

Inuit Perspectives on Caribou Management Workshop

Rankin Inlet, August 20, 2019



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Summary

On August 20, 2019 the Kangiqłiniq Hunters and Trappers Organization (K-HTO) in Rankin Inlet held a day-long workshop with four Elders: Jerome Kupaak Tattuinee, Mary-Ann Inuaraq Tattuinee, Alain Kumak Kabvitok, and Jack Tikiq Kabvitok. The focus of the workshop was Inuit perspectives on caribou management. The project was carried out by three researchers: Clayton Tartak (project leader), Ezra Greene (research consultant), and Warren Bernauer (research consultant). Interpretation services between Inuktitut and English were provided by Maggie Putulik. The project received funding from the Nunavut Wildlife Management Board's (NWMB) Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit Research Fund.

To facilitate discussion, the researchers screened videos from the Kaminuriak Caribou Herd Project: a participatory video project that documented Inuit perspectives on caribou management in the early 1980s. The videos helped stimulate conversation – they were particularly useful in generating discussion about how caribou and caribou management have changed since the 1980s.

The workshop addressed several issues relevant to caribou management today, including: traditional rules for caribou hunting, changes related to caribou since the 1980s, the impacts of mining on caribou, concerns with selling caribou meat, concerns with younger hunters not following traditional rules, the importance of teaching younger hunters traditional skills, rules, and values, and commentary on research.

The Elders indicated that they enjoyed the workshop format, especially the use of videos and recommended the researchers hold similar workshops in other communities. The results of the workshop suggest that participatory video can produce a useful repository of Inuit knowledge about caribou. However, the knowledge in these videos should not be applied to caribou management today without commentary from Inuit because the videos require interpretation by Elders and other knowledge-holders.

Background of the Kaminuriak Caribou Herd Project

The Kaminuriak Caribou Herd Project was a participatory video project conducted in the Keewatin (now Kivalliq) region in 1981. It was an important step towards including Inuit in research and decisions about wildlife management in Nunavut. Today, the videos are an important record of *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* (IQ) of caribou in the Kivalliq region. The tapes are also a useful tool in stimulating knowledge transfer and IQ research.

The Kaminuriak Video Tape Project grew out of a caribou management crisis in the late 1970s and early 1980s. The relationship between Northern Indigenous peoples and caribou biologists and managers had been contentious for a long time. The federal government's attempts to manage caribou between 1920 and 1970 were unilateral, heavy-handed, and invasive. Interventions to conserve caribou played an important role in the colonization of Inuit and Dené peoples (Kulchyski and Tester, 2007; Sandlos, 2007). One of the most infamous examples of this is the relocation of the Sayisi Dené in Northern Manitoba to curb their caribou hunting (Bussidor and Bilgen-Reinart, 1997).

In 1970, jurisdiction over caribou management and Indigenous hunting transferred from the federal government to the territories and provinces, and the Caribou Management Group was created as a forum to share information between various jurisdictions (Loo, 2017). Nevertheless, the relationship between Inuit and Dené and caribou biologists and managers continued to deteriorate throughout the 1970s. Through that decade, Inuit in the Kivalliq protested uranium exploration in the Baker Lake area, citing changing caribou migrations and disruption of hunting as a major concern. This activism culminated in the landmark 1979 court case *Hamlet of Baker Lake v. Canada (Indian Affairs and Northern Development)*, in which the Baker Lake Hamlet and Hunters and Trappers Association, with the support of Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, took the federal government and several uranium exploration companies to court. They argued that uranium exploration was violating their aboriginal rights by disrupting Inuit caribou hunting. At the trial, government biologists argued that uranium exploration was not having a significant impact on caribou and that any changes to caribou were due to Inuit and other Indigenous peoples hunting too many caribou. The judge issued a mixed decision – he recognized Aboriginal title but allowed uranium exploration to continue (McPherson, 2003; Bernauer, 2015).

