ARCTIC
VOL. 71, NO. 1 (MARCH 2018) P. S1–S10
https://doi.org/10.14430/arctic4697

Iqaluktutiaq Voices: Local Perspectives on the Importance of Muskoxen, Contemporary and Traditional Use and Practices

Matilde Tomaselli[1,2] S. Craig Gerlach,[3] Susan J. Kutz,[1,4] Sylvia L. Checkley[1,5] and the Community of Iqaluktutiaq[6]

APPENDIX S1. Interview guide used during the individual interviews with study participants from the community of Iqaluktutiaq (Victoria Island, Nunavut, Canada).

INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW Interview #:_____

Date: _____

Hello! Thank you for agreeing to be interviewed. As you already know the purpose of this study is to collect traditional and local knowledge about muskoxen in order to inform a program for monitoring muskox health. Here I have an outline of questions I would like to ask you. And I will take some notes during our conversation. Feel free to add any comments whenever you wish. Can we start?

First of all I would like to record some **general information**.

Interviewee Inuit non-Inuit

Elder non-Elder

Hunter Outfitter Other(s): _____

Active hunter Yes No

Gender Male Female

Age _____ years old

1) Are you part of the HTO? Yes No

2) Where were you born?

3) How many years have you lived in this community? _____ years

4) Do you hunt/handle muskoxen? Yes No

Probes, if hunt:

i) When did you start to hunt muskoxen?

ii) What kind of hunts do you participate in?

Subsistence community sport commercial

[1] Department of Ecosystem and Public Health, Faculty of Veterinary Medicine, University of Calgary, 3280 Hospital Drive NW, Calgary, Alberta T2N 4Z6, Canada
[2] Corresponding author: matilde.tomaselli@ucalgary.ca
[3] Department of Anthropology and Archaeology, Faculty of Arts, University of Calgary, 2500 University Drive NW, Calgary, Alberta T2N 1N4, Canada
[4] Canadian Wildlife Health Cooperative, Alberta Regional Centre, Faculty of Veterinary Medicine, University of Calgary, 3280 Hospital Drive NW, Calgary, Alberta T2N 4Z6, Canada
[5] Alberta Provincial Laboratory for Public Health, 3030 Hospital Drive NW, Calgary, Alberta T2N 4W4, Canada
[6] Cambridge Bay, Nunavut X0B 0C0, Canada

iii) How many animals per year? When do you hunt?

Subsistence	# _____	when _____
Community	# _____	when _____
Sport	# _____	when _____
Commercial	# _____	when _____

iv) What kind of muskox do you hunt?

Subsistence	type of animal:	adult	young	calf	male	female
Community	type of animal:	adult	young	calf	male	female
Sport	type of animal:	adult	young	calf	male	female
Commercial	type of animal:	adult	young	calf	male	female

Probes, if handle:

i) When did you start to handle muskoxen?

ii) Who hunts the muskoxen that you handle? Which type of hunts do these muskoxen come from?

Subsistence community sport commercial

iii) How many muskoxen do you handle per year? And when?

Subsistence	# _____	when _____
Community	# _____	when _____
Sport	# _____	when _____
Commercial	# _____	when _____

iv) What kind of muskoxen do you handle?

Subsistence	type of animal:	adult	young	calf	male	female
Community	type of animal:	adult	young	calf	male	female
Sport	type of animal:	adult	young	calf	male	female
Commercial	type of animal:	adult	young	calf	male	female

5) What do you do after you hunt a muskox?
How do you process the carcass in the field and what do you leave out on the land?

Now, I would like to talk to you about what **muskoxen mean for your community**.

1. Are muskoxen important for you and your community? Yes No
Probes: Why are important? Why not?

2. Were muskoxen important in the same way in the past? Yes No
Probe: If no, why not?

Now, I would like to talk to you about your **food habits**.

1. Do you eat country food/food from the land? Yes No
Proportional piling (present vs. past-childhood)

2. Which types?
Proportional piling (present and ask if changed from the past and how, why)

3. How do you store muskox meat?

4. What part of the muskox do you eat? How? Cooked Frozen Dried Other(s): _____

Now, I would like to talk to you about your **concerns about muskoxen**.

1. Do you have any concerns related to muskoxen? Yes No
   Probe: If yes , what are they?

   Do you have any concerns about butchering, handling or eating muskox meat? Yes No
   Probe: If yes, what are they?

