The Wabush 3 Iron Ore Project and the Land Uses of NunatuKavut-muit

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April, 2014

Fronticepiece

Image depicts the dog team races at Charlottetown, Labrador, circa 2008. Source; Lynnette Cadwell collection.

Acknowledgements

The NunatuKavut Community Council would like to thank the NCC members who took the time from their schedules to participate in these surveys. We would also like to thank the Iron Ore Company of Canada for financial contributions to the project and suggestions on the survey design.

Introduction

On May 23rd, 2013, the Iron Ore Company of Canada (IOC) registered the Wabush 3 Open Pit Mine Project for environmental assessment with the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador. On July 24th, 2013, the Province informed the proponent that an Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) for the project was required and by October 3rd, 2013, draft EIS Guidelines were issued.

In February of 2014, NunatuKavut Community Council (NCC) entered into an agreement with IOC to provide Aboriginal Traditional Knowledge (ATK) which would inform the environmental assessment processes. The Community Engagement Agreement would provide approximately 30 random surveys to show land uses in the footprint area and environs. Since a previous project had been undertaken in the general area[1] to obtain detailed map biographies[2], which represented a statistically significant data set, it was decided to review this existing study and incorporate the new data from the abovementioned 30 surveys. This document is the Final Report under the Contribution Agreement to be used in the environmental assessment of the Wabush 3 Open Pit Mine Project.

Historical Context

The ancestors of today's residents of NunatuKavut (NunatuKavut-muit) are descendants of the Thule culture, who were among the earlier peoples of the Punuk and Birnik cultures of North Alaska and the Bering Sea Region.[3] The Thule migrated from Northern Alaska across the Canadian Arctic sometime after 1000AD. In the thirteenth century, they began to migrate fairly rapidly into the Canadian archipelago[4], inhabiting Labrador by the late fifteenth century.[5] There is very little evidence that the Thule culture existed in Labrador prior to some type of contact with Europeans (late 15th to early 16th century); this is indicated by the presence of iron or other European attributes in Thule artefacts. The archaeological record from recent studies shows that artefacts from sites in southern Labrador were very

[1] See Mitchell and Coombs, 2012.
[2] Tobias, 2000.
[3] Rankin, 2009.
[4] Friesen and Arnold, 2008.
[5] Rankin, 2009.

similar in materials to similar sites in Northern Labrador.[6] The rather short lived Thule culture which inhabited Northern Canada is described with a tool set and lifestyles fashioned primarily around whale and other marine mammal hunting and customs prior to their contact with Europeans. It can be broadly stated that following European contact Inuit customs, life-ways and tool sets changed to the extent that Thule culture descendants are described today as Historic Inuit.

From the available historical information, it appears that the arrival of itinerant Europeans working from ships (whaling and fishing) in the Straits of Belle Isle occurred around, or just after, the movement of Inuit to the area. Evidence from the Red Bay site in Southern Labrador shows Thule presence at this location in the late sixteenth century.[7] Further ethno-historical and archival evidence supports the presence of Inuit in the latter sixteenth century in the Straits area and along the Cote du Nord (Quebec Lower North Shore).[8] Also, recent interpretive linguistics work indicates knowledge of the island of Newfoundland by Inuit predated the arrival of Europeans.[9] During the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it was well documented that Inuit frequented the Island of Newfoundland for resource procurement and trade.[10]

The Atlantic Coast of South and Central Labrador was inhabited and used on a year-round basis by historic Inuit from the mid-1500s until the mid-1700s, based on available archival information and recent archaeological work.[11] Evidence also suggests year-round occupation and land use into the Quebec Lower North Shore area by historic Inuit at various periods in the past 400 years.[12] Historic cartographic and toponymic evidence from a number of sources also supports the land use and occupancy of South Central Labrador by today's Inuit descendants.[13]

The Inuit occupation of South Central Labrador can be divided into three periods by intruding parties: the Basque period (1535 – 1630) with no intent on their part

[6] Ibid.
[7] Rankin, 2009.
[8] Martijn, 1980.
[9] Pigott, 2010.
[10] Martijn, 2009.
[11] Stopp, 2002.
[12] Fitzhugh, 2009.
[13] Rankin et al., 2008; Rollmann et al., 2007.

to colonize the area, the French colonization period (1630 – 1763) and the English period (1763 – present).

The Basque period may have been characterized by hostility between Inuit and the Europeans, but much evidence seems to point to little, if any, contact and records are 'scanty and discontinuous'.[14] The French period was described by Charles Martijn as a period of 'guerrilla warfare' between Inuit and Europeans[15]. In the early years of this era, French vessels operating in northern Newfoundland and southern Labrador, primarily from St. Malo, were constantly harassed by Inuit to the point where French fishermen were taxed to pay for their protection by ships of war.[16] Peter Pope notes that, *"Europeans seem to have been absent from that coast [Labrador] through most of the 17th century, until the turn of the 18th century when Canadian merchants based in Quebec began to exploit the Labrador Straits for salmon and seals. This absence coincides with a long-running guerrilla war, waged by the Inuit against the Breton and Norman fishers exploiting Newfoundland`s Petit Nord. This context of conflict suggests that the movement of Inuit into southern Labrador by the end of the 16th century motivated European fishers to avoid the Labrador coast through most of the 17th century. These conflicts did not really end until the establishment of a Moravian mission in northern Labrador, following the fall of New France in 1763"*.[17] Between 1715 and 1765, five attempts at 'treaty making' with the southern Inuit were undertaken (two by French participants and three by the British) in an effort to avert these violent conflicts and begin open trade with the southern Inuit.[18] All these attempts failed up the final one in 1765 by the British Government.

Before the English period began (1763), the general culture of the people of South-Central Labrador had changed very little from the ways of their Thule ancestors, other than the acquisition of wooden boats and iron and a repeated defence of their territory for two centuries in keeping Europeans out of Labrador. With the onset of English claims to Labrador following the Treaty of Paris, the Inuit

[14] Barkham, 1980.
[15]Mitchell 2013a.
[16] Martijn, 1980, Mitchell, 2013a
[17] Peter Pope, 2013, *Farewell Symposium Louwrens Hacquebord, 28 May 2013*
[18] Sources for the various treaty attempts; Crompton, 2014, *in press*; Lysaght, 1971; Letters – CO5/20ff. 11-12, Webb to Pitt, December 18th, 1760; CO/20, f.187, Ross to Pitt, Nov 3, 1761; CO323/15 f. 43, Webb to Board of Trade, Feb 3rd, 1761; Martijn, 2009.

experienced drastic changes to their way of living and culture. These changes are still in motion today. Changes in demographic structure (losing young males in the population due to conflicts) prior to the British claim to sovereignty in 1763, brought on subsequent changes to familial relationships (polygyny)[19] and likely changes to material culture and habits[20]during this time period in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Near the beginning of this period (1765) the English entered into a treaty[21] with the South-Central Labrador Inuit[22] in an effort to establish trading, fishing and sealing posts[23]along the Atlantic Labrador Coast.[24],[25] This treaty was facilitated by British Governor Hugh Palliser and Moravian missionaries, who were familiar with the Inuktitut language and were anxious to establish a mission amongst the Inuit.[26] The granting of land to the Moravians was a reward for their having conducted a treaty between the southern Inuit and the British Government. Acknowledgement of the treaty passed through approvals at the British Board of Trade, through the House of Lords Privy Council at Whitehall and finally as an Order in Council from the Court of St James with the King's approval.[27],[28],[29] A mission was established at Nain in Northern Labrador in 1771, and the Moravians made efforts to contain the Inuit north of Hamilton Inlet (Ivuktoke) to avoid interference in the British fisheries in Southern Labrador. Their efforts were not very successful – the Inuit continued to roam freely up and down the coast[30] maintaining a subsistence lifestyle based on seasonal migrations.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the South Central Labrador Inuit experienced new changes. With the influx of European men in trading posts,

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[19] Mitchell, 2013a.
[20] The period of conflicts coincide with a period of expanded house construction (multiple families) amongst Labrador Inuit.
[21] Several unsuccessful attempts during this century were also made at treaty making between the Inuit and the French, led by the French, and the treaty agreed between Inuit and Palliser was a third attempt by the English.
[22] See http://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100016900/1100100016908#chp1 "Inuit Relations with Whalers and Missionaries"
[23] See also Crompton, 2014, *in press.*
[24] Lysaght, 1970
[25] See also Clarke and Mitchell, 2010.
[26] Hiller, 2009.
[27] John Kennedy, *Personal communication, September, 2013.*
[28] PRO, Board of Trade, V 13, fo.35; CO195/9/509-516; PC 1/59/6/2 (two letter drafts)
[29] Order in Council, Court of St James, May 1769,
[30] Rollmann, 2010 and Kennedy, 2009.

sealing posts, and fishing fleets- the subsistence economy began to change toward singular activities around posts and a higher reliance on a monetary economy. This again led to several changes in lifestyle and culture for the Southern Inuit. First, these Inuit began to increasingly rely on the post/fishing/trading economies.[31] Secondly, European men began to co-habit with, or marry, Inuit women[32],[33] in very typical Inuit kinship relationships.

The strong agency of these female Inuit spouses and their kin relations bring much more 'cultural' change to the other willing marriage partner, in the case of Inuit unions with European men. In some cases, Inuit women do not bow down to seemingly more powerful men (usually traders in their territory) by refusing marriages to them.[34] Some are also very active in trading on the coast and are 'catalysts of change', rather than mere subjects of that change.[35]

An Englishman who takes on an Inuit wife in this period now has to learn how to hunt seals, fish, build komatiks and other tools, eat differently (without single place settings, etc)[36], run dog teams and follow many other Inuit life-ways. In a number of cases, Englishmen voluntarily deny their moral scruples and adopt the Inuit practice of polygyny - taking on several Inuit wives in the same household.[37] This practise is often a necessity for survival in this harsh environment especially in the event of widowed women. The practise of expanding Inuit kin groups due to the loss of young males and the subsequent development of the 'communal house' was well established by the time European men began to cohabit with Inuit females in both monogamous and polygynous relationships.