The relationship between Indigenous communities and biologists and managers further soured after a 1979 population survey showed a significant decline in the Qamanirjuaq caribou herd (Dickinson and Herman cited in Riewe and Gamble, 1988). Biologists blamed Inuit and Dené hunters for the alleged decline. Inuit hunters contested the results of the surveys, arguing that their methods were flawed and that they had missed many caribou in their counts. The Keewatin Wildlife Federation (now Kivalliq Wildlife Board), representing seven HTOs in the region, was established in October 1980 as a means to exert Inuit input into wildlife management (Riewe and Gamble, 1988). According to Inuit hunters, the caribou had not declined but instead had changed their migration routes due to mineral exploration. By this point, several Inuit and Dené groups refused to participate in consultations about caribou management because of a complete lack of trust in government biologists (Thomas and Schaefer, 1991; Stiles, 1984; Loo, 2017).

In response to this situation, the Department of Indian Affairs commissioned Donald Snowden to produce a participatory video project with the goal of facilitating communication between Inuit and caribou biologists and managers. Snowden had previously helped pioneer the use of participatory video as a method of conflict resolution in the 1960s through a project on Fogo Island in Newfoundland that used video to help residents who were facing relocation communicate with officials from the Government of Newfoundland. The final resolution in this situation prevented the relocation from occurring. Snowden's 'Fogo method' is remembered in film studies as a landmark in the development of participatory film (Corneil, 2012; Plush, 2016; Boni *et al.*, 2017; Crocker, 2003).

Snowden hired Lorne Kusugak, from Rankin Inlet, to coordinate the Kaminuriak Caribou Herd Project and to edit, narrate, and translate the videos. Kusugak had worked as a reporter for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) since the 1970s and was an early advocate for Inuit filmmaking. Notably, he was a founding director of the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation (IBC). Today, Kusugak is a politician elected to the Government of Nunavut's Legislative Assembly.

Snowden and Kusugak made 33 videos with 25 Inuit Elders, hunters, and youth as well as 5 caribou biologists and managers (see Appendix A for a list of all videos). In addition to Kusugak, Inuit were involved in the project as community-based interviewers, including Paul Kurkwa, Rhoda Karetak, Ollie Ittinuar, and John Killulark. The first video in the series provides an overview of the entire project. Interviews touched on many issues, including traditional uses of caribou, the value of Inuit knowledge for caribou management, changes in hunting practices through time, causes of caribou mortality, impacts of the mining industry on caribou, the importance of working together, and biologists' arguments about why they believed the Qamanirjuaq caribou herd was declining. Inuit living in Arviat, Rankin Inlet, Baker Lake, and Whale Cove participated in the project. The lived experience of the participants included time spent on the land around these communities as well as on Southampton Island, the land north of Chesterfield Inlet near Qatiktalik (Cape Fullerton), and the Garry Lake region on the Back River.

The biologists and wildlife managers were also provided an opportunity to discuss their concerns on video. They expressed a desire to work with Inuit but reiterated their claim that the Qamanirjuaq herd was rapidly declining because of over-hunting. After the films were recorded and edited, they were shown to the interviewees so that they could suggest any changes or remove statements from the films. Upon finalization, the videos were then screened in Inuit communities to help initiate public discussion about caribou management.

The Kaminuriak Caribou Herd Project was an important early step in the involvement of Inuit in wildlife management and research. By helping establish communication between Inuit and biologists and managers, it helped lead to the founding of the Beverly and Qamanirjuaq Caribou Management Board (BQCMB) in 1982 (*Inuktitut Magazine*, 1982; Iglaur, 1984; Loo, 2016; also see: Usher, 1993; Kendrick, 2000). The BQCMB was the first caribou co-management board in North America. It includes members from Inuit, Dené, and Métis communities and wildlife organizations in Nunavut, the Northwest Territories, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba as well as government representatives from all of these jurisdictions. In many regards, the BQCMB was a forerunner to the co-management regimes that are enshrined in land claims agreements and legislation today, and the Board presently continues to meet annually and provide a role in caribou management issues in northern Canada.

