the [related value] located at [identity e.g., PX01-X99]. They learned about it from [name] and have travelled along it every [season] since [year]. They last travelled there in [year/month] and plan to return there in [year/month]

Make sure to record all other activities and values in this area. See further detailed questions on additional values throughout Section 4.

Follow-Up Questions

Use the following questions as prompts to ensure you have a full understanding of why this place is important.

- Why did you use this route?
- What do you do when you are travelling along here?
 - Do you teach younger generations along this route? If so, what do you teach them? (Map as TA)
- How did you learn about this route? Did anyone teach you about it?
- Does this route have a name? In your language?
- What is the farthest point that you have travelled along this route?
- Is this the only route to get from point A to B, or is there an alternative?
- Is this a new route, or a well-travelled, well-recognized route?
- What is this route like (i.e., current condition)?
- Is this route important to you? If so, how/why?
- Can you describe how it makes you feel when you're travelling this route?
- Is this route important to you/your family/community? Why/how so?
- Is this route important for your culture/way of life? How?
- Are there many routes like this one or is this route unique? What makes it unique?
- If this renewable energy development [specify wind, hydro or transmission line] were to go ahead, how would that make you feel about travelling this route in the future?

4.3 HUNTING AND TRAPPING

Can you show us places where you have trapped any of the following animals?

- | | |
|------------------------------|------------------|
| • FO = Other Fur Bearer | • WV = Wolverine |
| • FX = Fox | • WE = Weasel |
| • TP = General Trapping Area | |
| • WO = Wolf | |

A mapped trapping area or line can be copied and pasted for each species listed by the participant. Mapped trapping values can be copied as a general trapping area (TP) for mapped polygons and trapline (TL) for mapped linear feature.

Can you show us places where you have shot and killed any of the following TERRESTRIAL animals?

- CA = Caribou
- PZ = Polar Bear
- LM = Lemming
- OG = Other Game
- RB = Arctic Hare

Can you show us places where you have shot and killed any of the following MARINE animals?

- KW = Orca
- DO = Dolphin
- BZ = Bowhead Whale
- BW = Beluga Whale
- PG = Harp Seal
- OR = Walrus
- NW = Narwhal
- MX = Muskox
- MW = Minke Whale
- UJ = Bearded Seal
- RZ = Ringed Seal
- ZA = Other Seals
- ZB = Other whales

Do you hunt birds? If so, can you show us where you have shot and killed any of the following birds?

- FL = Falcon
- GE = Goose
- HA = Hawk
- OB = Other Bird
- SJ = Snowy Owl
- SW = Swan
- RY = Raven
- WM = Sea Birds
- SN = Sandpipers
- PT = Ptarmigan
- PF = Puffin
- OS = Snow Goose
- MZ = Murre
- LO = Loon
- GU = Guillemot
- FA = Fulmar
- EI = Eider

Environmental Feature (EF)

Can you show us the locations of habitats or environmental features that are important for birds/mammals? (E.g., calving or mating areas, mineral licks).

Environmental Feature Corridor (EC)

Can you show us any migration routes or crossings that birds/mammals use to move through the area?

Mark any locations where the participant has hunted but not killed any mammals or birds as an Environmental Feature (EF).

Read the map code aloud for each mapped feature.

Example map code:

PX01*?^\$-X01

[ActivityCode][SequenceNumber]Modifier(s)-[ParticipantID]

Example note:

[Participant name] trapped/shot and killed [species] in the [season/month] of [year] with [name(s)]. [Participant] first hunted/trapped here in [year/month] and last hunted/trapped here in [year/month]. [Participant] accesses this hunting/trapping area by [mode of travel].

Make sure to record all other activities and values in this area. See further detailed questions on additional values throughout Section 4.

Follow-Up Questions

Use the following questions as prompts to ensure you have a full understanding of why this place is important.