(The interview guide continues with other questions to capture participants' observations on muskox health and ecology. The additional questions are provided in Tomaselli et al., 2018: Appendix A, and the data gathered are summarized in the same paper.)

APPENDIX S2. Selected quotes from study participants from the community of Iqaluktutiaq (Victoria Island, Nunavut, Canada) offering conjoint perspectives on the importance of muskoxen and the impact of their decline.

Interviewee	Theme	Quote
Interviewee 03 Inuk Elder Non-active hunter Female, 64 years old	Sociocultural value (aesthetic value and psychophysical well-being)	"I miss their presence out there, because I love watching them. You know, spring comes and we used to watch the muskox head butting because they are going after the same female…I used to see them so close to Cambridge Bay, but [now] they are gone further away…I hope to see them before winter comes again…when you don't see muskox it is kind of lonely. It is lonely when you don't see part of your animals that roam close by your community"
Interviewee 05 Inuk Elder Female, 84 years old	Nutritional value (food security)	"Muskox have always been our meat, an important source of food that we used to share with families. Muskox were always there also when other foods were scarce; but now muskox are scarce!"
Interviewee 11 Inuk hunter Male, 51 years old	Economic value (community employment and revenue)	"I think for the community muskox is important because it employed hunters, haulers, and abattoir workers when they had the muskox harvest…and I say had because they haven't had the muskox harvest for about two years, three years now I think. Kitikmeot Foods used to have an annual muskox harvest so they could process hamburger, stew meat, jerky, whatever they could process at the meat plant here. But in the last couple of years it's been harder to find muskox close to the community"
Interviewee 12 Non-Inuk hunter Male, 59 years old	Sociocultural value (aesthetic value)	"…live muskox themselves [are a value]! Before…you could see muskox just across the bay here….to the tower and where the old stone church is [you could see muskoxen] regularly, and if you took a quad from Cambridge Bay up to Mount Pelly you could see lots of muskox, or if you took a quad from Cambridge Bay out to the gravel pit you would often see muskox. That [having muskoxen] was a bit of a draw because people would come here just to see muskox and you could just quad or ride a bike and see some… [Now] we don't have the presence of muskox close to town the way we were used to…but [in the past, when there were lots of muskoxen around] it was quite nice, people used to love to come here to see muskox… I have camped with people at Grainer Lake and it was just nice to camp with a few local families and the kids and we would take a walk to see some muskox just on a side of a pond. So we enjoyed them, but it was definitely people visiting Cambridge Bay who would say "Oh, can we get a ride out to Mount Pelly to see some muskox?" So it was both local people enjoying seeing muskox and of course people from out of town who had never seen one and were thrilled if they'd see one… [But now] we don't have the presence of muskox close to town the way we were used to…Personally I will never get tired of seeing muskox. They look so nice and they have such a nice temperament…I found they are very, very nice animals!"
Interviewee 14 Inuk hunter Male, 42 years old	Sociocultural value (aesthetic value)	"… This week it was the first time I have seen muskoxen [nearby my cabin] and we were used to see them pretty consistently [before]. It was great to see something out on the land. It was great!"
Interviewee 15 Inuk hunter Male, 37 years old	Nutritional value (food security)	"I really cut down the number of muskox I hunt per year now, because we have to go really far away to hunt muskox and I just lost the interest in hunting them: hauling them back for 45–50 miles can be pretty tough…I just have a quad I don't have a skidoo!"
Interviewee 15 Inuk hunter Male, 37 years old	Sociocultural value (intergenerational connection)	"I have learned from Elders that muskox are important and I am the next [generation] after the Elders…It is important that younger generations try to keep the tradition, but muskox herds are dwindling"
Interviewee 17 Non-Inuk resident Male, 49 years old	Transition from importance to concern	"There is no question that people have been noticing a decline in the population [of muskoxen]. We used to have muskoxen and there were times when you could see them walking on the airport roads…that's how many they were in this area. I think that they were important to people before the decline in the population…now I think people are more concerned about where they are gone and what happened to them"
Interviewee 21 non-Inuk summer resident (pilot) Male, 61 years old	Economic value (community revenue and business opportunities)	"Muskox represent 40 to 50% of my revenue…it is important for the economy and business…last year there was a fairly big change from the previous years and this year was a massive change [description of muskox decline] … you know next year I am thinking to cancel the muskox hunts or reduce them a lot because I don't feel comfortable having clients coming from far away and not having muskox around"