Today, the videos produced for the Kaminuriak Caribou Herd Project are a valuable repository for Inuit knowledge of caribou. However, the videos were made for a distinct purpose (to establish communication between Inuit and managers and biologists) in a very different context (a caribou management crisis when Inuit had no formal involvement in management processes). As such, the videos should not be used as is, but instead require interpretation and explanation from Elders and knowledge holders before they can be applied to caribou management today.

The Workshop

“We used to be filmed before when film crews came, but nothing ever came of them. We used to have dog teams, and I used to work harder with them, but nothing ever showed up from what we shot. But this will be better because it will be seen. It will be useful to the Inuit. I’m sure the Inuit will have more discussions after seeing these tapes.”

– Ollie Ittinuar, Kaminuriak Caribou Herd Project

Ittinuar’s words from the first video in the Kaminuriak Caribou Herd Project demonstrate that a major purpose of these videos was to have Inuit watch and discuss them. The research team decided to do this 38 years after they had originally been created. Working with the support of the K-HTO’s Board of Directors, the research team worked to acquire funding from NWMB’s Inuit Qaujimagatuqangit Research Fund, planned and coordinated the project, and invited participants to the workshop between January and August of 2019.

The workshop ran from 9am-5pm on August 20, 2019, with a one-hour break for lunch. Four Elders attended and were present throughout the entire day: Jerome Kupaak Tattuinee, Mary-Ann Inuarq Tattuinee, Alain Kumak Kabvitok, and Jack Tikiq Kabvitok. Three other community members were invited to participate but could not attend due to other obligations. Andrew Akerolik (K-HTO Manager) also participated. Clayton Tartak (project leader), Ezra Greene (research consultant), and Warren Bernauer (research consultant) facilitated the workshop, and Maggie Putulik provided interpretation services.

At the beginning of the day, the participants all participated in a consent process. The research team described the purpose of the project, the study procedure of watching videos and discussing them while being audio recorded, the data collection and storage methods, the potential risk that the videos might cause some feelings of sadness and nostalgia, the freedom to stop participating at any time if wanted, the option to be identified or remain anonymous in publications, and the honorarium that would be provided. All of the Elders provided verbal consent to be audio recorded, be identified in publications, and to participate in the project. They were given the option to place restrictions on the use of the workshop material if wanted, but no restrictions were created.

After finishing the consent process, the workshop followed a general pattern of showing one or two videos related to certain themes: Education and Youth, Cultural Uses of Caribou and Stories, Impacts of Mining, and Co-Management and Changing Ways of Hunting. The facilitators screened ten videos from the Kaminuriak Caribou Herd Project:

- Louis Angalik – “Its good to teach the youth to hunt”
- Arsene Angalik – “Thoughts of a youth”
- Joan Attuat – “My grandparents taught me”
- Joe Curley – “There was no management”
- Joe Patterk – “Patterk’s story”
- Mike Kusugak – “Mining and caribou protection”

- Donald Suluk – “Inuit have always been with the caribou”
- Barnabas Peryour – “We want them to use our knowledge”
- Thomas Siatalak – “Hunting them then and now”
- Felix Pissuk, Joe Nattar, Joe Patterk, and Pierre Nipisar – “Four men talk about caribou”

After watching the videos, the group discussed them and had conversations about contemporary aspects of the theme under consideration. The Elders commented on the content of the films and answered questions from the researchers and K-HTO staff. A handful of questions were pre-written in preparation for the discussions, but there was an openness to the flow of conversation and unplanned questions were also asked in the moment. Also, conversations would build off of what one person said and another person would add to their comments. The research team wanted the discussions to be enjoyable and natural, and this was achieved.

The discussions throughout the day were audio recorded with two recording devices, notes were written, and photographs of the group were taken. This data belongs to the K-HTO as the organization that ran the project, and any use of the audio recordings, transcriptions, and photographs has to be approved by the K-HTO.