- Where did you cut up the animal? (Mark as PR)
- Did you share the meat?
- Did you smoke/dry the meat? Where?
- Is hunting/trapping important to you? Why?
- Who taught you how to hunt/trap? Who? Where? (Mark as TA)
- Is it important to teach younger generations how to hunt/trap? Why?
- How many people can [animal species] feed? For how long?
- Does [animal species] have a name in Inuktitut?
- Are any of these animals hard to find? Which ones?
- Does this animal have a name in Inuktitut?
- What is this area like for hunting/trapping?
- Are there many areas like this to hunt/trap this/these animal(s), or is this area unique? What makes it unique?
- Is/are this/these animal[s] important for your culture/way of life? If so, how/why?
- Can you describe what it is like to be out on the land hunting/trapping?
- If this renewable energy development [specify wind, hydro or transmission line] went ahead, how would that make you feel about hunting/trapping in this area in the future?
- How would you explain the importance of these animals to people who do not know/the government/industry?

4.4 FISHING

Can you show us places where you have caught any of the following fish species or shellfish/seaweed?

- DV = Dolly Varden
- OF = Other Fish
- WF = Whitefish
- ZR = Roe (herring)
- ZL = Smelt
- TB = Turbot
- SZ = Shrimp
- PY = Capelin
- PL = Pollock
- PD = Scallop
- LC = Lingcod
- KB = Crab
- HL = Halibut
- HE = Herring
- GS = Greenland Shark
- CR = Char
- CL = Clams
- AM = Mussels
- KE = Kelp/ Seaweed
- SA = Salmon

Mapped fishing areas can be copied and pasted for each species caught by the participant.

Mark any locations where the participant has fished but released the fish or not caught anything as an Environmental Feature (EF).

Read the map code aloud for each mapped feature.

Example map code:

LT01*?^\$-X01

[ActivityCode][SequenceNumber]Modifier(s)]-[ParticipantID]

Example note:

[Participant name] caught [species] in the [season/month] of [year] with [name(s)].

[Participant] first fished here in [year/month] and last fished here in [year/month].

[Participant] accesses this fishing area by [mode of travel].

Make sure to record all other activities and values in this area. See detailed questions for additional values throughout Section 4.

Follow-Up Questions

Use the following questions as prompts to ensure you have a full understanding of why this place is important.

- What did you do with the fish (e.g., dry it, smoke it, other)? Where?
- Is fishing important to you? Why?

- Who taught you how to fish? Where? (Map as TA)
- Have you taught anyone how to fish? Who? Where? (Map as TA)
- Is it important to teach younger generations how to fish? Why?
- How many people can [fish species] feed? For how long?
- Does [fish species] have a name in your language?
- Are any of these fish hard to find? Which ones?
- What is fishing like in this area?
- Are there many areas like this to fish this/these species, or is this area unique? What makes it unique?
- What does it mean to you to be able to fish?
- Can you describe what it is like to be out on the water fishing? How does it make you feel?
- Are these fish important for your culture/way of life? How?
- If this renewable energy development [specify wind, hydro or transmission line] went ahead, how would that make you feel about fishing in this area in the future?
- How would you explain the importance of these fish/fishing to people who do not know/the government/industry?

4.5 HARVESTING PLANTS / OTHER RESOURCES

Can you show us places where you've collected any of the following berries, other plants, or other resources?

- | | |
|---|--|
| • BA = Barks (crafts, construction, etc.) | • MP = Medicine Plant |
| • BE = Berries/Wild Fruit | • ME = Mosses/lichens |
| • DP = Dye Plant | • OP = Other Plant |
| • FP = Food Plant (roots, bulbs, cambium) | • AP = Aquatic Plant |
| • FU = Fungus | • EG = Eggs |
| • WG = Willow | • EM = Earth Material (rocks, clays, etc.) |
| • FW = Firewood | • FE = Feathers |
| | • WA = Water (drinking water, etc.) |

Can you show us places where you've collected plants for crafts or other uses? (E.g., for creating art, building a drying rack, etc.)

Read the map code aloud for each mapped feature.

Example map code:

MP01*?^\$-X01

[ActivityCode][SequenceNumber]Modifier(s)]-[ParticipantID]

Example note:

[Participant name] harvested [plant species] in the [season/month] of [year] with [name(s)]. [Participant] first harvested here in [year/month] and last harvested here in [year/month]. [Participant] accesses this harvesting area by [mode of travel]. These harvested items are used for [use].