The changes were significant in terms of culture generally; the changes led to some losses of the Inuktitut language, and a more sedentary lifestyle for Inuit, or Inuit-Métis.[38] The changes also led to stigmatization of Inuit and 'half breeds', leading, in some cases, to men changing their Inuk names and adopting English names.[39] In situations where Inuit women married European men, the predominant way of life

[31] Kennedy, 2009; Kennedy, 1995.
[32] See Laing, 2007.
[33] Clarke & Mitchell, 2010
[34] Cartwright, 1792.
[35] Cabak, 1991.
[36] Beaudoin, 2008.
[37] Laing, 2007, Clarke and Mitchell, 2010.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Ibid.

in the household remained Inuit in terms of domestic technologies, species harvested and consumed, raising of children, transportation, and the eating habits of the family.[40]

Photo # 1 – Residents of ***"Esquimaux Village, Fox Harbor",*** Southern Labrador, mostly members of the Paulo, Webber and Langer families, circa 1882. Source; Bowdoin collection compliments of Peary McMillan Arctic Museum, Maine.

The population of South/Central Labrador remained low into the twentieth century and the advent of globalization. During the nineteenth century and the influx of Newfoundland fishing families to the coastal area, the 'natives' were those who remained on the coast in winter and were well known to the summer visitors.[41] The absorption of less than fifty European men into the families and kin groups of

[40] Beaudoin, 2008
[41] Hussey, 1981.

Southern Inuit people during this time did little to change basic lifestyles and culture.[42] Despite gradual changes, the communities continued to rely on hunting and fishing for subsistence, used dogs and 'komatiks' (sleds) for transportation, and maintained traditional Inuit harvesting and household tools which had changed very little in many centuries.

The Southern Labrador Inuit have maintained transhumance (seasonal migration) lifestyles from antiquity.[43] Into the twentieth century, harvesting began in the spring when families moved to fishing berth locations on the coast to harvest seals and codfish. In the summer, cod fishing continued simultaneously with the salmon runs and berry picking. These activities were followed by bird and seal hunting in the fall, in the latter part of which families would move to the inner bays to prepare for a winter of trapping and the caribou hunt.[44] Even today, many people in the area follow the traditions of their ancestors, keeping as many as four different homes to accommodate the various harvests.[45] Thus, the traditional transitory lifestyle persists into the twenty first century among the people of NunatuKavut, today collectively represented by the NunatuKavut Community Council[46] and variously described as Southern Inuit or Inuit- Métis.[47]

Historic Attachment in the Wabush 3 Project Footprint area.

The almost total lack of discernable data about the history of Inuit-métis in the upper reaches of the Churchill River watershed can be attributed to a number of factors; (1) very little primary research has ever been conducted with a focus on Inuit-métis, (2) records of the early metisage in the area was not recorded by Inuit participants and is lost to living memory, (3) European observers/recorders were always men and as such, paid little attention to Inuit women and their families, and (4) missionaries often used European moral values in their observations and did not record typical kinship relations and Inuit life-ways. As pointed out by Kennedy and

[42] Use of the Inuktitut language began to decrease and would lead eventually (early twentieth century) to the adoption of English as the primary language, however, maintaining many domestic, resource harvesting and transportation terminology in Inuktitut.
[43] Stopp, 2002.
[44] Jackson, 1982.
[45] Mitchell, 2013b.
[46] Clarke & Mitchell, 2010
[47] Hanrahan, 2014*, in press* and Kennedy, 2014, *in press.*

LaBreche[48] data limitations are a serious problem in this particular area, unlike further north and south in Labrador.

The Churchill River was described by seven Innu as the 'Eskimo River' prior to 1863 upon interviews conducted by Father Arnaud.[49] The description is given as Inuit travelling up the Eskimo River and leads into the upper reaches which they call the Ashuanipi, at the height of land and into the Labrador Iron Belt. It is also clear from Quebec Legislature documents of 1897 that this river was either the Hamilton River, the Ashuanipi (upper reaches) or the Great Eskimo River (see Figure # 1). From the map of 1897, we can note inland Inuktitut toponyms such as the Attikonak Lake and Aukonak River flowing into what is now the Upper Churchill Reservoir.

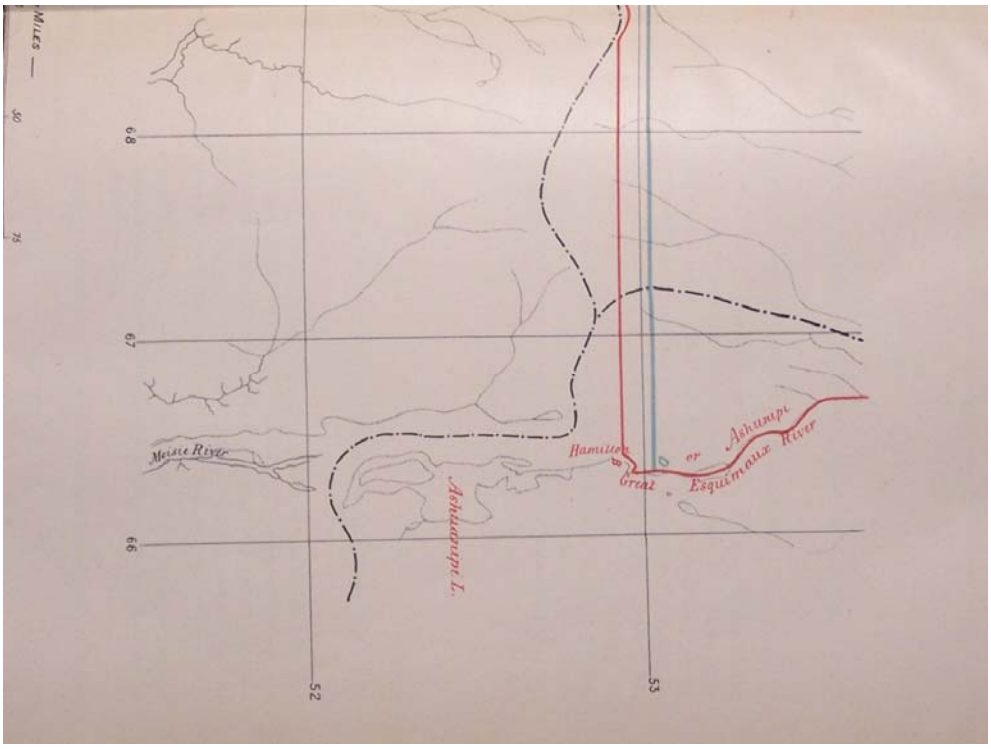


Figure # 1 indicates the names of the area in the upper reaches of the Churchill River in the area of the Labrador Iron Belt. The river was known alternately as the Hamilton River, Ashuanipi River, or Great Eskimo River.

Post Modern Day Land Uses

[48] Kennedy and LaBreche, 2005.
[49] Hind, 1863.

Inuit descent people have occupied the Great Eskimo River (today's Churchill) since time immemorial. At the beginning of written records families and hunting groups ascended the rivers of Labrador in search of food. The river ascent was to gain the higher ground and inland plateaus inhabited by caribou[50]. *"Hunting parties left the coast in the middle of August and often did not return until it was time to move into their winter houses in Mid-October"*[51]. Descriptions of this migratory hunt is first recorded by William Turner in 1780.[52] In subsequent years, families followed a transhumance life style which generally found them on the coast during the spring and summer and moving inland in the late fall and winter.

Photo # 1 - John Michelin and Family (circa, 1920s). Source; Grenfell collection at The Rooms, St. John's, NL.

[50] Hawkes, 1916, The Labrador Eskimo, Dept of Mines Geological Survey, Document No. 1637, page 32.
[51] Taylor, 1974, Labrador Eskimo Settlements of the Early Contact Period, National Museums of Ottawa Series NM 95-12/9, page 48.
[52] Ibid.

Traditionally, Southern Labrador Inuit trappers, such as the males in John Michelin's family, depicted above, would travel inland on the Churchill River and up to the height of land to various family traplines.

The trek would begin by canoe in the fall and the trapping would continue into the winter on snowshoes. In the early 1900's, these trips were not without conflicts with Innu in competing for trapping grounds on the height of land[53].

In 1994, the Southern Labrador Inuit (Labrador Metis Association) began a process to identify their land use areas. Figure # 2 below shows a portion of the data collected with extensive traditional traplines up to and over the height of land in the Labrador Iron Belt.

Figure # 2. A portion of maps promulgated as a result of land claims investigations in 1994 indicating traditional traplines at the height of land in the upper reaches of the Churchill River (Great Eskimo River) and into the Labrador Iron Belt.

[53] Goudie E. 1973, Woman of Labrador, Peter Martin Associates Ltd., Toronto.

Present Day Land Uses

Essentially, Inuit land uses from the written records in the Upper reaches of the Great Eskimo River (Churchill) and Ashuanipi can be divided into four phases, (1) Inuit hunting parties following the caribou migrations on the upper plateaus from the seventeen hundreds and earlier, (2) the trapping phase by Inuit-métis during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, (3) present day trapping and caribou hunting using the road systems, primarily but not only by members from Northwest River, Mud Lake and Happy-Valley Goose Bay, and (4) the period during which some NunatuKavut members followed a mining based career and moved from coastal communities into the Labrador City/Wabush area during the past fifty years.

From this last group we learn from this study that they have continued to hunt/fish and carry on traditional life styles, even though they live in a relatively wealthy part of Labrador and a more urban setting.

NunatuKavut Community Council membership records show 158 members living in the Labrador City and Wabush areas in 2014.

Methodology

In an effort to record ATK for the area, drafts of participant surveys were distributed between NCC and IOC at the beginning of the project. The final draft survey which was used is given at the end of this document as Appendix A. One hundred and fifty eight surveys were actually distributed, 30 were returned to the NCC Office at Happy Valley – Goose Bay. A number of discussions took place between NCC staff personnel and the NCC membership pertaining to the environmental assessment over the winter of 2014 and predominant opinions will be discussed below.