Coffee and tea breaks were provided at different times throughout the day, and the research team shared mikku (dried caribou), doughnuts, and other snacks with the participants. Many of the notebooks that the participants were given ended up being used as cutting boards.

At the end of the day, the Elders indicated that they enjoyed themselves and encouraged the researchers to organize further workshops. They said that they thought the small group and the videos created a useful setting for productive discussion and teaching younger people.

Key Themes and Lessons

The workshop included discussion of several issues that are relevant to wildlife management today, which are elaborated upon throughout this section.

Traditional Rules for Caribou Hunting

Even just recently, we came across carcasses that were on the lake and near the streams, but it was too dangerous to get them out because the ice was already too thin. It really bothers me to see what is just being left on the lakes and on the land. Before, traditionally, we would bury the skins if they were not good for making clothes or whatever was not going to be used.¹

– Alain Kumak Kabvitok

The Elders discussed several traditional rules regarding caribou that they were taught as children:

¹ The English translations provided in this report are the on-the-fly translations from the workshop. Future reports may have more complete translations of quoted material.

- Do not hunt the lead group of caribou in a migration. Tattuinee said his father used to wait three days after the migration arrived before hunting any caribou. If the lead group is disturbed, it can cause the herd to scatter and change its migration route, making it very difficult to hunt. If the leaders are left alone, the rest will follow their normal migratory paths.
- Do not waste meat. The Elders said that as children they used every part of the caribou – meat, skins, bones, etc.
- Keep migratory paths clean, remove carcasses and any other waste.
- Do not leave caribou remains on lakes.
- Do not chase or harass caribou; running too much can spoil the meat.
- Tikiq and Tattuinee both agreed with a comment made by Donald Suluk in the videos that smaller herds are more prone to being disturbed and should be approached cautiously.

Changes in caribou since the 1980s

The Elders discussed several changes in caribou since the videos were made in the 1980s. There are fewer caribou in the area today in general. It is unclear if they have declined or have simply changed their migration routes. Caribou change their migratory routes periodically when an area runs out of lichen (food). There are also several sources of disturbance that might be causing caribou to change their migration routes and avoid the area:

- Younger hunters not following traditional rules,
- Low-flying aircrafts,
- Roads and traffic associated with mining.

The Elders also explained that caribou are not as sensitive to disturbance as they used to be. They seem to have adapted to some types of disturbance. For example, when Inuit first began to use snowmobiles, caribou would be very scared of the noise. Today, they no longer react so intensely. Caribou also adapted to blasting at the Rankin Inlet Nickel Mine. When the Nickel Mine first opened, the blasting scared caribou away from the area. A few years later they adapted and came back.

Tattuinee said that caribou and fox sometimes cross from the mainland to Southampton Island near the Naujaat area because the ice can freeze over Roes Welcome Sound at that spot. Tattuinee has heard that there are very small caribou on Southampton Island that are crossing from the mainland. It is believed these are Peary caribou. He said that he heard once at a conference on caribou that these small caribou should be killed right away if they are seen, but he did not know the reasons for this. Tikiq said that he has also seen small caribou near his cabin on the Pangnirtuuq Peninsula. Those caribou seemed to not know where to cross the river like the regular herds that migrate through the area.

Inuarq said that the gravel-like terrain on much of Southampton Island makes it difficult for caribou to feed, which likely causes them to dwindle in numbers at times.

Impacts of Mining

I am speaking as an Elder because you want to hear from an Elder. I would like to see no mining activities happening on calving grounds. That has to be protected. The calving grounds have to be identified so that no mining activities will ever happen in those areas. It has to be on the map. It has to be shown on the map where mining companies cannot touch. We all know that Agnico Eagle Mines closes the mine when the migration is coming through. I would like to see the calving grounds closed from any mining activities. The companies must know by now that these areas are important to Inuit.

– Mary-Ann Inuaraq Tattuinee

The Elders discussed the impacts of mining on caribou.