Make sure to record all other activities and values in this area. See detailed questions for additional values throughout Section 4.

Follow-Up Questions

Use the following questions as prompts to ensure you have a full understanding of why this place is important.

- What do you use [medicine* / plants / fungi] for? (*If appropriate to share)
- Is gathering [medicine / plants / fungi] important to you? Why?
- Who taught you how to collect and use [medicine / plants / fungi]? Where? (Map as TA)
- Have you taught anyone about how to collect and use [medicine / plants / fungi]? Who? Where? (Map as TA)
- Is it important to teach younger generations about [medicine / plants / fungi] resources? Why?
- Does [medicine / plant / fungus] have a name in Inuktitut?
- Are any of these [medicine / plants / fungi] hard to find? Which ones?
- What is picking/gathering [medicine / plants / fungi] like in this area (i.e., current condition)?
- Are any of these [medicine / plants / fungi] hard to find? Which ones?
- Are there many areas like this to pick [medicine / plants / fungi], or is this area unique? What makes it unique?
- Can you describe what it is like to be out picking/gathering [medicine / plants / fungi]? How does it make you feel?
- Are these medicine/plants/fungi important for your culture/way of life? How?
- If this renewable energy development [specify wind, hydro or transmission line] went ahead, how would that make you feel about gathering [medicine / plants / fungi] in this area in the future?
- How would you explain the importance of these [medicine / plants / fungi] to people who do not know/the government/industry?

4.6 OTHER RESOURCES

Can you show us places where you have collected any of the following resources?

- Antlers or sheds [SD]
- Feathers [FE]
- Other materials collected for crafts/crafting [CZ]
- Rocks, clay, vermillion, other earth materials [EM]

Read the map code aloud for each mapped feature.

Example map code:

SD01*?^\$-X01

[ActivityCode][SequenceNumber]Modifier(s)-[ParticipantID]

Example note:

[Participant name] gathered [resource] in the [season/month] of [year] with [name(s)].
[Participant] first gathered here in [year/month] and last gathered here in [year/month].
[Participant] accesses this gathering area by [mode of travel]. These harvested items are used for [use].

Make sure to record all other activities and values in this area. See detailed questions for additional values throughout Section 4.

Follow-Up Questions

Use the following questions as prompts to ensure you have a full understanding of why this place is important.

- What do you use these resources for?
- Is collecting these resources important to you? Why?
- Who taught you how to collect these resources? Where? (Map as TA)
- Have you taught anyone about how to collect these resources? Who? Where? (Map as TA)
- Is it important to teach younger generations about these resources? Why?
- Does [resource] have a name in Inuktitut?
- Are any of these resources hard to find? Which ones?
- What is collecting resources like in this area (i.e., current condition)?
- Are any of these resources hard to find? Which ones?
- Are there many areas like this to collect resources, or is this area unique?
- Can you describe what it is like to be out collecting resources?
- Are these resources important for your culture/way of life? How?
- If this renewable energy development [specify wind, hydro or transmission line] went ahead, how would that make you feel about collecting resources in this area in the future?

- How would you explain the importance of these resources to people who do not know/the government/industry?

4.7 COLLECTION OF WATER (WA)

Can you show us places where you have collected drinking water/ice/snow while out on the land? (E.g., for drinking, cooking, making tea, ceremonies, etc.)

Can you show us any lakes, rivers or creeks that should be considered very important?

[If so, for each waterbody] what makes this waterbody important to Inuit?"

Read the map code aloud for each mapped feature.

Example map code:

WA01*?^\$-X01

[ActivityCode][SequenceNumber]Modifier(s)-[ParticipantID]

Example note:

[Participant name] collected water here in the [season/month] of [year] with [name(s)]. [Participant] first collected water here in [year/month] and last collected water here in [year/month]. [Participant] accesses this area by [mode of travel]. [Participant] uses collected water for [purpose].

Make sure to record all other activities and values in this area. See detailed questions for additional values throughout Section 4.