It was decided to use previously collected land use materials in combination with the surveys to input the assessment of Wabush 3. Much of the geographically relevant historic data is held in the Cumulative Data Base of NCC.[54]

In the 30 random sample surveys completed for this study, all surveys returned to NCC have been entered into the database. Answers to the questions were

[54] Mitchell, 2013b.

recorded, segregated by subject grouping and the results entered and discussed in this report.

Of the 30 people surveyed, the gender ratio was 1.0 to 0.88 (Female: Male) of which 53% were employed permanently, 17% were unemployed, 14% were students and 10% were employed seasonally. The remaining 7% of people were listed in the 'other' category, without explanation. With a majority of female respondents, the 'unemployed' category may be somewhat high, since many women who work in the home may, at the time of the survey, consider themselves unemployed. This kind of bias may also be applied to stay at home fathers - which is prevalent in modern times.

The average age of the respondents was 37 years. Of those surveyed, 16 reside in Labrador City, 12 in the Wabush area, one in Churchill Falls and one respondent was unspecified.

Relevant survey results were annotated, analyzed and presented further in this report. NCC surveyed a large population number (n=30 or n=20%) of the total NCC members in Labrador West (30 of 158) to ensure a small margin of error within the 95% confidence interval. Questions two and three were exempt from the large population number, giving a larger margin of error due to elimination in question # one - if participant surveyed answered 'no'. Also, questions one and seven are exempt from the large population number due to one participant not providing an answer for this question. Note that population numbers below 30 give a larger margin of error.

Results

Question # 1

When informants were asked whether they 'went out on the land' in the past year, out of the 29 who responded, 20 of them spent time on the land representing 69% of the people participating in the surveys. These people spent time at their cabins, berry picking, snowmobiling, fishing, hiking, boiling up, skiing, walking, hunting, camping, cutting wood, and trapping.

Question # 2

In this question informants were asked how many weeks they went out on the land and the time of year which that took place. For some unknown reason, 25 people responded to this question leaving some informants to contradict the previous question where only 20 of the participants said they spent time on the land. This participant error could bring the average number to 83% of people who 'spend time on the land'. This can only be explained by informants not understanding the first question or that the second higher number indicated a number of locations of incidents where informants spent time 'on the land'. All we can extrapolate from this is that between 68% (Q # 1) and 83% (Q #2) spend time at various activities on the land. The higher percentage number complies with a number of previous studies of the NunatuKavut membership.[55]

From the number of weeks given, an average of the sample was calculated. Table # 1 illustrates the analysis of the answers obtained;

Table # 1 showing the average number of weeks spent on the land and seasonality of the activities

Time of the year	Winter (Jan – Mar)	Spring (Apr – June)	Summer (July – Sept)	Fall (Oct – Dec)
Average number of weeks spent on the land	1.54 weeks	1.31 weeks	1.53 weeks	0.92 weeks

When asked where participants spent time on the land, the geographic locations ranged from Charlottetown on the southern Atlantic Coast to Postville on the northern Atlantic coast, through the Upper Lake Melville area and as far west as the entire area around Labrador City and Wabush.

[55] Mitchell and Coombs, 2012, and Mitchell, 2013b.

The average number of weeks spent on the land does not conform to averages from previous studies in that they are much lower in the present study.[56] This may be explained because of the low sample size[57], or the rather urban setting of Labrador West as compared to the coastal areas.

Question # 3

When asked 'does your family participate in the traditional salmon harvest', of the 20 respondents to the question, 12 participate in the traditional salmon harvest averaging about 60%. Again this number is below previously recorded levels for reasons already outlined for answers to Question # 2.

Question # 4

In this question informants were asked about whether they came from a hunting/fishing/trapping family. As an answer of the 30 respondents, 27 indicated a 'yes' answer with a percentage figure of approximately 90%. The answer to this question does comply with previous study results.[58] Since the development of Labrador West is a relatively recent phenomenon and many of the people in the survey moved to Labrador West from coastal areas, where land use and the consumption of 'country food' is much higher.

Question # 5

This question about whether informants owned cabins or tilts brought a positive answer from 60% of the respondents. From this number an average of 1.9 cabins/tilts were owned per respondent. Given the sample size, this number is consistent with a previous and similar study conducted in the area.[59]

[56] Mitchell, 2011, and Mitchell and coombs, 2012.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Mitchell, 2013b
[59] Mitchell and Coombs, 2012.

Question # 6

A query was made about the people accompanying respondents in their activities on the land. People were asked to indicate all categories which apply;

Table # 2 shows the categories of partners when travelling on the land.

Category	*Alone*	*Immediate Family*	*Extended Family*	*Friends*	*Other*
Percentage of total responses	30%	73%	30%	50%	10%

By far the highest percentage were people travelling on the land with their immediate family. The second highest category was respondents travelling and spending time on the land with their friends at 50%. The 'other' category at 10% was not specified.

Question # 7

In answer to a question about barriers to people 'getting out on the land', 55% of respondents replied that there were no barriers for them. Of the 45% who said there were barriers, they identified work (taking their time), cost, free time (assumedly, a lack thereof), transportation, distance, legal regulations (preventive laws) and land use restrictions for mining development as preventive obstacles.

Question # 8

In answer to the question about whether respondents eat traditional foods (country food), 100% of the 30 informants answered in the affirmative. This is consistent with all previous surveys and studies in NunatuKavut.[60]

[60] Mitchell, 2013b

Question # 9

The frequency of traditional food consumption was recorded and is given in Table # 3 below;

Table # 3 showing the frequency of country food consumption in the 30 respondents

	Monthly	***Weekly***	***Special Occasions***	***Other***
Number	6	16	6	2
Percentage	20%	53%	20%	7%

This frequency of country food consumption with a dominant percentage eating traditional foods weekly seems high in a relatively urban population. This country food consumption frequency will be considered further in the discussion section below.

Question # 10

When asked about species consumed there was a wide variety mammals, fish and berries. This is consistent with previously studied geographic areas.[61] Traditional food eaten by the informants surveyed included; moose, caribou, bear, ptarmigan, grouse, hares, ducks (various species), geese, eider ducks, porcupine, beaver, muskrat, squirrel, salmon, cod, trout (various species), seal, partridgeberries, blueberries, bakeapples, black currents, red currents, and squashberries.

Question # 11

Respondents were asked whether they would like to access and consume more traditional foods. From 30 respondents, 60% answered in the affirmative, 33% said they had no interest in eating more traditional foods and 7% were in the 'don't know' category. When asked what prevented them from eating more traditional foods the answers were varied; (1) no access, (2) no time to harvest, (3) hard to find [in this area], and (4) cold weather.

[61] Mitchell, 2013b.

Question # 12

In being asked how they could best access information about the project the three top categories (almost equal at 13 responses for each) were newsletter, E mail updates and a web site [assumedly, IOC web site].

Question #s 13, and 14

In these two questions respondents were asked whether they thought the Wabush 3 project would have a positive or negative effect on the quality of life in their community. Table # 4 below illustrates the answers to these two questions.

Table # 4 - Opinions about life quality during and following the development of the Wabush 3 project.

Category	**Yes**	**No**	**Don't Know**
Positive Effects?	17%	30%	53%
Negative Effects?	43%	10%	47%

Question # 15

Respondents were asked whether they thought the Wabush 3 project would have positive, negative or no effects on their traditional activities. In this regard respondents answered in this way; (1) 7% said that the project would have positive effects on their traditional activities, (2) 33% thought it would have negative effects, (3) 20% thought it would have no effect and (4), the majority, at 40%, were in the 'don't know' category.

Question #s 16 and 17

Informants were asked if they had any advice for IOC or NCC on the project and whether they had any questions of these two parties. No response was given to either of these questions except from one informant. His suggestions included relocating the town of Labrador City and locating a new water supply. The main concerns were listed as; (1) encroachment into town boundaries, (2) water supply quality, (3) air quality, (4) noise pollution, (5) loss of recreational facilities, and (6) green space [loss].

Question #s 18 and 19

Respondents were asked about their activities both inside and outside the Wabush 3 project area. The answers to these questions are given in tabular form below.

Table # 5 – The various outdoor activities and the percentage of use both inside and outside the project area.

Activity	**Inside the Project Area**	**Outside the Project Area**
Fishing	47%	63%
Ice Fishing	47%	47%
Big Game Hunting	6%	23%
Small Game Hunting	33%	50%
Waterfowl Hunting	10%	27%
Berry Picking	67%	70%
Other Harvesting	0%	3%
Trapping	10%	17%
Firewood	13%	40%
Boating	20%	47%
Off trail Snowmobiling	70%	67%
ATV Use	33%	40%
Hiking/walking	63%	57%
Camping	17%	47%
Bird Watching	20%	27%
Geo-Coaching	10%	10%
Off-trail X Country	20%	17%
Off-trail Snowshoeing	37%	37%
Mountain Biking	17%	13%
Running	17%	13%
Other	23%	23%

Question #s 20 and 21

Informants were asked to outline any questions or comments they might have about the Wabush 3 project. One respondent indicated there would be; (1) changes to recreational and fundamental [sic] recreational areas of community activities, (2) dust levels [increase], (3) noise level increases, (4) green space reductions and (5) loss of habitat.

Advice included; (1) “don’t high grade the ore”, (2) “reclaim the land to its original condition [pre-mining]”, and (3) “please review Schefferville fiasco and do not let [that] happen again”. This last reference was given without context.

Discussion

Since 1979, studies on the harvesting of country foods and products from the land and sea have been conducted in south/central Labrador.[62] Each of these studies were designed to meet certain specific and often narrow criteria and to work towards particular goals (example, forestry data, migratory bird data, etc.). There has never been a comprehensive land and sea use study done in NunatuKavut, whereby a sample size large enough to represent the Inuit-métis population has been recorded.