The negative impacts of the Rankin Inlet Nickle Mine were a common theme. The Elders noted that there were very few caribou in the area when the mine went into operation, probably because of blasting. However, the caribou eventually got used to the noise and came back. Tikiq also complained that the mining company dumped garbage on the sea, which would cause wolves to congregate in the area.

The impacts of mineral exploration, especially low-flying aircraft, was also an important topic. Inuaraq shared recent stories of witnessing helicopters ignoring regulations by flying low and/or landing near big groups of caribou. Several community members in Rankin Inlet have also brought up this concern with the K-HTO, and ensuring that aircrafts follow altitude restrictions is a serious concern. It is important that an effective enforcement system be developed that includes Inuit observations of infractions, as people traveling on the land are often the ones to see low-flying aircrafts.

The impacts of the Meliadine mine were also discussed. The Elders suggested that road traffic associated with the mine might be partially responsible for the decline in caribou in the area. The Elders also noted that the mine road provides easy access for young hunters who do not always follow traditional rules and might be part of the disturbance.

The Elders discussed issues with consultation between Inuit and the mining industry. When the Rankin Inlet Nickel Mine went into production, there was no consultation with Inuit what-so-ever. Today, the government and mining industry consult with Elders. However, sometimes they ignore Elders' advice. For example, the Elders suggested a different route for the Meliadine access road, but the company did not listen.

The Elders raised concerns with monitoring and enforcement of mining activities. Some Elders were concerned that the Kivalliq Inuit Association is not effectively monitoring and enforcing regulations. One Elder suggested that KIA is in a conflict of interest because of the royalties it receives from mining, and that the HTO's should be given the responsibility for monitoring and enforcement instead.

The question of caribou habitat protection was addressed during the meeting. Tikiq and Inuaraq said they would not support a mine in caribou calving grounds. Inuaraq recommended that Inuit work together to create a protected area around the caribou calving grounds that is totally closed to mining and mineral exploration and emphasized that this should be clear on a map so that mining companies know where they cannot work. Inuit need to exercise control over their traditional country and keep mining companies out of the calving grounds, just like the federal government and RCMP used to regulate and control Inuit hunting.

I remember as a child growing up near Chesterfield that there were restrictions on catching caribou, and the RCMP didn't want any hunting caribou at that time. Even though sometimes we would be hungry or short of meat. There were even restrictions on getting ground squirrels. I feel that restrictions should apply to mining companies too, around calving areas.

– Jack Tikiq Kabvitok

Selling Caribou

I think nowadays that there is a lot of hunting going on for caribou meat to be sold because there is a high demand for caribou from other regions... There's too much meat being sold. At one point, the airline had a backup for meat to be sent out to another region. That's how much meat is being sold from this region to another region.

– Mary-Ann Inuaraq Tattuinee

I don't like it, myself, I don't support the idea. The animals were put here to feed people but not to sell. I really don't like that they are being sold online or in town.

– Jerome Kupaak Tattuinee

I do not like that they are being sold locally either. Sometimes I hear on the local radio about caribou being for sale. Some Elders would like some meat, but they cannot afford to pay for meat.

– Alain Kumak Kabvitok

The Elders' expressed concerns with the sale of caribou meat, both locally and to other communities. They said that people in Rankin Inlet are hunting a lot more caribou today because they can sell it to other regions. Coastal Inuit did not hunt as much caribou historically as inland Inuit. There is too much meat being sold.

The Elders also expressed moral and ethical concerns with the sale of caribou meat. Tattuinee said that animals were put here to feed people, not to sell for money. Elders used to be given meat for free. Now that it is being sold for money, they cannot afford to buy it. Elders and others who may not have the means to hunt often do not have any meat because sharing meat has become less common.

Younger Hunters

I support the youth that go hunting because I want them to learn. I want them to learn to be hunters, but I want them to be aware of things they should be aware of so that they are not restricted (from hunting) in the future.

