

INUIT

CANADA'S RELATIONSHIP WITH INUIT A HISTORY OF POLICY AND PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT

Canada's Relationship with Inuit: A History of Policy and Program Development

Inuit have lived in Canada's north since time immemorial. The Canadian government's administration of Inuit affairs, however, has been generally shorter and is less well understood than the federal government's relations with First Nations and Métis. We hope to correct some of this knowledge imbalance by providing an overview of the federal government's Inuit policy and program development from first contact to 2006. Topics that are covered by this book include the 1939 *Re Eskimo* decision that gave Canada constitutional responsibility for Inuit, post World War II acculturation and defence projects, law and justice, sovereignty and relocations, the E-number identification system, Inuit political organizations, comprehensive claim agreements, housing, healthcare, education, economic development, self-government, the environment and urban issues.

In order to develop meaningful forward-looking policy, it is essential to understand what has come before and how we got to where we are. We believe that this book will be a valuable contribution to a growing body of knowledge about Canada-Inuit relations, and will be an indispensable resource to all students of federal Inuit and northern policy development.



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FORWARD

The history of Inuit relations with the Government of Canada has been a story of negotiation, accommodation and resistance. The relationship has developed around a long conversation of rights recognition and struggle for voice within the Canadian political system. Inuit have made tremendous progress in this, and speak from a position of authority and strength on many issues of concern to them. The conversation and negotiation continues, however, as the story is played out around such issues as control over land and resources, the environment, social programs and the extent and pace of change in the face of maintenance of language, culture and traditional lifestyle. These complex issues and negotiations occur on many different levels, both in the domestic and international spheres.

A significant advance in the struggle for an Inuit political voice was the creation by the Government of Canada of the Inuit Relations Secretariat in 2005. This group, which is housed in Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC), was established in response to the request of Inuit representatives for a focal point to address Inuit-specific issues within the federal government. The Inuit Relations Secretariat helps advocate for Inuit concerns within the federal system, supports the development of federal Inuit policy, and works to improve the relevance and effectiveness of existing federal programs and policies that affect Inuit. The Inuit Relations Secretariat also gathers and dispenses resources, information, advice and expertise on Inuit matters broadly within the federal system.

One of the first items discussed in getting the secretariat up and running was the need for greater understanding and appreciation of the historic relationship between Inuit and the Government of Canada. While there is a great deal of information about the history of relations with First Nations, much less is well known about the history of the Government of Canada's relationship with Inuit. Just as an understanding of the evolution of treaties, *Indian Act* and general Indian policy is key to understanding and improving the current First Nations-Government of Canada relationship, so is an understanding of the historical Inuit-Government of Canada relationship necessary for current Inuit policy development. The logic is simple: we can't possibly create meaningful policies for the future, without first addressing the past and understanding how it is we got to where we are today.

As a result of these initial discussions within INAC, a project was begun that has culminated with the publication of this book. The project was managed by the Strategic Research and Analysis Directorate within INAC, and started with a small contract with a local firm specializing in the history of Aboriginal-government relations, Public History Inc. The primary audience was initially intended to be internal to INAC, and later other federal departments with a northern or Aboriginal interest. The project was conceived to be a high-level thematic and descriptive analysis of specific events and government rationale for historic policy development. As such, the bulk of research was directed towards secondary published and unpublished sources. Initial positive feedback from within government and discussion of the project with the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, Canada's national Inuit organization, convinced us to expand the project

to encompass a broader historical scope. It also became apparent that there was potentially a much wider audience of interest for this research, including Inuit organizations, governments and communities as well as the general public.

An important element in expanding the scope of research was an attempt to insert an Inuit perspective that is not often evident from the secondary sources. As a result, there was an interview component initially added to the project. The interviews were undertaken in English with Inuit who had first-hand experience or knowledge in dealings with the federal government. The author and editor would like to thank all of those who generously donated their time and expertise. To be clear, this is not finally an Inuit history from an Inuit perspective, but is rather meant to be a history of the federal government's Inuit policy development. There are countless other important stories to be told by Inuit that are critical to a well-balanced understanding of the Inuit-Government of Canada relationship. We believe, however, that this overview will be an indispensable resource and reference for those who may be working in the area of Inuit or northern policy development, or who may simply have an interest in better understanding the evolution of federal Inuit policy.

Most of the research and all of the interviews were expertly conducted by Sarah Bonesteel of Public History Inc., with assistance and support of Public History owners and staff. Ms. Bonesteel has an anthropological, archaeological and ethno-historical background, as well as extensive research experience and first-hand knowledge of the Canadian North. The work could also not have been completed without the generous help of Sylvain Ouellet and Claudia Fournier of INAC, and Tim Albert of Focus Corporation who was responsible for creating the map. The research follows a thematic pattern for ease of reference by including chapters on subjects such as education, health care, land claims and so on. Finally, as an overview and introduction to the subject, the text is meticulously sourced and detailed endnotes and appendices have been added to assist those who may wish to research a particular subject further.

Each year there are more northern studies disparaging the socio-economic well-being of Inuit in Canada's North. Many political commentators, Inuit and non-Inuit alike, have strongly spoken out against the unacceptable living conditions of many of Canada's Inuit. Certainly, there is general recognition and an often stated national interest in the importance of maintaining a strong Inuit population in the Canadian North. To help achieve this objective, there is a need to continue to report on and monitor socio-economic circumstances of Canada's first northern residents, and respond with well-conceived policies in consultation with those whose lives they are designed to improve. To help find the best way forward, we need to understand what has come before. We offer this book as an historical overview of the Inuit-Government of Canada relationship and of federal Inuit policy, in hopes of adding to the level of knowledge and understanding towards improving the lives of Inuit in Canada.

Erik Anderson

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Inuit and their ancestors have inhabited the Canadian Arctic since time immemorial. Archaeological evidence indicates human habitation of the Arctic dating to approximately 12,000 years ago in the Bering Strait region. Modern Inuit (meaning “people”) migrated east to populate the western and eastern Arctic, northern Quebec, and Labrador about 1,000 years ago.¹ Inuit in the western Arctic are called *Inuvialuit*, meaning “real human beings.”² Inuit first encountered European peoples through Erik the Red’s tenth century Icelandic voyages to Newfoundland and Labrador.³ In the late fifteenth century, European explorers began to arrive on the northeast coast of North America, searching for gold and a Northwest Passage to Asia. Moravian missionaries established the first permanent settlements among Labrador Inuit in 1765, ministering to health and welfare needs, and encouraging commercial fishing operations.⁴

Despite interaction with European peoples, Inuit maintained patterns of regional, seasonal migration that were based on the availability of natural resources and supported their traditional subsistence practices well into the twentieth century. Commercial whaling began in the eastern and western Arctic during the late eighteenth century and by 1840, the Americans, English and Scottish had established their whaling operations west into Pond Inlet and Cumberland Sound.⁵ Inuit often bartered items obtained through their traditional subsistence procurement strategies in exchange for European goods, such as metal knives and needles, rifles, tobacco, cloth and food. Items bartered by Inuit included caribou skins and meat, whalebone, walrus ivory, dogs and fish. The whaling industry peaked in the 1860s. Afterwards, whaling crews supplemented their incomes with caribou, seal and walrus hunting, as well as fishing and fox trapping, which over-exploited many traditional Inuit subsistence resources. In time, populations of bowhead whale, musk ox and caribou became severely depleted, leading to increased exploitation of the more profitable fox fur.⁶ By the late nineteenth century, fur traders had begun to move further north into former whaling territory. They established posts and encouraging Inuit to trap foxes.⁷

The entrance of whalers and Hudson’s Bay Company (HBC) traders in each region of the Arctic was followed closely by the Northwest Mounted Police (NWMP) and missionaries, who established churches, and limited school and hospital facilities. Although nineteenth and early twentieth century Arctic exploration mapped much of the Arctic, it demonstrated to the Canadian Government that a Northwest Passage was a non-viable economic route to Asia. Inuit subsistence, however, became increasingly and irrevocably tied to European economic forces and foreign consumer goods, contributing to widespread starvation after the collapse of fur prices in the 1930s. Throughout the 1930s and 1940s, the Canadian Government initiated relief programs for Inuit, yet until 1950, official federal policy advocated a traditional, self-sufficient way of life for Inuit, insofar as that was possible.⁸

By the early twentieth century, many within the Canadian Government were questioning Inuit status—unsure if they should be considered Canadian citizens or wards of the state, like First Nations.⁹ In 1924, a bill was passed to amend the *Indian Act*, assigning responsibility for Inuit to the Department of Indian Affairs, but ensuring that Inuit would remain Canadian citizens.¹⁰

This bill was repealed in 1930, however, making the Northwest Territories (NWT) Council in Ottawa responsible for Inuit. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), by default of their presence, was delegated to administer relief (food and ammunition) in the North.¹¹ In 1939, the Supreme Court pronounced their judgement in the *Re Eskimo* case, stating that, constitutionally, Inuit were classified as Indians in Canada. This distinction made Inuit the legal responsibility of the Canadian Government.¹² The government, however, sought to ensure that Inuit remained distinct from First Nations in legislation and governance, and the *Indian Act* was specifically amended to exclude Inuit in 1951. The amendment stated that, “a reference in this Act to an Indian does not include any person of the race of aborigines commonly referred to as *Eskimos*.”¹³ Although, historically, there has been no legislation or policy corresponding to the *Indian Act* for Inuit, Inuit affairs continued to be administered federally.¹⁴

During the 1940s and then the 1950s, Inuit continued their traditional way of life, while becoming increasingly acculturated to southern Canadian culture through contact with people from southern Canada and the American military personnel stationed in the North. During the Second World War, and then the Cold War, American military personnel stationed in the North were critical of the Canadian Government’s perceived neglect of Inuit, including their inadequate living conditions, health care and education.¹⁵ According to Hugh Keenleyside, former Deputy Minister of the Department of Mines and Resources and Commissioner of the NWT Council, “The awakening of general interest in the Arctic was in part the result of political and defence considerations that marked the period of the Cold War. But additional recognition of its importance came also from a new appreciation of the economic possibilities of that region.”¹⁶ The potential for natural resource exploitation, particularly mineral and oil extraction, was an important catalyst for the development of sedentary Arctic communities and generated much revenue for Canadian companies. Beginning in the 1950s, the Government of Canada encouraged Inuit to settle permanently in communities and established social welfare programs for housing, education, healthcare and economic development to improve the Inuit standard of living.¹⁷

In 1955, Jean Lesage, the Minister of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, announced a new policy for Inuit administration, to remedy the “almost continuing state of absence of mind” in which Inuit had previously been administered,¹⁸ and to ensure that Inuit had the same rights, privileges, opportunities and responsibilities enjoyed by other Canadians.¹⁹ Large-scale government housing construction projects during the 1960s further encouraged Inuit settlement. In communities, traditional methods of subsistence were difficult for Inuit to maintain because of the lengthy travel distances required to find animal resources, and the need to maintain a steady family income through wage employment.²⁰ Federal government programs for Inuit hoped to improve living standards in several ways. Housing developments and diversification of the northern economy created some long-term employment in sedentary communities. These communities could then be effectively administered and children’s school attendance encouraged. It was felt that better housing would enhance sanitary conditions of homes, lower incidence of disease and infant mortality, and that sustainable communities would encourage Inuit to obtain wage labour in industries like mining and work for the federal and territorial government civil service.²¹

In the development of many programs and services, such as education, housing and the location of DEW Line sites, the federal government failed to consult with Inuit before implementing programs, thereby creating Inuit dissatisfaction. E-number disks, for example, were introduced in 1941 to assist government officials, the HBC, the RCMP and members of the medical community in keeping track of Inuit. These personnel felt that they needed to record census information, trade accounts, medical records and police records accurately in the absence of standardized name spellings and surnames. Inuit disliked the identification system, which was discontinued beginning in 1968 when surnames were selected by all Inuit.

A 1962 statement by the Canadian Government expressed concern about Inuit circumstances, which resulted from rapid lifestyle changes and the influx of southern Canadian cultural influences in the North:

An Eskimo population growing at the rate of 3.8% a year is in transition between the old world of the snow house, the seal-oil lamp and primus stove for heat and light, clothing of skins, and a diet almost entirely of meat, and the new world of the snow-banked tent or wooden shack, fixed in one place (usually without sanitary facilities), clothing of cotton, nylon and wool, high carbohydrate foods purchased at the local store and the white man's rules about coming to work on time.²²

Finding employment in communities, particularly stable, year-round jobs was difficult for many adult Inuit who spoke little English and lacked formal education and skills training.²³

In 1967, the Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT) moved from Ottawa to Yellowknife, the new capital of the Northwest Territories. Moving the GNWT to the North meant an expansion of the territorial civil service, and the creation of many jobs. The increased presence of government administrators in the Arctic—who were sometimes Inuit—enlarged the territorial and federal governments' awareness of social concerns and the need to improve welfare programming, particularly in the areas of education and health.²⁴

With the creation of permanent communities throughout the North during the 1960s, the federal and territorial governments sought to establish structures of community governance similar to those in southern Canada.²⁵ Inuit were encouraged to participate in local government and administrative organizations, such as the GNWT regional councils, town and hamlet councils, and housing authorities.²⁶ The federal government also assisted with the development of cooperative businesses to help Inuit learn economic management skills. Inuit became eligible to vote in the 1950 federal election, and the first Inuk was elected to the NWT Council in 1966.²⁷ Inuit political involvement during the 1960s and 1970s was often motivated by concerns about federal government-sponsored development of northern oil, gas and mineral resources. Inuit had viewed themselves as stewards of the North since time immemorial, and sought to preserve the sustainability of their natural environment and access to the resources that had long supported their livelihood.²⁸

Federal reports and policies, such as the 1967 Hawthorn Report and the 1969 *White Paper*; and literature by Farley Mowat, including *The Desperate People* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1960) and *Canada North* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967), drew attention to the social, economic

and legal concerns of Aboriginal people in the Canadian North.²⁹ A 1972 edition of *Inuitit* magazine, which was published by Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, outlined the federal government's seven objectives for resource development programs until 1980.³⁰ The objectives are listed in the table below, next to the goals and objectives stated in the Government of Canada's 2004 "Framework for a Northern Strategy."³¹ This chart demonstrates some continuity in the government's policy objectives for the North from 1972 to 2004.

1972 Objectives for Resource Development	2004 Framework for a Northern Strategy
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To provide for a higher standard of living, quality of life and equality of opportunity for northern residents by methods which are compatible with their own preference and aspirations. • To maintain and enhance the northern environment with due consideration to economic and social development. • To encourage viable economic development within regions of the Territories so as to realize their potential contribution to the national economy and the material well being of Canadians. • To realize the potential contribution of the Territories to the social and cultural development of Canada • To further the evolution of government in the Territories. • To maintain Canadian sovereignty and security in the North. • To develop fully the leisure and recreation opportunities in the Territories. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To ensure healthy, safe and sustainable northern communities that serve and support the needs of northern residents and promote self-reliance. • To engage all partners in the North in the protection and stewardship of the environment. • Build strong, sustainable, diversified economies where northerners share in the benefits of northern development. • To ensure that Canada plays a leading role and promotes concerted international action on circumpolar issues, and that northern concerns are taken into consideration in national efforts to reinforce sovereignty, security and circumpolar cooperation. • To ensure that the importance of language, traditional knowledge and way-of-life is recognized and encouraged. • To strengthen governments and institutions, and support evolving relationships among them, in order to provide northerners with effective governance and greater control over decisions central to their future. • To ensure that Canada is a leader in northern science and technology, and to develop expertise in areas of particular importance and relevance to the North.

Aboriginal response to the *White Paper*, which was withdrawn the same year that it was released, encouraged the federal government to fund organizations representing the interests of Aboriginal peoples, and to create policies for negotiating comprehensive and specific land claims.³² In 1971, Inuit formed the national organization Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (now Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK)) to lobby the Government of Canada for mechanisms to increase their autonomy, including self-government and a land claim covering parts of the Northwest Territories and northern Quebec.³³ A contemporary of Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, the Committee for Original Peoples' Entitlement (COPE), was founded in 1970 in the western Arctic to explore Aboriginal peoples' land rights.³⁴ Rather than being selected for their superiority in traditional Inuit pursuits, the founders of ITK and COPE were mainly young people, who were educated

at secondary and vocational schools in Churchill, Yellowknife and Ottawa. According to ITK, these schools “provided an opportunity for young Inuit men and women from different regions to start discussing the types of problems all Inuit were facing. From these gatherings and discussion sprang a commitment to the politics of change.”³⁵

Following the creation of COPE and ITK, regional associations were established to provide local representation for Inuit. These organizations included the Northern Quebec Inuit Association (NQIA), which was founded in 1971; the Labrador Inuit Association (LIA), which was founded in 1973; and three organizations in the eastern Arctic, which were established in the mid-1970s: the Kitikmeot Inuit Association, the Keewatin (now Kivalliq) Inuit Association, and the Baffin Regional (now Qikiqtani) Inuit Association. Members of the Kitikmeot, Kivalliq, and Qikiqtani Inuit Associations established the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut (TFN) in 1982 to negotiate the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement.³⁶ General objectives shared by Inuit political organizations across the North included respect for the natural environment and maintenance of its sustainability; ensuring that Inuit received infrastructural benefits from economic development in their communities, such as roads and improvements to housing; and local control over resource development projects, including local job creation. The comprehensive claims negotiated by each of the four Inuit organizations, however, demonstrate some regional priorities. An example of this is the different structures of regional and territorial governance established through the four claims.³⁷

Since 1970, Inuit have negotiated four comprehensive land claim agreements with the federal government. These agreements are: the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement and Complementary Agreements (JBNQA), which were reached in 1975 in northern Quebec; the Inuvialuit Final Agreement, which was reached in 1984 in the western Arctic; the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement, which was settled in 1993 in the eastern Arctic; and the Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement, which was settled in 2003 in northern Labrador.³⁸ With the settlement of these land claims, the Inuit organizations created during the 1970s and 1980s have re-focused their objectives and are now responsible for administering the terms of the comprehensive claim agreements on behalf of Inuit beneficiaries. They are also forums for Inuit to raise awareness of issues like healthcare, housing, education, the environment and economic development. Ensuring the implementation of land claim settlement terms, devolving governing authority to Inuit and regional governments, and maintaining stewardship of their lands and resources are issues of continuing regional significance for Inuit.³⁹

Section 35 of the *Constitution Act*, 1982 recognizes Aboriginal peoples' inherent right to self-government, which was reaffirmed in the federal government's 1995 Inherent Right Policy.⁴⁰ The structures of self-government created in each of the four Inuit land claim regions are different, and include both Inuit (ethnically-based) and public governments. The increased involvement of Inuit in political organizations since the 1970s has led to significant levels of Inuit participation in public structures of governance, such as the Government of Nunavut.⁴¹ The governments created through the JBNQA and the Inuvialuit Final Agreement are regional Inuit governments and are limited in scope and authority. Inuit in Nunavut and the Inuvialuit Settlement Region have initiated processes for negotiating more comprehensive, public

government structures with the Government of Canada, since their claims were negotiated before 1995 and the federal government will not re-negotiate existing claim agreements to address the inherent right to self-government. In Labrador, the Nunatsiavut Government will be comprised of elected Inuit representatives and the municipal governments within the settlement region will be public governments.⁴² In each of the four predominantly Inuit regions of Canada, Inuit have sought to establish institutes of government that reflect their status as taxpayers within the federal system, and facilitate the representation of non-Inuit within their structure of governance.⁴³

Inuit are concerned about the federal government's commitment to implementing the terms of their comprehensive claim agreements, and the negative social and economic effects on their communities if the land claims are not fully implemented.⁴⁴ As a unique Aboriginal culture facing challenges specific to the geography of their traditional land, Inuit seek policies that address their specific circumstances. The recent Aboriginal Roundtable sectoral policy sessions convened by the Privy Council Office that dealt with Aboriginal housing, health, land claim negotiations, accountability, economic development and life-long learning provided Inuit with an opportunity to raise their concerns with the federal government. Still, Inuit are concerned that environmental issues, particularly climate change, which is an issue of global concern, were not included in these sessions.⁴⁵

The Prime Minister's Northern Strategy Framework announcement in December 2004 provides funding to address some areas of Inuit concern. ITK expressed satisfaction that the Northern Strategy Framework recognizes Inuit and the North for their vital role in creating Canadian identity, and for its promise to help northerners deal with environmental issues, including climate change, environmental contaminants and sustainable development. The Northern Strategy also includes initiatives for economic development, devolution of governance and northern sovereignty. Inuit organizations are concerned, however, that Nunatsiavut and Nunavik, and consequently one-third of Canada's Inuit population, are excluded from the Northern Strategy.⁴⁶

Inuit governments are important mechanisms for ensuring the preservation of traditional language and culture. Use of technology among Inuit, such as the Internet, has changed, or "westernized" aspects of contemporary Inuit culture. Technology and modern communication medium in particular, have made knowledge of traditional culture widely available to young audiences. Integration of traditional languages with modern technology is important for the survival of languages and helps to ensure their continued use, such as the emphasis on Inuktitut as the primary language of communication in the Government of Nunavut.⁴⁷

According to data from the 2001 Canadian Census, the current population of Canadian Inuit is approximately 45,070, with about 85% of the population living in communities throughout the North.⁴⁸ Inuit account for approximately one in twenty Aboriginal Canadians, and are a remarkably young population.⁴⁹ In Nunavik, for example, half of the population is under the age of twenty-five and 75% of the population is under the age of thirty-five.⁵⁰ The Inuit population's growth rate affects the availability of housing and healthcare, and the number of jobs required

in northern communities. Efforts to provide Inuit with training opportunities in the North have resulted in increased education completion rates for secondary and post-secondary studies, meaning that Inuit are becoming more qualified for professional employment in areas such as teaching, nursing and law, where their professional skills, as well as their knowledge of Inuktitut (language of Inuit) and *Inuit Qaujimagatuqangit* (traditional Inuit culture) are truly needed.⁵¹ Inuit involved in northern politics and governance have emphasized the need to make government, and how it operates, relevant to the people that it serves. Incorporating traditions, such as methods of learning, into governing structures is important to Inuit.⁵²

A report released recently by Thomas Berger, conciliator of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement Implementation Contract Negotiations, notes that ensuring northern governments, such as the territorial government in Nunavut, operate in ways relevant to their constituents is difficult when many executive and management positions remain unfilled after all available and qualified Inuit have been employed. To improve the number of Inuit qualified for senior positions in the Government of Nunavut and elsewhere throughout the territory, Berger advocates increased funding to all levels of Nunavut's education system and specific measures to increase the number of graduates from elementary school, high school and post-secondary studies.⁵³

The movement from snow houses and skin tents to permanent dwellings and access to healthcare lowered the rate of infectious diseases, such as tuberculosis, in the North. Similarly, economic initiatives, like non-renewable resource development projects, and access to education have improved the rate of English literacy and Inuit employment in skilled labour. In spite of the gains seen in health, education and employment, Inuit continue to face challenges that impede increases to their standard of living. These challenges include overcrowded housing and housing shortages, slow economic growth, and a shortage of healthcare providers in small communities. While community development, implementation of social services, and construction of housing was initially directed by the federal, and provincial or territorial governments, the creation of Inuit political organizations and the settlement of four Inuit comprehensive land claim settlements has increased Inuit autonomy in the governance of their land claim settlement regions. Inuit have also become effective advocates for issues that affect them locally, nationally and internationally.⁵⁴

As well as creating structures of Inuit-oriented governance that will make government relevant to Inuit culture and will increase Inuit autonomy within the federal system, Inuit seek the creation of federal policies that reflect their distinctness as an Aboriginal people and the unique geographic challenges that they face. Priority issues for improving the standards of living in many northern communities include housing; sustained economic growth, particularly in the private sector; and improved access to healthcare. Disparities between the life expectancy, education, income, housing, and labour force participation of Inuit compared to other Canadians were recently evaluated by INAC in their Community Well-Being and Human Development Index studies. These studies demonstrate that the Human Development Index rate for Inuit has continued to increase since 1991, but Inuit communities, like First Nation communities, tend to

experience lower levels of well being than Canadian communities that are inhabited primarily by non-Aboriginal people. The well being of Inuit communities is particularly impacted by their isolation and climate, which increases the cost of living while lowering opportunities for employment.⁵⁵ Inuit, through organizations like ITK and the Inuit Circumpolar Conference, seek to form partnerships with the Government of Canada to address issues of national and international significance, such as northern sovereignty and climate change. These two facets of Inuit organizations' policy, to preserve cultural heritage and to create a network of relationships with other Canadians, is reflected by Jose Kusugak, President of ITK, when he recently stated that Inuit are "more than First Canadians, but also Canadians First."⁵⁶

METHODOLOGY

This historical review was prepared for the Strategic Research and Analysis Directorate of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC), as well as Donat Savoie, Interim Executive Director, Inuit Relations Secretariat; and Alan Braidek, Special Advisor, Inuit Relations Secretariat at INAC. Erik Anderson, Senior Research Manager for the Strategic Research and Analysis Directorate of INAC, was the departmental representative co-ordinating the project. The project was completed in four phases: September to December 2004, January to March 2005, April to November 2005, and January to March 2006.