However, over the past several years the NunatuKavut Community Council has undertaken to digitize the fragmented data base into what is known about the habits and land uses of Inuit-Métis people in South Central Labrador under the Cumulative Data Base (CDB). The Cumulative Data Base has taken all information which can be digitized and placed that information on land form maps. Inconsistencies in methodologies and research goals for the various studies since 1979 render an incomplete picture of land and sea uses represented by the Cumulative Data Base. The CDB cannot be considered definitive or even useful outside of sample illustration.

[62] Mitchell, 2013b

In 2012, the NCC conducted ten map biographies in the Labrador Iron Belt and added this information to the ongoing CDB.[63] This work was undertaken during the assessment of the Kami Mine project for Alderon Inc. and is relevant to the present study based on proximity, source of informants and land use relevance (see Figure # 3). The land use maps reviewed for the present study are from the NunatuKavut Cumulative Data Base showing land uses recorded in studies (some relevant to the Labrador Iron Belt) since 1979.

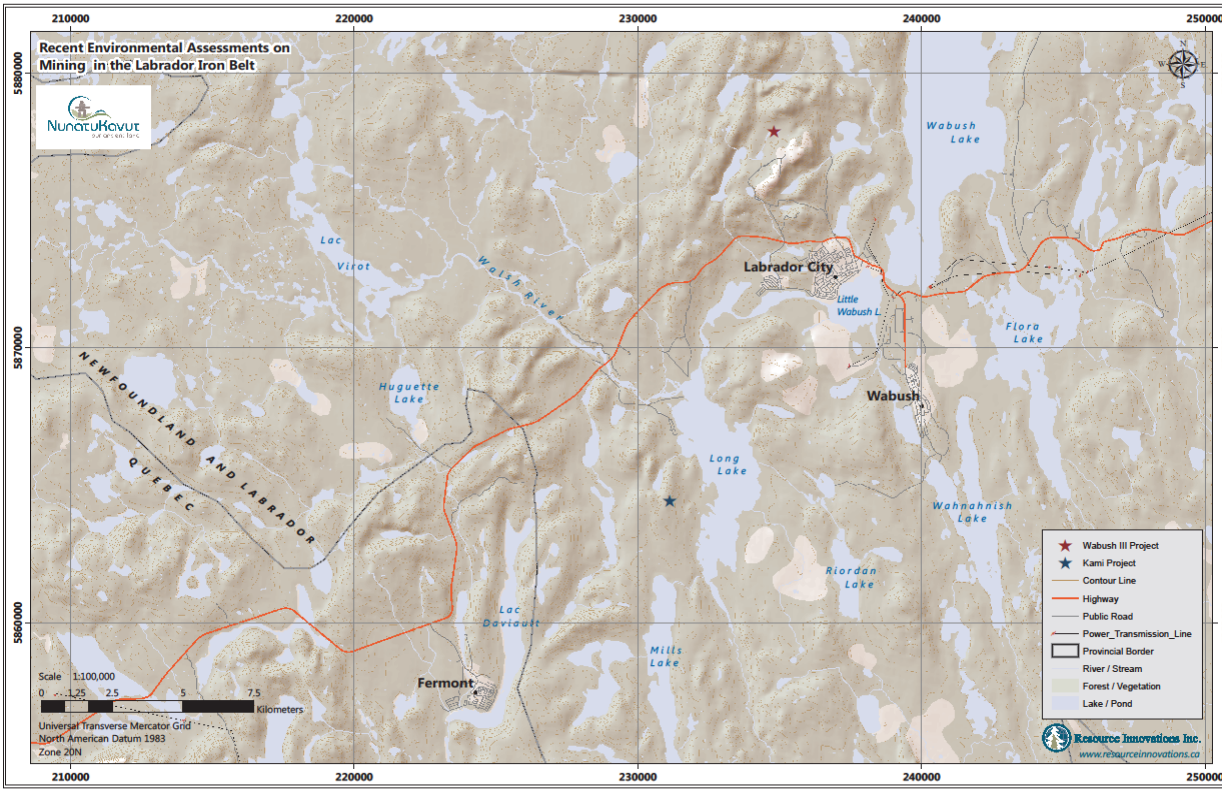


Figure # 3 The relative positions of the three towns and two recent proposed mining site locations in the Labrador Iron Belt.

[63] Mitchell and Coombs, 2012

From previous work on the uses of 'country food' in NunatuKavut (not specifically the Labrador Iron Belt) the average family consumes quantities consistent with their yearly needs (see Table # 6 below).[64]

Table # 6 Quantities of the various species comprising primary country foods consumed by respondents in NunatuKavut.

Common Name	Species Name	Quantity Consumed per Household
Rabbit	*Lepus americanus*	30
Caribou	*Rangifer tarandus*	2
Porcupine	*Erethizon dorsatum*	opportunistic
Moose	*Alces alces*	1 per 3 households
Beaver	*Castor canadensis*	opportunistic
Harp Seal	*Pagophilus groenlandicus*	3
Ring Seal	*Pusa hispida*	2
White Partridge	*Lagopus lagopus*	20–30
Canada Goose	*Branta canadensis*	2
Turr	*Uria aalge*	10–20
Divers/ Scoter	*Melanitta fusca*	opportunistic
Eider Ducks	*Someraria mollisima*	15
Shellbirds/Mergansers	*Mergus merganser*	opportunistic
Spruce Partridge	*Dendragapus canadensis*	10-15
Salmon	*Salmo salar*	12
Cod Fish	*Gadus morhua*	30–40
Trout	*Salvilinus fontinalis*	40
Herring	*Clupea herengus*	opportunistic
Capelin	*Mallotus villosus*	opportunistic
Smelt	*Osmerus mordax*	100–120
Shrimp	*Pandalus borealis*	4.5 kg
Snow Crab	*Chionoecetes opilio*	9 kg/on coast
Scallops	*Chlamys islandica*	opportunistic
Mussels	*Mytilus edulus*	4.5 kg/spring
Bake-apple	*Rubus chamaemorus*	19–26.5 litres
Black Berries	*Empetrum nigrum*	3.5–7.5 litres
Red/Partridge Berries	*Vaccinium vitis-idaea*	15–19 litres
Squash Berries	*Viburnum edule*	7.5 litres
Dandelion	*Taraxacum spp.*	opportunistic
Alexander / Scotch Lovage	*Ligusticum scothicum*	Becoming rare

[64] Mitchell, 2014, *in press.*

In addition to these thirty species, considered to be primary food consumption items, another thirty one species is consumed on a secondary, or occasional, basis.[65]

The species consumed in the thirty surveys outlined above for the present study, is consistent with these previous results, however, quantities of species consumed were not considered here. From the surveys it is clear that Inuit-Métis people in the Labrador Iron Belt hunt, fish, pick berries and trap similar to their relatives, kin and friends in other locations (answers to several questions). The overall average time spent on the land (1.3 weeks per person, annually) is lower than in previous studies from more rural locations (7.1 weeks per person, annually). Even though people in this area do not spend as much time on the land as in other areas, when asked whether they ate 'country food' the answer of '*Yes*' from 100% of the informants is consistent with all previous studies (Question # 8). It can be concluded that even though people do not directly access country food themselves, they obtain it by some other method.

From the geographic information previously obtained in the Labrador Iron Belt, the locations of many activities of Inuit- Métis people can be observed (see Figure # 4 following).