– Jack Tikiq Kabvitok

The Elders were concerned that younger hunters do not always follow traditional rules. They have observed young Inuit hunting the lead group in a migration. They have even seen some hunters chasing caribou with ATVs, potentially driving them in the wrong direction. The presence of additional roads makes it easier for hunters to get to the lead group of caribou quickly. They were worried that this could be one of the contributing factors that have led to the changes they have observed in caribou such as less caribou reaching the areas around Chesterfield Inlet and Aulatsivik, a point of land on the Baker Foreland. Tikiq said that when a caribou has been chased too long before it is killed the meat does not taste good.

Elders have also found meat left behind on the land. Some have found carcasses left on frozen lakes in the winter. They explained that this was very upsetting because wasting meat and leaving carcasses on frozen lakes contradicts the rules and values they were taught as children. They said the K-HTO should be involved with teaching youth these types of rules and values.

Education

I watched my father hunting caribou as a youth. When there was amirait (really big caribou herds), you could here them walking, noise for many days. There would be caribou passing by for many days, and you could hear them. And even if my father took a shot and put one down, the rest of the herd wouldn't be bothered. They would just keep going, keep moving, even walking over the dead caribou that my father had caught. We waited for three days of the caribou walking before we started hunting. My father would wait for the third day and then hunt after the lead caribou had walked by. We would watch and observe them when they first came. My father used to tell me that there would always be an abundance of caribou and that the herd was never going to be gone completely. The caribou would go to different areas to feed. When they're going to a different area to feed, they might not be seen.

– Jerome Kupaak Tattuinee

Tikiq noted that Louis Angalik's style of educating students in the videos was to teach them to be aware of their surroundings: to be aware of the caribou, the land, everything. He said that when their generation grew up, they were taught to be aware when there was scarcity of caribou. The Elders explained that, as youth, they learned by observing their parents. Their parents taught them how to hunt safely, responsibly, carefully, and respectfully. They learned where the crossings and migration routes are located and traditional rules to avoid disturbing migration routes. Tattuinee explained that he watched his father hunting caribou as a youth. His father

would wait three days for the lead part of the herd to pass by before he would start hunting. At this point, when his father shot a caribou, the rest of the herd would keep moving past it. The importance of letting the leaders pass was reiterated by all of the Elders many times.

The Elders were concerned that some hunters today are not getting a proper education in traditional methods, rules, and values regarding hunting. They explained that they want the youth to learn to be proper hunters. All of the Elders supported the K-HTO's young hunters program, which allows Kangiqłinirmiut youth to hunt and learn with experienced hunters appointed by the HTO. Inuaraq recommended the K-HTO use video and social media to engage the youth, stating that her daughter had posted a video of her making pipsi (dried fish) on social media, which CBC also published, and it received a lot of likes and comments. Since younger people spend so much time on social media, it is important to engage them in this way as a form of education.

There are many ways to prepare caribou skins, such as clothing, and multiple uses for skins that can be taught. The Elders emphasized that respecting traditional Inuit hunting values will contribute to caribou being available for everyone and reduce the likelihood of imposed hunting restriction in the future.

Wildlife Research

In 1962, Tikiq said that he worked with Peryour and Iqqaq and a group of biologists to get 100 caribou heads and clean them for biological samples. The biologists also transported some caribou to Southampton Island via helicopter and net. Tikiq said that because he was involved with the research, he did not have issues with the project. He also noted that he was "young" at the time. It is important that Inuit are part of research.

Inuaraq said that she did not remember caribou being transported to Southampton Island in 1962, but she remembered in 1967 some caribou were tranquilized at Coats Island and transported to Southampton Island. Inuit did not want to harvest the caribou that had been tranquilized. People were hesitant to hunt them because of the tranquilization.

Tattuinee said that caribou move from feeding ground to feeding ground, and it is important that sometimes caribou will not be around because they have moved to a different area. This is something that biologists need to be aware of when they do their surveys.