Follow-Up Questions

Use the following questions as prompts to ensure you have a full understanding of why this place is important.

- What did you do with the water collected?
- Is the ability to collect water from the land important to you?
- Who taught you about where to collect water in this area? (Map as TA)
- Have you taught anyone about where to collect water in this area? Who? Where? (Map as TA)
- Is it important to teach younger generations about where to collect water? How so?
- What is collecting water like in this area (i.e., current condition)?
- Do you feel safe drinking the water collected from this area?
- Is water that would want to collect hard to find?
- Are there many areas like this to collect water, or is this area unique? What makes it unique?
- Can you describe what it is like to be out collecting water? How does it make you feel?
- Is collecting water important for your culture/way of life? How?
- If this renewable energy development [specify wind, hydro or transmission line] went ahead, how would that make you feel about collecting water in this area in the future?

- How would you explain the importance of collecting water in this area to people who do not know/the government/industry?

4.8 ENVIRONMENTAL FEATURES (EF) AND CORRIDORS (EC)

Environmental Feature (EF)

Can you show us the locations of habitat or environmental features that are important for mammals/birds/fish/plants? (E.g., calving or mating areas, denning or overwintering areas, fish spawning areas)?

Environmental Feature Corridor (EC)

Can you show us any migration routes or crossings that animals use to move through the area?

When recording routes and linear features in Google Earth, follow the actual route indicated by the participant and follow natural features. Do not record a straight line from A to B.

Read the map code aloud for each mapped feature.

Example map code:

EF01*?^\$-X01

[ActivityCode][SequenceNumber]Modifier(s)-[ParticipantID]

Example note:

[Participant name] identified this area as an [environmental feature/corridor] for [species] due to [features]. [Participant] learned about this from [name]. [Participant name] last travelled through the area in [month/year].

Make sure to record all other activities and values in this area. See detailed questions for additional values throughout Section 4.

Follow-Up Questions

Use the following questions as prompts to ensure you have a full understanding of why this place is important.

- What environmental features (e.g., migration routes / crossings / fish spawning areas) make for good [animal / plant] habitat? Why?
- How did you learn about these environmental features? Where? (Map as TA if taught)
- Have you taught anyone about these environmental features? Who? Where? (Map as TA)

- Is it important to teach younger generations about these environmental features? Why?
- Are any of these features hard to find? Which ones?
- Are there many areas like this with these features, or is this area unique? What makes it unique?
- Have you observed any changes to [migration routes / crossings / fish spawning] areas in this area over your lifetime?
- Are these environmental features important for your culture/way of life? How?
- If this renewable energy development [specify wind, hydro or transmission line] went ahead, would it impact animals' use of [migration routes / crossings / fish spawning areas]?
- How would you explain the importance of these features to people who do not know/the government/industry?

4.9 CULTURAL AND INTANGIBLE USES AND VALUES

Gathering Place (GP)

Can you show us important places where your community holds or attends gatherings?

- E.g., Inuit games, drum dancing, celebrations, etc.

Ceremonial Place (CP)

Can you show us places that are used for ceremonies?

Teaching Area (TA)

Can you show us places that are used or have been used for teaching knowledge to children or others?

Can you show us any places that have special knowledge or stories associated with them?

- E.g., Tuniit stories, animal spirit stories, histories, etc.

Burial (BU)

Can you show us places where Inuit people are buried or where their remains are found (e.g., cremation)?

Spirit (SP)

Can you show us places where spirit beings live or where there are special rules about how you act or respect the place?

Place Name (PN)

Can you show us any places with special place names (e.g., in Inuktitut)?

Include place names and translations in Google Earth description field

Read the map code aloud for each mapped feature.

Example map code:

CP01*?^\$-X01

[ActivityCode][SequenceNumber]Modifier(s)-[ParticipantID]

Example note:

[Participant name] has [gathered/attended activity/etc.] here in the [season/month] of [year] with [name(s)]. [Participant] first [gathered/attended activity/etc.] here in [year/month] and last [gathered/attended activity/etc.] here in [year/month]. [Participant] accesses this area by [mode of travel]. The traditional name for this location is [name], which means [translation].