APPENDIX S2. Selected quotes from study participants from the community of Iqaluktutiaq (Victoria Island, Nunavut, Canada) offering conjoint perspectives on the importance of muskoxen and the impact of their decline – *continued*:

Interviewee	Theme	Quote
Interviewee 23 Inuk hunter Male, 48 years old	Sociocultural value (aesthetic value)	"It is nice to see them [muskoxen] out there. The land looks kind of empty without muskoxen"
Interviewee 25 Inuk hunter Male, 56 years old	Nutritional value (food security)	"It [the muskox] is very important to us, because: what other meat sources do we have besides caribou? ...Maybe they [muskoxen] were the only source of meat before caribou really started coming around to the island. It was quite long ago, probably in the 60s…I don't know how the [muskox] population is now, because you rarely see them, you would be lucky to see them now…It is getting harder to get country food. You know, we are starting now to lose our animals and we probably won't have more muskox pretty soon, that's what I think…And also our caribou [have] disappeared…One year we didn't really see muskox around, we were traveling around everywhere and we didn't see any muskox…I think it was three years ago, and other people were talking about it too…so we didn't hunt muskox that one year"
Interviewee 26 Inuk Elder Male, 60 years old	Sociocultural value (Inuit culture and tradition)	"In the past they [muskoxen] were part of the tradition…but now the young generation is losing the tradition…they don't know how to hunt and consume them properly…both muskox and caribou….and it hurts [me] to see that"
Interviewee 26 Inuk Elder Male, 60 years old	Nutritional value (food safety) and health concern	"There is a lot of Elders that still want muskox meat and they want it on a yearly basis and they are the ones that consume most of the muskox meat….But I am noticing now that there is a lot of muskox that are diseased… you know I am starting to open up the carcass, take the organs out, and check the lungs, the liver and the meat. I noticed something unusual, you know some of them have big joints, [I see that] in muskox and a lot in caribou"
Interviewee 27 Inuk hunter Male, 31 years old	Economic value (community revenue and business opportunity, community identity)	"When we do the sport hunts, that is a big income for the community and also the commercial harvest with the meat plant brings in some good money to the community, plus it also highlights our community when we produce some of the different kind of meat [and export the meat] to the world market, and you see [that the meat is] coming from here. It brings interest into our community...but [now] muskox are declining!"

APPENDIX S3. Average consumption of country foods and store-bought foods in the annual diet of study participants from the community of Iqaluktutiaq (Victoria Island, Nunavut, Canada).

Here we present the results that describe past and current annual relative consumption of country foods vs. store-bought foods reported by participants though proportional piling exercises.

The reader should note that interviewees were purposefully selected and the majority were active hunters. Therefore, the data presented here cannot be generalized because of the risk of overestimating the current consumption of country foods at the community level. We believe that these data should be interpreted with caution because of the biased sample, the small sample size, and the technique used (proportional piling) that provide a quantitative estimation based on personal perception. Nonetheless, we think that the data captured here are worth reporting and can help us to further understand the characteristics of the Inuit and non-Inuit participants we worked with.

Inuit

There were notable differences in the annual relative consumption of country foods and store-bought foods by Elders (n = 9) and adult Inuit (n = 14), so here we report data separately for each age group.

All nine Elders interviewed reported that during their childhood country food accounted for 97% of their annual diet (interquartile range, IQR: 95–100), and the remaining 3% (IQR: 0–5) consisted of store-bought foods. For current annual food consumption, in contrast, three Elders reported that their diet was equally divided between country foods and store-bought foods, while the other six Elders, whether they were active hunters or not, continued to rely largely on country foods for 93% (IQR: 90–95) of their annual diet. These contrasting current diets are likely associated with a variety of factors, including ability to hunt, hunting habits of the extended family network (especially for Elders who are not active hunters anymore), personal preferences, the availability or accessibility of country foods and store-bought foods, and sharing networks among family and friends.