During the initial phase of the project, Public History conducted an historical review of issues relevant to Canada's relationship with Inuit from European contact to 1970. The purpose of the research was to deliver a "high-level" synthesis of policy changes and development over time related to the research issues provided by the client. These issues included:

- Inuit contact with European explorers, whalers and fur traders;
- 1939 *Re Eskimo* decision;
- Post World War II acculturation and assimilation of Inuit;
- NORAD and DEW Line defence concerns;
- Canadian law in the North;
- Arctic sovereignty and Inuit relocation projects;
- The E-number identification system;
- Housing issues and programming;
- Healthcare issues and programming;
- Education issues and programming; and
- Northern economic development.

During the next two research phases, Public History conducted an historical review of issues relevant to Canada's relationship with Inuit from the 1970s to the present through an examination of Inuit organizations', and the federal government's programs and policies. The purpose of the research was to deliver an historical review providing a synthesis of policy changes and developments over time related to research issues provided by the client. These issues included:

- The rise of Inuit political awareness and political organizations;
- Comprehensive land claims negotiations and agreements with Inuit;
- Inuit self-government and devolution of federal powers;
- Sovereignty issues;
- Housing issues and programming;
- Healthcare issues and programming;

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- Education issues and programming;
- Northern economic development issues and programming;
- Justice and policing issues and programming;
- Environmental issues; and
- Urban Inuit issues and programming.

Research was performed using mainly secondary and oral history resources. Secondary sources were obtained from the INAC Departmental Library, Library and Archives of Canada, the Carleton University Library, and the Public History Library. On a five-day research trip to Iqaluit, Nunavut in April 2005, Public History collected secondary sources at the Iqaluit Public Library, the Nunatta Campus Library of Nunavut Arctic College, the Nunavut Legislative Library, and the Nunavut Department of Justice Library.

The initial historical review was intended as a background document that described the federal government's relationship with Inuit. Although Public History conducted two oral history interviews, Inuit perspectives on the research issues were not presented in depth. In the second and third project phases, to supplement the secondary sources and to ensure the inclusion of Inuit perspectives in the research, Public History conducted twenty-five interviews with current and former federal and territorial civil servants, and members of Inuit organizations (listed in the bibliography). Notes taken during the interview and a draft of the historical review were provided to each of the interviewees. Interviewees were encouraged to verify the interview notes and the use of interview information in the historical review for accuracy. Interviewees were invited to submit clarification of the interview notes and comments on the draft historical review to Public History.

The interviews and secondary sources were analyzed, and then used to write the 22 report sections, which were submitted to Indian and Northern Affairs Canada as two historical reviews in December 2004 and in November 2005. Memos describing the research progress were sent to Erik Anderson of the Strategic Research and Analysis Directorate, and in the second and third project phases, were also sent to members of the Inuit Relations Secretariat, weekly.

As per the terms of the contracts, the history of early Inuit contact with Europeans formed the background to the initial historical review and was six pages in length, while the remaining ten sections of the initial review were each three to four pages in length and covered the period from 1930 to the early 1970s. These sections included a short discussion of the pre-contact historical context for the research issue, and provided highlights of the major events and dates relevant to each issue. In the second historical review, each section was between ten and twelve pages in length, and covered the period from the 1970s to the present. These sections included an historical overview of the research issue, a description of the relevant federal programs and policies, and an overview of ongoing concerns related to the issue. Each section of the reports included endnotes, and a complete bibliography of sources consulted was available at the conclusion of each report.

In the current phase of the project, Public History conducted five additional oral history interviews that added to the range of perspectives presented in the earlier interviews. The current interviews included members of Inuit organizations and current employees of the federal government. During this phase of the project, Public History combined into one document the two historical reviews completed in December 2004 and November 2005. Chapters from the two reviews that dealt with the same theme were amalgamated, and information collected through interviews was added—where relevant—to chapters from the initial review. Where possible, chapters from the initial review were re-formatted for consistency with the organization of chapters in the second historical review. A peer analyst read the amalgamated draft historical review and provided comments to Public History, which were incorporated into the document. Relevant historical photographs were researched and ordered from Library and Archives Canada and Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, and relevant maps were researched and obtained from Natural Resources Canada and Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami.

Appendix A is a list of acronyms used in this report; Appendix B describes the history of federal administrative responsibility for Inuit from European contact to the present; Appendix C provides a visual description of the relationships between major Canadian Inuit organizations; and Appendix D summarizes terms of the four Inuit comprehensive land claim agreements. As this report is a background document that was limited in length, the secondary source historical review and the perspectives represented by the interviewees do not provide exhaustive discussions of the research issues.

Terminology

Inuit and First Nations were commonly referred to as Eskimos and Indians before the 1970s. For consistency, and to comply with the INAC's guide to appropriate word usage, the terms Inuit and First Nations will be used throughout the report, excepting titles and quotations where another term is used. For guidance on terminology, please refer to, "Words First: An Evolving Terminology Relating to Aboriginal Peoples in Canada" (Ottawa: Communications Branch, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 2002).

INUIT



INUIT CONTACT WITH EXPLORERS, WHALERS AND FUR TRADERS TO THE 1930s

Initial Contact: European Exploration of Northern Canada

For thousands of years, people lived throughout Arctic Canada using resources procured from the land. Early evidence for inhabitation of northern Canada dates to approximately 12,000 years ago in the Bering Strait region. By about 1,000 years ago, modern Inuit populated the western and eastern Arctic, northern Quebec and Labrador.⁵⁷ They first encountered European peoples through Erik the Red's tenth century Icelandic voyages to Newfoundland and Labrador.⁵⁸

Although the Norse established settlements in the tenth century, those were soon abandoned, and the northeastern coast of Canada remained relatively undisturbed for several hundred years until John Cabot's Newfoundland voyage in 1498. In 1576, Martin Frobisher sailed into the eastern Arctic,

searching for a Northwest Passage to Asia. He encountered a group of Inuit and brought one back to England, along with rocks that he thought were gold. In 1580, John Davis discovered the strait of water located between Greenland and Baffin Island, later named the Davis Strait, which became a significant location for commercial whale hunting in the late seventeenth century. In 1610, Henry Hudson discovered Hudson Bay and made contact with the James Bay Cree. This was the first instance of European contact with Aboriginal people in northern Quebec, the eastern Arctic coastal mainland and the southern Arctic islands. Subsequent voyages include those by Button (1612), Baffin (1615, 1622), Foxe (1631) and James (1631), who each attempted to map a Northwest Passage through the Arctic without success.⁵⁹

Inuit Relations with Whalers and Missionaries

In 1765, Labrador Inuit negotiated a peace treaty with the English Governor of Newfoundland on the advice of Moravian Missionary, Jens Haven, ending years of animosity between Inuit, and European whalers and fishers. As the Moravians were central to the conclusion of this agreement, they were given government sanction to establish and administer communities, and were granted land for this purpose in 1769. Their settlements were based around trading posts and mission houses throughout Newfoundland and Labrador, where they ministered to the health and welfare needs of Inuit, and encouraged their commercial fishing operations.⁶⁰ The first settlements included those at Nain (1770), Okkak (1775), Hopedale (1781), and Hebron (1829).⁶¹ The Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) did not establish posts in this region until the early nineteenth century, long after the Moravians established their influence. In some Moravian communities, the governing influence of the missionaries continued into the twentieth century.⁶²

During the eighteenth century, contact between Europeans and Inuit increased. Basque and English whaling ships had seasonally hunted bowhead whales off the coast of Labrador since the late sixteenth century, but the exploitation of whales increased throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries with the arrival of Dutch, Scottish, French and American whaling ships in the eastern Arctic.⁶³ The HBC established trading posts at Marble Island and along the east coast of Hudson Bay but were not extensively involved in whaling and had limited contact with Inuit. By 1840, the Americans, English, and Scottish had taken their whaling operations as far westward as Pond Inlet and Cumberland Sound.⁶⁴

In exchange for European goods, such as metal knives and needles, rifles, tobacco, cloth and food, Inuit often bartered items obtained through their traditional subsistence procurement strategies. These items included caribou skins and meat, whalebone, walrus ivory, dogs and fish. Additionally, Inuit families were hired as guides and hunters to keep the whaling ships' crews supplied with meat. Whaling ships often hired Inuit as family units to assist with activities such as sewing, laundry and tanning. Inuit also made use of objects discarded by whaling crews. Scrap metal, for example, was turned into household implements and broken oars became tent

poles. Ready access to such materials made it increasingly difficult and less desirable for Inuit to exist without access to foreign resources.⁶⁵ Whalers often gave old boats to Inuit employees as a form of payment, enabling them to establish their own whaling operations, and to sell the oil and baleen that they collected back to their employer or to another ship.⁶⁶

The English and the Americans continued to expand their whaling operations westward, introducing more Inuit to commercial whaling and European goods. By 1888, the HBC had established a post at Fort McPherson in the Mackenzie Delta, and whalers sailed through the Bering and Chuckchi seas, as well as near Point Barrow in the Beaufort Sea. Many whaling ships wintered at Herschel Island, located off the north Yukon coast, creating employment opportunities on ships for Inuit families. The whaling industry peaked in the 1860s and 1870s. In subsequent seasons, crews supplemented their incomes with caribou, seal and walrus hunting, as well as fishing and fox trapping. These activities over-exploited many traditional Inuit subsistence resources, severely depleting populations of bowhead whale, musk ox, and caribou.⁶⁷

The presence of whalers, and later fur traders, throughout the Arctic presented economic opportunities for Inuit. Whalers were brought into the Inuit system of sharing to facilitate reciprocal trade relations, where European tools and food resources were sought in return for traditional knowledge and survival technology, as well as labour.⁶⁸ As Philip Goldring notes, “such partnerships, whether equal or not, allowed aboriginal societies in contact with Euro-Americans to retain essential elements of their ideology, social structure and way of life even when superficially subordinated to a nonindigenous system of production.”⁶⁹ Still, during this period Inuit experienced profound shifts in aspects of their traditional way of life.⁷⁰ The whalers introduced alcohol and diseases, including measles, influenza, syphilis and tuberculosis, to Inuit. Particularly in Labrador and the Mackenzie Delta, Inuit populations were severely affected by exposure to diseases against which they had no immunity.⁷¹

Similar to Labrador, the entrance of whalers and traders in each region of the Arctic was followed closely by the arrival of the Northwest Mounted Police (NWMP) and missionaries, who established schools, hospitals and churches. Like the Moravian missionaries, who used religious education to encourage literacy and cultural assimilation among the Labrador Inuit,⁷² Anglican and Catholic missionaries in the eastern and western Arctic used a system of syllabic writing to translate the New Testament into Inuit dialects, thereby assisting Inuit in becoming literate. The presence of the missionaries and the NWMP was particularly important to Inuit at the end of the nineteenth century, when fewer whaling ships arrived in the Arctic each summer. The abandonment of whaling operations meant unemployment and reduced access to consumer goods. Inuit, therefore, relied on their remaining links to European culture, the missionaries, and the NWMP, to supply cloth, rifles and ammunition, and food including flour, sugar and tea.⁷³

Inuit Involvement in the Fur Trade

By the end of the nineteenth century, over-hunting had severely depleted bowhead whale resources, and the declining demand for baleen in women's fashion meant an economic shift toward exploitation of the more profitable fox fur.⁷⁴ Fur traders began to move further north, into former whaling territory, establishing posts and encouraging Inuit to trap foxes. Many Inuit engaged in trapping because they needed furs to exchange for the consumer goods they were accustomed to accessing, in some cases for more than one hundred years.⁷⁵

Although the whaling industry had provided Inuit with ready access to consumer goods, Inuit had continued to hunt both for their families and the whalers, keeping their diet oriented toward country foods. Inuit participation in the fur trade was time consuming, however, and diverted attention from subsistence-oriented to fur-producing activities, thereby increasing Inuit reliance on foods obtained from the HBC to supplement their diet. According to a statement by explorer Knud Rasmussen, "in more than one instance, it [was] reported [that], a lonely *Eskimo* trapper had died of starvation while his tent overflowed with furs."⁷⁶ By reducing the scope of their hunting activities, Inuit decreased the range of resources that their traditional subsistence procurement strategies had exploited.⁷⁷ According to Kenneth Jensen, this dependence on the HBC meant that, "the difficult task of converting the *Eskimos* into arduous fur trappers was accomplished in a remarkably few years."⁷⁸ As an inducement, the HBC gave Inuit firearms and ammunition on credit, in return for an exclusive trade relationship. The high price paid for fox pelts further encouraged Inuit economic activity to focus on the exploitation of fox resources.⁷⁹

The HBC expanded their trade monopoly by establishing posts across the Arctic at Cape Wolstenholme (1909), Lake Harbour (1911), Chesterfield (1912), Cape Dorset (1913) and Frobisher Bay (1914). The fur trade peaked in the 1920s, and then declined sharply after 1930 because of overtrapping, the development of legislation to protect Arctic wildlife, and falling prices for furs based on market surplus.⁸⁰

Nineteenth and early twentieth century Arctic exploration, including the Franklin (1819-1827), Rae (1848-1854), Sverdrup (1898-1902), Amundsen (1903-1905), Stefansson (1906-1913) and Peary (1909) expeditions, demonstrated to the federal government that a Northwest Passage through the Arctic was a non-viable economic route to Asia. Through these explorations, and others, such as Knud Rasmussen's Thule expeditions and Franz Boas' anthropological studies, much of the Arctic was mapped and Inuit became more familiar with the presence of foreigners. Inuit subsistence, however, became increasingly and irrevocably tied to European economic forces and foreign consumer goods, contributing to widespread starvation after the collapse of fur prices in the 1930s. Throughout the 1930s and 1940s, the Canadian government initiated relief programs to alleviate the destitution of many Inuit, yet until 1950, official government policy advocated a traditional, self-sufficient way of life for Inuit, insofar as that was possible.⁸¹

INUIT



THE 1939 RE ESKIMO DECISION AND ITS IMPACT ON CROWN/INUIT RELATIONS

Historical Discussion

In the early 1930s, the collapse of fox pelt prices and scarcity of caribou resources created wide-spread starvation for Inuit in Labrador, northern Quebec and across the Arctic. The federal government issued relief to Inuit, as it did for First Nations throughout Canada, even though Inuit status and federal responsibility for the administration of their affairs was not clearly defined. According to Richard Diubaldo, for example, “the Northwest Territories Act of 1905 did not make any provisions for the administration of *Eskimo* affairs, nor did the Territories Council pass any ordinances between 1905 and 1930 which discriminated between the *Eskimo* and other inhabitants of the territories.”⁸² Various levels of government were uncertain if Inuit were Canadian citizens or if they were wards of the state, like First Nations.⁸³

Program and Policy Development

In 1924, the Minister of the Interior proposed a bill to amend the 1876 *Indian Act*, specifically recognizing Inuit in Canadian legislation for the first time, and assigning responsibility for Inuit to the Department of Indian Affairs.⁸⁴ Despite dissent from opposition members of Parliament, the bill passed with the caveat that Inuit were Canadian citizens and would not become wards of the state under the bill. In 1928, however, an order in council transferred authority for Inuit from Indian Affairs to the Northwest Territories (NWT) Council, which operated within the Department of the Interior.⁸⁵ In 1930, the Canadian Government repealed the 1924 amendment to the *Indian Act*. Inuit administration, however, continued under the NWT Council in Ottawa and by the North West Mounted Police (NWMP) in northern Canada.⁸⁶

Between 1930 and 1932, the Department of the Interior provided relief to Inuit across Canada, but expected the Quebec Government to refund Canada for their portion of these projects. At this time, Quebec was the only region inhabited by Inuit with a provincial government. A council responsible to the federal government administered the Northwest Territories and Yukon Territory from Ottawa, and Newfoundland was not yet part of Confederation.⁸⁷ By 1932, however, the annual costs of Inuit relief were such that Quebec declined to continue making payments, stating that Inuit, like First Nations in Canada, should be a federal responsibility.⁸⁸ As the *Indian Act* no longer applied to Inuit, and it was unclear if Inuit were classified as Indians in the 1763 Royal Proclamation and the *Constitution Act*, 1867, Quebec brought the question of responsibility for Inuit to the Supreme Court in 1935.⁸⁹ Here, Quebec argued that Inuit were Indians under Section 91(24) of the *Constitution Act*, 1867. On 5 April 1939, the Supreme Court pronounced their judgement on *Re Eskimo* in agreement with Quebec. The Supreme Court stated that, constitutionally, Inuit were classified as Indians in Canada. The decision was based on the historic description of “Esquimaux” [Inuit] as an “Indian tribe” in numerous documents dating from 1760 to Confederation.⁹⁰

Through this decision, the Canadian Government became legally responsible for Inuit.⁹¹ As the government had not expected *Re Eskimo* to be decided for Quebec, they initiated a reversal appeal to the Privy Council in England.⁹² The objections were dropped, however, with the commencement of the Second World War.⁹³ To ensure the welfare of Inuit, the Canadian Government debated whether their administration should be, once again, subsumed within the *Indian Act* or whether an act should be created specifically to manage Inuit affairs. Ultimately, however, no comprehensive Inuit policy was developed and the departments responsible for northern affairs also managed Inuit affairs.⁹⁴

The *Re Eskimo* decision did little to alter the delivery of government services or programs for Inuit, as committees within the Department of the Interior, and the Department of Mines and Resources after 1936, continued to administer Inuit affairs.⁹⁵ Between 1939 and 1945, the government was preoccupied with the Second World War and most attention focused on the North was for sovereignty related concerns rather than Inuit welfare. In 1945, however, responsibility for the health of First Nations and Inuit were given to the Department of National Health and Welfare, and according to R. Quinn Duffy, “officialdom for the first time publicly recognized the Eskimos as citizens of the Dominion by distributing among them family allowances to which a bill enacted a few months before had entitled all Canadian citizens.”⁹⁶ The family allowance is representative of Canadian legislation during this period, as the government had begun to develop nationally comprehensive social welfare programs for a variety of issues, like healthcare, rather than funding charities established by religious organizations.⁹⁷

Ongoing Concerns

Re Eskimo continued to remind Canada of its obligation to Inuit, yet Canada sought to ensure that Inuit remained distinct from First Nations in legislation and governance. In 1950, for example, Inuit gained the right to vote in federal elections, yet First Nations were not extended this same right until 1960.⁹⁸ A 1951 amendment to the *Indian Act* states that, “a reference in this Act to an Indian does not include any person of the race of aborigines commonly referred to as Eskimos.”⁹⁹ Although this amendment specifically excluded Inuit from sharing the status of First Nations, Inuit affairs continued to be administered federally.¹⁰⁰ In 1966, the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development was created.¹⁰¹ Despite their administration within one department, the differential status of First Nations and Inuit continued. Although the *Indian Act* continues to outline federal responsibility for First Nations in Canada, there is no corresponding legislation or policy for Inuit.¹⁰² According to Inuit, however, the *Re Eskimo* decision entitles them to specific federal programming for relevant issues, such as healthcare.¹⁰³

INUIT



POST WORLD WAR II ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION OF INUIT

Traditionally, Inuit maintained a seasonally nomadic subsistence-oriented way of life, reliant on a variety of naturally occurring animal and mineral resources, and organized around communities of small kin groups. Until the early 1950s, the Canadian Government encouraged Inuit to live self-sufficiently from the land, as they had for centuries. In many regions, however, long-term contacts with European explorers, whalers and fur traders had affected Inuit economic and survival practices, shifting the focus from subsistence hunting to commercial trapping by the late nineteenth century. This change caused some Inuit to spend long periods of the year living in one place, such as near Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) posts, where they could exchange their furs for trade goods. Many Inuit continued to live at least semi-nomadically, however, until 1945. The construction of defence

project sites, like the DEW Line after the Second World War created centres where Inuit could obtain employment, medical services and often trade goods, thereby encouraging the development of sedentary communities.¹⁰⁴

Although Inuit had considerable contact with Europeans by 1945, they retained much of their traditional way of living throughout the first half of the twentieth century. The acculturative process was slow because programs to incorporate Inuit into formal systems of education, healthcare, wage labour and permanent housing were not established until the late 1940s or 1950s. During the Second World War, and the Cold War that followed, the Canadian Arctic was host to many American military personnel assigned, according to R. Quinn Duffy, “to build and operate a chain of strategic northern air bases en route to Europe.”¹⁰⁵ These visitors were critical of the Canadian Government for their perceived neglect of Inuit, including their inadequate living conditions, healthcare and education.¹⁰⁶ To address concerns of Inuit welfare, the federal government sent Canadian geographer J.L. Robinson to observe Inuit in the eastern Arctic, and to make recommendations for improving major areas of concern. The issues of concern identified by Robinson included inadequate education and healthcare; the collapse of the fur trade in the 1930s and consequent lack of employment for Inuit; the low numbers of available caribou, and difficulties experienced in obtaining sufficient food and winter clothing; as well as the lack of government administration in the Arctic and the lack of long-term policy planning for Inuit. Overhunting by European whalers and traders in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, combined with the Inuit orientation to commercial trading, resulted in much starvation in Inuit camps when fur prices collapsed in the 1930s, and hunting and trapping failed to provide sufficient resource yields. There were not enough caribou to eat or furs to trade for food at the HBC posts, and what furs Inuit could trap were not worth as much as they had been ten years earlier.¹⁰⁷

Through the Depression of the 1930s and the Second World War, the Canadian Government realized the necessity of providing nationwide social welfare. Resulting programs included old age pensions and family allowance payments for all Canadians, including Inuit, during the late 1940s and 1950s. Until 1953, however, the federal government advocated the maintenance of a traditional way of life for Inuit and occasionally relocated families to areas with supposed abundance of natural resources. Most of these projects failed because resources in the new location were not sufficient and Inuit continued to go hungry. Many relocated Inuit became quickly disillusioned.¹⁰⁸

Adoption of programs that acculturated and assimilated Inuit to southern Canadian culture with the goal of creating wage-earning Canadian citizens is evidence of federal perception that Inuit could not continue to live self-sufficiently from the land.¹⁰⁹ There were several issues motivating the development of such programs, including the need to provide employment alternatives to the fur trade, which had largely collapsed; ensuring that Inuit had a reliable food supply and access to healthcare; and defence and sovereignty concerns related to the Cold War for which Inuit habitation in remote regions of the North was encouraged. Additionally, the federal government wanted to expand programs for exploiting mineral resources in the North, which required educated employees with sedentary housing.¹¹⁰

In 1950, administration of Inuit was the responsibility of the Northern Affairs Program, which was managed by the Department of Resources and Development, and then the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources from 1953 to 1966. According to Mark Dickerson, through this department's programming, "northerners began to benefit from the universality of federal social programs: family allowances, old age pensions, health care, and special northern policies in education, housing, and economic development."¹¹¹ In 1955, Jean Lesage, the Minister of the newly created Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, announced a new policy for Inuit administration. The objective was to remedy the, "almost continuing state of absence of mind" in which Inuit had previously been administered.¹¹² The federal government also sought to give the same rights, privileges, opportunities and responsibilities enjoyed by other Canadians to Inuit, ensuring that their immediate needs, namely health, education and a sound economy, were met.¹¹³

Consequently, federal government programs in the following years focused on the development of housing, education for children and adults, and the expansion of medical facilities. Improvements to housing created sedentary communities which could be more easily administered, facilitated children's school attendance, and enhanced sanitary conditions in homes, thereby lowering incidences of disease and infant mortality. The diversification of the northern economy to ensure long-term employment and sustainable communities was a particular concern for the federal government, who encouraged Inuit to obtain wage labour in industries, like mining, and to work for the federal, and later territorial, government civil service. It was apparent to employers that many Inuit had inadequate literacy and skills training for such employment, and adult education and vocational training were encouraged as a means of learning practical skills that could be applied in employment situations.¹¹⁴

In 1955, the federal government took control of education from Anglican and Catholic missionary organizations, which had historically provided education for Inuit in the North. The goal of the missionaries was to "Christianize as well as civilize" Inuit; and the Catholic Church was explicit about its desire to acculturate and assimilate Aboriginal people across Canada through "the cultural transformation, usually referred to as 'education.'¹¹⁵ The development of a federal education system for children as well as adults, and the expansion of healthcare facilities and government housing during the 1950s, were intended to improve Inuit standards of living and acculturate Inuit to southern Canadian culture.¹¹⁶ The rapid change in lifestyle, including wage labour and sedentary community life, however, caused circumstances that were far from ideal, as exemplified in a 1962 statement by the Canadian Government:¹¹⁷

An Eskimo population growing at the rate of 3.8% a year is in transition between the old world of the snow house, the seal-oil lamp and primus stove for heat and light, clothing of skins, and a diet almost entirely of meat, and the new world of the snow-banked tent or wooden shack, fixed in one place (usually without sanitary facilities), clothing of cotton, nylon and wool, high carbohydrate foods purchased at the local store and the white man's rules about coming to work on time.¹¹⁸

Finding employment in communities, particularly stable, year-round jobs was difficult for many adults who spoke little English, and lacked formal education and skills training.¹¹⁹

In 1967, Yellowknife became the capital of the Northwest Territories, and the Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT) moved its members and administrative centre from Ottawa to its new capital, distancing itself physically and theoretically from the federal administration of Inuit affairs through the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. The creation of an independent territorial government required an expansion of the territorial civil service, and created many jobs. The presence of more government administrators in the Arctic, sometimes Inuit, enlarged social welfare and community development programming, particularly in the areas of education and healthcare.¹²⁰

Government programs for Inuit housing, education and healthcare were designed to improve the quality of life for Inuit since the end of the Second World War. Acculturation of Inuit to southern Canadian wage labour culture was intended to improve standards of living toward the Canadian Government's goal of Inuit participation at a middle class level in the socioeconomic system, "thereby reliev[ing] the nation of a major welfare burden."¹²¹ Through improved literacy and participation in wage labour, as well as the expansion of television, radio and telephone communication throughout the North during the 1960s, Inuit have become increasingly assimilated into Canadian culture. The northern, and hence isolated, existence of many Inuit, however, has been a major factor in the retention of their traditional languages and the incorporation of traditional skills and knowledge in the daily systems of education, government and business in Inuit communities.¹²²

INUIT



NORAD AND DEW LINE DEFENCE

Historical Discussion

Prior to 1939, the Canadian Government was not concerned about its lack of defence infrastructure in the Arctic, as attacks from that direction would have to be made by boat or overland, and would be virtually impossible given the distance and weather involved. Northern defence became an issue during the Second World War, however, with the technological development of intercontinental bombers and long-range missiles, and with the threat of Japanese attack. Later, with the Cold War threat of attack by the Soviet Union, the Canadian and American governments were anxious to ensure adequate defence mechanisms in the Arctic, and hence developed common defence organizations.