Make sure to record all other activities and values in this area. See detailed questions for additional values throughout Section 4

Follow-Up Questions

Use the following questions as prompts to ensure you have a full understanding of why this place is important.

- What specifically do you use these places for (e.g., what kinds of ceremonies, what was taught there, what was the story associated with that site)?
- When is the site used? Or when does the event take place?
- Who would use the site (e.g., use by you/your family members/your community/many communities, etc.)?
- Are [gathering places / ceremonial places / teaching areas / burial sites / spiritual locations / place names] important to you? Why?
- Who taught you about this [gathering place / ceremonial place / teaching area / burial site / spiritual location / place name]? (Map as TA)
- Have you taught anyone about [gathering places / ceremonial places / teaching areas / burial sites / spiritual locations / place names]? (Map as TA)
- Is it important to teach younger generations about these [gathering places / ceremonial places / teaching areas / burial sites / spiritual locations / place names]? Why?
- Are these [gathering places / ceremonial places / teaching areas / burial sites / spiritual locations / place names] important to sustaining your culture/way of life?
- Does [gathering place / ceremonial place / teaching area / burial site / spiritual location] have a name in Inuktitut?
- What is the [gathering place / ceremonial place / teaching area / burial site / spiritual location / place name] like (i.e., current condition)?

- Have you observed any changes to [gathering places / ceremonial places / teaching areas / burial sites / spiritual locations / place names] in this area over your lifetime?
- Can you describe what it is like to be at [gathering place / ceremonial place / teaching area / burial site / spiritual location / place name]? How does it make you feel?
- Are [gathering places / ceremonial places / teaching areas / burial sites / spiritual locations / place names] important to your culture/way of life? How?
- If this renewable energy development [specify wind, hydro or transmission line] went ahead, how would that make you feel about the [gathering place / ceremonial place / teaching area / burial site / spiritual location / place name] in this area?
- How would you explain the importance of these [gathering places / ceremonial places / teaching areas / burial sites / spiritual locations / place names] to people who do not know/the government/industry?

4.10 IMPAIRED USE

Specific Impaired Use (SL)

Can you show us any specific places where you used to [hunt / gather / fish / camp / practice other rights], but cannot anymore? (E.g., from industrial impacts, environmental change or other impacts)

General Impaired Use (GL)

Can you show us any general areas or specific sites where you have experienced degraded habitat for mammals, fish, or plants?

Read the map code aloud for each mapped feature.

Example map code:

GL01*?^\$-X01

[ActivityCode][SequenceNumber]Modifier(s)-[ParticipantID]

Example note:

[Participant name] identified this as a place where they used to [activity]. Use of this place has been impaired due to [reason for loss]. [Participant name] used this area since [month/year] until [month/year].

Make sure to record all other activities and values in this area. See detailed questions for additional values throughout Section 4.

Follow-Up Questions

Use the following questions as prompts to ensure you have a full understanding of why this place is important.

- What activities did you used to do in this [place/area]?
- Why did you first use this area (e.g., hunting because there were lots of caribou)? Why do you continue to use it?
- Why can you no longer use this [place/area]? What has impacted your ability to use that place? What caused the change [be open to responses that identify different cumulative effects causing agents like the main, climate change, more ships, etc.]
- When was the last time you used this [place/area]?
- How often did you go to or use this [place/area]?
- Can you do those activities somewhere else? Why or why not?
- What would need to be fixed/what would need to improve for you to use this place again in the way you would like to?
- How does it make you feel that you can no longer go to or use this place [place/area]?
- Has the loss of use of this place [place/area] impacted [you / your family / your community]?
- Has the loss of use in this place [place/area] impacted your culture/way of life? How?
- How would you explain the importance of this place [place/area] to the government/industry?
- How would you explain the impact of not being able to use the place [place/area] to people who do not know/the government/industry?
- If this renewable energy development [specify wind, hydro or transmission line] went ahead, how would that make you feel about this place [place/area]?