A full exploration of factors that produced these dietary differences over time fell outside the scope of the current study, but here we provide perspectives offered by two Elders who, although both are still active hunters, consume different quantities of country foods in their annual diet. One Elder (Interviewee 9) who still relied almost exclusively on country foods explained, "I like to eat more country food than store-bought food. I eat almost all the time country food; I don't buy food from the Northern or Coop [the local stores]. I buy only sugar, tea, coffee, and butter, and jam, and the naphtha, the gas, and kerosene for the heater. I don't buy food, I like country food all the time: [country foods are] cheaper!" Conversely, another Elder (Interviewee 16), who, at the time of the interview relied on store-bought foods for half of his annual food intake, explained that "when I was a child I was eating mostly country food, 90% [of my annual food intake] ...When I was a child there was not much available at the store. I started eating less [country foods] when the stores started getting bigger and there were other types of food available at the store, probably in the 60s."

The country food consumption of the adult Inuit interviewees had declined from 73% (IQR: 6090) in their childhood to a current consumption of 35% (IQR: 25–50). Reasons given for the decline in country food consumption include living permanently in the community, being employed in stable jobs, changes in households, lifestyle, food habits and time availability, and changes in the local distribution and availability of wildlife. This last theme emerged from the narratives of an Inuk subsistence harvester (Interviewee 25). He explained, "it is getting harder to get country food. You know, we are starting now to lose our animals, and we probably won't have more muskox pretty soon, that's what I think…and also our caribou [have] disappeared." Other quotes that offer perspectives regarding the decline over time in country food consumption are reported in Table S3.

Non-Inuit

We note here that the "southerners" interviewed had adapted to the northern lifestyle and to the consumption of country foods: "I do personally eat country food and I [have] a lot of interest in eating country food…The lifestyle is different here from the South. When you came up North you adapt yourself to the way of living and the way you eat …so the wild game becomes part of your interest and your habit" (Interviewee 1).

Depending on several factors, including reasons for the change of residence, the amount of country foods consumed varied quite noticeably among interviewees. For example, Interviewee 12, who moved to Nunavut "to learn the traditional and contemporary Inuit hunting and fishing, and traveling skills out in the land," reported that 70% of his annual food consumption was country foods, whereas the other non-Inuit residents interviewed reported that country foods accounted for only 20% of their annual consumption (IQR: 19–21).

TABLE S3. Selected quotes from study participants offering perspectives on the motivations for country food consumption.

Interviewee	Quote
Interviewee 08 Inuk hunter Male, 35 years old	"When I was growing up we were eating a lot of country food. I remember every meal we had fish or caribou… [the change happened] when I moved out of my parents' place and moved in my own place"
Interviewee 09 Inuk Elder Active hunter Male, 69 years old	"I like to eat more country food than store-bought food. I eat almost all the time country food, I don't buy food from the Northern or Coop [local stores]. I buy only sugar, tea, coffee, and butter, and jam, and the naphtha, the gas, and kerosene for the heater. I don't buy food, I like country food all the time: [county foods are] cheaper! I like county foods. I eat them almost all the time…The important thing is that country food is the best!"
Interviewee 10 Inuk hunter Male, 46 years old	"In the past we mostly lived off the caribou, the fish and the small game, probably the shift [in county food vs. store-bought food consumption] happened when we moved to Cambridge Bay permanently"
Interviewee 13 Inuk hunter Female, 52 years old	"When the seal and fox fur prices dropped, my dad was forced to look for work [in the community] rather than be a trapper and a hunter ...When he got a job in the community we spent less time harvesting and more time in town"
Interviewee 16 Inuk Elder Active hunter Male, 63 years old	"When I was a child I was eating mostly country food, 90% [of my annual food intake]...When I was a child there was not much available at the store. [I started eating less country food] when the stores started getting bigger and there were other types of food available at the store, probably in the 60s"
Interviewee 19 Inuk hunter Male, 45 years old	"These days, now, we buy most of the food at the store, but in the past when I was growing up it would be vice versa. The transition happened when we came permanently in the community"
Interviewee 20 Inuk hunter Male, 57 years old	"When I was a kid I was getting way more country food. Now that I have a bit of money myself I get more store food"

APPENDIX S4. Selected quotes from study participants from the community of Iqaluktutiaq (Victoria Island, Nunavut, Canada) representing the muskox-caribou prey switch mechanism.