[65] Mitchell, 2014, *in press.*

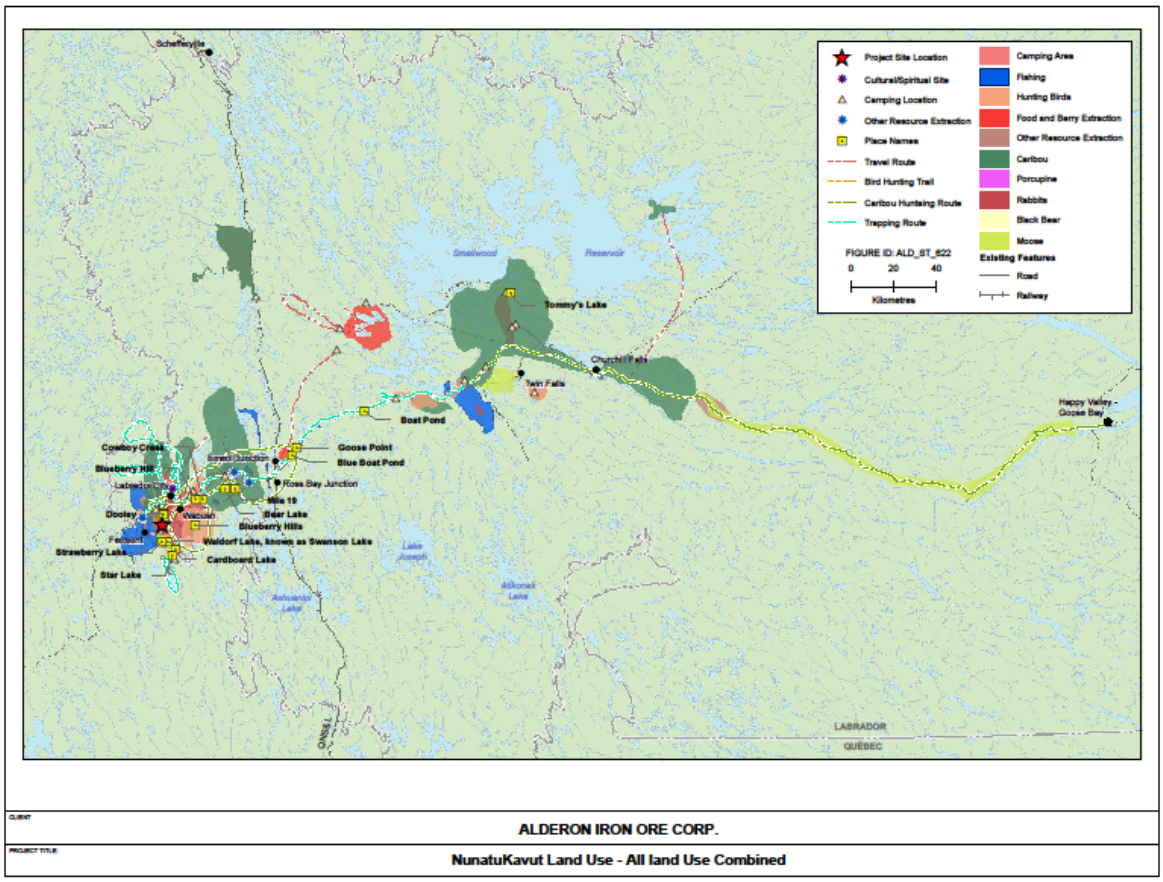
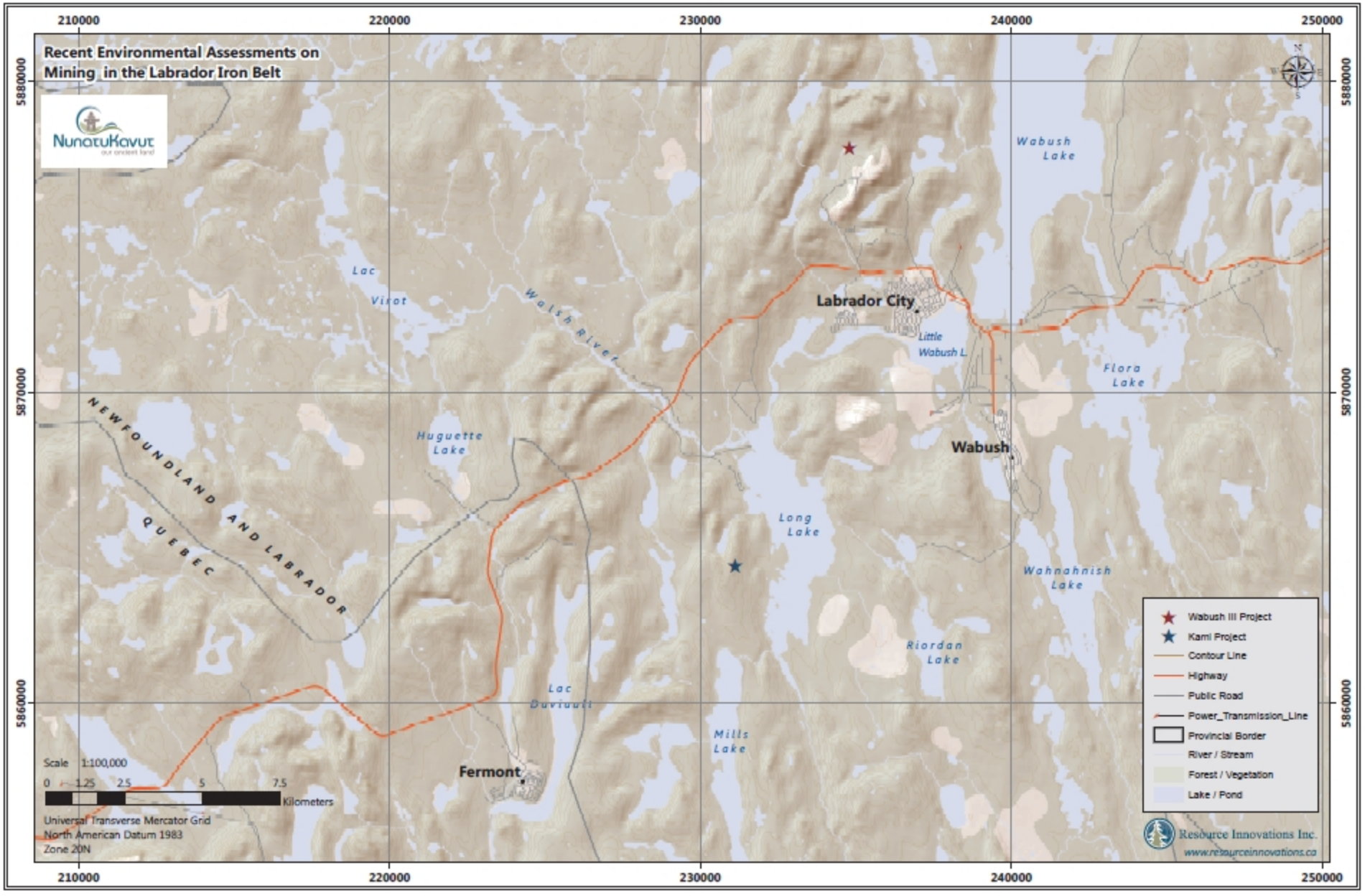
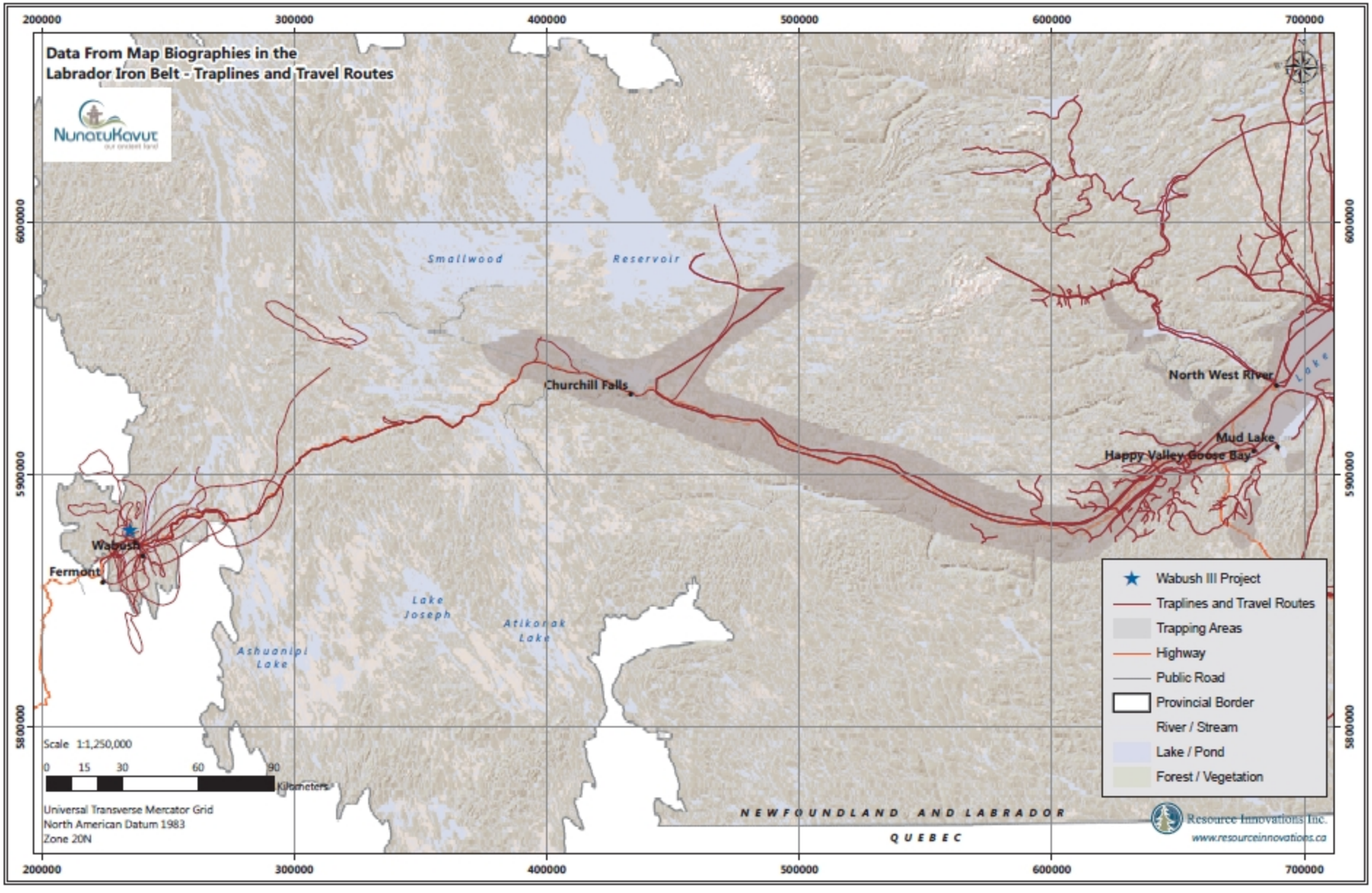
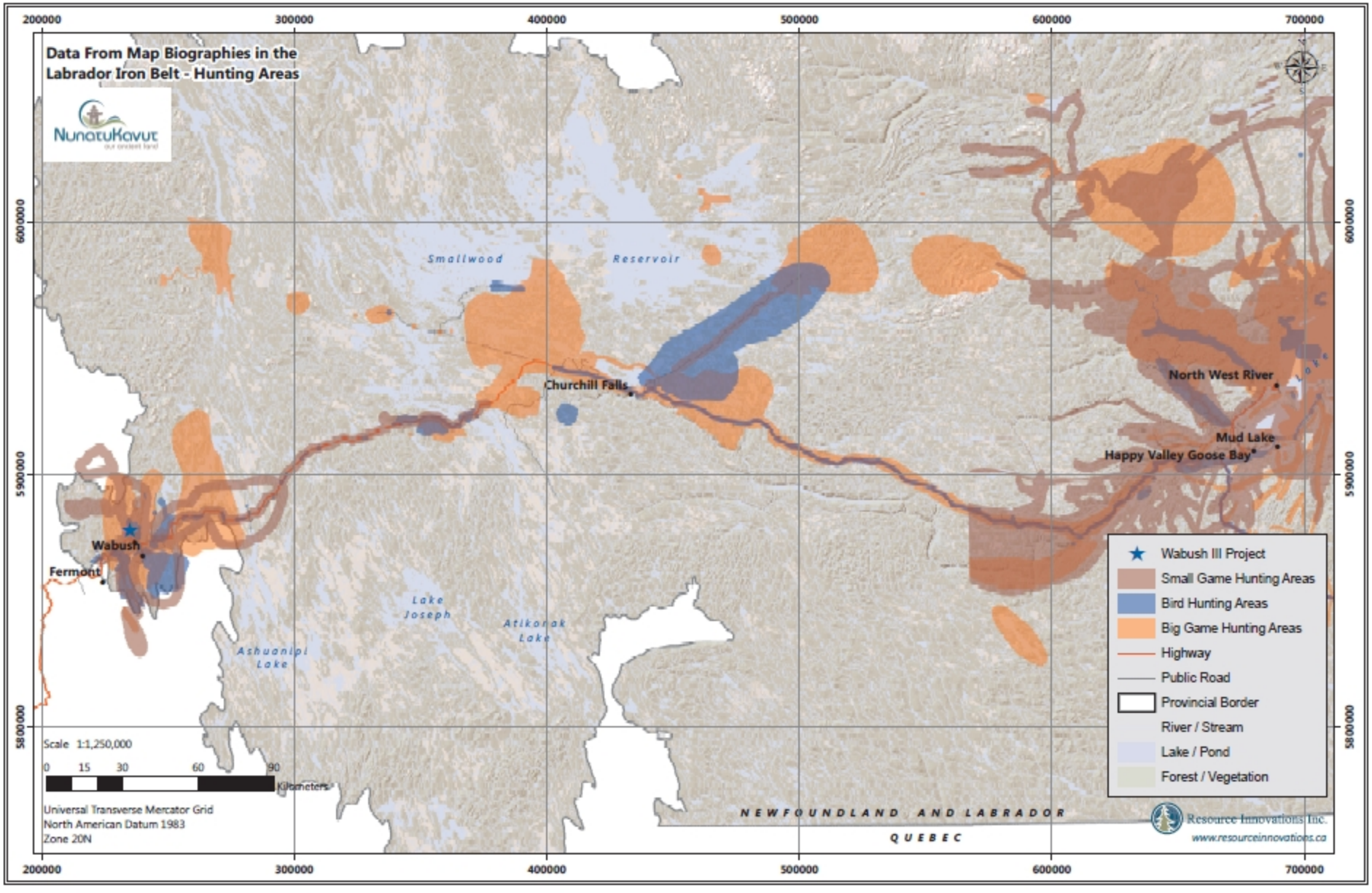