4.11 KNOWLEDGE OF USE BY OTHER COMMUNITY MEMBERS

*After you have covered a participant's personal use, and if there is still time, you may want to ask about their knowledge of how other community members use the area. You may do this particularly for important areas, if the participant does not have much personal experience of an area, or if you are trying to collect historical use data. (Map with *)*

Can you show us places where members of your family or community or ancestors have camped or stayed in cabins?

Can you show us places where members of your family or community or your ancestors have killed or trapped animals or birds?

Can you show us places where members of your family or community or your ancestors have caught fish?

Can you show us places where members of your family or community or ancestors have collected [berries / plants / water / etc.]?

Can you show us places where members of your family or community or your ancestors have attended ceremonies, or gatherings?

Can you show us places where members of your family or community or your ancestors have travelled across the area?

For follow-up questions, please refer to the relevant part of Section 4 above.

4.12 DISCUSSION OF POTENTIAL IMPACTS

Make sure industry data and the participant's mapped sites are on the screen.

Refer back to the participant's use in the Study Area, e.g., if they do a lot of fishing.

Nunavut Nukkiqsautiit Corporation's Potential Renewable Energy Developments may include one or more of the following developments:

- Run of river hydro power generation
- Hydro generation through creation of a dam and reservoir
- Pumped storage hydro power generation
- Wind turbines
- Access roads and substations
- Transmission lines (most likely suspended, although buried sub-sea cable will also be an option that is explored for feasibility)

Ask the following questions for each of the above potential developments and activities (depending on the participant's previous responses – e.g., if an avid caribou hunter consider focusing on transmission lines or turbines)

Use the following as a tool to order these responses and guide future questioning – notably when asking about project interactions, and impact pathways:

Based on your understanding of the potential developments, do you think it would affect:

- Your (hunting/fishing/access to the land/sense of place)?
 - If so, how?
- Would these occurrences impact you directly or indirectly?
 - Is the impact displaced (e.g., are there other animals/features of the landscape they will impact)?

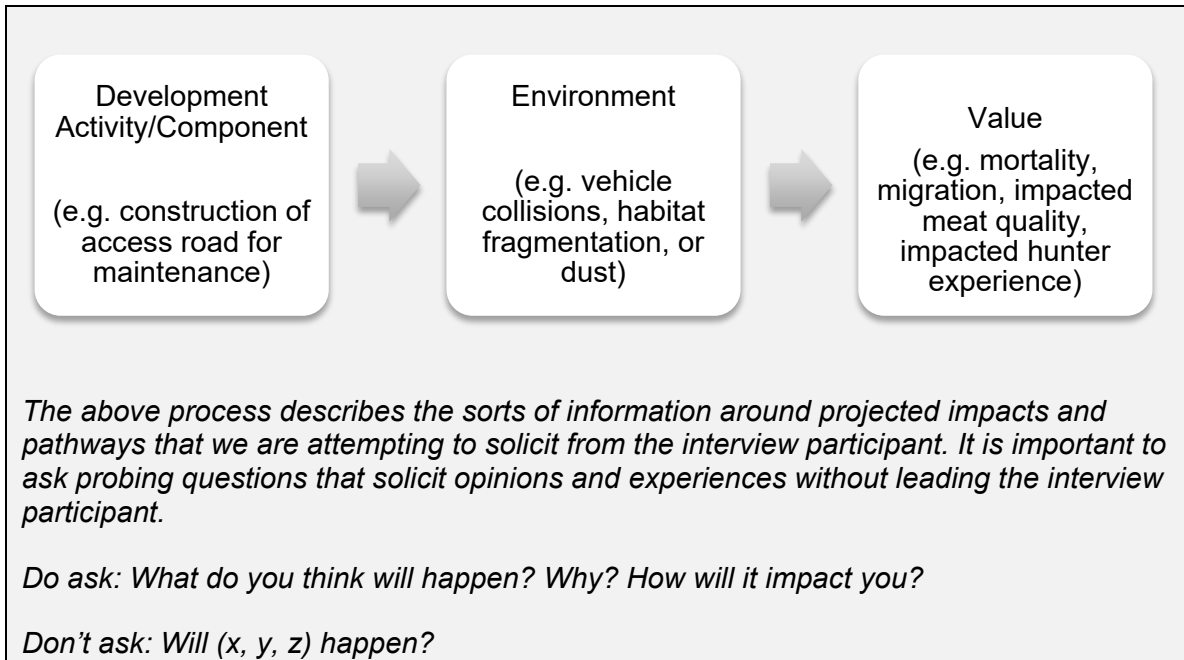
Would impacts be seasonal?