Interviewee	Quote
Interviewee 10 Inuk hunter Male, 46 years old	"When there is hardly any caribou around, that's when I hunt the muskox to fill the freezer"
Interviewee 11 Inuk hunter Male, 51 years old	"The last muskox I got for myself, for subsistence, was probably 2003….In the early 90s the caribou started migrating through the community. So I didn't really hunt too much muskoxen after that because every fall the caribou would come through, within arm's reach of the community. So [there was] less reliance on muskox when the caribou were close to town, [around] September October, during the fall migration…and then in the summer time we used to go across over to the mainland, around Ellis River and Foggy Bay, for caribou hunting. So there wasn't really a reliance on muskox because we were able to go over the mainland during the summer when there's no caribou around here [Cambridge Bay]… This year if I don't get any caribou between now and September I might think of getting a muskox …being people more reliant on caribou and living off the caribou, it was nice to have a change to muskox, but I prefer caribou over the muskox; and I think that is true for most people!"
Interviewee 19 Inuk hunter Male, 45 years old	"It [muskox] was our food when we had no choice but to get a muskox because we had hard time finding caribou"
Interviewee 22 Inuk hunter Male, 30 years old	"I guess that the main thing is that if the caribou won't be around, I will get a few more muskox every now and then, and [I will do the same also] to have a switch of meat, to have a different taste from caribou"
Interviewee 23 Inuk hunter Male, 48 years old	"…when I was growing up, in my childhood and my teens [in the 70s], you would rarely see muskox. You would have to travel for quite a while, if you traveled out in the land for a few days you would see some, but they weren't too numerous then…During the 80s, in my early 20s, I would get one per year and then during the 90s was when they were very plentiful and I would get four or five per year, that was through my 30s; and then from 2000 to 2010, I have only got one per year because that's when there were lots of caribou near town. There were so many caribou around here that people stopped hunting muskoxen. I was still hunting them [muskoxen] but I would take only one per year and maybe a small one…And then, since 2010 to this year [2014], I started getting more again because the caribou stopped [being] so plentiful. Starting around 2010 it's been getting harder and harder to find caribou, so I have been going back to muskox again, getting two muskox a year since 2010 and this year [2014] I would probably get zero caribou and four muskoxen…The caribou are too far now" "…when there is lots of caribou around, muskox would take a second seat…when there were lots of caribou around, I would replace my red meat with caribou instead of muskox…all I did was to replace most of my red meat with the caribou; and now, when the caribou are gone again and they are getting harder to get, I am replacing the caribou meat with muskox meat…in the spring time, just to get the flavor of caribou again, I might go to the mainland and get one [caribou] there. But I would rely on muskox again, because I don't mind muskox, but some people do not like muskox and they would go where the caribou are even if it is further away…but lately we have to look more than usual [to find muskoxen] because there are not as many as there used to be in the past. For about the last four years or so, since 2010, they seem to be less around here. You can still get them, but you might have to go for a couple of trips before you see one"
Interviewee 30 Non-Inuk hunter Male, 34 years old	"I eat more caribou than muskox, I think you have found that from most people around here that they prefer caribou. If they have a choice between caribou and muskox, they always take caribou"

APPENDIX S5. Selected quotes from study participants from the community of Iqaluktutiaq (Victoria Island, Nunavut, Canada) describing harvesting and butchering activities of muskoxen, as well as historical and contemporary meat storage and consumption habits.