Program and Policy Development

Since purchasing Alaska in 1867, the Americans were an active presence in the North and, in most joint defence agreements with Canada, provided the majority of funding and personnel.¹²³ Although the United States was likely to have been the main target of attack during the Cold War, incoming bombers or missiles had to cross Canadian airspace before entering the northern United States, requiring the construction and administration of defence projects in Canadian territory. The first agreement was the Permanent Joint Board of Defence, established through the 1940 Ogdensburg Agreement, which included the creation of the Alaska Highway, the Northwest Staging Route, and the Canadian Oil (Canol) pipeline.¹²⁴

Between 1940 and 1943, 30,000 American service people were stationed across the Arctic, from Alaska to Greenland, to construct and carry out northern defence projects.¹²⁵ Although these projects received approval from the Canadian and American governments, they were largely carried out by Americans and under American authority. Inuit in the Northwest Territories and northern Quebec were not consulted about the construction of defence infrastructure in the territories that they traditionally inhabited. In 1943, the British High Commissioner to Canada toured the Arctic to review project construction. He expressed concern regarding American intent to construct roads and airport infrastructure that would serve commercial interests after the Second World War. Concern for Arctic sovereignty prompted the Canadian government to initiate a greater presence in the North. This was accomplished by increasing the number of civil servants stationed in the North, and by developing programs to improve Inuit welfare and create sedentary communities.¹²⁶

Following the end of the Second World War in 1945, the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union required that Canada maintain an interest in its Arctic defence infrastructure. In 1946, Canada and the United States agreed to construct a series of weather stations across the eastern Arctic to assist pilots crossing the Atlantic Ocean. By actively negotiating this agreement, Canada attempted to demonstrate its sovereignty over the terrestrial Arctic, providing context and precedent for future agreements of northern defence with the United States.¹²⁷ In 1955, Canada and the United States agreed to construct a chain of 63 radar stations—the Distant Early Warning (DEW) Line—with 42 stations located along the Canadian Arctic coast, and designed to give at least four-hour warning to protect North America against airborne attacks from the Soviet Union. The stations were American built and operated, but on sites requiring Canadian Government approval, subject to Canadian law, and operated from the outset with provisions for eventual Canadian control. By the late 1950s, intercontinental missiles with thermonuclear warheads, rather than the bombers, which the DEW Line was designed to protect against, had become the major threat to North America, rendering the DEW Line technology obsolete. Although these sites were no longer particularly useful for defence, they continued to operate as training and technology-testing facilities until quite recently.¹²⁸

In 1957, another agreement, the North American Air Defence Agreement (NORAD), was struck between Canada and the United States to develop a system of continental air defence.¹²⁹ This agreement provided infrastructure to alert the Strategic Air Command of impending attack, and hence according to a House of Commons Special Committee report on defence, opportunity for “the United States to use its maximum power to destroy the enemy territory should he decide to attack by air the North American continent.”¹³⁰ An example of NORAD’s defence strategy is the 1959 Ballistic Missile Early Warning System (BMEWS) agreement. This agreement utilized missile detection radar technology that was able to provide immediate warning of long-range attacks. “The detection role of NORAD [was] of very great importance in enabling Air Defence Command and Strategic Air Command to secure early warning of any possible air attack on North America,” and Canada’s membership in NORAD created a continental system for defence of the North.¹³¹ By 1963, NORAD provided employment for 14,700 Canadians (including Inuit) at stations in the North and throughout Canada.¹³² Security of the North remained a priority for Canada and the United States throughout the 1960s, and defence project sites were maintained.

Defence project sites, including Iqaluit, Broughton Island, Kivitoo and Ekalugad Fiord, attracted Inuit to congregate nearby for access to employment opportunities and medical services, creating sedentary communities over time. Although defence project sites were initially expected to provide temporary employment for Inuit, various cultural differences, such as concepts of work time and levels of training, created difficulties. The long-term effects of the sites on the development of housing, transport, communications, infrastructure, education and healthcare have been much more significant to community development. For example, American criticism of Inuit housing conditions was a factor in prompting the development of a large-scale construction and home rental program in many northern communities during the 1960s.¹³³ The construction of defence project sites created some employment for Inuit through the development of programs like the Canadian Rangers, which has continued to the present. This program uses traditional Inuit survival skills and knowledge to assist Canadian and American defence personnel in Arctic operations.¹³⁴

Ongoing Concerns

In 1980, aging DEW Line technology was replaced with the North Warning System (NWS) and thirteen minimally attended radars (MARs). The cost of upgrading defence technology was again shared by Canada and the United States who continue, through agreements such as NORAD, to co-operate on common defence initiatives in the North.¹³⁵ Although such programs have not provided sustained or large-scale employment for Inuit, they have brought Canadian and American service people into northern communities, thereby contributing to the economy. Inuit were not consulted about the construction of defence projects in the Arctic or the selection of site locations. These projects have created much environmental damage and

NORAD AND DEW LINE DEFENCE

attempts to clean up the sites have been recent. Such projects, however, have also contributed to community infrastructure, including airports and runways, roads, buildings, and hydro and sewage disposal systems.¹³⁶ Based on the initial American construction and operation of the DEW Line sites, the United States Government has contributed \$100 million over the past ten years under the Canada-United States Military Installations Clean-Up Agreement to Canada's clean-up projects. The total cost of cleaning up the 42 Canadian DEW Line sites is estimated between \$320 and \$500 million.¹³⁷

INUIT



CANADIAN LAW, JUSTICE AND POLICING

Historical Discussion

Before contact with Europeans, Inuit culture had its own system of leadership, cultural norms for behaviour, and social consequences for inappropriate conduct by members of the community. Rather than selecting community leaders, Inuit often sought consensus in decision making among those who were respected for their skills and abilities. As the Inuit population was small and dispersed, and survival required constant attention to the availability and procurement of resources, maintenance of emotional and practical support among extended kin was important to family survival, particularly for the elderly and those who lost their partners. Children were socialized to prize controlled tempers, avoidance of direct conflict or confrontation, social conformity, and personal humility, which promoted and ensured group

cohesion, and hence were considered virtues in Inuit culture. Methods of coercing appropriate behaviour from adults included avoidance and social ostracism to show disapproval. In extreme cases, to protect the community, Inuit sometimes took the life of community members that they had reason to believe posed a mortal and uncontrollable threat.¹³⁸

Moravian, Anglican and Catholic missionaries often followed European explorers and whalers into Arctic regions, beginning in Labrador during the eighteenth century, and during the nineteenth century in the eastern and western Arctic.¹³⁹ Misunderstandings between Inuit and Europeans, caused by cultural differences in language, behavioural expectations and modes of expression, were common. Religious conversion involved attempted acculturation of Inuit morals, such as understanding the Christian concept of sin. Missionaries were critical of others, including explorers, whalers and traders, for introducing alcohol and diseases, like syphilis, to Inuit communities, which the churches believed led to the moral and physical disintegration of Inuit families and communities.¹⁴⁰

In 1880, Canada passed an Order in Council declaring its sovereignty over the Arctic mainland and islands. Although the government could do little to ensure its dominion of the vast Arctic region, the establishment of Northwest Mounted Police (NWMP) posts across the Canadian Arctic beginning in the 1890s symbolized the presence of the Canadian Government, including its sovereignty and law, to whalers, explorers, missionaries and others familiar with police authority.¹⁴¹ The NWMP had to work, however, at establishing rules for conduct comprehensible to Inuit, who had their own concepts of law and justice. Until 1920, the NWMP were the only Canadian Government representatives with whom Inuit had contact. Through the establishment of police posts, “Canada for the first time openly served notice on the world that she was accepting the responsibilities of sovereignty over the Arctic mainland and the islands beyond it, was integrating that region with the rest of the country, and would enforce there her laws.”¹⁴²

In 1903, the NWMP established posts at Fullerton Harbour, a winter whaling station on the west coast of Hudson Bay; at Fort McPherson (then the northern point of termination for navigation on the Mackenzie River); and at Herschel Island where American whaling ships wintered. In 1904, the NWMP set up a post at Port Burwell on Hudson Strait, and deposited documents proclaiming Canadian sovereignty over the Arctic on headlands around the archipelago, including Cape Herschel on Ellesmere Island. The NWMP were given the authority to inspect cargo carried by ships that they encountered, to collect taxes, and to confiscate liquor.¹⁴³

Initially, the NWMP were not strict about the application of Canadian law for Inuit, and used alternatives for arrest and prosecution to acculturate Inuit to the legal system. For example, in dealing with lesser crimes, such as stealing and drunkenness, and in dealing with more serious crimes, including infanticide and homicide, members of the NWMP lectured Inuit about their behaviour. By making it illegal to sell intoxicants to Inuit and by distributing relief, the NWMP hoped to curb Inuit behaviour considered criminal by southern Canadian standards. In 1913, however, two Inuit were criminally prosecuted for the murder of two missionaries, making, according to Richard Diubaldo, “the government’s position crystal clear for all Inuit.”¹⁴⁴

This position was further reinforced when two Inuit were tried, convicted and hanged in 1923 for the murder of four Inuit and two Europeans, including a member of the NWMP.¹⁴⁵

In 1903, a member of the NWMP was appointed Acting Commissioner of the Northwest Territories (NWT), and in 1905, the Government of Canada passed the *Northwest Territories Amendment Act*, establishing a council government.¹⁴⁶ Throughout the twentieth century, the number of RCMP posts in the Arctic and northern Quebec increased to keep pace with the expansion of HBC and missionary activity, the construction of weather stations and airfields during the Second World War, and the establishment of DEW Line sites across the Arctic by the Canadian and American governments in the late 1940s. While this activity helped to ensure Canadian sovereignty of the Arctic, it also required police presence to ensure compliance with Canadian law.¹⁴⁷ In 1920, the Department of the Interior established its first northern administrative offices, located at Fort Smith, Fort Norman and at Resolution. The Fort Smith office included the first court of justice in the North.¹⁴⁸ Since Newfoundland and Labrador joined Confederation in 1949, the RCMP has established posts to police their Inuit communities.¹⁴⁹

Beginning in the 1950s, RCMP members stationed in the North were encouraged to hire knowledgeable and skilled Inuit to act as special constables at each detachment. Special constables were paid by the RCMP and were sometimes provided with housing. Often, special constables' families assisted RCMP members by preparing skins and sewing clothing for them, and by maintaining their dog teams. By sharing their knowledge of Arctic survival skills, special constables were essential to the success of the RCMP in the North. Inuit participation in the policing system through the Special Constable program demonstrated the potential for positive relationships between Inuit and the RCMP. With more Inuit settling permanently in communities throughout the 1960s, the special constables' role increasingly became oriented to translating for the regular RCMP members and to ensuring smooth relations between Inuit and the RCMP in communities. The Special Constable program was discontinued in the 1990s, and contemporary members of the program were given the option to become regular members of the RCMP.¹⁵⁰

In 1967, the NWT Council was moved to Yellowknife, the new capital of the NWT, thereby creating the Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT). The territorial civil service was expanded accordingly, and services were gradually devolved from the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development in Ottawa to the GNWT in Yellowknife. In 1970, the territorial government incorporated a Department of Legal Affairs, which eventually included Branches for Public Safety, Court Services and Legal Services.¹⁵¹ The application of criminal and civil law in the North, however, continued under the jurisdiction of the RCMP.¹⁵² By this time, most Inuit had settled in permanent communities, and young Inuit were attending school and becoming fluent in English. Through increasing familiarity with the structure of permanent communities, including local government, healthcare practices, education, and housing policies, Inuit were able to gain a better understanding of the RCMP's role in policing and the justice system.¹⁵³

Since 1970, the rate of crime in the North has been higher than that of most other regions in Canada.¹⁵⁴ Inuit comprise a significant portion of the Northern territories' populations, and are also highly represented in crime statistics. Several factors characteristic of isolated, northern communities have been identified as negatively affecting Inuit crime rates. In addition to high levels of unemployment among Inuit, the dominance of non-Inuit in the policing and justice system has contributed to disintegration of traditional community leadership and social control of behaviour. Decreased dependency of families on one another for subsistence; increased cultural heterogeneity within the community; overcrowded housing; boredom resulting from a lack of meaningful employment (particularly for youth); and the rise in overall community populations has led to decreased parental control and family solidarity, and consequently, less community solidarity. Failure to gain employment representing adequate participation in the community's socio-economic system has led to low self-esteem, especially among young adults, thereby contributing to the high crime rate in Northern communities.¹⁵⁵

Program and Policy Development

With establishment of the GNWT in Yellowknife, a branch was created to administer Public Safety, Court Services, and Legal Services. Similarly, the governments of Nunavut, and Newfoundland and Labrador administer their own justice services. Policing in these three regions, however, continues under the RCMP's jurisdiction.¹⁵⁶ In the NWT and Nunavut, most communities have permanently staffed RCMP posts. Of the six Inuit communities in Labrador, three have a permanent police presence and the other three are serviced by visiting officers for several days each month. In Quebec, the RCMP policed Nunavik from 1870 until provincial services were implemented in the region during the late 1960s. After the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement (JBNQA) was signed in 1975, Inuit established police services in each of their communities, which were monitored by Quebec's provincial police force, the Sûreté du Québec. In 1995, Nunavik's Kativik Regional Government created their own police force, with detachments in all communities staffed primarily by Inuit officers.¹⁵⁷

Interactions between Inuit and the RCMP were frequent during the 1970s, particularly in larger communities, like Iqaluit. A 1975 study by Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC) identified several issues relevant to conflict between Inuit and the justice system, including inadequate communication with Inuit regarding Canadian justice system procedures, lack of Inuit participation in legal enforcement activities, a short period for Inuit adaptation to living in permanent communities, and limited success of the existing programs for re-socialization of criminal offenders in the North. As many of the programs developed for the treatment and rehabilitation of northern offenders were based on southern Canadian models of culture and socialization, the report recommended developing programs that considered traditional Inuit culture and the unique elements of northern communities, such as the dominance of Inuktitut rather than English, the high incidence of unemployment, the lack of available housing, and the short length of time that many Inuit had lived in permanent communities.¹⁵⁸

The Canadian Criminal Justice Association has identified traditional Inuit culture as characteristically incompatible with the Canadian justice system in several ways, thereby creating difficulty for Inuit attempting to successfully navigate the system's intricacies. Inuit culture, for example, emphasizes non-confrontation, inclusiveness, honesty, the well-being of the community over individuals, and does not recognize western concepts of guilt and non-guilt. In practice, this means that Inuit have often pleaded guilty in court proceedings because it would be dishonest, and consequently culturally inappropriate, to do otherwise; have experienced difficulty testifying against community members or serving on juries (confrontational activities); and have often shown little emotion during court proceedings. In traditional culture, punishing the offender is necessary to heal the community. As such, punishment is considered inevitable for the offender, it is culturally appropriate for the offender to show little emotion when sentences from the justice system are handed down. Similarly, since Inuit consider punishment sufficient reparation for any crimes committed, they may not consider it necessary or appropriate to demonstrate emotional remorse during court proceedings.¹⁵⁹

In 1967, the first correctional facility opened in Yellowknife. This was a medium/maximum security building designed to house male and female offenders with sentences of two years or less. As had been the practice, offenders with longer sentences were sent to federal penitentiaries in southern Canada. As well as providing housing for offenders serving sentences, the facility staff administered treatment programs. These efforts at rehabilitation, however, were based on models appropriate to southern Canadian culture and lacked relevance to Inuit circumstances. A review of facility programs was conducted in 1970, and recommended increasing the cultural relevance of treatment to Aboriginal offenders, and returning all inhabitants of the NWT serving sentences at penitentiaries in southern Canada to the Yellowknife Correctional Facility for culturally relevant treatment.¹⁶⁰

In 1974, two further northern correctional facilities were opened: the South Mackenzie Correctional Centre in Hay River and the Baffin Correction Centre in Frobisher Bay (Iqaluit).¹⁶¹ Studies conducted at the Yellowknife facility between 1967 and 1971 had determined that offenders from the central and eastern Arctic suffered trauma related to geographical dislocation and cultural disorientation when they served sentences in Yellowknife. The studies also determined that there were significant numbers of Inuit offenders from the eastern and central Arctic, indicating the need for increased correctional services in those regions. The benefits of constructing correctional facilities at Hay River and Iqaluit included maintenance of social contact between offenders and their family members, reduced crowding at the Yellowknife facility, decreased costs associated with escorting offenders by airplane to and from Yellowknife, decreased language barriers for Inuit serving sentences, and greater opportunities for Inuit to gain employment through correctional extension programs and day passes. As the facilities at Hay River and Iqaluit were small and included fewer security mechanisms, the Yellowknife facility continued to house long-term offenders requiring maximum security and specialized treatment.¹⁶²

Programs at the Baffin facility were delivered mainly by Inuit staff, and focused on improving offenders' self esteem and cultural pride, teaching community and life skills, and creating awareness of criminal and justice issues. The facilities used community services to provide preventative and aftercare services for offenders, and established correctional programs that were culturally relevant to Inuit. The programs sought to promote self-esteem among offenders by providing positive Inuit role models, such as Inuit correctional workers who maintained steady employment in wage labour, but who were also skilled hunters and routinely participated in traditional pursuits. By focusing positive attention on the performance of traditional Inuit subsistence skills, the correctional programs attempted to foster individual confidence through maintenance of traditional culture. As well as learning traditional skills, Inuit were given work placements in the community to learn vocational skills and to gain employment experience. Graduates of the Baffin Correctional Facility rehabilitation program were encouraged to maintain contact with the facility, and the first Inuk superintendent of the facility was appointed in 1976. By 1980, the rate of recidivism for offenders treated at the Baffin facility had decreased compared to those from the Baffin region treated at the Yellowknife facility before 1974.¹⁶³

Similar to recommendations for program and policy development in the NWT criminal justice system, Quebec also conducted a review of Inuit in the justice system, culminating in the 1972 Choquette Report entitled, "Administration of Justice Beyond the 50th Parallel". This report advocated creating itinerant courts, and increasing the justice system's cultural relevancy to facilitate Inuit understanding of the criminal justice process and the rehabilitation of criminal offenders. Although itinerant courts were established in 1974 in Nunavik, by the 1990s, it was evident that many Quebec Inuit still did not speak English or French, and Canadian law and concepts of the justice system could not be adequately translated to Inuktitut.¹⁶⁴

In 1984, Inuit in Povungnituk, Nunavik put forward a proposal to create a local judiciary, which would reside permanently in the community, increasing the efficiency of criminal justice proceedings and the consistency with which the law was applied within the community. Inuit requested that defence attorneys reside in their communities, to become familiar with Inuit culture and the communities' social concerns, and sought to increase their participation and influence in sentencing criminal offenders. In particular, the community of Povungnituk was concerned that itinerant courts did not adequately consider their requests to have some offenders removed from the community to southern correctional facilities (usually for safety reasons), and for other offenders to serve community sentences. The local judiciary committee was comprised of seven community representatives with two substitutes. As well as conducting research on justice issues, the community invested the committee with authority for judicial and social control. The committee sought to make justice increasingly relevant to Inuit culture by combining Canadian law with traditional Inuit values. The committee, however, was not invested with judicial authority by the provincial judicial system and was unable to operate effectively.¹⁶⁵ A study of Nunavik's itinerant courts conducted in the early 1990s demonstrated that language barriers and lack of cultural understanding from Inuit and members of the court continued to negatively affect community perceptions of itinerant courts and their efforts to administer criminal justice in northern Quebec.¹⁶⁶

Labrador communities have experienced similar concerns with their itinerant court system, as offender contact with defence attorneys and judges is limited and inconsistent. A 1985 report by the federal Department of Justice on implementation of the *Young Offender Act* in Labrador stated that some communities did not have a full-time RCMP presence, meaning that knowledge of crimes existed among community members but went unreported. Like adult offenders elsewhere in the North, many Labrador Inuit youth lacked appropriate correctional facilities and rehabilitation programs in their home communities that were culturally relevant. The study recommended expanding the Native Courtworker Program to provide positive role models for Inuit youth and to facilitate their rehabilitation through improved understanding of the justice system. The study identified abuse of alcohol and non-medical drugs as contributing factors in most criminal offences committed by youth. Common offences committed by youth included theft and assault. Causes for youth offences were cited as boredom, crowded housing conditions, parental neglect, and community disintegration, which led to decreased influence of community elders over youth.¹⁶⁷ These conditions have also been cited as cause for feelings of despair among young Inuit, negatively contributing to the high rate of Inuit suicide.¹⁶⁸

A 1984 INAC report on Inuit and the northern criminal justice system recommended that attempts to amend criminal justice policy and procedures in the North recognize the effects of macro-level socio-economic circumstances of Inuit as factors in their involvement with the criminal justice system. The report recommended addressing issues such as unemployment, low levels of education, and over crowded housing while concurrently amending the justice system. In addition, increasing Inuit participation in the justice system and in programs directed at preventing criminal behaviour—by providing culturally positive role models and incorporating guidance roles for elders—was predicted to improve rates of criminal behaviour among Inuit.¹⁶⁹

Like housing in northern communities, overcrowding has become a problem in northern correctional facilities. Between 1991 and 1997, facilities in the NWT were consistently operating above capacity, resulting in situations where many offenders inappropriately served sentences at more minimal risk facilities. The overcrowding reduced the ratio of staff to offenders, and consequently, the amount of time available for delivering programs and meeting with offenders individually. During the 1990s, the NWT had the highest crime rate of territories and provinces in Canada (based on the rate of reported crimes), the highest rate of incarceration, and the highest rates for assault and sexual assault. Although the number of violent crimes remained quite consistent between 1991 and 1997, the rate of non-violent crimes decreased.¹⁷⁰