Do you think these impacts will extend beyond the life of the development? Why?

Will these impacts extend to other community members?

- Who will feel them?

Do you have any ideas about how to avoid, reduce or compensate for any of the impacts you have identified?



Do you have any concerns related to renewable energy development [specify wind, hydro or transmission line]?

What do you think the most important issues are for your community to focus on in relation to renewable energy development [specify wind, hydro or transmission line]?

Are there any other important places or issues related to renewable energy development [specify wind, hydro, or transmission line] that you think we should be documenting today?

Are there other community members that we should talk to?

Note: You may want to ask some of these questions earlier in the interview, for example if a participant has talked a lot about caribou hunting in the Study Area, ask about potential impacts to hunting then.

Cumulative Effects

Use these questions to gain an understanding of the current impacts to Inuit knowledge and use of the land in the Study Area

Are there other human-caused changes from sources other than renewable energy development that are contributing to changes you are seeing? Or impacting the environment?

- What sorts of changes?
- What do you think is causing these changes?
- Where have you noticed changes?
- When did you begin to notice these changes taking place [When was this benchmark?]

What are they and how are they impacting the environment? How might these human activities change the environment?

Do you think these changes to the environment will impact Inuit use of the land?

Do you think any of these environmental changes, when combined with the effects of renewable energy development [specify wind, hydro or transmission line], will make impacts on Inuit culture, resources and land use and the environment better or worse than if they happened on their own? Which ones and in what way?

Are there any human activities or changes that you expect will make the effects of renewable energy development [specify wind, hydro or transmission line] better or worse for Inuit culture, resources and land use than if they happened on their own? Which ones and in what way?

Think of all the potential and ongoing effects from human activities on Inuit culture, resources and land use, including from renewable energy development [specify wind, hydro or transmission line]. Can you describe how water and fishing might change over the life of renewable energy development [specify wind, hydro or transmission line] compared to today?

4.13 SENSE OF PLACE

Ask the following questions in relation to territory in general, the Study Area and/or other areas identified as important by the participant during the interview. Use these questions to ensure you have a full understanding of why each place is important.

Do you feel connected to the land in this area?

- If yes, why do you feel connected to this place?
- How does it make you feel to be out on the land in this area?

Is this place important to your identity? If so, how?

Can you describe what it is like to spend time at your favourite places out on the land?

Is there anything special about these places? What and why?

5. CONCLUSION

Read with audio & video recorders on after every session.

Today is [date]. We have just finished interviewing [participant name] for the Qikiqtani Inuit Association Tusaqtavut Study for the Community of Iqaluit Specific to Nunavut Nukkiqsautiit Corporation's Potential Renewable Energy Development. Thank you for coming.

My name is [name], my co-researcher(s) is/are [name(s)] and we are here at [office/building] in Iqaluit, Nunavut. We've given [participant name] participant ID [#]. We've mapped a total of [#] sites in Google Earth at 1:50,000 or better, and recorded a total of [#] tracks on the digital recorder. Notes are recorded in/on [notebook/computer]. This interview has taken approximately [#] hours [#] minutes.

MAPPING NOTES

Map all points, lines and polygons at an eye height of approximately 10 km or less (1:50,000 or better).

Label each site consistently in the **name field** of the site properties dialogue box.

Each code should indicate:

- Site use;
- Site number;
- Modifiers (if relevant); and
- Source (participant ID).