Interviewee	Theme	Quote
Interviewee 03 Inuk Elder Non-active hunter Female, 64 years old	Subsistence harvest (traditional harvesting practices)	"I remember we had only one [muskox] per season. That was the Inuit custom: to respect the land and the animals … and other animals that some other Inuit people might want to catch somewhere…we cached only one to share with the family in our little village… just to respect the animal"
Interviewee 03 Inuk Elder Non-active hunter Female, 64 years old	Subsistence harvest (traditional meat storage)	"Traditionally, in the summer you had to dry almost everything and put it away for winter…In the fall, when the weather is cooling off, they [the ancestors] liked to put the muskox meat in the ground…you form a circle in the rocks and you put the meat in the formed circle and you cover it again with more rocks and rocks and rocks so that animals that roam around don't get into it…that is called aging and caching…So they go back home and save that meat for later…they come back in the spring to pick it up so they have something to eat and share with families…"
Interviewee 03 Inuk Elder Non-active hunter Female, 64 years old	Subsistence harvest (carcass utilization)	"The Elders like to have the feet, they cook and cook and boil and boil the meat until they can rip off the meat or the skin and they eat the inside of the tendons. That's their delicacy!"
Interviewee 09 Inuk Elder Active hunter Male, 69 years old	Subsistence harvest (traditional meat storage)	"Long time ago, old people they liked the muskox all the time…when they were born, my parents used to eat them [muskoxen] all the time, [that was] long time ago around 1900… My parents were eating lots of muskox, drying them out during spring time … [they] put them away, cached them in the rocks, piled them up [during] fall time [with] rocks to cover them to protect [the meat] from wolverines and wolves."
Interviewee 09 Inuk Elder Active hunter Male, 69 years old	Subsistence harvest (traditional harvesting practices)	"Every time I see five animals in one herd I don't shoot it, when they are really lots, maybe 10 or 15, then I get one…When I was young, my dad told me: "you can't shoot a muskox when there are only just a few [animals] in one [herd]. You never know what might be happening …and when the young ones are coming out, March, April, May, you can't shoot them. Never do that. They are important! To keep the little ones is important!"
Interviewee 09 Inuk Elder Active hunter Male, 69 years old	Subsistence harvest (butchering practices)	"You keep the hide and the meat, just throw their guts away, and keep the liver, heart, and stuff like that and everything you need….I skin them out [in the field], I take the guts out, and the hides off, and the heads….I will use the hides: when they dry they are always good for rugs or foams. They are the best one because they don't get wet…I leave the lungs and the guts out there [on the land]. I open the guts and leave it wide open so that the foxes could eat it. I don't leave it [the guts] like that [closed], you cut it up and open it up, so that the fox could eat it, or the wolf. Cleaning them out is better!"
Interviewee 12 Non-Inuk hunter Male, 59 years old	Subsistence harvest (hunting preferences)	"It depends if you want lots of *qiviut* in the hide you catch one [muskox] in March when they are nice and full [of *qiviut*]; ...in November they won't have very much *qiviut* in the coat but if you don't have any muskox meat and you want it through the winter I could catch a small juvenile animal in the fall time, and if I want a lot of *qiviut* in the hide to use for bedding I will catch one in March. I have done both….Probably more in March than in November….November they are nice and light though! So if you are going to use them for bedding, David Kaomayok, who has passed away now, said: "Get one in November, because they are nice and light!"; so, you know, when you are taking them from the boat or your *kamotik* [sled], it is not as heavy to haul around"
Interviewee 14 Inuk hunter Male, 42 years old	Subsistence harvest (butchering practices)	"I butcher the muskox on the land and by the time I get home the animal is in around a dozed pieces. Some people take them back just gutted but I don't like that…I leave on the land usually the spine, the hooves, the guts, the lungs…I don't eat any of the internal organs except the heart…the head sometimes I do [take it], and sometimes I don't; sometimes I take the tongue out and I leave the head [on the kill site], and sometimes I take the whole head back [home]…the kidneys sometimes I take them, only when they are really fat, if they are surrounded by fat I take them, if it is kind of lean, it doesn't look too good to me and I leave them….the hides sometimes I leave them on the land, but I usually take them"
Interviewee 15 Inuk hunter Male, 37 years old	Subsistence harvest (butchering practices, transportation)	"I leave on the land the guts, the intestines…sometimes [I leave also] the hooves [on the land]. You know I try to minimize the weight [to haul back] from the kill site to home…I bring the organs [liver, heart, kidneys, lung] back, dogs really love the inside of the muskox"
Interviewee 16 Inuk Elder Active hunter Male, 63 years old	Subsistence harvest (carcass utilization)	"In the past the lungs were taken home too but nowadays are left behind…in the past we used dogs so everything was taken home"

APPENDIX S5. Selected quotes from study participants from the community of Iqaluktutiaq (Victoria Island, Nunavut, Canada) describing harvesting and butchering activities of muskoxen, as well as historical and contemporary meat storage and consumption habits – *continued*:

Interviewee	Theme	Quote
Interviewee 19 Inuk hunter Male, 45 years old	Sport hunts (butchering practices, carcass utilization)	"They [sport hunters] are used to take like 50 pounds of meat, but the rest, the four legs, are brought back to town; but the back straps and tender loins they [sport hunters] usually take them… The [sport] hunters take back the hide, the cape [part of the skull that supports the horns], and sometimes they take the jaw, for the European mount. But most of the time it is a full body mount, so you have to keep the hoofs on the hide as well. I would say 85% of the times is full body mounts…The jaw is taken for the European mount, maybe it is just 1% of the hunters. It is very weird that they will do European mount, [it might happen] only one [time] every few years…In the field…[are left] the inside stomach and the rib cage and all the internal organs [are left]. We mostly take the legs, the back straps and the tenderloins back."
Interviewee 20 Inuk hunter Male, 57 years old	Subsistence harvest (butchering practices, transportation, carcass utilization)	"I butcher the muskox out on the land and quarter it on the land…No [I don't bring back the internal organs] I leave out on the land the guts, the stomach, the heart, the lungs, the liver. If it was caribou I would bring back the liver, but not in a muskox. I bring back the head, but I used to leave out the lower feet and bring back the hide."
Interviewee 22 Inuk hunter Male, 30 years old	Subsistence harvest (butchering practices, transportation, carcass utilization)	"I leave out there the gut parts, I take back the hide. The hide is useful and the head too. The rest of the meat is brought back in four quarters and the rib cage…we take the heart back, the liver not so much on a muskox—more on the caribou. I have never seen too many people eating the lungs or the liver of a muskox, more of the caribou. The kidneys are left too…We leave the lower legs and the hooves, there is not much use [for them] and they are also pretty heavy too"
Interviewee 23 Inuk hunter Male, 48 years old	Subsistence harvest (butchering practices, transportation)	"Most of the times I leave the hide out there, but sometimes if somebody tells me he wants a hide I will bring it back and give it to them, but I don't need any more muskox hides and I don't know anyone that does…It is very heavy, it must weigh one hundred pounds and especially if you hunt on a quad it is heavy to bring back, so I just leave it out there"
Interviewee 23 Inuk hunter Male, 48 years old	Subsistence harvest (butchering practices, carcass utilization)	"I have five dogs at home so I will bring everything back, all I leave [on the land] is the stomach content and the stomach lining and about 50% of the times I will leave the skin because I have no use for the hide, but I usually bring the head back home, but I haven't done anything with it…I usually give those [heads of harvested muskoxen] away to the carvers…We eat the heart, we eat the liver, I feed the lung and the trachea to the dogs, and any other cuttings, including the bones and kidneys, go to the dogs…I don't eat the tongue – I leave it in the head… the hooves: I will bring them back because the dogs like to chew on the hooves; and when I debone the carcass, all the bones go to the dogs."
Interviewee 25 Inuk hunter Male, 56 years old	Subsistence harvest (butchering practices, transportation, carcass utilization)	"I butcher the muskox on the land, and I leave [on the land] the head and the intestine… We leave the hide—it is too heavy, and there is no demand for the hides, I don't know why… I will [also] leave the lungs, the liver and the kidneys, but we take the heart and the tongue and all the fat from the stomach area that there is inside [the abdomen]. And we will keep the feet, the meat is soft there."
Interviewee 26 Inuk Elder Active hunter Male, 60 years old	Subsistence harvest (hunting preferences)	"I catch at least two muskox per year, but when an Elder ask me to go get a muskox for him, then I do it for him … [I prefer to hunt] in the fall time, I know the calves are born in April and I prefer [to harvest a calf] probably [in] October-November,...by that time they are still fat. For myself I prefer to get adult females, sometimes a really young bull…but if an Elder asks me, [if] he or she wants a calf, then I will get a calf if they want it. They mostly have to choose what they want."
Interviewee 26 Inuk Elder Active hunter Male, 60 years old	Subsistence harvest (butchering practices, carcass utilization)	"We take [back home] all the quarters [of the muskox carcass], the hide, the head, all the back straps, the rib cage. You know there is not too much meat left [on the land]… Sometimes [when] the [abdominal] organs have a lot of fat,...then I take all the fat off and I take all of that, just the fat, we don't take the organs…The heart sometimes we take it… and the liver sometimes we take it. I know when the liver it is not good in a muskox: I just slice it open and look inside, you know, when there is a lot of white spots on it, I know it is not good and it happens most of the time…We don't bring the lung back on a muskox, it is too huge and we don't have a container. On the muskox we leave the kidney and the organs, but for the caribou we basically take everything…you know the caribou is smaller than the muskox."
Interviewee 27 Inuk hunter Male, 31 years old	Subsistence harvest (butchering practices)	"Sometimes when it is really cold out like –40 or –50 [°C], I shoot it [a muskox] and put the whole thing [carcass] on the sled and haul it back to town and then, you know, [I] go in the house warm up and have a coffee, and then skin it [the carcass] outside of the house. Then wait a bit till the guts get a little bit hard and then take them with the shovel and bring them out of town. You know [this happens] when it is too cold out, or I travel with someone that can't handle the cold really well."