With the creation of the Nunavut Territory in 1999, the Government of Nunavut maintained some aspects of the NWT criminal justice system but also created new policies and programs specific to Inuit needs. Major elements of the policing and justice system in Nunavut are the RCMP, the court system, justices of the peace, and community-based justices. While each of these elements has worked to incorporate Inuit into the policing and justice system, according to several studies, the court system requires revisions to ensure that it successfully serves the needs of Inuit women.¹⁷¹ Community-based justice initiatives are particularly valuable in creating opportunities for Inuit to direct and participate in the justice system. These initiatives can take

a number of forms, including sentencing circles and justice committees. Community-based justice usually seeks to apply principles associated with traditional Inuit mechanisms of social control. These initiatives address anti-social behaviour, and also assist victims in their healing. Restitution, community service, and reintegration are methods commonly used by community justice initiatives to punish offenders and effect healing in victims. Several elements have been identified as necessary for successful community-based justice programs, including a holistic approach to victim healing and crime prevention within the program; clear definitions of community members eligible to participate in the program; comprehension of community power dynamics; defined community goals for the program; and links between the community program and the mainstream justice system.¹⁷²

According to a 1999 study for the Department of Justice Canada, reforms recommended for the Nunavut justice system fall within five broad categories: including accountability of the system to Nunavut communities, number of Inuit represented in the system, sensitivity to traditional Inuit values, sensitivity to gender bias in the delivery of justice, and the need for community initiatives to provide alternatives to the justice system. In 1999, none of the judges employed in Nunavut were Inuit and few lived in the territory. Although measures had been taken to involve Inuit in the justice system and to make the system increasingly culturally relevant, elements of traditional Inuit culture were not always appropriate for incorporation in the mainstream justice system. The Inuit value system, for example, refrained from judgement of other people, and as a result, jury trials involving Inuit often had low conviction rates. This was particularly harmful to women and children acting as plaintiffs in sexual assault trials. Pauktuutit, the national Inuit women's organization, expressed concern about the low conviction rate of accused sexual offenders and suggested that no sexual assault cases be tried with juries. Similarly, attempts to involve elders in community sentencing of criminal offenders, in approximation of their traditional cultural roles, often delivered lenient sentences, which favoured the offender and did little to protect their victims. This is a particular concern in spousal abuse cases.¹⁷³

Another 1999 Department of Justice Canada study reviewed issues relevant to the justice system in Nunavut and concluded that levels of violent crimes and non-violent crimes were higher in Nunavut than for most other places in Canada. The study determined that crimes against the court, such as "failure to comply," and crimes related to public disorder were also disproportionately high, indicating "a considerable breakdown in community and family social controls and an extreme dependence on the formal criminal justice system."¹⁷⁴ Issues contributing to family and community breakdown were identified as including rapid social and economic change associated with settlement in permanent communities during the 1960s; and cultural conflict created by the tension between traditional values and the influences provided by southern Canadian institutions, such as schools and the media. In particular, high unemployment rates (particularly among young men), substance abuse, low levels of educational achievement, and inadequate housing have significantly contributed to perceptions of inadequacy; low self-esteem; and feelings of anger, frustration, and hopelessness among Inuit. These factors are associated with both the high rate of crimes and the high suicide rate among young Inuit.¹⁷⁵

Ongoing Concerns

Many of the proposals made during the 1970s to improve relations between Inuit and the justice system, and to make the system increasingly relevant to Inuit have been implemented. These recommendations include regional correctional facilities staffed by Inuit with culturally sensitive rehabilitation programs and increasing community participation in the justice system. Northern communities, however, continue to experience disproportionately high crime rates, which have largely been attributed to the effects of rapid social and economic change that took place between 1950 and the 1970s, including the transition to living in permanent communities, the loss of many families' sled dogs, and residential schooling. The legacies of these changes in lifestyle and culture are still being accommodated by the first and second generations of Inuit living the majority of their lives in permanent communities.¹⁷⁶

In addition, the socio-economic conditions of many northern communities have had significant and negative impacts on the incidence of crime among Inuit, particularly various forms of abuse within the family. This is especially true for young Inuit men, whose level of education is often lower than that of similar-aged Inuit women. Among Inuit, far more men than women commit criminal offences. Several studies, including those by Pauktuutit, have partially attributed high crime rates to the shift in traditional Inuit gender roles, which may be difficult for men to successfully adopt. As the traditional model of the *Inumarit* ("Inuit hunter and competent man of the land") is not necessarily possible for modern town-bound Inuit to emulate, other forms of employment for men are required but are not always readily available.¹⁷⁷

The Government of Nunavut's Department of Justice's focus on incorporating *Inuit Qaujimagatuqangit* (traditional Inuit knowledge, which includes but is not limited to language, culture and the environment) into program and policy development demonstrates a commitment to ensuring the justice system's relevancy to Inuit, and encourages community participation in the justice process. The Department of Justice, for example, hired a unilingual Inuktitut speaker as an elder advisor. According to staff at the Policy and Planning Division of Nunavut's Department of Justice, "the Department of Justice is working to bridge the gap between Inuit and non-Inuit in the justice system, and to develop a better working relationship between them." Further, "devolving some responsibilities for the administration of justice to communities empowers the communities and helps to ensure that *Inuit Qaujimagatuqangit* is being implemented."¹⁷⁸ Similarly, the twelve recent graduates from Nunavut's Akitsiraq Law School are in a unique position to provide culturally sensitive legal counsel to Inuit in their own language, which improves Inuit understanding of the legal system.¹⁷⁹

Like the justice system, the RCMP are working to improve communication between police and northern communities by recruiting Inuit as RCMP members; making training for Inuit members more relevant to their way of life and responsive to their needs; increasing community involvement in determining local RCMP priorities; and by offering the highly successful "Inuit Perceptions Training" program to all RCMP recruits (members and their spouses) employed in the North. This program presents historical events involving Inuit and the Government of Canada, such as the intergenerational legacies of residential schooling, from an Inuit perspective.¹⁸⁰

Recent allegations by Inuit—such as in the Makivik Corporation-produced film “Echo of the Last Howl”—that RCMP culled approximately 20,000 Inuit sled dogs in the eastern Arctic and northern Quebec between 1950 and 1970 have been subject to an RCMP investigation. The investigation’s interim report was released in September 2005. It included a review of scholarly literature and archival documents from the RCMP and federal departments working in the North, as well as 40 interviews with current and former members of the RCMP, including Inuit special constables, who worked in northern communities during the relevant time period. The investigation concluded that although the RCMP did destroy Inuit sled dogs between 1950 and 1970, it was for public health and safety reasons, which were often caused by illnesses, such as canine distemper, hepatitis, rabies and malnourishment. The RCMP investigation found no evidence for a mass Inuit sled dog cull.¹⁸¹

The Kativik Regional Police Force in Nunavik, and program and policy development by the RCMP and Government of Nunavut, demonstrate that when Inuit become involved in their local and regional justice and policing systems, there is a positive impact on the cultural relevancy of community services. Recent studies by the Correctional Service of Canada and the Department of Justice Canada have identified the need to create more culturally relevant treatment and rehabilitation programs, particularly for Inuit youth, and for victims and perpetrators of family violence.¹⁸² Crime prevention programs are needed within northern communities to prevent youth crime and to stop youth criminal behaviour before it escalates. Such programs, it is hoped, will successfully reduce the crime rate in the North, which continues to be higher in the NWT and Nunavut than in other regions of Canada.¹⁸³

INUIT



ARCTIC SOVEREIGNTY AND INUIT RELOCATIONS

Historical Discussion

Sovereignty of the Arctic and the associated Archipelago did not become a concern for Canada until late in the nineteenth century, when political issues and international conflicts caused the Canadian Government to assert a presence in the region. Regions of Canada inhabited largely by Inuit joined Confederation at various times. Quebec joined Canadian Confederation in 1867 and the Northwest Territories joined Canada in 1870, yet Newfoundland and Labrador did not join Canada until 1949.¹⁸⁴ Although the Arctic Archipelago was not initially specified within the boundaries of the Northwest Territories, until the late nineteenth century there were no direct threats to Canadian sovereignty of the Arctic islands that required a formal declaration of jurisdiction. Indeed, Arctic sovereignty was not considered an issue worthy of inclusion in Canada's 1867 Confederation agreement.¹⁸⁵

In 1880, however, an Order in Council was passed to confirm Dominion title and ownership of the Arctic Archipelago. Through this declaration, Canada took responsibility from Britain for the surveillance of the islands.¹⁸⁶ Inuit habitation of the North since time immemorial and the Order in Council, as a deed of title, have formed the basis for Canada's historic claim to sovereignty of the North. Canada's jurisdiction of the Arctic mainland and Archipelago are uncontested—with the exception of Hans Island off Ellesmere Island—yet Canada's further claims to the internal archipelago waterways, including the Northwest Passage, have been questioned internationally. The recent effects of climate change in the North have meant longer ice-free seasons and increased opportunities for international traffic in Arctic waters, making Canadian sovereignty of northern waterways a focus of concern for the Canadian Government.¹⁸⁷

At the turn of the twentieth century, the Canadian Government became increasingly concerned about the unregulated presence of foreign nationals sailing through passageways between the Arctic Islands, some of which were still largely unexplored. In 1901, the government funded a North Pole expedition by Captain J.E. Bernier and his Canadian ship, *Arctic*. Bernier intended to sail north as far as he could through the Arctic pack ice and then continue overland by sled to reach the North Pole but was unsuccessful in reaching his goal. Following this, the Canadian Government appointed Bernier to make annual tours of the Arctic coast and islands on the Canadian ship, *Neptune*. He was given authority to inspect any ships that he encountered, and to carry out navigational and scientific studies. He also left documents declaring Canadian sovereignty on many Arctic islands. These tours were discontinued in 1914 because of the First World War, but were reactivated in 1922, when conflicts over fishing rights in the Sverdrup Islands caused the Canadian Government to send Bernier, with an official from the Department of the Interior and nine members of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), to tour the region and to establish two posts—at Pond Inlet and at Craig Harbour on the southeast corner of Ellesmere Island.¹⁸⁸ Through these posts, Canada symbolically controlled two of the main entrances to the eastern Arctic. Over the next few years, police posts were opened at Dundas Harbour on Devon Island, as well as at Pangnirtung, Lake Harbour, and at Port Burwell in northern Newfoundland.¹⁸⁹

By the beginning of the twentieth century, there were Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) and RCMP posts throughout the North.¹⁹⁰ The Imperial Oil Company's discovery of oil at Fort Norman in 1920 acted as a catalyst to create a civil service in the North, and initial offices were located at forts Smith and Norman, and at Resolution.¹⁹¹ During the 1920s, the Canadian Government established a game preserve over the Arctic Archipelago, further establishing their jurisdictional authority and sovereignty claim to the region. The second northern influx of government employees from southern Canada came during the Second World War, and afterwards with the onset of the Cold War, when Canada entered a series of joint defence agreements with the United States. American service people were stationed at sites across the Canadian Arctic to construct and monitor defence projects.¹⁹² In many cases, these sites were located in remote areas and were administered by Americans. The operation of defence project

sites without Canadian presence, as well as Greenlanders' unauthorized hunting in the Arctic Archipelago, created sovereignty concerns and motivated the federal government to ensure that as many Arctic regions as possible were inhabited by Canadians.¹⁹³

Beginning in 1920, the Canadian Government facilitated Inuit relocations. These relocations were primarily motivated by subsistence needs, and moved Inuit to regions, sometimes successfully, with reported better natural resource yields to prevent starvation within Inuit communities.¹⁹⁴ On several occasions, however, Inuit relocations were motivated by sovereignty concerns. The HBC also proposed relocation projects to the federal government that would assist them in opening posts across the Arctic. To ensure success of the HBC's business venture, Inuit trappers were needed. In 1934 for example, Inuit from Cape Dorset were relocated to Devon Island when the HBC re-opened a post that had closed several years earlier.¹⁹⁵ Some Inuit were relocated seasonally, such as those in the western Arctic who were encouraged to winter at Banks Island and Herschel Island during the 1950s, with both the assertion of sovereignty and the fear of starvation as motivating concerns. According to the Royal Commission Report on Aboriginal Peoples, in most cases with early relocations, Inuit were satisfied with their new surroundings or were assisted in returning to their original territory if they were unhappy.¹⁹⁶ Although relocations of Inuit families were supposedly conducted to areas of resource abundance where Inuit could live self-sufficiently, the federal government also had a *de facto* concern for sovereignty of the Canadian Arctic.¹⁹⁷

The 1953 relocations of Inuit families from Port Harrison (Inukjuak) and Pond Inlet to Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord (Craig Harbour), however, were controversial. Government motivations for the relocation were not clearly conveyed to the Inuit involved or to the Canadian public, and Inuit were moved from northern Quebec to the High Arctic, which involved adaptations to a colder climate and longer periods of total light or darkness. Additionally, it is unclear if the government made or honoured promises to return Inuit to northern Quebec if and when requests to return were made. In 1993, the Royal Commission investigated claims against the government made by Inuit who participated in the relocation and their descendants.¹⁹⁸ A presentation to the Commission by then-President of Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, Rosemarie Kuptana, focused on the cultural and historical context of relations between Inuit and non-Inuit in northern Quebec during the 1950s, and in particular the concept of "ilira." According to Kuptana, "Inuit use ilira to refer to a great fear or awe, such as the awe a strong father inspires in his children."¹⁹⁹ The growth of the fur trade and disease epidemics combined to increase Inuit dependency on non-Inuit, including Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Hudson Bay Company staff and missionaries, producing a feeling of ilira among Inuit in their relations with non-Inuit. As Kuptana stated to the Commission, real consultation of potential relocations was not possible with Inuit, as "a challenge to the authority of the Qallunaat [white people] or defiance of their requests was almost unthinkable."²⁰⁰ The Commission published their report in 1994, concluding that the relocation "plan was inherently unsound, it was misrepresented to Inuit to gain their concurrence, and the means adopted to carry out the plan were equally unsound." The report went on to state that, however inappropriate the project, "the Government did what it believed to be best for the Inukjuak Inuit in the institutional context of the time."²⁰¹

Although Inuit had requested recognition for their contribution to Canadian sovereignty, the Commission concluded that economics, or their belief in the presence of animal resources at Resolute and Grise Fiord, were the primary motivators for the relocation, with sovereignty, to an unknown degree, acting as a material consideration in the sites chosen to relocate Inuit.²⁰²

The history of Inuit residence in permanent communities is only forty years in many parts of the Arctic. Although Inuit maintained a pattern of life based on seasonal migrations and resource availability until the mid-twentieth century, since 1960 most Inuit have lived in permanent settlements with access to healthcare, schools and other government services. While Inuit settlement in communities was often motivated by employment, such as at DEW Line sites, by children attending school, or to be near medical treatment, the federal government also encouraged community settlement through large scale housing construction projects during the 1960s. Once settled in communities, Inuit reliance on traditional ways of life became difficult because of the lengthy travel distances required to find animal resources, which were not available near communities, and the need to maintain a steady family income through wage employment.²⁰³

Canada has maintained an assertion of Arctic sovereignty through its investment in the North, including its continued expansion of communities, as well as federal government services and infrastructure. In 1967, for example, the establishment of the Northwest Territories Council as the resident territorial government at Yellowknife demonstrated Canadian sovereignty of the North. Communities developed through Inuit relocations, such as Resolute and Grise Fiord, continue to exist.

By the 1970s, the Canadian Government was not sponsoring many new relocation projects, as the original reasons for relocating Inuit had decreased in significance. Although sovereignty of the Arctic Archipelago and defence of the northern coastal mainland were still concerns to the Canadian Government, increases in defence technology and American defence partnerships meant that Inuit residency in remote areas was no longer so pressing as a means to monitor the North. Increased residency of federal and territorial civil servants in the North, and increased availability of consumer goods in permanent communities meant that sole reliance on animal resources for all elements of livelihood was no longer necessary.²⁰⁴ Hence, Inuit relocations to regions where the government thought there was better hunting and access to natural resources were no longer considered necessary. Beyond these practical reasons for the decline of relocation projects, the evolving federal-Inuit political relationship meant relocation initiatives were less politically appropriate and desirable.

Controversy over unsuccessful relocations during the 1950s and 1960s, and studies conducted by the federal government in the late 1960s and early 1970s, which determined that government-sponsored relocations did not result in predicted levels of Inuit employment, also made Canada less likely to initiate Inuit relocation projects.²⁰⁵ In 1972, the Royal Commission on Labrador set out nine principles for future resettlements based on earlier relocation experiences in southern Labrador. These principles recommended that resettlements only occur after extensive consultation with departing and receiving community members, and after planning and preparation to ensure long-term socio-economic viability of relocated individuals in their new community.²⁰⁶

Program and Policy Development

The threat of Soviet attack across the North diminished during the late 1960s and Canada subsequently reached an agreement with the United States to take control of the largely defunct DEW Line sites.²⁰⁷ During this time, concerns for Canadian sovereignty, which had been primarily land based, shifted to focus on northern waterways. The federal government's interest in monitoring use of northern waterways, such as the Northwest Passage, has increased significantly in recent years as climate change causes longer ice-free seasons and more opportunities for ship traffic.

Early in 1968, oil deposits were discovered at Prudhoe Bay in Alaska, and by December 1968, the United States was proposing to ship oil through the Northwest Passage to the American east coast. The Canadian Government, including newly elected Prime Minister Trudeau, objected to the commercial transportation of environmentally-hazardous materials through the sensitive northern eco-system but possessed little data on northern ice conditions and navigation to back their concerns.²⁰⁸

In 1969, the American Government proposed to send an oil tanker, the S.S. *Manhattan*, on a trial voyage through the Northwest Passage, accompanied by icebreakers. As military vessels, these icebreakers were legally required to seek Canadian permission before entering internal territorial waters. Canada was indirectly notified of the *Manhattan's* intentions but no official requests for permission were made before it entered the Northwest Passage. Despite Canadian claims to sovereignty of the northern archipelago waters, according to international law, the Northwest Passage could potentially be a "high seas," as it is outside the 1969-designated three-mile territorial sea region required for Canadian waters. In May 1969, Prime Minister Trudeau made a parliamentary statement to clarify the Canadian Government's position on Arctic sovereignty. According to Trudeau, Canadian sovereignty of the northern mainland and Archipelago was not in question, and Canada had, "exclusive sovereign rights to explore and exploit the resources of the Arctic continental shelf."²⁰⁹ Additionally, according to Trudeau, that foreign companies exploring natural resources in the North did so under permit from the Canadian Government was further evidence of Canada's Arctic sovereignty.²¹⁰

The following year, the Trudeau government passed the *Arctic Waters Pollution Prevention Act* and made amendments to the *Territorial Sea and Fishing Zones Act* to extend Canada's territorial sea limits in the North to twelve miles, rather than three. This legislation served to extend, "limited jurisdiction for specific, defensive, and non-acquisitive purposes" without claiming Canadian sovereignty over the region.²¹¹ Nonetheless, the United States has continued to maintain the right of international travel in the Northwest Passage.²¹² As Canada perceived that international law did not sufficiently protect marine environments, particularly the unique circumstances of the Arctic, from the potential adverse affects of international travel, the *Pollution Prevention Act* was designed to ensure the integrity of the Arctic environment. Within the Act, ships are free to pass through northern straits, provided they meet requirements for minimizing and mitigating pollution. Although this Act extended Canadian jurisdiction beyond the territorial sea limits, it was consistent with Canada's perception of its role as

custodian of the North, with legislation created by other coastal states to ensure protection of their national environments, and with the spirit of international laws for maritime navigation safety and pollution control.²¹³

In 1985, Canada attempted to establish its sovereignty over the Arctic Archipelago and surrounding waters using the straight baselines system as a legal argument and the twelve-mile territorial sea rule. The straight baselines system was created at the United Nations' Territorial Sea Convention of 1958 and clarified at the Law of the Sea Convention in 1982 as a means for incorporating land-masses within adjacent and associated territorial boundaries. Under this argument, a coastline must be deeply indented or bordered by an archipelago, which constitutes, "a fringe of islands along the coast in its immediate vicinity."²¹⁴ In addition, baselines must enclose land only within internal-water proximity of the coast, and must coincide with the general shape of the coast.²¹⁵ The straight baselines system was the primary legal argument for Canadian sovereignty of the archipelago waters, but several other legal arguments have been identified as potentially supportive to the case. These arguments are the sector theory and the doctrine of historic waters.²¹⁶ Although the sector theory, which uses latitudinal and longitudinal lines to demarcate territorial boundaries, has been used historically in Canada to identify the North as sovereign territory, it is not sufficient alone to define sovereignty.²¹⁷ The doctrine of historic waters considers the long-term and exclusive use of the region, and the collusion of surrounding nations in determining sovereignty. That Canada considers the archipelago's internal waters sovereign territory was implicit in Prime Minister Trudeau's 1969 statements during the *Manhattan* situation regarding Canada's historic and exclusive use of the Arctic Archipelago. The containment of archipelago water within Canada is not explicit in legislation, yet it could be accommodated within the definition of internal waters in the 1964 *Territorial Sea and Fishing Zones Act*.²¹⁸

In 1985, the European community made diplomatic protest against Canadian attempts to enclose the Northwest Passage as internal waters using the straight baselines system. Similarly, an American ice breaking ship, *Polar Sea*, was sent through the Northwest Passage without Canadian Government consent in 1985. This incident led to the 1988 Canadian-American Agreement on Arctic Co-operation, whereby the American Government conceded to seek permission from the Canadian Government for any future transits of the Northwest Passage. This agreement was used in 2000, when the American Government sought Canadian permission for one of its icebreakers to traverse the Northwest Passage.²¹⁹

Although the Arctic Archipelago waters are not referred to specifically in the Canadian Government's 1970 White Paper on Defence, the document states that, "the Government's objective is to continue effective occupation of Canadian territory, and to have a surveillance and control capability to the extent necessary to safeguard national interests in all Canadian territory, and all airspace and waters over which Canada exercises sovereignty or jurisdiction."²²⁰ To this end, the White Paper supported the development of northern training exercises for defence troops, and encouraged Inuit to participate in northern defence through employment with the Department of National Defence, particularly in the Northern Rangers program.²²¹ Recruiting programs targeting Inuit were developed in the 1970s to facilitate Canadian defensive

organizations that were knowledgeable about the land and resources in the area where they served, to ensure representation of the Canadian population within National Defence, and to create regional employment opportunities. Training Inuit for the Ranger program meant that fewer Armed Forces members would need to be accommodated with housing and services for their families, such as healthcare and schools, in the North.²²²

During the 1980s and early 1990s, Canada explored several initiatives to monitor and provide jurisdiction over the internal waterways of the Arctic Archipelago. In 1982, Canada introduced Article 234 at the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS III). This article, commonly called the “Canada clause,” requires that ice covered water, such as that in the Arctic, be declared unique. Further, Canada requested that nations bordering such waters be allowed to create protectionist legislation exceeding international standards for navigational safety and environmental stewardship within their Exclusive Economic Zones (commonly extending 200 miles from the coast) to ensure these sensitive ecological regions are safeguarded. Although such clauses may assist Canada in protecting the ecological integrity of the Northwest Passage, they will not permit Canada to forbid passage to any ships meeting the enhanced standards.²²³

In 1994 the Canadian Government released another White Paper on Defence, which is still its most recent comprehensive statement on the issue. The 1994 White Paper states that, “Canada seeks to maintain political sovereignty and economic jurisdiction over 10 million square kilometres of ocean in the Pacific, Atlantic, and Arctic.”²²⁴ According to the White Paper, “for Canada, sovereignty means ensuring that, within our area of jurisdiction, Canadian law is respected and enforced.”²²⁵ In the White Paper, the Canadian Government stated its commitment to stewardship and protection of Arctic ecology through “greening” practices, pollution prevention, environmental surveillance, and clean-up of contaminated areas, such as DEW Line sites. Through agreements between National Defence and Inuit organizations, including Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated and the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, Inuit across the North have been integral participants in DEW Line clean-up projects.²²⁶