Conclusion and Future Work

The research team was honoured to spend the day with the Elders who participated in the *Inuit Perspectives on Caribou Management* workshop and learned a tremendous amount about caribou and Inuit relationships with caribou. Everyone involved contributed to a very interesting day of conversation, and the lessons learned from the Elders will be provided to the K-HTO so that the HTO can draw on this workshop for their contributions to the management of caribou, land use planning, and industrial development projects.

The Elders also expressed appreciation for the workshop being convened by the K-HTO. They encouraged the research team to do similar workshops with Elders in other communities. This is work that the team plans to carry out in the future.

In addition to this report, the research team may also create future presentations and peer-reviewed publications based on the conversations and lessons learned in the workshop. The K-HTO has to provide permission for this happen and will be centrally involved with any future use of this material.

I appreciate all of what happened today because I knew what the discussions were about and what was being discussed. I encourage you to make this happen in other communities. I am grateful.

– Jerome Kupaak Tattuinee

We enjoyed the day. It will be useful to people... I encourage the younger people to make an effort to ask the Elders while they are still around because they have a lot to share. We have knowledge and experience to share, and if youth have any questions or need answers to some questions, please ask the Elders.

– Jack Tikiq Kabvitok

Appendix A – List of Videos

Introduction/Overview

- 010-0021 Overview of Project, “Kaminuriak – Caribou in Crisis”
Key Themes: Importance of caribou to Inuit culture; Methodology; Project team

Videos of Inuit

- 010-0022 Thomas Siatalak, “Hunting them then and now” (Arviat)
Key Themes: Hunting changes through time; Hunting at river crossings; Causes of caribou mortality
- 010-0023 Joe Curley, “There was no management” (Arviat)
Key Themes: Caribou extirpation on Southampton Island in 1950s; Lack of management system for hunting; Migrations
- 010-0024 Joe Curley, “If we all got together” (Arviat)
Key Themes: Need for better local management of hunting; Local people need to be informed; Importance of working together
- 010-0025 Louis Angalik, “Its good to teach the youth to hunt” (Arviat)
Key Themes: Youth education; Traditional hunting values
- 010-0026 Arsene Angalik, “Thoughts of a youth” (Arviat)
Key Themes: Youth perspective; Impacts of motorized vehicles; Traditional hunting values; Population changes
- 010-0027 Elizabeth Aulajut, “We didn’t leave anything behind” (Arviat)
Key Themes: Skin working and sewing; Hunting changes through time; Hunting at river crossings; Use of caribou parts; Traditional hunting values
- 010-0028 David Alaralak, “David’s idea” (Arviat)
Key Themes: Population changes; Impacts of motorized vehicles; Importance of working together
- 010-0029 Donald Suluk, “Inuit have always been with the caribou” (Arviat)
Key Themes: Hunting changes through time; Uses of caribou parts; Impacts of wolf predation; Impacts of industrial development; Migrations; Living on the land

- 010-0030 Felix Pissuk, Joe Nattar, Joe Patterk, and Pierre Nipisar, “Four men talk about caribou” (Rankin Inlet)
Key Themes: Population changes; Impacts of wolf predation; Ammunition usage through time; Hunting changes through time; Migrations; Causes of caribou mortality; Impacts of motorized vehicles; Impacts of industrial development
- 010-0031 Philip Hakaluk, “The way it seems to me” (Rankin Inlet)
Key Themes: Traditional songs and dances; Migrations; Population changes; Impacts of industrial development; Need to involve Inuit in management; Importance of working together
- 010-0032 Louis Pilakapsi, “I have seen it myself” (Rankin Inlet)
Key Themes: Migrations; Hunting changes through time; Ammunition usage through time; Population changes; Need to involve Inuit in management; Importance of working together
- 010-0033 Mike Kusugak, “If we try to understand each other” (Rankin Inlet)
Key Themes: Importance of working together; Need to involve Inuit in management; Errors in scientific studies; Traditional hunting values; Importance of caribou to Inuit culture
- 010-0034 Mike Kusugak, “Mining and caribou protection” (Rankin Inlet)
Key Themes: Regulating industrial development; Impacts of industrial development; Importance of working together
- 010-0035 Andy Aliyak, “It would be good if we worked together” (Rankin Inlet)
Key Themes: Causes of caribou mortality; Importance of working together
- 010-0036 Joe Patterk, “Patterk’s Story” (Rankin Inlet)
Key Themes: Hunting story
- 010-0037 “Song and Dances” (Rankin Inlet)
Key Themes: Traditional songs and dances
- 010-0038 Barnabas Peryour, “We want them to use our knowledge” (Baker Lake)
Key Themes: Importance of working together; History of work with biologists; Migrations; Traditional knowledge of caribou herds; Non-disturbance of river crossings