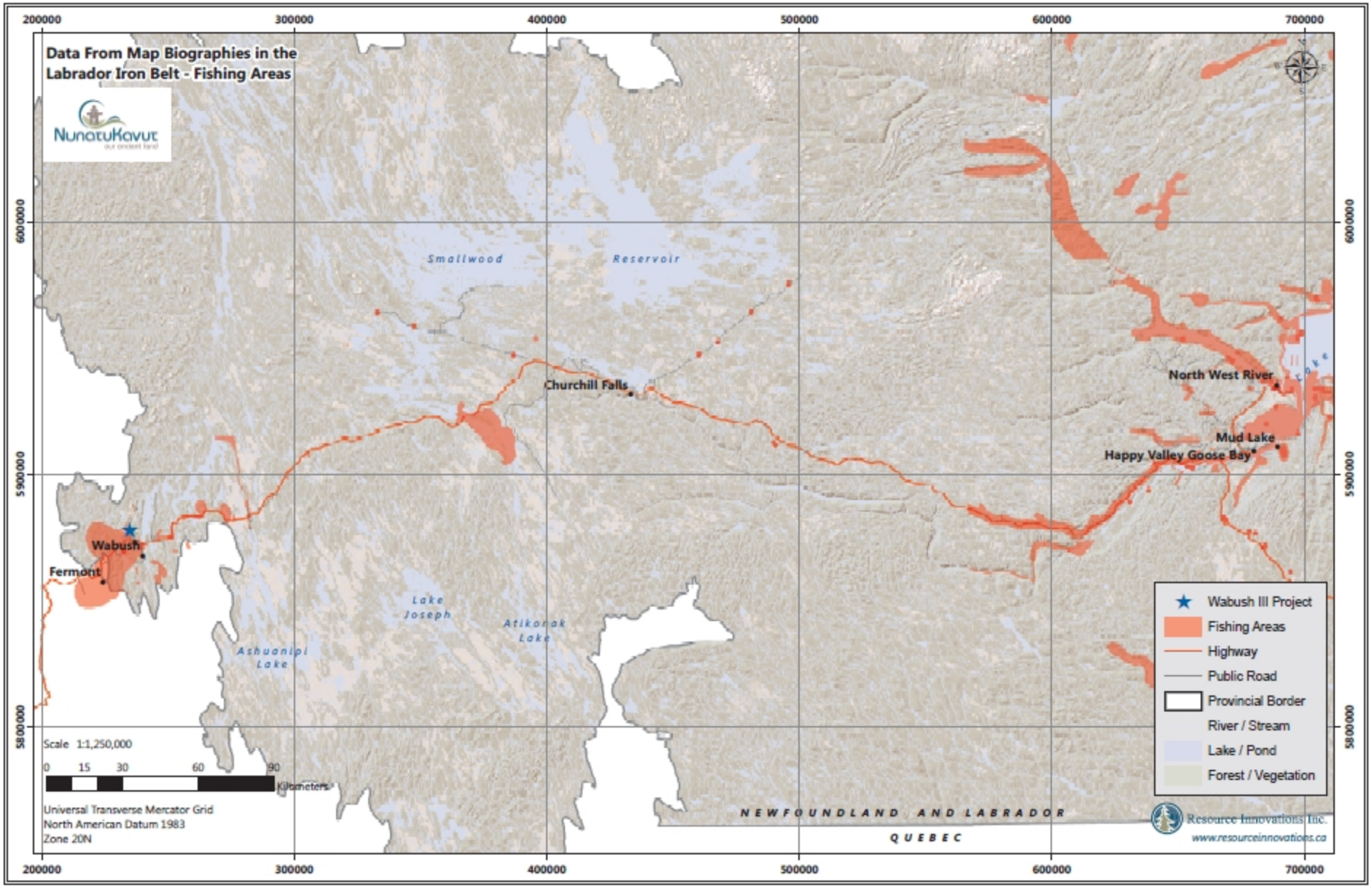
Figure # 4 - Land uses from ten map biographies (Inuit-Métis) obtained during a previous study in the Labrador Iron Belt (2012).

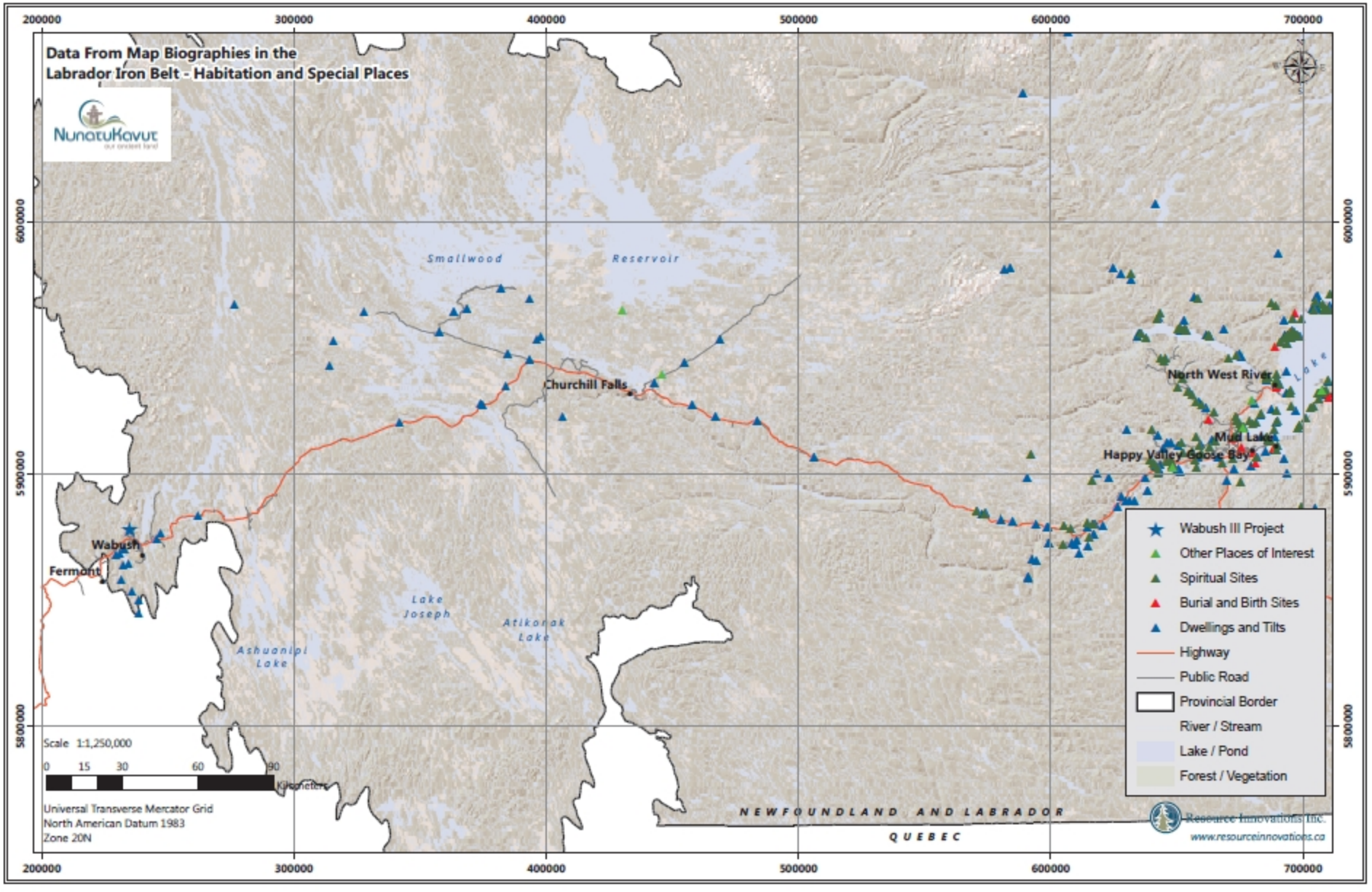
The following series of maps (Figure # 5 to Figure # 9) documents the extracted information from the NCC Cumulative Data Base on all the relevant land uses. It should be noted that this series of maps does not represent the complete picture of land uses by Inuit-Métis in the area but does show a sample of activities.