Canada has also committed to partnership with the United States in a variety of defence agreements, including the North American Aerospace Defence (NORAD) Agreement, which was renewed in 1991; the Standing Committee on National Defence on Maritime Sovereignty; and the Canadian Forces Integrated Undersea Surveillance System. A primary objective of Canadian defence policy is to maintain effective air, sea and land operations that ensure the defence of North America in partnership with the United States. Since 1994, Canadian Air Force and Navy surveillance in the North have been curtailed through funding cuts. The Canadian Ranger Patrol Group, however, has increased and is projected to include 4,800 members by 2008. The Ranger Patrol makes effective use of Inuit traditional knowledge of northern lands and resources. Through the Junior Canadian Ranger programme, Inuit youth are provided with practical opportunities to acquire and make use of traditional skills and knowledge. Since 1942, the Canadian Ranger Patrol Group has played a significant role in maintaining Canada's presence and sovereignty in remote regions of the North.²²⁷

Ranger knowledge of northern resources has become particularly significant to initiatives tracking the effects of global warming in the North. The Inuit Circumpolar Conference (ICC) has called the Canadian Arctic, “the globe’s barometer of climate change” and stated that, “Inuit are the mercury in that barometer.”²²⁸ As gauges for human adaptation to global climate change, Inuit are anxious to participate in studies and discussions leading to the development of global policies that will mitigate the changes to their environment. Climate change and consequent global warming, which is affecting the migration routes of caribou and causing pack ice to melt throughout the North, are a side-effect of global pollution that is negatively affecting the traditional Inuit way of life. Melting sea-ice means reduced environmental capacity for animals such as polar bears, seals, walrus, and some birds, and consequently reduced opportunity for Inuit to practice traditional hunting. The Inuit Circumpolar Conference recently suggested creating a Distant Environmental Warning System that would use satellite technology to monitor climate change in the North. According to the ICC, recognizing the Arctic as an indicator of global climate change, and finding methods of protecting it now, will prevent the rest of the world from experiencing more extreme effects of global warming in the future.²²⁹

Melting sea-ice, which reduces the ice cover of northern waterways, is also making it potentially easier for ships to travel through the Northwest Passage. According to a 2001 article in the *Canadian Journal of Policy Research*, increased ship traffic in the Northwest Passage will make it more difficult for Canada to ensure sovereignty of this region, and will require an increased financial commitment to establish surveillance and interception infrastructure in the Passage.²³⁰ A 1986 statement on Canadian sovereignty of the Northwest Passage made by Joe Clark, as Secretary of State, is considered definitive as Canada’s most recent position on the issue. Clark stated that Inuit inhabited the ice as they did the land joined by the ice, implying that international law governing innocent passage in international straits is not applicable to the Northwest Passage. Although the United States and the European Union have both indicated that they do not accept Canada’s claim to sovereignty of the Northwest Passage, neither has pushed for a legal ruling on the issue because icy conditions in the Passage have not been historically conducive to commercial shipping. With melting of the pack ice, however, shipping through the Passage will become an increasingly viable economic opportunity, and Canada will likely be forced to defend its legal claim to sovereignty of the Northwest Passage.²³¹

International efforts to open the Northwest Passage to commercial traffic will increase the number of ships passing through the North annually, negatively affecting Canada’s northern security and increasing rates of pollution. The Northwest Passage is 8,000 kilometres shorter than routes through the Panama Canal or around Cape Horn, at the tip of South America, for trips between Asia and the eastern United States. Use of the Passage for international commercial traffic will mean that goods can be shipped more quickly and cheaply worldwide, which is a significant incentive for the United States and Europe to contest Canada’s claim to sovereignty over the waterway. Recently, Japan has expressed interest in using the Northwest Passage for commercial shipping, and it is likely that other countries will do the same as the Passage becomes increasingly ice-free.²³²

Ongoing Concerns

Issues of concern associated with increased shipping in the Northwest Passage include the introduction of foreign diseases, to which Inuit may have little or no tolerance; further displacement of animal populations, resulting in fewer opportunities for Inuit to pursue traditional ways of life; increases in illegal activities, such as human and drug smuggling, in the large uninhabited regions of the North; and navigational tanker accidents, like the *Exxon Valdez* spill in 1989 off the south coast of Alaska, which are likely to occur despite stringent Canadian environmental protection laws. Increased shipping traffic in the Arctic Archipelago, however, is likely to create skilled employment opportunities for Inuit, and increased economic development potential for coastal ports, like Iqaluit.²³³

Canada currently maintains a system of voluntary registration for ships entering the archipelago waters, but there are concerns that voluntary rather than requisite registration sends an international message of Canadian uncertainty regarding their claim to sovereignty of the Archipelago waters. Although the North, and hence, Arctic sovereignty, is often expressed by Canadians as significant to national identity, “a gap exists between Canadian policy regarding the importance of the waters of the Northwest Passage to Canada and actual domestic actions to preserve and protect the Arctic.”²³⁴

In a statement at the Assistant Deputy Minister Forum on Globalization, Identity and Citizenship in October 2004, the Chair of the ICC called on the federal government’s promised Inuit Secretariat to address the legal, policy, and political issues associated with climate change and Arctic sovereignty in co-operation with Inuit.²³⁵ According to the ICC Chair, Inuit support measures to ensure Canadian sovereignty of the North and seek to work with the federal government to ensure the environmental sustainability of those measures.²³⁶ The Canadian Government’s 2000 publication, *The Northern Dimension of Canada’s Foreign Policy*, states that, “the politics of globalization and power diffusion highlight the importance of the circumpolar world as an area for inclusion and co-operation.”²³⁷ This statement emphasizes the need for security, sovereignty, and prosperity in the Canadian North, while maintaining sustainable levels of development. To facilitate these efforts, Canada supports the Arctic Council, which was created in 1996 as a high level political forum for Arctic nations and Arctic Aboriginal peoples to work together on issues of common interest. To protect its sovereignty, Canada also seeks to maintain a military presence and its military capability in the North, which continues to be supported by the Northern Rangers program. As ice in the Northwest Passage melts, Canada requires a comprehensive strategy that balances the management of potential increases in international water traffic and expansion of Arctic ports, with the maintenance of Canadian sovereignty and environmental stewardship of the North.²³⁸

INUIT



THE E-NUMBER IDENTIFICATION SYSTEM

Traditionally, Inuit naming was genderless and children were often named after significant or recently deceased family members, regardless of the sex of the name holder or namesake.²³⁹ The small size of Inuit communities, system of naming, and oral culture meant that surnames and consistent spellings of names were not required in daily life. Rather, “suffixes were attached to names to differentiate between persons having the same one.”²⁴⁰ In the eighteenth century, Catholic missionaries in northern Quebec and the eastern Arctic converted and baptized Inuit, and assigned them biblical names. Since certain English language sounds were not familiar to Inuit, they adapted biblical names to facilitate pronunciation.²⁴¹ Although Inuit were often known by these names within their communities, they also retained their Inuit names. Variants in

names and use of multiple names by individuals did not seem to cause confusion among Inuit, yet whalers and traders, and later members of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), found it difficult to pronounce and spell Inuit names.²⁴²

Particularly for government officials, the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC), the RCMP and members of the medical community, the absences of standardized name spellings and surnames made it difficult to keep track of Inuit, and hence to record census information, trade accounts, medical records and police records accurately. During the 1930s, there were several proposals by RCMP, medical personnel, and civil servants to address the situation, including suggestions to standardize name spellings, the creation of RCMP files and finger printing, the institution of a binomial naming system with a family name, and the registration of unique numeric identifiers stamped on disks or printed on cards and assigned to each Inuk.²⁴³ In 1933, the RCMP began fingerprinting Inuit who obtained medical assistance in the eastern Arctic. Although the police considered the campaign a success, medical personnel expressed doubts. Fingerprinting was time consuming, and consequently few Inuit were printed. Doctors were also concerned about the obvious discomfort of Inuit throughout the procedure, as many perceived that finger printing was a consequence of criminal activity.²⁴⁴

In 1941, the federal government adopted an identification system that had been proposed in 1935 by a medical officer stationed at Pangnirtung, to uniquely identify Inuit without having to standardize name spellings. This system was similar to the numeric registration used by the Canadian army and navy for their members, and involved issuing disks stamped with unique numbers to Inuit. The adoption of the disks coincided with the date of the federal census, which was completed by missionaries, doctors and nurses, the RCMP and HBC personnel in Arctic communities. Baptismal and Inuit names were recorded, along with the disk number, or E [*Eskimo*]-number, assigned to each Inuk. The disks were approximately the size of quarters, and were made from pressed fibre with a hole punched in the top, allowing them to be worn on string around a neck or wrist. With the approval of the Secretary for the Department of State, they were stamped with the Canadian Coat of Arms as well as their unique four-digit number.²⁴⁵

Difficulties encountered in the distribution and use of disks included: the destruction of disks by Inuit who opposed the registration system; disk shortages in areas such as the Mackenzie Delta, which resulted in non-registration of many Inuit; and misuse and non-use of E-numbers. In 1944, federal government officials realized that Inuit births registered before 1941 had not been updated with E-numbers, and that many births occurring after 1941 were registered without E-numbers because no disks were available in the region at the time. This oversight meant that many E-numbers could not be matched to the government's vital statistics records.²⁴⁶

In 1945, with the institution of the family allowance program, E-numbers became increasingly significant for federal administrators because accurate family records were necessary to issue monthly payments.²⁴⁷ To correct registration issues, all disks were recalled and new ones were issued. The Canadian Arctic and Northern Quebec were divided into twelve districts, with three districts in the west (W1, W2 and W3) and nine districts in the east (E1 to E9). The new disks incorporated an alphanumeric identifier, reflecting the geographic region Inuit inhabited, as well as their unique four-digit number.²⁴⁸

Between 1945 and 1970, all Inuit interaction with the federal, and provincial or territorial governments required use of E-numbers. Commonly, these interactions included the registration of birth, marriage and death certificates. By the early 1960s, some Inuit in northern Quebec were adopting the binomial naming system common throughout the rest of Canada. Usually, the surname adopted by a family was the patriarch's given name.²⁴⁹ The frequency with which some given names were used, however, meant that multiple families within communities shared surnames, and people within those families often shared given names as well. Without the distinction of other identifiers like addresses, administrators claimed to experience difficulty in accurately tracking Inuit without the use of E-numbers.²⁵⁰

In the early 1960s, some Inuit and administrators throughout the Arctic, including the Commissioner of the Northwest Territories (NWT), raised concerns about alphanumeric registration of Inuit as a primary means of identification, when this practice was uncommon for other cultural groups in Canada. In 1968, the NWT Council proposed "Project Surname," requesting that all Inuit select and register family names, which, along with their given names, would receive standardized spellings. By 1972, registrations were completed and Inuit within the NWT were no longer required to use E-numbers as identification. As northern Quebec is not within the jurisdiction of the NWT Government, however, their use of E-numbers persisted for several years longer. Currently, Inuit are known by given names and surnames, and are registered through vital statistics records, as are people throughout the rest of Canada.²⁵¹

INUIT



HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF INUIT POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS

Historical Discussion

Before contact with Europeans, Inuit selected community leaders for their superior survival skills and made decisions based on group consensus. European explorers, whalers and fur traders often respected Inuit community leaders for their knowledge of the land and ability to survive. Throughout the twentieth century, however, communication and transport technology steadily improved the quality and quantity of imported goods available in the North. Growth in the federal and territorial civil service, and in resource development industries meant more employment that required knowledge of English and western education-based skill sets, such as engineering. As many Inuit were not trained to compete for these jobs, the population of southern Canadians in the North increased, creating an even larger demand for consumer

goods. The availability of consumer goods made traditional Inuit skills and knowledge less necessary for non-Inuit survival. The ability of non-Inuit to communicate, to transport people over long distances quickly, to construct large buildings and community infrastructure, and to implement resource development projects for the extraction of natural gas, oil and minerals, all contributed to create circumstances of social and economic inequality between Inuit and non-Inuit in northern communities.²⁵²

Throughout the 1960s, the federal and territorial governments encouraged Inuit to participate in local government and administrative organizations, such as Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT) regional councils, town and hamlet councils, and housing authorities. The Baffin Regional Council (BRC), for example, was a successful organization that was largely Inuit administered. It was established in 1977 as the first regional council in the Northwest Territories but was soon followed by the creation of six other similar bodies. These councils included the Keewatin, Kitikmeot, South Slave, Beau-Del, Deh Cho, Sahtu, and Dogrib regional councils. Regional councils are not regional governments, as they have no law-making abilities. Rather, they are bodies comprised of local government representatives and members of the GNWT Legislative Assembly who meet to advise the territorial government on local issues.²⁵³

The federal government also assisted the development of co-operative businesses to help Inuit learn economic management skills. Inuit became eligible to vote in the 1950 federal election, and for territorial and provincial elections in the following years. In 1966, the first Inuk was elected to the Northwest Territories (NWT) Council.²⁵⁴ During the 1960s, Inuit became increasingly concerned about government-sponsored development of Northern oil, gas and mineral resources. They had viewed themselves as stewards of the North for at least four thousand years, and consequently sought to preserve the sustainability of their natural environment and access to the resources that had long supported their livelihood.²⁵⁵

Program and Policy Development

Inuit concerns about their lack of autonomy were supported by the Indian-Eskimo Association (IEA), an organization established in 1955 by educators, church leaders, and public servants from southern Canada who were concerned about the circumstances of Inuit and First Nations. The IEA promoted issues including cultural expression and political organization among Aboriginal groups, sponsored conferences, worked with government agencies, researched treaty and Aboriginal rights, and provided educational and consultative services to Aboriginal peoples. Rather than acting on behalf of Aboriginal peoples, the IEA was committed to enabling First Nations and Inuit to work publicly towards their own goals.²⁵⁶ In 1969, the federal government released “A Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy,” also known as the *White Paper*. This proposal recommended assimilating Aboriginal peoples in Canada by terminating their status under the *Indian Act*. Under the *White Paper*, Aboriginal peoples would take the status of other Canadian citizens with any special administration coming from their provincial or territorial government, rather than through the federal government. Risks to the welfare of their natural environment and access to their traditional lands, the threat to

their national group identity as Aboriginal people, and the prior establishment of a political organization (the National Indian Brotherhood) among First Nations people motivated the development of Inuit political organizations.²⁵⁷

The IEA had national public support and funding, which it used to facilitate communication and assist Inuit in launching their own national political organization, Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC), in 1971.²⁵⁸ Inuit established ITC primarily to lobby the federal government for claims to northern land from the western Arctic to Labrador. At the October 1969 Tundra Conference in Edmonton, which was attended by delegates from western Arctic communities, the IEA was asked to assist the delegates in planning a conference of Arctic Aboriginal peoples. As a result, in July 1970, the IEA sponsored a conference at Coppermine, which was attended by 33 delegates from 22 communities in the eastern and western Arctic and in Nunavik. The conference was intended as a forum for Inuit from across the Arctic to discuss issues of mutual concern, including oil and gas exploration, hunting and trapping quotas, and education policies. Coppermine Conference delegates also created and submitted a telegram to Prime Minister Trudeau, requesting the recognition of Aboriginal peoples' land rights in the North. This was the first time Inuit had addressed the Government of Canada through a collective message.²⁵⁹

While the Coppermine Conference was being planned in January 1970, Aboriginal people in the western Arctic formed the Committee for Original Peoples' Entitlement (COPE) to explore Aboriginal peoples' land rights in the western Arctic.²⁶⁰ Rather than being selected for their superiority in traditional Inuit pursuits, the founders of ITC and COPE were mainly young people, who were educated at secondary and vocational schools in Ottawa, Churchill and Yellowknife. These schools "provided an opportunity for young Inuit men and women from different regions to start discussing the types of problems all Inuit were facing. From these gatherings and discussions sprang a commitment to the politics of change."²⁶¹

Subsequent to the development of ITC, regional associations were established to provide local representation for Inuit. These organizations included the Northern Quebec Inuit Association (NQIA), which was founded in 1971; the Labrador Inuit Association (LIA), which was founded in 1973; and three organizations in the eastern Arctic, which were established in the mid-1970s: the Kitikmeot Inuit Association, the Keewatin (now Kivalliq) Inuit Association, and the Baffin Regional (now Qikiqtani) Inuit Association.²⁶² ITC changed its name to Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK) in 2001.²⁶³ Inuit political organizations across the North have shared some general objectives including respect for the natural environment and maintaining its sustainability; ensuring that Inuit received infrastructural benefits from economic development occurring in their communities, such as roads, improvements to housing, and pipeline links; and creating local control over resource development projects, including job creation for Inuit.²⁶⁴

The same year that it was released, the Canadian Government officially withdrew its *White Paper*. In 1971, the government established the Aboriginal Representative Organizational Program (AROP) to grant funding for Aboriginal political organizations across Canada. This program was developed within the government's new multicultural policy framework, which was designed to facilitate cultural plurality and support the participation of ethnic groups in

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF INUIT POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS

Canadian Government.²⁶⁵ The negative vocal response to the *White Paper* demonstrated the importance of government consultation with Aboriginal groups, yet the Canadian Government realized that such groups, like many other ethnic groups in Canada, required funding assistance to operate effectively. Further, Aboriginal response to the *White Paper* encouraged the federal government to create policies for negotiating comprehensive and specific claims.²⁶⁶

Table I: Inuit Political Organizations and Their Comprehensive Land Claims

	Inuvialuit Settlement Region	Nunavut	Nunavik	Nunatsiavut
Political Organization	Committee for Original Peoples' Entitlement (1970-1984)	Tungavik Federation of Nunavut (1982-1993)	Northern Quebec Inuit Association (1971-1978)	Labrador Inuit Association (1973-?)
Land Claim Agreement and Year Claim was Submitted	Inuvialuit Final Agreement (1974)*	Nunavut Land Claims Agreement (1977)	James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement (1973)	Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement (1977)
Agreement-in-Principle Settled	October 1978	April 1990	November 1974	June 2001
Beneficiary Corporation	Inuvialuit Regional Corporation (IRC) (1984)	Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated (NTI) (1993)	Makivik Corporation (1978)	Labrador Inuit Development Corporation (LIDC) (1982)
Final Agreement Settled	June 1984	April 1993	November 1975	January 2005
Regional Government	Beaufort/Delta Government (TBA) **	Government of Nunavut (1999)	Kativik Regional Government (1976); Nunavik Government (TBA)	Nunatsiavut Government (Fall 2006)

*This agreement is also called the COPE Agreement.

**Provisions for an Inuit regional government, the Western Arctic Regional Municipality (WARM), were initially part of the land claim but were not included in the final settlement. With the Gwich'in, Inuvialuit are currently negotiating for a form of Aboriginal self-government in the western Arctic.

Since the early 1970s, the objectives of Inuit political organizations have evolved substantially. Initially, ITK sought to create a single Inuit territory stretching from the western Arctic to northern Quebec. Difficulties experienced in negotiating such a claim with the federal government, and the four provincial and territorial governments, as well as the need to settle claims quickly in the western Arctic and northern Quebec because of proposed resource development projects, required amendments to this plan. Consequently, four Inuit land claims were negotiated by regional political organizations, rather than ITK. Inuit comprehensive land claim settlements are: the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement and Complementary

Agreements (JBNQA), which were reached in 1975 in northern Quebec; the Inuvialuit Final Agreement, which was reached in 1984 in the western Arctic; the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement, which was settled in 1993 in the eastern Arctic; and the Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement, which was settled in 2003 and ratified in 2005 in northern Labrador.²⁶⁷ As each of the four comprehensive land claims have been settled with the Government of Canada, the Inuit association negotiating the settlement has dissolved and then reconstituted itself as the corporation responsible for administering the funds and the terms generated by the claim settlement. Table 1 explains the four regions with comprehensive land claim settlements negotiated between Inuit and the Canadian Government.²⁶⁸

Committee for Original Peoples' Entitlement

In 1968, North American oil companies, with the support of the federal government, proposed to build the Mackenzie Valley pipeline from the mouth of the Mackenzie River to Alberta. This project and the discovery of oil in the Northwest Territories motivated the development of Aboriginal political organizations in the western Arctic, including the Indian Brotherhood of the Northwest Territories and the Federation of Natives North of Sixty.²⁶⁹ One of the first organizations was the Committee for Original Peoples' Entitlement. Aboriginal peoples in the Northwest Territories, including Inuvialuit (Inuit of the western Arctic), were concerned about the difference in power that they identified between themselves and the federal government. Consequently, COPE's objectives were to determine the potential and scope of Aboriginal land rights in the North and to negotiate, as a united Aboriginal voice, for a land claim settlement with the federal government.²⁷⁰ By pursuing a land claim with Canada, COPE sought to ensure that land proposed for oil extraction and pipeline construction would be developed in accordance with Aboriginal peoples' objectives for land stewardship.²⁷¹ According to COPE, "real power is economic power, and that is based on ownership and control of land and resources."²⁷²

Since COPE's membership initially included members of several Aboriginal communities, the Canadian Government would not fund it as a representative Inuit political organization and COPE relied on private funding, from associations like the Canadian Donner Foundation, for its operations.²⁷³ Although land stewardship was a priority for COPE, they also sought to develop Aboriginal peoples' potential in leadership opportunities and business ventures, thereby ensuring that people had the skills and training needed to manage future resource development projects in the North. During the early 1970s, COPE supported several communities in land disputes with the federal government, including Sachs Harbour and Cape Bathurst, and organized a housing co-operative at Inuvik to ensure homes and associated services were available for low-income families.²⁷⁴ Pressure from resource development companies, however, required COPE to increasingly focus on obtaining a land claim agreement with the Canadian Government. Negotiations for this claim took place between 1974 and 1978 when an Agreement-in-Principle was signed. The settlement, entitled, "The Inuvialuit Final Agreement," was signed in 1984. To implement the terms of the claim and manage the funds derived from it, the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation was created to replace COPE.

Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami

In 1971, ITK was established, similarly to COPE, in reaction to the economic development of Arctic resources without levels of government negotiation acceptable to Inuit.²⁷⁵ Although ITK's primary focus was obtaining a land claim settlement, it also sought to preserve Inuit language and culture; to improve communication to and among Inuit settlements; to ensure that Inuit achieved full participation in Canadian society; to monitor the development of mineral, oil, and gas exploration in the North; and to represent Inuit interests to the federal government in all aspects of northern development.²⁷⁶ At one of its first conferences, which was held at Pangnirtung on Baffin Island in August in 1972, the main topics of discussion were the high cost of living and flying between communities in the North, and the lack of Canadian Broadcast Corporation (CBC) programming on the North or for Inuit. Sixty delegates from across the North attended this conference.²⁷⁷

ITK initially established headquarters in Edmonton but moved to Ottawa in 1972, facilitating their access to the federal government. In 1973, ITK created the Inuit Cultural Institute, and later the Inuit Development Corporation to support its heritage, cultural and environmental concerns. Although ITK left the negotiation of land claims to the regional Inuit organizations, it worked to ensure the progress of these settlements and provided support to the regional associations throughout the 1970s and 1980s.²⁷⁸

ITK represents all Canadian Inuit, and is assisted by its member organizations: the National Inuit Women's Association (Pauktuutit) and the National Inuit Youth Council. Internationally, ITK is a member of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference (ICC) Canada Executive. Within Canada, the four land claim beneficiary corporations are affiliated with ITK and administer local issues. The regional organizations are the Labrador Inuit Association, Makivik Corporation, Nunavut Tungavik Incorporated, and the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation. Affiliate organizations apply to ITK for assistance when they require representation at the national or international level.²⁷⁹

By the early 1990s, with all four Inuit land claims settled or projected for settlement, ITK re-defined its priorities to focus on issues affecting Inuit nationally, including environmental protection and sustainability, housing and healthcare. Other ITK objectives are to promote Inuit self-government, to ensure Inuit rights within the Canadian Constitution, and to foster Inuit business and economic development. ITK continues to advocate on behalf of Inuit throughout Canada, including those living outside settlement areas; to represent Canadian Inuit internationally; and to ensure maintenance of Inuit culture and heritage. ITK's current priority is the creation of Inuit-specific programming within federal government departments.²⁸⁰

Pauktuutit

Pauktuutit was established through ITK in 1984 as the national organization representing Inuit women. It has no membership fees and all Inuit women are considered members of this organization. Pauktuutit operates from Ottawa, and the executive is comprised of a president, a vice-president, and a secretary/treasurer. The Board of Directors includes representatives from

eight northern regions, a non-northern director, and a youth director. Pauktuutit's mandate is to "foster a greater awareness of the needs of Inuit women, and to encourage their participation in community, regional and national concerns in relation to social, cultural and economic development."²⁸¹

Inuit health is a priority for Pauktuutit, and it partners with organizations including the National Aboriginal Health Organization (NAHO), Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated (NTI), and federal government departments like Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Correctional Services Canada, and Health Canada, to participate in research projects and activities that address issues concerning Inuit women. Pauktuutit has produced reports on issues such as the abuse of women and children, fetal alcohol syndrome, tobacco use, HIV/AIDS, and women in the justice system, to lobby the federal government for policies and programs that ensure the rights and equality of Inuit women with other Canadians. As well as representing Inuit women nationally, Pauktuutit has participated in international forums, including the first UN conference on women that was held in Beijing, China in 1995.²⁸²

National Inuit Youth Council

The National Inuit Youth Council (NIYC) was formed in 1994 at the first National Inuit Youth Summit, held at Kuujuaq, Nunavik. The NIYC has an executive and representatives from six regions across the Arctic. These regions are Labrador, Nunavik, Kitikmeot, Kivalliq, Qikiqtani, and Inuvialuit. The Council works with ITK to represent Inuit under the age of 30 in Canada.²⁸³

Inuit Circumpolar Conference

Inuit from Greenland, Canada and Alaska established the Inuit Circumpolar Conference (ICC) in June 1977. A preliminary meeting was held with Inuit from Canada, and Aboriginal peoples from Finland, Norway and Sweden at Copenhagen in 1973. The ICC currently represents about 150,000 Inuit from Alaska, Canada, Greenland and Chukotka (Russia) who work together to represent international interests of Inuit. The ICC holds Consultative Status II at the United Nations, and seeks to promote Inuit land claims, policies to protect the Arctic environment and its resources, and Inuit rights and participation in the politics, economics, and social progress of the circumpolar countries. The ICC General Assembly is convened every four years, and a new chair is elected. The international office of the ICC is situated in the community of the Assembly Chair, who is currently Canadian.²⁸⁴

Within Canada, the ICC board of directors is comprised of the four land claim implementation corporation presidents, and the presidents of Pauktuutit and the National Inuit Youth Council. The ICC Canada Executive has a president and vice-president of International Affairs, who become the Assembly vice chair and Executive Council Member at the General Assembly. The president of ITK serves on the ICC Canada Executive as the vice-president of National Affairs. ICC Canada is responsible for implementing policies and resolutions agreed upon at the ICC General Assembly for the benefit of Canadian Inuit. Objectives of the Canadian ICC include

working with the regional and national Inuit organizations to effectively represent Canadian Inuit internationally; to facilitate co-operation between Inuit organizations within Canada and those in other countries; and to promote Inuit language, culture, values, health and business endeavours.²⁸⁵

Northern Quebec Inuit Association

The region of northern Quebec inhabited by Inuit, called Nunavik, became part of the Province of Quebec in 1912 but was administered federally because of its mainly Aboriginal population. In 1964, Quebec began to implement provincial policies and services in Nunavik. Many of these programs overlapped with the existing federal programs, such as those for education and healthcare. In an effort to streamline the regional administration, the federal and provincial governments sent delegates to Nunavik communities in 1970, where Inuit were consulted about changes proposed to the delivery of social service programs.²⁸⁶

During the 1960s, the federal and provincial governments were involved in the administration of Nunavik's co-operative businesses, and the formation of the Federation des Cooperatives du Nouveau-Quebec (FCNQ) in 1967. The FCNQ was established to market the sale of Inuit art but also wanted to act as the political voice of Quebec's Inuit.²⁸⁷ To this end, the FCNQ sought to exclude Quebec from involvement in Nunavik co-ops, and was partially successful as an "underground government" for Nunavik between 1967 and 1970.²⁸⁸ In 1971, the FCNQ sponsored a coalition of community councils to lobby Quebec for regional-government status in Nunavik. At this point, the FCNQ was not seeking a land claim settlement, but wanted to work with Quebec to develop its relationship as a regional government within the province. The community consultations with federal and provincial representatives and the FCNQ's proposed plan for self-government made Inuit in Nunavik aware of the need for self-representation through an organization of their creation. To keep the FCNQ from exerting more than economic influence in Nunavik, Quebec and the federal government encouraged Inuit to form the Northern Quebec Inuit Association (NQIA) in 1971.²⁸⁹

Between 1971 and 1978, the Northern Quebec Inuit Association represented Inuit of Nunavik in the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement (JNBQA) negotiations, and by facilitating a leadership role for Inuit in the management of their own lands and resources. This land claim was negotiated as an Agreement-in-Principle in 1974, and as a final settlement in 1978. Upon the claim's settlement, the NQIA became Makivik Corporation, the organization responsible for managing the implementation of the JNBQA terms as they applied to Inuit.²⁹⁰ Makivik Corporation is currently negotiating with the federal government and the Government of Quebec for the creation of the Government of Nunavik, an institute of public government, which would administer Nunavik in place of the more limited Kativik Regional Government. The parties signed an Agreement-in-Principle towards creating the Government of Nunavik in January 2005.²⁹¹

Labrador Inuit Association

The Labrador Inuit Association (LIA) was created in the summer of 1973 to represent the 4,500 Inuit living in northern Labrador, or Nunatsiavut.²⁹² Through the LIA, Inuit of Nunatsiavut proposed to launch a land claim and sought assistance from ITK at their 1974 annual meeting. Several ITK staff members were seconded to the LIA to assist them in researching and submitting their land claim.²⁹³ Although the LIA has advocated for a number of issues that affect the culture, health, education, regional economic development and natural resource management of Inuit in Nunatsiavut, a land claim settlement has always been their main priority. The LIA also represented Inuit of Nunatsiavut in the 2000 negotiations to create a national park reserve in the Torngat Mountains and in the 2001 negotiations for the Voisey's Bay Interim Management Agreement. The Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement-in-Principle was signed in 2001, the Final Agreement was reached in 2003, and the ratification and signing of the agreement was completed on 22 January 2005.²⁹⁴

Tungavik Federation of Nunavut

Between 1971 and 1982, interests of Inuit in the eastern Arctic were represented by ITK, which submitted the Nunavut land claim proposal in 1976. With the settlement of the Inuvialuit Agreement-in-Principle negotiated by COPE in 1978, ITK determined that land claim negotiations were best facilitated using regionally representative organizations. ITK encouraged the formation of Tungavik Federation of Nunavut (TFN) by members of the Kivalliq, Qikiqtani and Kitikmeot Inuit Associations in 1982. TFN was created specifically to negotiate the Nunavut land claim agreement, and signed the Agreement-in-Principle with the federal government and the GNWT in 1990, and then the final Nunavut Land Claims Agreement in 1993.²⁹⁵ Once the Nunavut land claim was settled and TFN had fulfilled its objectives, the organization reformed as Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated (NTI), and continues to assume responsibility for implementing the terms and managing the funds generated through the Nunavut Land Claim Agreement.²⁹⁶

Ongoing Concerns

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, Inuit became increasingly involved in territorial and provincial politics. By 1976, there were six constituencies for the central and eastern Arctic in the NWT Legislative Assembly, and by 1979, there were eight. During the late 1970s and early 1980s, Inuit from the eastern and central Arctic served as Ministers of Social Development, Economic Development, and Government Services.²⁹⁷ Inuit are increasingly elected as members of the territorial legislative assemblies, and administer regional governments in Nunavik and Nunatsiavut.

With the settlement of four Inuit land claims, the authority provided for land claim beneficiary corporations, and the rising participation of Inuit in territorial and provincial governments, the political organizations created during the early 1970s to represent Inuit in land claim

negotiations have had to re-focus their objectives to remain relevant in the current political climate. These political organizations administer the land claims for their beneficiaries and are forums for Inuit to raise awareness of issues like the effects of alcohol availability and consumption in northern communities, environmental issues, healthcare, housing, education, hunting and fishing rights, community development, and economic development. Ensuring implementation of land claim settlement terms, and maintaining stewardship of their lands and resources are issues of continuing regional significance for Inuit.²⁹⁸

The success of Inuit nationally is evident in their negotiation of four comprehensive land claim agreements and nearly three settlements for forms of regional and territorial government. Canadian Inuit are also prominent members of international organizations, like the ICC, and have used their valuable skills and experience to assist northern indigenous people internationally. In particular, Canadian members of the ICC have helped the Russian Association of Indigenous Peoples (RAIPON) to develop co-management practices for land and natural resources, and to strengthen their regional governments.²⁹⁹

Inuit organizations, however, are negatively affected by federal budget cuts to their core funding, which reduce their capacity to conduct research and initiate projects. Pauktuutit, for example, recently contacted the Prime Minister of Canada to express concerns about their diminished capacity, and “the independent voice of Inuit women being systematically excluded from representation at tables that develop the policies that directly affect them.”³⁰⁰ As well as core funding to support their organizations’ daily operations and basic programming, ITK and Pauktuutit seek greater federal recognition of Inuit priorities as distinct from those of other Aboriginal peoples, and have requested that the federal government develop Inuit-specific programs and policies to meet these needs.

The Prime Minister’s Northern Strategy Framework announcement in December 2004 provides funding to address some areas of Inuit concern. ITK expressed satisfaction that the Northern Strategy Framework recognizes Inuit and the North for their vital role in creating Canadian identity, and for its promise to help northerners deal with environmental issues including climate change, environmental contaminants, and sustainable development. The Northern Strategy also includes initiatives for economic development, devolution of governance and northern sovereignty. Inuit organizations have expressed concern, however, that Nunatsiavut and Nunavik, and consequently one-third of Canada’s Inuit population, are excluded from the Northern Strategy.³⁰¹

INUIT



COMPREHENSIVE CLAIM AGREEMENTS

Historical Discussion

The Canadian Government has a long history of negotiating with Aboriginal peoples for the surrender of land. Treaty 8 and Treaty 11, for example, were negotiated with First Nations in the Northwest Territories in 1899 and 1921.³⁰² These treaties were primarily land surrenders, however, and did not include Inuit, or provisions for resource management and regional self-government.³⁰³ When pressed by Aboriginal peoples to consult with northern communities before initiating large-scale resource development projects in the 1960s and early 1970s, the Canadian Government was initially hesitant.³⁰⁴ Inuit, however, were motivated by their stewardship concerns for the land and resources that they had traditionally used and occupied, and established political organizations to lobby the federal government for rights to land and regional government in the early 1970s.³⁰⁵

A number of factors encouraged the federal government to create policies for negotiating comprehensive and specific claims with Aboriginal peoples. These factors included the outrage expressed by Aboriginal peoples towards the Canadian Government's 1969 *White Paper*, the formation of elected Aboriginal political organizations to represent specific constituents, and the Supreme Court of Canada's 1973 *Calder* decision.³⁰⁶ Political organizations, such as the Committee for Original Peoples' Entitlement (COPE) and Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK), were instrumental in advancing the idea that Inuit land claims had to be settled with the Canadian Government before resource development projects could commence.³⁰⁷ The successful negotiations in the 1971 *American Inuit Alaska Native Claim Settlement Acts* (ANSKA) helped to create a model for the development of a Canadian comprehensive land claims policy in 1973.³⁰⁸ As the policy was being developed during the James Bay and Northern Quebec claim negotiations with Cree and Inuit, only parts of the policy were used.³⁰⁹ In contrast to specific claims,

*Comprehensive land claims are based on the assertion of continuing Aboriginal rights and claims to land that have not been dealt with by treaty or other means. Comprehensive land claims negotiations address concerns raised by Aboriginal people, governments and their parties about who has the legal right to own or use the lands and resources in the area under claim.*³¹⁰

In response to concerns expressed by Aboriginal peoples, the comprehensive land claims policy was revised in 1986. Although later Supreme Court decisions, such as *Sparrow* and *Delgamuukw*, affected the settlement of comprehensive claims, many criteria used to test the validity of claims continue to follow aspects of the 1979 Federal Court *Baker Lake* decision. Under the *Baker Lake* decision, Aboriginal peoples had to demonstrate that they were an organized society, that they had inhabited specific territory since time immemorial to the exclusion of other peoples, that their use and occupancy of the land continued to the present, and that title to the land had not been otherwise extinguished.³¹¹

For most of the twentieth century, the federal government did not consider it necessary to secure treaties surrendering Arctic land used and occupied by Inuit. The Inuit population was small compared to the large size of the territory that they inhabited and the rate of non-Inuit settlement in many parts of the North was very low.³¹² Starting with World War II, however, continental defence concerns, and increased settlement and resource development, required clear regulations regarding the stewardship and ownership of northern land and resources. Although there have been complaints about the lengthy process involved in settling comprehensive land claims, all four Inuit claims submitted have been settled since the first claim was initiated in 1972.³¹³ The four Inuit comprehensive land claim settlements are: the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement and Complementary Agreements (JBNQA), which were reached in 1975 in northern Quebec; the Inuvialuit Final Agreement, which was reached in 1984 in the western Arctic; the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement, which was reached in 1993 in the eastern Arctic; and the Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement, which was reached in 2003 in northern Labrador.³¹⁴ **Appendix D** of this report contains a comparison summary of the four land claim agreements.

Program and Policy Development

As well as forms of compensation, such as money and land, comprehensive land claim settlements have included legal guarantees regarding resource use and protection, and administration of local social programs and services, including school boards. Inuit have consistently requested that forms of self-government be an element of comprehensive land claim settlements. Each of the four claims negotiated between Canada and Inuit organizations has involved some form of local Inuit administrative control, like the Kativik Regional Government under the JBNQA, or an institute of public government, such as the Government of Nunavut.³¹⁵

James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement

In response to growing provincial energy requirements, the Quebec Government announced the James Bay hydroelectric project in July 1971. Beginning in May 1972, Aboriginal groups pursued injunctions to stop the project based on its contravention of their perceived land rights. Although Aboriginal groups obtained an injunction to stop the development from the Quebec Superior Court on 15 November 1973, the Quebec Court of Appeal overturned this decision five days later. Rather than seeking further legal arbitration, the Cree and Inuit pursued a political settlement with the federal and provincial governments. They intended this settlement to preserve their group identity as Aboriginal people and their entitlement to land that was inhabited for millennia by their people. The Northern Quebec Inuit Association (NQIA) negotiated the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement with the Grand Council of the Crees of Quebec, the Governments of Quebec and Canada, Hydro-Quebec, the James Bay Energy Corporation, and the James Bay Development Corporation. The James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement-in-Principle was signed on 15 November 1974 and the Final Agreement was signed 11 November 1975.³¹⁶

To the NQIA, this agreement represented, “practical solutions to the long-standing basic problems of Aboriginal rights, self-determination, paternalism, the obsolete *Indian Act*, poverty, the destruction of traditional life-styles, assimilation, colonialism, Native participation in the power structures of the decision-making process, and self-government.”³¹⁷ Further, Inuit saw the JBNQA negotiations as an opportunity to create regional institutions supporting their self-determination; to attain effective social services, community infrastructure, and economic resource development; and to ensure the sustainability of their natural environment.³¹⁸ Through the JBNQA, the federal and provincial governments sought to create circumstances for large hydroelectric development projects, to extinguish Aboriginal land rights, to facilitate replacement of federal social services for Inuit with provincial services, and to clarify Quebec’s title to the northern part of the province.³¹⁹ Despite the divergence of these agreement objectives, a settlement was negotiated and Inuit expressed satisfaction with the terms. According to Inuit leaders at the time, the JBNQA was successful because it recognized Aboriginal governance rights and because it, “extinguishes existing rights which were vague and unrecognized and replaces them with tangible benefits and clearly defined rights, based on the present and future needs of the Native population.”³²⁰

The JBNQA and the Northeastern Quebec Agreement (NEQA), which was signed with the Naskapi First Nation in 1978, granted \$230 million in compensation for the extinguishment of Inuit, Cree and Naskapi land rights. They retained ownership of 14,000 square kilometres and exclusive hunting and trapping rights to 150,000 square kilometres.³²¹ Makivik Corporation was created through the JBNQA to administer the funds and terms of the settlement on behalf of its beneficiaries, who are Inuit living north of the 55th parallel in the Province of Quebec.³²² The JBNQA also created the Kativik Regional Government, the Kativik Regional Development Corporation, the Kativik Regional Health and Social Services Council, and the Kativik School Board. Together, these institutions administer community services and programs in Nunavik, including a regional police force.³²³

The JBNQA is Canada's first modern comprehensive land claim settlement because it goes beyond the surrender of land rights and establishment of Aboriginal reserves, to provide a comprehensive framework for the creation of Nunavik's regional governance and economic development. The JBNQA preserves land and resource access for traditional Aboriginal pursuits including hunting, fishing and trapping, as well as providing regulations, primarily under provincial authority, for regional program delivery in the areas of education, healthcare, justice and policing, environmental sustainability and the economy.³²⁴ As negotiations for the JBNQA and the early development of Canada's comprehensive land claims policy were nearly simultaneous, much of the land claim policy found in the JBNQA was written during the negotiation process. The success of the JBNQA had significant influence on subsequent land claim negotiations and settlements, including the Inuvialuit Final Agreement.

The comprehensive land claims process was revised in 1986, based on the federal government commissioned Coolican Report. The report recommended that claims settlement be viewed, "as negotiation of a social contract balancing the needs and rights of aboriginal societies with those of governments so as to ensure certainty of land ownership and development of land and resources."³²⁵ Rather than blanket extinguishment of Aboriginal rights and titles through land claims, amendments to the process created opportunities for Aboriginal participation in resource development decision-making, protection of wildlife and the environment, and self-government.³²⁶ Revisions to the comprehensive claims policy, however, have resulted in further JBNQA negotiations, based on Nunavik Inuit concerns about the agreement's implementation and requests for increased autonomy in their regional government. Since the original JBNQA was reached, for example, at least ten complementary agreements have been negotiated. Additionally, in 2002, Makivik Corporation, who represent Inuit of Northern Quebec, signed an Agreement-in-Principle with the federal government regarding the Nunavik Inuit Marine Region. This agreement involves a Nunavik Inuit claim to offshore islands, waters and ice central to Inuit wildlife harvesting practices in Hudson Bay, Hudson Strait and Ungava Bay.³²⁷

Inuvialuit Final Agreement

In 1970, several large oil deposits were discovered off the northern shore of the Northwest Territories in the Beaufort Sea. Canada was experiencing an energy crisis in the early 1970s and oil companies, supported by the Canadian Government, were anxious to begin extractions.

Canada proposed to construct a pipeline to bring oil from the mouth of the Mackenzie River south to Alberta. In response to Aboriginal peoples' vocal opposition to the pipeline and oil exploration, the Canadian Government set up an inquiry to determine the scope and potential validity of Aboriginal land rights and environmental concerns. Justice Thomas Berger was selected to conduct the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry, which lasted from 1974 to 1976. During the inquiry, Berger visited many Aboriginal communities to consult with people regarding their pipeline construction concerns.³²⁸ In conclusion, Berger stated that no pipeline should be constructed for at least ten years, and that before resource development commenced Aboriginal peoples right to their land and their right to self-determination as a people must be recognized. According to Berger, "intrinsic to the settlement of native land claims is the establishment of new institutions and programs that will form the basis for native self-determination."³²⁹

Bolstered by the Berger Inquiry's confidence in their claim, COPE submitted the "Inuvialuit Nunangat" land claim in May 1977 on behalf of the 2,500 Inuvialuit inhabiting the western Arctic. COPE sought to reach a settlement with the federal government to ensure maintenance of their rights in response to offshore oil drilling in the Beaufort Sea, which had begun a year earlier. COPE also wanted their claim settled before expiration of the ten-year moratorium on the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline construction. Inuvialuit were intent on ensuring ownership of northern land, including subsurface rights, and hence rejected parts of land claim models used successfully in Alaska and northern Quebec for their negotiations.³³⁰

Similar to the JBNQA, however, COPE identified three categories of land within their claim, and requested specific rights of ownership, access and consultation for non-Inuit use associated with each group.³³¹ COPE was only willing to extinguish land rights within their claim and requested a percentage of future oil and gas royalties from development projects in all regions of the western Arctic. The four main goals of the COPE land claim submission were the preservation of traditional Inuvialuit culture, to ensure a role for Inuvialuit in future economic development in the western Arctic, to maintain the sustainability of the western Arctic land and resources, and to receive adequate compensation for any extinguishment of their land rights.³³²

Within a year, COPE had negotiated the basic tenets of a settlement agreement that met their objective of "fair compensation or benefits in exchange for the extinguishment of Inuvialuit land rights."³³³ The agreement, however, only included about half the land claimed by Inuvialuit and specifically excluded provisions for regional Inuit government. The Inuvialuit Land Rights Settlement Agreement-in-Principle was signed by COPE, the Government of the Northwest Territories, and the Government of Canada in 1978, and the Inuvialuit Final Agreement was signed in 1984 following six further years of settlement negotiations. The Final Agreement includes provisions for hunting, trapping, fishing, burial grounds, settlement privileges, carving-stone rights, resource-revenue sharing, subsurface resource rights, real property interest, control of education, language, social-welfare facilities, policing and game management. This agreement was the first settlement reached between Inuit and the Canadian Government using the comprehensive land claim policy implemented in the mid-1970s.³³⁴

Nunavut Land Claims Agreement

According to ITK, their claim to create a northern Inuit territory was motivated by several factors, including significant cultural, social and economic differences between southern and northern communities that required recognition in federal and territorial political representation; the need to ensure their stewardship of natural resources; to address the physical remoteness of their territorial government, which was centred in Yellowknife; to create political structures with the authority to achieve Inuit-defined objectives for social and economic development; and to ensure a formal understanding with the federal government regarding Inuit rights.³³⁵ In proposing a system of governance for Nunavut, ITK rejected the regional government model used in the JBNQA because it ascribed Inuit only limited administrative authority. ITK wanted to create a political system for the territory that included rights and responsibilities similar to those possessed by the Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT) and within the federal system.³³⁶

In 1972, ITK initiated a study to determine the history of land and resource use in the North. The objective of the study was to demonstrate the potential scope of Aboriginal title to land in the western and eastern Arctic. In 1976, Milton Freeman Research completed the three volume report, which was funded by the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs and monitored by ITK. As well as demonstrating long-term Inuit land use across the North, the study's conclusions formed the geographic basis for the new territory's boundaries.³³⁷ In 1976, ITK submitted a comprehensive land claim proposing to divide the NWT and create a territory called Nunavut, which means "Our Land" in Inuktitut. This proposal involved a region two million square kilometres in size, with Inuit proposed to own surface rights to over 650,000 square kilometres, and collecting royalties on subsurface extractions over the whole region. Initially, the proposal included land well into the western Arctic. Development projects in the Beaufort Sea and the possibility of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline construction, however, caused the Inuvialuit to launch a separate claim in the western Arctic, which was negotiated by COPE. Consequently, ITK withdrew and then resubmitted its land claim in 1977, after further consultation with northern communities. Under the revised proposal, Nunavut would be an eastern Arctic territory.³³⁸

Rather than negotiating the Nunavut land claim, ITK encouraged the three eastern Arctic regional Inuit organizations, the Kivalliq, Qikiqtani and Kitikmeot Inuit Associations, to create a representative organization authorized to negotiate a comprehensive land claim agreement on their behalf. Subsequently, the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut (TFN) was created in 1982 with the specific mandate to negotiate the Nunavut land claim. The same year, Inuit in the Northwest Territories voted on the proposal to divide the territory and create Nunavut. Across the North, 56% voted in favour of the division, although the approval rate was significantly higher in the eastern Arctic where Inuit comprised 85% of the population.³³⁹ The Nunavut Land Claims Agreement-in-Principle was signed in 1990, and the Final Agreement was signed and adopted by parliament in 1993.³⁴⁰ To administer the terms of the settlement on behalf of 17,500 Inuit in the eastern Arctic, the TFN became Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated.³⁴¹ The Nunavut Territory and Government of Nunavut came into official existence on 1 April 1999.³⁴²

Labrador Inuit Land Claim Agreement

The success of the Inuvialuit Land Claim Agreement and the JBNQA encouraged the LIA to submit a similar claim in 1977, which was designed to ensure their stewardship of natural resources and to provide an opportunity for their self-government.³⁴³ The LIA filed their claim, “*A Statement of Claim to Certain Rights in the Land and Sea-Ice in Northern Labrador*,” with the Government of Canada, requesting a comprehensive land claim settlement that would include an Inuit regional government.³⁴⁴

The Labrador Inuit signed a Framework Agreement in November 1990, and a land claim Agreement-in-Principle with the federal government and the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador in June 2001. Unlike other northern regions, where economic and resource development was managed by co-operative businesses, the LIA created the Labrador Inuit Development Corporation (LIDC) in 1982 to manage natural resource use in Nunatsiavut (“Our Beautiful Land”), including organizing commercial caribou hunting, commercial fishing, tourism, and the mining of minerals, such as labradorite.³⁴⁵ The LIDC also sponsored affiliate organizations, which administer programs for housing, health services, fisheries and wildlife management, communications, employment, substance abuse counselling and rehabilitation, and cultural programs.³⁴⁶