- 010-0039 Barnabas Peryour, “We catch a lot less than before” (Baker Lake)
Key Themes: Hunting changes through time; Impacts of industrial development; Impacts of motorized vehicles; Uses of caribou parts; Causes of caribou mortality; Impacts of wolf predation
- 010-0040 Thomas Tapatai, “Inuit are different” (Baker Lake)
Key Themes: Hunting changes through time; Living on the land; Non-disturbance of river crossings; Traditional hunting values; Migrations; Population changes; Need to involve Inuit in management
- 010-0041 Lucy Kaunak, “We used it all” (Baker Lake)
Key Themes: Uses of caribou parts; Skin working and sewing; Caribou skin clothing; Population changes; Hunting changes through time
- 010-0042 Timothy Kiligvaag, “My father taught me” (Baker Lake)
Key Themes: Hunting changes through time; Living on the land; Migrations
- 010-0043 Edwin Evo, “I wanted to learn” (Baker Lake)
Key Themes: Youth perspective; Importance of working together; Migrations; Hunting changes through time; Impacts of motorized vehicles; Impacts of industrial development; Living on the land
- 010-0044 John Killulark, “We also know many things about caribou” (Baker Lake)
Key Themes: Hunting changes through time; Migrations; Errors in scientific studies; Impacts of industrial development; Population changes; Importance of working together; Need to involve Inuit in management; Non-disturbance of river crossings; Traditional hunting values
- 010-0045 Martha Talirug, (Songs) (Baker Lake)
Key Themes: Traditional songs
- 010-0046 Joan Attuat “My grandparents taught me” (Whale Cove)
Key Themes: Skin working and sewing; Youth education; Caribou skin clothing; Uses of caribou parts; Migrations; Hunting changes through time
- 010-0047 Pierre and Elizabeth Okalik, “Pierre and Elizabeth talk about the past” (Whale Cove)
Key Themes: Skin working and sewing; Caribou skin clothing; Hunting changes through time; Traditional hunting values; Uses of caribou parts; Population changes; Migrations

Videos of Biologists

- 010-0048 Steve Kearney, “Steve Kearney talks about the range, predators, and tagging”
Key Themes: Population changes; Migrations; Impacts of wolf predation; Tagging and collaring
- 010-0049 Steve Kearney & Rich Goulden, “We respect the views of others”
Key Themes: Caribou management; Importance of working together; Importance of community consultation
- 010-0050 Cormack Gates, “We certainly don’t know everything”
Key Themes: Biological knowledge of caribou herds; Tagging and collaring; Importance of community consultation; Population changes; Migrations; Importance of working together
- 010-0051 Cormack Gates, “Hunters and biologists want the same things”
Key Themes: Population surveys; Population changes; Migrations
- 010-0052 Doug Heard, “The herd is still declining”
Key Themes: Population changes; Impacts of hunting; Impacts of wolf predation; Importance of community consultation; Impacts of industrial development; Tagging and collaring; Importance of working together
- 010-0053 Don Thomas, “More hunters, better access, fewer caribou”
Key Themes: Caribou management; Population changes; Impacts of hunting

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