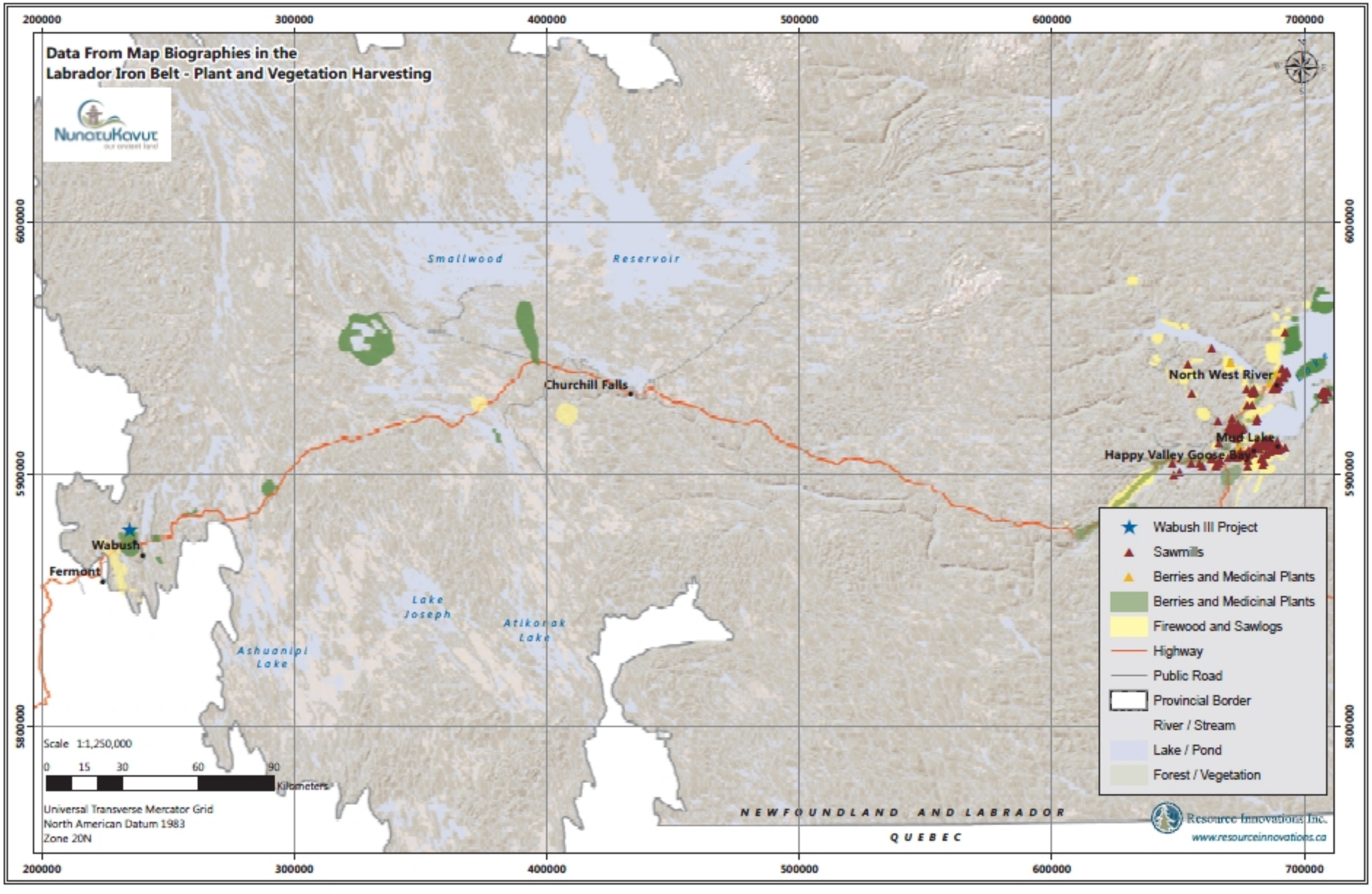

Recent Environmental Assessments on Mining in the Labrador Iron Belt
NunatuKavut
our ancient land
210000
220000
230000
240000
250000
5880000
5870000
5860000
Wabush Lake
Lac Virot
Walsh River
Labrador City
Little Wabush L.
Flora Lake
NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR
QUEBEC
Huguette Lake
Wabush
Long Lake
Wahnahnish Lake
Riordan Lake
Lac Duviault
Mills Lake
Fermont
Wabush III Project
Kami Project
Contour Line
Highway
Public Road
Power_Transmission_Line
Provincial Border
River / Stream
Forest / Vegetation
Lake / Pond
Scale 1:100,000
0 1.25 2.5 5 7.5
Kilometers
Universal Transverse Mercator Grid
North American Datum 1983
Zone 20N
Resource Innovations Inc.
www.resourceinnovations.ca


Data From Map Biographies in the
Labrador Iron Belt - Traplines and Travel Routes
NunatuKavut
our ancient land
200000
300000
400000
500000
600000
700000
6000000
5900000
5800000
Smallwood
Reservoir
Churchill Falls
North West River
Mud Lake
Happy Valley-Goose Bay
Wabush
Fermont
Lake
Joseph
Atikonak
Lake
Ashuanipi
Lake
Wabush III Project
Traplines and Travel Routes
Trapping Areas
Highway
Public Road
Provincial Border
River / Stream
Lake / Pond
Forest / Vegetation
Scale 1:1,250,000
0 15 30 60 90
Kilometers
Universal Transverse Mercator Grid
North American Datum 1983
Zone 20N
NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR
QUEBEC
Resource Innovations Inc.
www.resourceinnovations.ca


Data From Map Biographies in the Labrador Iron Belt - Hunting Areas
NunatuKavut
our ancient land
200000
300000
400000
500000
600000
700000
6000000
5900000
5800000
Smallwood
Reservoir
Churchill Falls
North West River
Mud Lake
Happy Valley Goose Bay
Wabush
Fermont
Lake Joseph
Atikonak Lake
Ashuanipi Lake
Wabush III Project
Small Game Hunting Areas
Bird Hunting Areas
Big Game Hunting Areas
Highway
Public Road
Provincial Border
River / Stream
Lake / Pond
Forest / Vegetation
Scale 1:1,250,000
0 15 30 60 90
Kilometers
Universal Transverse Mercator Grid
North American Datum 1983
Zone 20N
NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR
QUEBEC
Resource Innovations Inc.
www.resourceinnovations.ca


Data From Map Biographies in the
Labrador Iron Belt - Fishing Areas
NunatuKavut
our ancient land
200000
300000
400000
500000
600000
700000
6000000
5900000
5800000
Smallwood
Reservoir
Churchill Falls
North West River
Mud Lake
Happy Valley Goose Bay
Wabush
Fermont
Lake
Joseph
Atikonak
Lake
Ashuanipi
Lake
Scale 1:1,250,000
0 15 30 60 90
Kilometers
Universal Transverse Mercator Grid
North American Datum 1983
Zone 20N
Wabush III Project
Fishing Areas
Highway
Public Road
Provincial Border
River / Stream
Lake / Pond
Forest / Vegetation
NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR
QUEBEC
Resource Innovations Inc.
www.resourceinnovations.ca


Data From Map Biographies in the
Labrador Iron Belt - Habitation and Special Places
NunatuKavut
our ancient land
200000
300000
400000
500000
600000
700000
6000000
5900000
5800000
Smallwood
Reservoir
Churchill Falls
North West River
Mud Lake
Happy Valley-Goose Bay
Wabush
Fermont
Lake
Joseph
Atikonak
Lake
Ashuanipi
Lake
Lake
Wabush III Project
Other Places of Interest
Spiritual Sites
Burial and Birth Sites
Dwellings and Tilts
Highway
Public Road
Provincial Border
River / Stream
Lake / Pond
Forest / Vegetation
Scale 1:1,250,000
0 15 30 60 90
Kilometers
Universal Transverse Mercator Grid
North American Datum 1983
Zone 20N
NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR
QUEBEC
Resource Innovations Inc.
www.resourceinnovations.ca


Data From Map Biographies in the
Labrador Iron Belt - Plant and Vegetation Harvesting
NunatuKavut
200000
300000
400000
500000
600000
700000
6000000
5900000
5800000
Smallwood
Reservoir
Churchill Falls
North West River
Mud Lake
Happy Valley Goose Bay
Wabush
Fermont
Lake
Joseph
Atikonak
Lake
Ashuanipi
Lake
Wabush III Project
Sawmills
Berries and Medicinal Plants
Berries and Medicinal Plants
Firewood and Sawlogs
Highway
Public Road
Provincial Border
River / Stream
Lake / Pond
Forest / Vegetation
Scale 1:1,250,000
0 15 30 60 90
Kilometers
Universal Transverse Mercator Grid
North American Datum 1983
Zone 20N
NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR
QUEBEC
Resource Innovations Inc.
www.resourceinnovations.ca

Many of the responses from the present surveys show a fairly similar land use pattern to other areas of Labrador. Approximately 90% of respondents indicated that they came from a hunting/fishing/trapping family and an average of 1.9 cabins/tilts were used by the respondents who had other occupations sites (60% of respondents). This compares to an average of 4.5 occupations sites recorded previously in other areas of Labrador.[66]

People spend time on the land with their immediate family (73%), Friends (50%) and extended family (30%) and alone (30%). In previous results, primarily from the coast, only 26% travelled on the land with immediate family in almost equal percentages to travelling with extended family and with friends. Perhaps the lack of close kin groups in the Labrador Iron Belt, whereby only individual families are in close proximity to one another, not the entire community, could explain the reason why people travel mostly with their immediate family. Barriers to getting out on the land are very similar to previous studies.