Within the Labrador Inuit Settlement Area, 15,800 square kilometres is set-aside as Labrador Inuit Lands. While their land claim settlement gives Inuit some control over the lands in their settlement area, Inuit have nearly total control over the surface, and some control over the subsurface, of the Labrador Inuit Lands. The regional government created through their land claim, the Nunatsiavut Government, controls the access, use and future development of the Labrador Inuit Lands, and has management of the animal and plant resources in the region.³⁴⁷ Along with the LIDC, the Nunatsiavut Government administers some terms of the land claim agreement. The federal and provincial governments provide funding to the Nunatsiavut Government, and continue to operate their programs and services in the region. The agreement was initialled on 29 August 2003, ratified by Labrador Inuit in May 2004, and passed by the Newfoundland and Labrador House of Assembly on 6 December 2004. Canada, Newfoundland and Labrador, and the LIA signed the Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement on 21 January 2005, and it was given Royal Assent in June 2005.³⁴⁸

Ongoing Concerns

Aboriginal peoples have identified several concerns with the comprehensive land claims process, including the length of time involved and the belief that the federal government is in a conflict of interest position by conducting negotiations which they are themselves a party. Aboriginal peoples have requested that management of the comprehensive land claims process be transferred to a body independent from the government, if not completely, at least for monitoring purposes. Issues arising from the land claim settlements, such as the Inuvialuit and Nunavik requests for forms of regional government, and Nunavut's concerns about federal

implementation funds, continue to occupy comprehensive claims negotiators.³⁴⁹ The recently released report by Thomas Berger (Conciliator on the implementation of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement), for example, discusses the need for increased federal funding to implement Article 23. Berger states that employment of Inuit at representative levels (85%) in the public service will not be achieved unless the education system is re-designed to increase the number of bilingual (Inuktitut and English) speaking high school and post-secondary graduates in Nunavut.³⁵⁰

Resulting from concerns regarding the implementation of their land claims, Aboriginal peoples held a conference in Ottawa that led to the 2004 formation of the Land Claims Coalition. The Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated, and Makivik Corporation are members of the coalition, along with other Aboriginal peoples who have concluded comprehensive land claims with the federal government. The coalition represents a united Aboriginal voice in requesting that the federal government actively implement terms of comprehensive land claim settlements. The coalition seeks, “recognition that the Crown in right of Canada, not the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, is party to our land claims agreements and self-government agreements,” and seeks involvement of the government as a whole in implementing their land claims.³⁵¹ Additionally, the coalition requests that the Government of Canada commit to achieving the “broad objectives” of the land claims, such as economic development and self-government, rather than treating the claims as contracts with “narrowly defined obligations.”³⁵²

Aboriginal women have expressed concerns related to the negotiation and settlement of comprehensive land claim agreements. Notably, Aboriginal women have no specific role in the claims negotiation process, unless they are invited to participate by the Aboriginal claims negotiation body. The land claims’ focus on large-scale non-renewable resource development projects precludes negotiation of support for community-based businesses. Additionally, implementation of the large-scale projects, which are more likely to suit the interests, educational focus, and family situation of men, have not sufficiently addressed the social and cultural concerns that are fundamental to the sustainable development of Aboriginal communities. These issues include the cultural disintegration and resulting social problems associated with family members working out of the community for long periods of time, as well as inadequate provisions for support of housing, healthcare, education and community development.³⁵³

The settlement of the four Inuit comprehensive land claims has created opportunities for land claim beneficiary corporations and the regional Inuit governments established through the land claims to begin focusing their efforts on contemporary issues that negatively affect Inuit communities. Some of the issues that Inuit organizations have asked the federal government to take action on include chronic housing shortages, environmental contamination of country food resources, climate change, and creating permanent employment opportunities for Inuit.³⁵⁴

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Historical Discussion

Until the 1940s, most Inuit lived in dwellings made from the natural resources available to them and constructed to suit their seasonally nomadic way of life. This architecture involved small houses prized for their portability and construction ease, such as skin tents, and houses made from sod, snow and wood. The construction material and size of houses, relative to average number of inhabitants, however, meant that sanitary conditions were difficult to maintain and that post-contact diseases, like influenza, spread quickly once introduced to a home.³⁵⁵

The establishment of missionary, Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) and Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) posts starting in the nineteenth century, as well as Distant Early Warning (DEW) Line sites in the 1940s, created opportunities for

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Inuit access to commercial goods, and later to medical facilities and to schools. Consequently, many Inuit made regular trips to these posts as part of their seasonal migration patterns, making post personnel increasingly aware of Inuit housing conditions.³⁵⁶ The government continued to advocate for the maintenance of traditional Inuit subsistence practices until 1950. Yet, by the 1940s the increasing presence of Inuit at government posts, criticism from American defence personnel stationed at DEW Line sites regarding Inuit health and housing, concerns over Canadian sovereignty of the North, and difficulties in administering health and welfare to the dispersed Inuit population, prompted the Canadian government to initiate Inuit housing programs. During the mid-twentieth century, housing was one facet of the federal government's "northern vision," which had an objective of overall northern development, including extraction of non-renewable resources and addressing sovereignty concerns.³⁵⁷

What the federal government perceived as a pragmatic approach to Inuit housing involved designing and testing homes that fit the federal government's budget and included characteristics "appropriate" to a traditional Inuit way of life, such as portability, low cost and heat efficiency.³⁵⁸ Housing designs selected for use in the North were often restricted by transportation difficulties, including few roads and a lack of airport runway infrastructure. As well, the high cost of transport for building materials like wood, aluminium, steel and insulation fabric, and the fuel required to heat the homes, were concerns for the government.³⁵⁹ In 1956, for example, the government initiated a pilot program at Cape Dorset to build igloo style housing with wooden floors and six-inch thick styrofoam walls and ceilings.³⁶⁰

A more popular housing structure tested by the government - the "rigid digit" - was made from plywood sheeting with a pitched roof, insulated with rock wool batting and covered with a polyethylene vapour barrier. This structure was a single 16 by 16 foot room, making it slightly larger in size than traditional Inuit skin tents and igloos. The rigid digit was field tested in Iqaluit during the winter of 1958 and 1959, before 125 units were constructed in 14 northern communities during the summer of 1959. The Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources considered the rigid digit to be transitional housing—somewhere between the size and durability of a skin tent or igloo and southern Canadian housing standards. The total cost of each rigid digit unit was \$500, making construction of many units attractive for the federal government within communities across the Arctic.³⁶¹

Experiments in designing Inuit-style housing were discontinued during the 1950s as more Inuit became sedentary and the need for portable housing declined. In addition, none of the housing styles tested by the government were able to provide the necessary levels of cost efficiency and durability. As the number of civil servants expanded throughout the North during the 1950s, the government was required to provide more southern-style, pre-fabricated two bedroom houses, complete with plumbing and hydro for its employees. These homes were located in neighbourhoods separate from Inuit homes and were in sharp contrast to the size and construction quality of Inuit housing. The discrepancies in housing prompted criticism, particularly from government employees engaged to provide education and health services for Inuit. Although the homes constructed for Inuit by the federal government were modeled on traditional Inuit housing, they did not accommodate the southern standards of hygiene and spatial use expected by civil servants sent from Ottawa to administer Inuit welfare.³⁶²

To address these concerns, in 1959 the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources initiated a large-scale Inuit housing program, called the Eskimo Housing Loan Program. Although this program provided approximately 1,200 housing units, it lacked the research and planning necessary to meet the unique housing requirements of the North. The houses, called “matchbox” structures, were designed and tested in Ottawa and, therefore, did not accommodate some aspects of Inuit culture, like providing indoor space to cut seal meat.³⁶³ The goal of the program was to provide Inuit with adequately sized homes that could be affordably heated. Some perceived the program as a, “strategic opportunity for *Eskimo* people to gain experience in new forms of social organization necessitated by settlement living and the influences of modernization.”³⁶⁴ Both the cost of the houses and the cost of heating were prohibitive to many Inuit, and although some Inuit purchased homes on payment schedules, many defaulted. For most Inuit families, these homes were too small and, over time, demonstrated construction methods and materials that were inappropriate for the northern climate. Many Inuit did not have experience with money or monthly mortgage payments, and lacked the funds required to maintain utility services like heat and hydro.³⁶⁵

In the early 1960s, the government developed a more comprehensive housing initiative, called the Eskimo Rental Housing Program, with rents scaled to real income. Under this program, housing stock constructed under the Eskimo Housing Loan Program was re-administered as rental housing and included fuel, electricity and furniture. Houses constructed under this program were generally larger than those constructed through previous programs and included the three-bedroom “Urquaq” model. The rental housing initiative was targeted mainly to communities in the eastern Arctic and in particular, the communities of Frobisher Bay (Iqaluit) and Baker Lake.³⁶⁶ As more Inuit moved to communities from the land, overcrowding in federally-constructed housing became a concern. Studies conducted in 1964 and 1965 showed correlations between high rates of infant mortality and respiratory disease caused by overcrowding and unsanitary housing. During the 1960s, the federal government’s goal was for all Inuit to have housing within communities by 1971.³⁶⁷ Federal housing tenants were required to participate in a four-stage adult education program designed to assist Inuit in adjusting to life in their new homes.³⁶⁸ The program was designed to help Inuit anticipate aspects of the transition to government housing, instruct them in safety precautions and in their responsibilities as tenants, assist them in developing local tenants’ associations, and provide continuing education in community governance. The long-term program objective was to develop Inuitrun housing authorities and to have families apply their monthly rent towards the purchase of their home.³⁶⁹

During the 1960s, Inuit increasingly settled in permanent communities throughout the North using the federal government’s housing initiatives to rent or purchase homes. Community residence allowed children to attend school while living with their parents, rather than in a residential school or hostel, and ensured that Inuit had access to medical and other social services provided in communities. A study by the Department of National Health and Welfare indicated a marked decrease in digestive, respiratory and skin diseases in the years immediately following Inuit settlement in government-constructed homes.³⁷⁰ The cultural changes in the transition to

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government housing, however, required quick acculturation by Inuit. This led to drastic changes in their lifestyle and new health problems, like diabetes. Chronic unemployment for Inuit settled in communities led to increases in other social problems, including alcoholism and drug abuse, physical abuse among family members, and depression and high suicide rates.³⁷¹

Although policies and programs, such as the 1967 Territorial Ordinance (which was renamed the Territorial Purchase Program) and the 1968 Northern Rental Purchase Program, attempted to provide sufficient amounts of affordable housing for residents of the NWT, Inuit continued to experience inadequacies of supply and design in the housing provided for them.³⁷² In the early 1970s, Inuit objected to the obvious discrepancies in the size and design qualities of their homes compared to the federal government's staff housing, and were supported in their request for better housing by the members of Parliament from the Northwest Territories (NWT).³⁷³ Historically, the construction of homes in the North has been adversely affected by the high cost of transporting construction materials, extreme weather conditions, the short construction season, and the small number of people experienced or trained in construction available for employment on these projects.³⁷⁴ By the 1990s, there were still widespread issues with the size, design, quality, cost and availability of houses in northern communities. These issues largely resulted from extremely high construction costs and the difficulties of providing utilities in the North, as well as two unique housing concerns. These concerns are the shortage of government subsidized public housing and the availability of subsidized staff housing for employees of the federal and territorial civil service.

Program and Policy Development

Housing Availability

The high cost of construction in the North is prohibitive to many Inuit wishing to purchase homes or to construct their own homes. Despite home ownership initiatives by the federal government, chronic high rates of unemployment in the North mean that few Inuit are able to take advantage of such opportunities. Consequently, many Inuit rent homes that were constructed since the 1960s as federal government housing projects. Tenants leasing government-subsidized public housing units pay rent on a sliding scale, and monthly costs for utilities are included in the rent or are also subsidized. Tenants of privately leased dwellings, however, pay market value for their monthly rent and their utilities. High rates of unemployment in northern communities mean that many families cannot afford market value rents or the cost of utilities, causing long waiting lists for subsidized housing in the North. In addition, the construction of homes in the North has never kept pace with the rapid population growth, further contributing to the public housing waiting list.³⁷⁵

Housing construction in Labrador Inuit communities has caused similar concerns, as houses built in the 1960s and 1970s were deficient in their design and could not adequately withstand the northern climate. Without major renovations to ensure structural integrity, many of these

houses lasted only 20 years.³⁷⁶ In 1977, there were thirteen Inuit communities in northern Quebec. A survey of housing conducted for the federal government determined that homes in many of these communities did not have electricity, or facilities for sewage disposal, indoor plumbing, or running water. Additionally, a significant number of homes were considered overcrowded, and many homes needed to be replaced. In the community of Akulivik, all homes were perceived to require replacement.³⁷⁷

Since the end of the Second World War, the federal, and later territorial, governments constructed housing for their employees. Government staff housing was required to ensure accommodation for employees upon their arrival in northern communities, and to ensure that the northern civil service could attract and maintain a highly qualified and skilled group of employees. Initially, staff housing was barrack-style or row housing but during the 1970s single-family dwellings became increasingly common. In 1972, federal and territorial staff housing amounted to nearly one third of houses in the NWT, while less than one tenth of housing was publicly subsidized. During the 1960s and early 1970s, staff houses represented the majority of homes in northern communities with electricity, running water and sewage disposal. Throughout the NWT, rent and the costs for utilities were subsidized for staff housing, causing resentment among Inuit, who were often least eligible for this housing, but were possibly also ineligible for publicly subsidized housing if they had steady employment in the civil service.³⁷⁸

Housing Design

The housing designs and divisions of space in early Inuit homes were based on patterns of family activity common to southern Canada, and did not necessarily reflect Inuit spatial needs for activities such as preparing country foods, repairing hunting and transportation equipment, and entertaining. Boiling was a common method of Inuit food preparation, and it created high levels of condensation in homes, leading to iced windows, and warped walls and floors. Federal housing administrators voiced concerns about hygiene and maintenance based on Inuit use of rooms and amenities within their homes. In particular, housing authorities objected to Inuit using bathtubs for storing fresh meat, and to the use of kitchens and living rooms for butchering animals, preparing hides, and maintaining boat and skidoo motors.³⁷⁹

Anthropologist Peter Dawson's 2003 study of space syntax in Inuit homes demonstrates the need to create Inuit-specific housing designs that recognize the significance of maintaining extended family cohesion through the use of large spaces for both shared and individual activities. Such ideals of spatial use encourage traditional cultural values of family solidarity, reciprocal assistance, and traditional renewable resource harvesting activities. Through his fieldwork, Dawson recorded Inuit concerns about housing design including small room size, lack of storage space, dislike of multi-story houses, and failure of houses to stand-up to extreme climatic conditions. As housing designs in northern communities are usually still modelled on southern Canadian ideals of family spatial use, Inuit often modify their homes in a number of ways to improve efficiency of heating and water use; to improve safety; and to more closely approximate families' traditional use of open, rather than divided, domestic space.³⁸⁰

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Housing Policy

Beginning in 1971, housing programs for Inuit in the NWT were provided under the *National Housing Act*, and were jointly funded by the federal government's Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) and the territorial government. Housing in the NWT was initially provided through a public housing program, and these units were intended for lease to low-income individuals or families.³⁸¹ Early in 1974, however, the Northwest Territories Housing Corporation assumed responsibility from the Indian and Inuit Affairs Program of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC) for managing the NWT Public Housing Program. Rather than just providing housing for those with low incomes, the territorial mandate of the NWT Housing Corporation was to ensure that all residents of the NWT had access to adequate housing.³⁸²

In 1999, with the creation of Nunavut Territory, the Nunavut Housing Corporation assumed responsibility for housing administration in the eastern Arctic. The NWT and Nunavut Housing Corporations are publicly owned with main offices supported by regional and local offices in communities across the Arctic. The Corporations are accountable to the territorial governments, and are responsible for maintaining existing community housing and constructing new subsidized housing units. The majority of Housing Corporation efforts, however, are spent managing subsidized rental-housing units across the North. Between 1974 and 1984, the NWT Housing Corporation constructed 2,700 subsidized homes, and in most northern communities, the housing corporations own the majority of publicly available housing. Housing construction projects provide local employment and training opportunities for Inuit, as well as indirectly contributing to other community businesses.³⁸³

INAC first introduced local housing associations to northern communities during the late 1960s. Housing authorities were part of INAC's 1965 Eskimo Rental Housing Program, and represented the final stage of the program's development. In many cases, housing associations were communities' first experiences with western-style local government. By 1985, housing associations existed in 46 of the 51 communities in the NWT, and fulfilled several functions, including representing tenant concerns to regional offices of the housing corporation, and implementing policies and procedures determined by the main and regional offices under management agreements.³⁸⁴

In 1977, the NWT Housing Corporation created the \$1.3 million Extraordinary Maintenance Program, which sought to ensure that all housing units met fire, health, and safety standards. Through the national energy crisis of the late 1970s, plans for the construction of new houses were redesigned to increase their energy efficiency. By adding porches to major home entrances, triple-glazing windows, making most windows face south, and creating unheated food storage and garage areas, less heat escaped from homes and space within homes was increasingly responsive to Inuit lifestyle. Responsibilities for sewage and water services were transferred to the NWT Housing Corporation in 1974 and were upgraded through a \$12 million renovation project in the late 1970s. These programs included opportunities to train Inuit in housing construction and maintenance skills, and devolved portions of responsibility for housing construction and maintenance to local housing associations, thereby encouraging local

construction initiatives.³⁸⁵ In 1978, these initiatives were supported by a new housing rental program, which based rent on a sliding scale and accounted for regional disparities in the basic cost of living. This was a federally sponsored program that was implemented across the Northwest Territories and northern Quebec.³⁸⁶

In 1977, the NWT Housing Corporation initiated the Small Settlement Home Assistance Grant (SSHAG), which was later renamed the Home Assistance Ownership Program. This program provided funds to people willing to construct their own homes. The grants were intended to defray the costs of purchasing and shipping building materials. A program jointly funded by the CMHC and NWT Housing Corporation, the Rural and Remote Housing Program (RRHP), operated under the *National Housing Act* to assist families with incomes capable of managing mortgages but who experienced problems obtaining financing. The RRHP provided subsidized mortgages, low down payments, and required a commitment by the occupants that they would maintain the home. Despite the program's subsidies, by 1984, 70% of program participants were in arrears on their mortgage payments. The high default rate on mortgages was largely due to the high cost of unsubsidized utility payments.³⁸⁷

Under the NWT Housing Corporation, home ownership was encouraged through the Northern Territorial Rental Purchase Program (NTRPP), which applied monthly rents to mortgages on long-term plans for Inuit home ownership. Throughout the late 1970s and 1980s, the NWT Housing Corporation revised its rental scales regionally, and based on income, to encourage participation in its ownership program. Many Inuit, however, were dissuaded from participating in the ownership program, as utilities were subsidized within the cost of rent under the Housing Corporation's rental program but became the responsibility of the tenant under the ownership program. Despite the Housing Corporation's attempts to make home ownership feasible for Inuit, chronic levels of high unemployment in many northern communities and the high cost of living meant that few families were willing to assume ownership for aged homes requiring major maintenance, along with the cost of heating, and providing water, electrical, and sewage disposal services. This program had largely ended by the early 1990s with about 100 of the projected 700 homes sold.³⁸⁸ In the mid 1980s, the Inuit Non-Profit Housing Corporation developed co-operative housing initiatives, which provided homes for low-income families in northern communities, including Rankin Inlet, Cape Dorset, Lake Harbour, and Tuktoyaktuk.³⁸⁹

Federally-funded studies on northern housing conducted by the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation during the 1980s included field testing for various ventilation systems, construction practices, and design styles to determine their feasibility in northern homes. The feasibility studies included monitoring the effects of weather on experimental units of the Coldstream home design that were constructed in Keewatin, documenting different styles of community planning to guide the establishment of new communities or the expansion of existing communities, studying potential uses for communication technology and small hydro projects in northern communities, testing methods of waste water elimination and sewage disposal from homes, and testing methods of heating homes in northern communities.³⁹⁰

Through the 1975 James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement, responsibility for housing in Nunavik was transferred from INAC to the Quebec Government and the Kativik Regional Government. The Société d'Habitation du Québec's (SHQ) Northern Housing Section, within the Quebec Government, and the Kativik Regional Government, with funding from the CMHC, administer housing in Nunavik. The private housing market for sale and lease is comparatively expensive throughout the North but particularly in Nunavik, where the high cost of rent for private dwellings is often unaffordable to many Inuit, given the chronically high levels of unemployment in northern communities. Hence, Inuit are frequently on waiting lists for subsidized housing, which has more manageable rents.³⁹¹

Housing availability in Labrador is similarly in short supply, as organizations responsible for administering Inuit housing have the funds to provide only one new house per community per year. The Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corporation, the Torngat Regional Housing Association, and the Melville Native Housing Association, with funding from the CMHC, administer Inuit housing in Labrador. Although the disparity in monthly rent between the private and public sector is not as great as in Nunavik, households must pay for their own utilities in the private sector, and the cost to heat homes is as high as \$7,000 annually. Consequently, waiting lists for public housing are 13 to 14 years in some Labrador communities.³⁹²

According to a 1994 report by Pauktuutit, the national Inuit women's organization, an Inuit-specific housing policy is required to provide Inuit with standards of housing common to other Canadians. Overcrowded housing, homes that lack basic amenities, and homes in poor repair have contributed to a housing crisis that, "impacts on Inuit women's health, safety, education, economic status, employment and business development opportunities, and interactions with the justice system."³⁹³ Similarly, overcrowding does not permit places for quiet study, which negatively affects school performance and is linked to high drop out rates.³⁹⁴ Inuit-specific housing also incorporates housing designs that reflect Inuit patterns and preferences for spatial use. These preferences include fewer spatial divisions and larger rooms with wider vision fields to increase space available for socializing and communal activities, such as preparing traditional meat, sewing and other crafts, repairing small engines and playing with children.³⁹⁵

A variety of federal and territorial or provincial programs have been established to provide subsidized rental housing and to encourage home ownership among Inuit. None of the programs are available exclusively to Inuit but some programs, such as those offered by the northern regional and territorial governments, are more likely to be accessed by Inuit. These programs are listed in Table 2.³⁹⁶

Table 2: Federal and Territorial Housing Programs

Program	Description	Program Availability
Public Housing Program; Rent Supplement Program	Provides subsidized rental housing to people in need based on household income.	CMHC; Northwest Territories Housing Corporation
Affordable Housing Initiative	This program will operate from 2001 to 2007. Under cost-sharing agreements with Canada, provinces and territories receive funding for the construction and renovation of affordable housing units. Canada asked that Aboriginal people be one of three target groups.	CMHC
Senior Citizen Home Repair Program	Assists senior citizens in Core Housing Need to obtain forgivable loans for repairs to their home.	CMHC; Northwest Territories Housing Corporation
Elders on the Land Initiative	Repairs or replaces units for elders in Core Housing Need who are living on the land and maintaining a traditional lifestyle.	Northwest Territories Housing Corporation
Sale of Housing Material Packages	Assists residents of the NWT who are financially approved with the transport of construction materials to their community.	Northwest Territories Housing Corporation
Senior/Disabled Preventative Maintenance Initiative	Assists qualifying people with forgivable loans to provide annual and routine maintenance for their home.	Northwest Territories Housing Corporation
Sale of Public Housing Initiative	Encourages long-term public housing tenants to purchase their rental units.	Northwest Territories Housing Corporation
Corporate Loan Guarantee Program; Affordable Housing Quebec Kativik Component	Provides two-year loan guarantees to lending institutions on behalf of developers constructing rental units.	Northwest Territories Housing Corporation; Kativik Regional Government
Loan Guarantee Program; Home Ownership Program for Residents of the Kativik Region	Provides loan guarantees to financial institutions on behalf of clients purchasing or repairing homes.	Northwest Territories Housing Corporation; Kativik Regional Government
Expanded Down Payment Assistance Program	Provides people with down payments in forgivable loans to build, to make repairs or to expand their home.	Northwest Territories Housing Corporation
Independent Housing Program; Provincial Home Repair Program; Home Renovation Program for Owner-Occupiers in the Kativik Region	Assists low-income households with repairs to modest homes through subsidized loans.	Northwest Territories Housing Corporation; Kativik Regional Government
Proposal Development Funding	Provides loans to assist in the creation of proposals for affordable housing projects to the point of applying for mortgage financing.	CMHC