Modifiers (after the site number):

- First-hand knowledge has no modifier (e.g., TX01-P08; member with ID P08 reports temporary shelter where she has camped).
- Second-hand knowledge is mapped with a * (e.g., TX01*-P08).
- Approximate spatial information is mapped with a ? (e.g., TX01?-P08).
- If the participant was present but did not take part in an activity, map with a + (e.g., BE01+-P08).
- Commercial use (including guiding/outfitting) is mapped with a \$ (e.g., TX01\$-P08).
- If multiple modifiers are used, a code could look like, e.g., TX01*?\$-P08.

All other information goes in the **description field** of the dialogue box.

Transportation routes and all linear features should be controlled.

- Zoomed in to less than 10 km eye-height; and
- Follow the actual route and natural features (i.e., not a straight line from A to B).

Include in the **description field** of the dialogue box in Google Earth for each mapped site:

- First and last use (i.e., day / month / season and year / decade);
- Frequency of use;
- Species (if relevant);
- Number and names of members who were present; and
- Any additional information you are told.

Other:

- Keep list of place names;
- Spell out proper names and place names where possible for the recording; and
- Use prompts to gain detailed access and use information.

MAPPING CODES – QIA

HABITATION AND TRANSPORTATION

PX = Permanent Habitation
TR = Trail
TX = Temporary Habitation (including resting places, whaling spotting stations)
WR = Water Route
DX = Boat launch/mooring
BP = Birth Place

ENVIRONMENTAL FEATURES

EC = Environmental Feature Corridor (e.g., caribou migration trails)
EF = Environmental Feature
WR = Winter Range
WQ = Polynya
VS = Visual Sighting
SF = Spawning Area
HF = Habitat Feature
DN = Den/ Nest Location
CV = Calving Area
ZC = Ice lead
ZD = Floe Edge
ZK = Breathing holes (seals)

TERRESTRIAL MAMMAL KILL SITES

CA = Caribou
PZ = Polar Bear
LM = Lemming
OG = Other Game
RB = Arctic Hare

MARINE MAMMAL KILL SITES

KW = Orca
DO = Dolphin
BZ = Bowhead Whale
BW = Beluga Whale
PG = Harp Seal
OR = Walrus
NW = Narwhal

MX = Muskox
MW = Minke Whale
UJ = Bearded Seal
RZ = Ringed Seal
ZA = Other Seals
ZB = Other whales

FURBEARING KILL SITES

FO = Other Fur Bearer
FX = Fox
TP = General Trapping Area
WO = Wolf
WV = Wolverine
WE = Weasel

BIRD KILL SITES

FL = Falcon
GE = Goose
HA = Hawk
OB = Other Bird
SJ = Snowy Owl
SW = Swan
RY = Raven
WM = Sea Birds
SN = Sandpipers
PT = Ptarmigan
PF = Puffin
OS = Snow Goose
MZ = Murre
LO = Loon
GU = Guillemot
FA = Fulmar
EI = Eider

FISH CATCH SITES

DV = Dolly Varden
OF = Other Fish
WF = Whitefish
ZR = Roe (herring)
ZL = Smelt

TB = Turbot
SZ = Shrimp
PY = Capelin
PL = Pollock
PD = Scallop
LC = Lingcod
KB = Crab
HL = Halibut
HE = Herring
GS = Greenland Shark
CR = Char
CL = Clams
AM = Mussels
KE = Kelp/ Seaweed
SA = Salmon

PLANTS & OTHER RESOURCES

BA = Barks (crafts, construction, etc.)
BE = Berries/Wild Fruit
DP = Dye Plant
FP = Food Plant (roots, bulbs, cambium)
FU = Fungus
WG = Willow
FW = Firewood
MP = Medicine Plant
ME = Mosses/lichens

OP = Other Plant
AP = Aquatic Plant
EG = Eggs
EM = Earth Material (rocks, clays, etc.)
FE = Feathers
WA = Water (drinking water etc.)

CULTURAL USE

BU = Burial
BP = Birthplace
CP = Ceremonial Place
DR = Drying Rack
PN = Place Name
SP = Spirit
TA = Teaching Area
PR = Processing meat/hides
HR = Heritage Resource
GP = Gathering Place
FS = Food Storage (cache)
ZX = Fermenting Site (*Igunnaq*)

IMPAIRED USE

GL = General Loss
SL = Specific Loss