Country food consumption is lower than in other areas of Labrador. Fifty three percent of the informants indicated that they consumed country foods at least once a week, as compared to 92% for other areas.[67] The answers to Question # 10 indicates consumption of very similar country foods to previous studies (see Table # 6 above).

On being asked whether respondents thought that the Wabush 3 project would have negative or positive effects on their community, 17% responded that there would be positive effects and 43% responded that there would be negative effects. The 'don't know' category was high at around 50% of respondents regarding both positive and negative effects. In terms of a disruption to their traditional activities from the Wabush 3 project, 7% claimed positive effects, 20% at 'no effects', 33% answered that there would be negative effects and the majority, 44% were in the 'don't know' category.

The comparison of outdoor and traditional activities inside and outside the project area was interesting in that all activities which are carried on inside the projected project zone are also carried on outside the project zone. This likely indicates a wide geographical area of such activities (see Table # 5). Most traditional harvesting

[66] Mitchell, 2013b
[67] Ibid.

activities (hunting, trapping, etc.), with the exception of berry picking is carried on at a higher rate outside the project area than inside the project area. At the same time, 'recreational' activities (walking, snowmobiling, skiing, snowshoeing, etc.) are conducted equally inside and outside the project area. This may be due primarily to the proximity of the project area from the towns (approximately five kilometers from the center of Labrador City and approximately ten kilometers from the center of the town of Wabush).

Conclusion

Members of NunatuKavut Community Council in the Labrador Iron Belt (158 individuals), from the sample size given, carry out all traditional activities despite living in a relatively urban environment. Country foods are consumed at a slightly lower level than other areas of Labrador and 'on-the-land' activities are also at a slightly lower level than elsewhere. The activities are, nevertheless, present and in some cases quite ubiquitous.

It is somewhat surprising that very few respondents reacted when asked about specific environmental effects from the project or whether there were further questions. As noted above only one respondent was vocal on any of these points and he indicated that there would be ; (1) changes to recreational and fundamental [sic] recreational areas of community activities, (2) dust levels [increases], (3) noise level increases, (4) green space reductions and (5) loss of habitat. His advice included; (1) "don't high grade the ore", (2) "reclaim the land to its original condition [pre-mining]", and (3) "please review Schefferville fiasco and do not let [that] happen again".

Overall, it would seem that informants are mostly unconcerned about disruptions to their traditional activities from the Wabush 3 project, given that many of the activities can be displaced to elsewhere in the area, or the negative effects could be mitigated.

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Appendix A

Wabush 3 Development Project
Issue Scoping Survey

Context

This survey is a joint initiative between the NunatuKavut Community Council (NCC) and the Iron Ore Company of Canada (IOC). The objective of this survey is to gather information on concerns you may have with respect to the potential effects of the proposed Wabush 3 project.

The information gathered with this survey is for both NCC and for IOC. IOC will use this information in the Environmental Assessment of the Wabush 3 project. Your name and personal information will remain confidential. NCC will use this information to add to the existing data base of land uses, incorporate it into the map biographies for the communities and to use as evidence to further support the Land Claim for NCC and its people.

The completion of this survey is voluntary. Upon completion, you will receive $20 for participating in this process from NCC. You have the option to do the survey orally, if you prefer.

Prior to beginning the survey, please see the attached information sheet which describes the project. If you have any questions on the Wabush 3 Project or this survey, please do not hesitate to contact IOC's contact person or NunatuKavut Community Council's Project Coordinator as follows:

Marsha Power Slade
Senior Advisor-External Relation & Corporate Affairs
Iron Ore Company of Canada
P.O. Box 86, Suite 340, Cabot Place, St. John's (NL) Canada A1C 6K6
T: 709 722-4211, C: 709 987-0650, F: 709 722-4265
marsha.power-slade@riotinto.com http://www.ironore.ca

George Russell
Environmental and Resource Manager
NunatuKavut Community Council
P.O. Box 460 Stn. C, Happy Valley-Goose Bay (NL) Canada A0P 1C0
Phone: 709-896-0592 Ext. 229
Fax: 709-896-0594
Email: grussell@nunatukavut.ca

Section 1 – Participant Profile

Gender: _____ **Date of birth:** _____

Where do you live (place of main residence)? _____

Current Occupation

- ☐ Student – detail: _____
- ☐ Permanent employment – detail: _____
- ☐ Seasonal or temporary employment – detail: _____
- ☐ Unemployed
- ☐ Other – detail: _____

Describe other work experience

_____

_____

_____

1. **<u>Section 2 – Land Use</u> In the last year, did you go out on the land?**
   - ☐ Yes
   - ☐ No (If no, skip to question 4)
   - ☐ I don't know

   If yes, what activities did you do while out on the land?

   _____

   _____

   _____

2. **In the last year, where did you go on the land and for how long?**

Location (e.g. coast, Island, etc.)	**Number of weeks**			
	Winter (January-March)	Spring (April-June)	Summer (July-September)	Fall (October-December)

3. **Does your family participate in the traditional salmon harvest?**
   - ☐ Yes
   - ☐ No

4. **Do you come from a hunting/fishing and/or trapping family?**
   - ☐ Yes
   - ☐ No

5. **Does your family own a cabin or tilt? If so, how many?**
   - ☐ Yes (How many? ___)
   - ☐ No

6. **In the last year, who did you go on the land with?** (Check all that apply)
   - ☐ Alone
   - ☐ Immediate family (parents, spouse or children)
   - ☐ Extended family
   - ☐ Friends
   - ☐ Other: _____

7. **Are there barriers (obstacles) preventing you from going on the land more often?**
   - ☐ Yes (describe the barriers: _____)
   - ☐ No
   - ☐ I don't know

8. **Do you eat traditional foods (such as wild game, fish, fowl, berries, etc., which come from the land)?**
   - ☐ Yes
   - ☐ No (If no, skip to question 9)
   - ☐ I don't know

9. If yes, how often do you eat traditional foods (wild game, fish, fowl, berries, etc.)?

- ☐ Weekly
- ☐ Monthly
- ☐ Only on special occasions
- ☐ I don't know

10. Describe the traditional foods that you eat (traditional food includes wild game, fish, fowl, berries, etc., which come from the land).

_____

_____

_____

11. Would you like to eat traditional foods more often?

- ☐ Yes (what prevents you from eating more? _____)
- ☐ No
- ☐ I don't know

<u>Section 3 –Anticipated effects of the Wabush 3</u>

12. What is the best way for you to receive information about the Wabush 3 project? (Check as many as you wish)?

- ☐ Radio
- ☐ Newsletter
- ☐ Newspaper
- ☐ Flyer
- ☐ Community meeting
- ☐ Information Sheets
- ☐ Email updates
- ☐ Website
- ☐ Other (please list) _____

13. Do you think that the Wabush 3 will have positive effects on quality of life in your community?

☐ Yes

☐ No

☐ I don't know

Please explain how:

_____

_____

_____

14. Do you think that the Wabush 3 Project will have negative effects on quality of life in your community?

☐ Yes

☐ No

☐ I don't know

Please explain how:

_____

_____

_____

15. Do you think the Wabush 3 Project will have an effect on traditional activities?

☐ Positive

☐ Negative

☐ No effect

☐ I don't know

Please explain how:

_____

_____

_____

16. Do you have advice for IOC or the NunatuKavut Community Council regarding the Wabush 3 Project?

_____

_____

_____

17. What is your main question or concern regarding the Wabush 3 Project and its potential effects (positive or negative)?

_____

_____

_____

_____

18. Please check each activity you participate in within the Wabush 3 Project Area identified on the attached map.

☐ Fishing (Speckled trout, Ounaniche, Lake trout, Northern pike, Arctic char, whitefish, smelt)

☐ Ice Fishing (Speckled trout, Ounaniche, Lake trout, Northern pike, Arctic char, whitefish, smelt)

☐ Big Game Hunting (Black bear, moose)

☐ Small Game Hunting (hare, porcupine, ptarmigan, grouse)

☐ Waterfowl Hunting (duck, geese, snipe)

☐ Berry Picking (redberry, blueberry, other)

☐ Other Harvesting (mushrooms, plants)

☐ Trapping

☐ Firewood Cutting

☐ Boating (power boating, canoeing, kayaking)

☐ Off-Trail Snowmobiling

☐ ATV Use

☐ Hiking and Walking

☐ Camping

☐ Bird Watching

☐ Geocaching

☐ Off-Trail Cross-Country Skiing

☐ Off-Trail Snowshoeing

☐ Mountain Biking

☐ Cross Country/Trail Running

☐ Other Activities

19. Please check each activity you participate in outside the Wabush 3 Project Area identified on the attached map.

☐ Fishing (Speckled trout, Ounaniche, Lake trout, Northern pike, Arctic char, whitefish, smelt)

☐ Ice Fishing (Speckled trout, Ounaniche, Lake trout, Northern pike, Arctic char, whitefish, smelt)

☐ Big Game Hunting (Black bear, moose)

☐ Small Game Hunting (hare, porcupine, ptarmigan, grouse)

☐ Waterfowl Hunting (duck, geese, snipe)

☐ Berry Picking (redberry, blueberry, other)

☐ Other Harvesting (mushrooms, plants)

☐ Trapping

☐ Firewood Cutting

☐ Boating (power boating, canoeing, kayaking)

☐ Off-Trail Snowmobiling

☐ ATV Use

☐ Hiking and Walking

☐ Camping

☐ Bird Watching

☐ Geocaching

☐ Off-Trail Cross-Country Skiing

☐ Off-Trail Snowshoeing

☐ Mountain Biking

☐ Cross Country/Trail Running

☐ Other Activities

20. Do you have any other questions or comments that you would like to share regarding the Wabush 3 Project or this survey?

21. Do you have any questions or concerns about the Wabush 3 Project in general?