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Program	Description	Program Availability
Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program for Persons with Disabilities	Provides financial assistance to homeowners and landlords modifying dwellings to make them accessible to low-income persons with disabilities.	CMHC
Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program	Provides assistance to low-income individuals with the cost of improving the adequacy and suitability of their home. Also assists with the cost of converting non-residential properties to affordable self-contained rental housing units. This program is one of CMHC's "pillar programs" and has been in existence since the early 1970s.	CMHC
Home Adaptations for Seniors Independence Program	Helps homeowners and landlords pay for minor home adaptations to extend the time low-income seniors can live independently in their own homes.	CMHC
Shelter Enhancement Program	Provides financial assistance for repair and rehabilitation of existing shelters for women and their children, youth, and men who are victims of family violence. Requires that an organization, such as a municipality, be available to pay for ongoing operation costs of the building. The program evolved from the Special Purpose Housing program in 1996. The program is part of a broader initiative called "Project Safe Haven."	CMHC
Housing Internship Initiative for First Nations and Inuit Youth	Provides on-the-job training and work experience to assist youth in pursuing long-term employment in the housing industry, including maintenance, construction and administration. Youth must have an eligible sponsor. This program is part of HRSDC's Youth Employment Strategy.	HRSDC and CMHC
Emergency Repair Program	Provides financial assistance to low-income homeowners with emergency repairs that are required for safe occupancy. The program is not intended to fund substantial repairs to homes.	CMHC

Ongoing Concerns

Overcrowding in northern homes is a persistent problem for Inuit families. Similarly, the construction of new homes and repairs to existing homes has not kept pace with the population growth of northern communities. According to INAC's 2005 publication "The Well-Being of Inuit Communities in Canada," Inuit lack housing quantity more often than housing quality. This pattern emphasizes the high fertility rates of Inuit and the frequent instance of multi-family housing.³⁹⁷ The lack of housing, and in particular the lack of affordable housing, often means that Inuit families are doubling or tripling up within a single dwelling. This stress on the home is as much a concern for the physical integrity of the building as it is for the families inhabiting the home, as wear and tear on the building limits its lifespan and necessitates repairs

sooner and more often. Such living arrangements also negatively impact on any social concerns that exist within a household, such as stress generated by unemployment. Overcrowding is also a factor in the spread of diseases, like tuberculosis and bacteria, including E. Coli.³⁹⁸

CMHC has recently implemented several initiatives that are designed to review and improve upon its work in the North. These initiatives include the Northern Service Review Team, which was created in 2002 to assess the effectiveness of CMHC's program delivery in the North; and the Northern Research Agenda, which involved meetings between northern housing stakeholders to generate policy input, such as for the federal government's Healthy Communities objective. Through the Northern Service Review Team's efforts, a northern research group and a northern research position have been created at CMHC. The objective of these initiatives is to create stronger relationships with northern organizations, such as the housing corporations; to assess housing design and research priorities; and to provide technical advice for evaluating housing plans and proposals.³⁹⁹

According to Pauktuutit and Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK), the federal government's 1993 withdrawal from their cost sharing agreements for Inuit housing with the territorial governments, the Government of Quebec, and the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, has had a significant and negative impact on the maintenance and availability of housing in northern communities.⁴⁰⁰ ITK perceives that the housing shortage in northern communities is a contributing factor to the high incidence of a variety of social problems, and seeks a federally sponsored Inuit-specific housing initiative that will ensure training and employment opportunities for Inuit, as well as home ownership subsidies.⁴⁰¹ ITK, along with Makivik Corporation in Nunavik and Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated, have stated that there is a federal responsibility to provide housing for Inuit under Section 91(24) of the Canadian Constitution; as well as within the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement, and the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement. Since 1993, the federal government has continued to participate in on reserve housing for Aboriginal people, yet has not funded similar programs for Inuit.⁴⁰²

In 2000, Makivik reached an agreement - the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement Related to Housing in Nunavik - with the federal government, the Government of Quebec, and the relevant Inuit authorities (Makivik Corporation, the Kativik Regional Government, and the Kativik Municipal Housing Bureau (KMHB)) to construct 300 social housing units in Nunavik communities. This five-year agreement was renewed in June 2005.⁴⁰³ Under the agreement, the federal government provides funding for housing construction to Makivik Corporation and the Government of Quebec gives funding to the KMHB to cover its operating deficit on the houses for a period of twenty years. This agreement has provided 212 new housing units in Nunavik, and an additional 56 units will be constructed in 2006. In co-operation with the Kativik School Board, carpentry-training programs have been established to provide a workforce trained in housing construction.⁴⁰⁴

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Since Nunavut was created in 1999, the Government of Nunavut, with assistance from the CMHC, has constructed 325 subsidized housing units in Nunavut communities.⁴⁰⁵ These housing initiatives do not fully address the high rate of overcrowding in the North, as 3,000 new housing units are required in Nunavut alone to make their rate of overcrowding consistent with the national average.⁴⁰⁶ Crowding is a result of the Inuit population's high growth rate and the slow rate of public housing construction during the past twelve years.⁴⁰⁷ The Government of Nunavut and Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated submitted the *Nunavut Ten-Year Inuit Housing Action Plan* to the federal government in 2004, which requested federal intervention to provide affordable housing for Inuit. This plan reflects Nunavut's two main priorities for housing, which are to provide new housing units to address the issue of overcrowding, and to provide necessary repairs to existing housing units so that they are habitable for as long as possible. Although the federal government has yet to respond to Nunavut's housing plan, Inuit across the North, experiencing similar levels of overcrowding and housing in need of major repairs, are seeking federal assistance to improve their standard of living.⁴⁰⁸

INUIT

HEALTHCARE



Historical Discussion

The Inuit way of life appeared arduous to early European observers, who reported on the periodic poor health of Inuit, including respiratory problems caused by traditional methods of heating homes, food shortages and starvation when animal resources were not plentiful, and short life expectancy with high rates of infant mortality.⁴⁰⁹ Through increasing contact with European explorers, whalers, traders and missionaries, Inuit were exposed to many new diseases for which they had not developed immunities. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) and missionary societies, including the Moravian, Roman Catholic and Anglican churches, provided some health care for Inuit during the nineteenth century. Beginning in

1922, the Eastern Arctic Patrol, comprised of civil servants, RCMP and medical personnel, made annual tours of the Arctic coast and islands on Canadian Government ships, outfitted with supplies and personnel to provide medical and dental care for Inuit.⁴¹⁰

By the 1940s, there were eleven hospitals in the Northwest Territories (NWT), nine of which were operated by missions and two that were operated by mining companies. The Department of Mines and Resources, through the Bureau of Northwest Territories and Yukon Affairs, distributed funding for the construction of hospitals and permanent stationing of medical personnel in Arctic communities. Yet, many communities lacked the health care professionals and the equipment needed to make diagnoses and to provide adequate responses for several serious and widespread ailments, including tuberculosis, influenza, cerebral-spinal meningitis and paratyphoid fever.⁴¹¹

American medical personnel stationed at defence project sites during this period criticized the lack of healthcare that Canada provided to Inuit, particularly for infectious diseases like tuberculosis. In 1944, Canadian medical personnel in the Arctic advised the federal government that healthcare delivery required centralization under federal control, and that improvements were needed to emergency transportation. Additionally, many areas of the North, particularly northern Quebec, were suffering from a lack of hospitals. Providing medical services for Inuit was made difficult by inadequate communication and transportation infrastructure in the eastern Arctic, namely the lack of roads and airports, the lack of trained medical personnel, the cost of medical facilities and of providing transport for medical care, as well as the dispersed population.⁴¹²

Since the Department of National Health and Welfare was created in 1945, it has sought to ensure availability of medical services where no provincial healthcare is available, including isolated northern communities and on First Nations reserves.⁴¹³ To this end, administrative responsibilities for First Nations and Inuit health were transferred from the Indian Health Services Division and the Northwest Territories Branch – both in the Department of Mines and Resources – to the Department of National Health and Welfare. Incidence of respiratory infection was high among Inuit throughout the early part of the twentieth century, but became increasingly prevalent during the 1940s.⁴¹⁴ Rather than constructing treatment facilities in northern communities, the government sent large numbers of Inuit to sanatoria and hospitals in southern Canada for care. In 1956, 10% of the Inuit population was receiving medical treatment, mainly for tuberculosis, in southern Canadian hospitals.⁴¹⁵ Between 1953 and 1964, 4,836 Inuit in the NWT were hospitalized, and 75% to 80% of them were sent to sanatoria in southern Canada. Many missionaries and civil servants in the North were critical of this action, based on the trauma that separation caused Inuit families.

Members of the RCMP and the Arctic Service Division of the federal government's Northern Administration Branch suggested that buildings in Iqaluit vacated by American Army Air Force personnel be used for a hospital. The practice of sending Inuit to southern Canada for medical treatment continued, however, because of the difficulties involved in fully staffing northern hospitals, including medical personnel who could not cope with the isolation, and

the cost of transportation and salaries. Important too were statistics showing that recovery rates of tubercular Inuit were higher at facilities in southern Canada than in the North. These recoveries were attributed to the modernity of the hospitals and highly trained staff, which were more readily available in the south. Incidence of tuberculosis peaked in the early 1940s, and in 1952 it was still the leading cause of death among Inuit. By 1954, however, the incidence of tuberculosis seemed to be on the decline.⁴¹⁶

Another major cause of concern for medical personnel in the North during the mid twentieth century was the high incidence of infant mortality. Most deaths occurred at age two or three, just after children were weaned, and were partially caused by the inadequate nutrition of many Inuit families and inadequate housing. Beginning in the late 1940s, the government attempted to alleviate under-nourishment in children through increasing the availability of powdered milks and cereals, like pablum. Government officials in communities, and members of the annual Eastern Arctic Patrol, attempted to educate Inuit mothers in the use of these foods, including how to prepare and store them, and their nutritional benefits.

As Inuit diets were increasingly comprised of foods obtained from the HBC post, rather than primarily consisting of seal, caribou and other meat resources, general family nutrition was also a concern for medical personnel and government officials. Before contact with Europeans, Inuit subsisted on a meat-based diet. Through the shift from subsistence hunting to commercial trapping, and later wage labour, Inuit had less time and access to animals for hunting, and incorporated more carbohydrate-based foods, such as bannock, into their diets. The loss of nutrients from meat in the diet created high rates of under-nourishment, which became a leading cause of death in young children. Relocations of Inuit to regions with supposedly better resources also created nutrition problems when resources did not materialize or when Inuit were not able to adapt rapidly enough to the changed climatic conditions, and hence to the types of resources available.⁴¹⁷

In 1954, the Advisory Committee on Northern Development of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources developed a Northern Health Services Branch to co-ordinate health care for Inuit throughout the Yukon, NWT and northern Quebec. By the late 1950s, however, the territorial and provincial governments were taking increasing responsibility for northern health. The Department created a Permanent Advisory Committee on Northern Health to co-ordinate the delivery of health care services among levels of government, in hopes of ensuring that funds and supplies were used efficiently and economically.⁴¹⁸

By 1961, however, as the Inuit population continued to rise and community development at DEW Line sites and elsewhere increased, existing medical personnel were unable to cope with heavy patient loads. Northern Health Services issued funding for the construction of nursing stations and hospitals across the Arctic and in northern Quebec. In 1961 for example, a 35-bed hospital was constructed at Iqaluit.⁴¹⁹ Provisions for Aboriginal healthcare were further centralized in 1962 with the creation of the Medical Services Branch within the Department of National Health and Welfare. In 2000, the Medical Services Branch was renamed the First Nations and Inuit Health Branch (FNIHB).⁴²⁰

By the late 1960s and early 1970s, most Inuit lived in stationary communities. While government homes improved access to medical care, the shift to sedentary community life, as well as high levels of unemployment and nutritionally inadequate diets, led to increases in mental and other health problems, such as obesity and high rates of diabetes, depression, suicide, substance abuse and family dysfunction.⁴²¹ Northern healthcare has been further hindered by inadequate infrastructure for water delivery and sewage disposal, and overcrowded housing conditions in many communities. Ensuring that elements contributing to good health, including clean water, effective waste disposal, sufficient housing and adequate amounts of nutritious food, are present in northern communities is an issue of continual concern in the North.⁴²²

Since the 1960s, when social services became increasingly available in the North, healthcare has shifted from focusing on treatment to encouraging measures that prevent disease transmission and promote healthy lifestyles.⁴²³ By 1970, most northern communities with populations over 200 had established nursing stations staffed by at least one full time registered nurse. Systems like medivac (for emergency medical transportation) and the Non-Insured Health Benefits program have improved access to healthcare. Inuit, however, continue to experience average lower life expectancy and receive less medical attention annually than do most other Canadians.⁴²⁴ According to measurements calculated by Indian and Northern Affairs Canada using the United Nations Human Development Index (HDI), which includes indicators of life expectancy, the HDI for Inuit increased between 1991 and 2001. The rate of increase in the Inuit HDI slowed between 1996 and 2001, however, increasing slightly the overall gap in HDI between Inuit and other Canadians for that time period.⁴²⁵

In the early 1970s, personal injury and accidents were the leading causes of death among Inuit, followed by infant mortality and cardiovascular diseases. Causes of injury and accidents included firearms, drowning, motor vehicle accidents and fires. Alcohol was a factor in approximately 45% of violent or accidental deaths. The high rate of violence, accidents and injuries (including suicides) were attributed to factors including high unemployment, few educational opportunities, overcrowded housing and alcoholism in northern communities during the 1970s. The Northwest Territories Department of Social Services established an Alcohol and Drug Co-ordinating Council in 1973 to monitor and co-ordinate rehabilitation and treatment programs administered throughout the territory. Statistics from 1981 demonstrate that violence, accidents, and injuries continued to negatively affect Inuit communities, and caused 40% of Inuit deaths.⁴²⁶

By 1990, the leading causes of death among Inuit were injury and poisoning, cancer, circulatory system diseases, respiratory diseases, diseases of the digestive system, infectious and parasitic diseases, and nutritional and metabolic diseases. Within the category of injury and poisoning, the major causes of mortality were motor vehicle accidents, firearms, drowning, fire, overdoses, exposure, falls and industrial accidents.⁴²⁷ Dangers inherent in the traditional lifestyle, as well as high incidence of alcoholism and suicide also contribute to lower life expectancy for Inuit. The 1999 *NWT Health Status Report* indicates that accidents, injuries, and violence are still a leading cause of death for Inuit, and often result from their outdoor lifestyle.⁴²⁸

Pneumonia replaced tuberculosis as the major cause of Inuit death during the late 1960s, but was fourth by 1971. Still, contrasted with the rest of Canada, the North continues to experience higher than average incidences of infectious diseases, like tuberculosis. Between 1991 and 1999, the assessed rate of diabetes among Inuit rose from 1.9% to 4% of the population. Another study concluded that the prevalence of diabetes may be two or three times the actual rate of diagnosed cases.⁴²⁹ Infections of sexually transmitted diseases, such as HIV/AIDS and chlamydia also occurred at high rates in northern communities.⁴³⁰

Program and Policy Development

Food and Nutrition

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s the rate of newly identified tuberculosis cases declined steadily. Similarly, by 1970, the infant mortality rate had decreased substantially. Still, in 1981, Inuit infants died five times more often than non-Aboriginal infants in Canada.⁴³¹ The decrease in rates of new tuberculosis cases and infant mortality was largely due to improved nutrition, access to healthcare, and better availability and conditions for housing.⁴³²

Under-nourishment, however, continues to negatively affect northern communities where many families live below the poverty line. A 2002 study of nutrition and access to food in Nunavik determined that 55% of households exist below the low-income threshold, and that irregular economic income creates insecure access to food. Such uncertainty about food affects nutrition and health, particularly for women and children.⁴³³ For many northern communities, poverty is complicated by Inuit birth rates, which are higher than those among other Canadians.⁴³⁴

Low income, the high cost of fresh store-bought food in isolated communities, and personal preference among many Inuit means that country foods continue to comprise a significant portion of northern diets.⁴³⁵ Foods, such as Arctic char, seal, walrus, caribou and whale, are important sources of vitamins, minerals and omega-3 fatty acids, yet they have also been found to contain various levels of contaminants, including mercury and poly chlorinated biphenyls (PCBs). A 1985 study of Broughton Island residents found intake levels of PCBs and mercury above the "tolerable" levels determined by Health Canada. The study also concluded that intake levels of omega-3 acids, which are believed to protect against heart disease, were consumed at ten times the rate found in the rest of the Canadian population.⁴³⁶ Indian and Northern Affairs Canada's Northern Contaminants Program (NCP) has found high levels of persistent organic pollutants (POPs), heavy metals and radionuclides throughout the air, water, land and human inhabitants of the Arctic.⁴³⁷ Public knowledge of country food contaminants has deterred some consumption of these resources. The shift from a traditional diet to one more comprised of store-bought food, however, has contributed to several health conditions, including increases in body weight, and heightened occurrence of diabetes, anaemia and heart disease. Poor nutrition weakens the immune system and, consequently, Inuit resistance to infection and diseases.⁴³⁸

In some northern communities over the past fifty years, store-bought foods have replaced Inuit country foods, according to Russel Lawrence Barsh, “to such a degree that iron-deficiency anemia, obesity, and cardio-vascular disease [have] become widespread and chronic problems.”⁴³⁹ To compensate for the high cost of store-bought fresh foods in northern communities, the federal government has initiated services such as the Northern Air Stage Program (often called the Food Mail Program) to subsidize the cost of transporting fresh food, including milk, eggs, bread, fruits and vegetables. The subsidized cost of fresh food transportation is intended to lower the cost of nutritious food for northern consumers. In the 2001 Aboriginal Peoples Survey, however, approximately one-third of adult Inuit stated that store bought food in their communities was not adequately fresh.⁴⁴⁰

Programs that support traditional orientations toward the land, such as the Nunavut Government’s Hunters Income Support Program, provide opportunities for Inuit to reincorporate traditional food resources into their diets, thereby improving their nutritional health, and often their mental health as well. The Hunter Income Support Program subsidizes the cost of hunting equipment. A program review found that entire families often benefited from the program, as hunters took their spouses and children with them onto the land and all family members ate the country foods.⁴⁴¹

Healthcare Services

Similar to the Food Mail Program, which provides fresh food not grown in the North to Inuit, the medivac system compensates for the lack of healthcare facilities in the North by transporting patients from isolated communities to hospitals in emergency situations. By 1990, 10% of Aboriginal communities in Canada still lacked road connections of 90 km or less, or regularly scheduled flights, to communities with permanent physicians. Since the construction of airstrips in northern communities during the 1950s and the systematic removal of tubercular patients from the North to sanatoria in southern Canada, medivac-type systems have been integral to northern healthcare delivery. The nursing staff provide initial treatment in northern communities. They are often trained as midwives and provide many medical services (excluding surgery). Physicians in larger northern communities, such as Iqaluit, Povungnituk, Happy Valley/Goose Bay, and Yellowknife, are available by telephone to confer about patients’ conditions. As nursing and clinical facilities in most communities do not provide a full range of medical services, the medivac air transportation system is routinely used in emergency situations. Medivac quickly transfers patients to appropriate medical facilities while also providing medical assistance en route. Trained paramedics staff the chartered aircraft, which are specially outfitted with medical equipment. For non-emergency medical procedures that require outside-community service, patients are flown to appropriate medical facilities on regularly scheduled aircraft.

Both medivac and non-emergency flights are funded through Health Canada’s Non-Insured Health Benefits (NIHB) program for Aboriginal healthcare.⁴⁴² The NIHB program is administered through Health Canada’s NIHB Directorate, which is part of the First Nations and Inuit Health Branch of Health Canada. The NIHB program provides, “medically necessary

health-related goods and services, not covered by other federal, provincial, territorial or third-party health insurance plans to about 706,000 eligible registered Indians and recognized Inuit and Innu.⁴⁴³ Since 2002, the number of people eligible for NIHB has increased to 749,825.⁴⁴⁴ NIHB includes financial coverage for prescription drugs, medical transportation, dental and vision care, mental health counselling, and medical supplies and equipment.⁴⁴⁵ Eligibility for the NIHB program is determined through Aboriginal status. Inuit are registered by their regional Inuit organizations through the same criteria used to determine their eligibility as land claim beneficiaries under comprehensive land claim agreements. As members of regional organizations, Inuit are assigned N-numbers (or “Northern numbers”), which are recorded on cards with other personal information, such as name and date of birth, that are issued by the regional organizations. These cards are used, similar to Indian status cards, to bill medical expenses directly to the NIHB program. The NIHB program uses about 50% of FNIHB funding annually and provides a wide range of medical services to Aboriginal peoples.⁴⁴⁶

During the 1980s, the Strategic Policy, Planning and Analysis Directorate of the Medical Services Branch developed several initiatives to facilitate the transfer of programs and services from federal administration to Inuit and First Nations community control. In particular, plans for creating Inuit programming accountability frameworks, federal/Inuit partnerships, and Non-Insured Health Benefits co-management committees were created. In 1998, a Northern Secretariat was created within the Medical Services Branch to co-ordinate program delivery for Inuit and First Nations people living in northern territories. The Secretariat assisted the Government of Nunavut in creating their Department of Health and Social Services, and worked with the territorial governments on programs for illness prevention. The Northern Secretariat is also responsible for the administration of NIHB, and for creating partnerships with the territorial governments to facilitate federal program delivery, including the Territorial Wellness Framework.⁴⁴⁷ Within Health Canada, the identification of Inuit-specific funding for healthcare, and the creation and delivery of Inuit specific programs, is an important aspect of delivering Inuit healthcare.⁴⁴⁸

FNIHB programs available to Inuit include the Aboriginal Diabetes Strategy, the First Nations and Inuit Home and Community Care Program, the Aboriginal Head Start Program, the Canada Prenatal Nutrition Program, as well as national alcohol and drug abuse programs, and funding for Community Health Representatives. FNIHB funding is transferred federally to provincial and territorial governments, or to regional Inuit governments, to establish and maintain healthcare programs and services. The settlement of comprehensive land claims in four Inuit regions and the federal transfer of healthcare provision to the two territories has resulted in the decentralization of healthcare administration in Nunatsiavut, Nunavik, Nunavut and the Inuvialuit Settlement Region. A result of this decentralization, and the different structures of Inuit governance under each of the four comprehensive land claim settlements, is variations in the administration of Inuit healthcare throughout the North.

In 1982, responsibility for administering the hospitals at Yellowknife and Iqaluit was transferred from Health Canada to the Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT). The GNWT established a board with representation from across the NWT to run the hospitals. This board

facilitated the transfer of management for the Iqaluit hospital to the Government of Nunavut, which was created in 1999.⁴⁴⁹ Presently, the territorial governments in the Northwest Territories and in Nunavut administer healthcare services for Inuit with contribution agreements for funding from the federal government. Responsibility for healthcare in the Northwest Territories was transferred from the federal government in the late 1980s, and is administered through regional boards within the territory. In contrast to the NWT, Nunavut has a centralized system of healthcare delivery. Healthcare in Nunavik is also provided through federal contribution agreements. In this case, the funding goes through the provincial Government of Quebec to the Nunavik Regional Health and Social Services Board. Similarly, the provincial and Nunavik governments jointly administer the NIHB program in Quebec. Federal programs for Inuit that were developed after the 1976 James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement implementation are funded directly from Canada to the Nunavik government.⁴⁵⁰

The Labrador Inuit Association receives direct federal funding to administer the Labrador Inuit Health Commission (LIHC), which was created in 1985 to administer health services for Inuit communities in Labrador.⁴⁵¹ Labrador Inuit receive provincial health services through the Health Labrador Corporation, including hospital care and also local visits by nurses and physicians to Inuit communities every one to two months. Through creation of the Nunatsiavut Government as a result of the Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement, administration of primary care services and medical facilities will eventually be transferred to the LIHC.⁴⁵²

Ongoing Concerns

An issue of continual concern to northern healthcare is the retention of medical staff in northern communities. Many communities employ only one nurse, who handles a wide variety of administrative and practical tasks. During the 1970s, isolation, low pay and poor housing conditions often meant that the turnover rate for medical staff was as high as 86% annually in many communities. Small communities receive visits from physicians an average of nine times per year, and a 1999 First Nations and Inuit Regional Health Survey found that in 1998, only 36% of Aboriginal people in the NWT had seen a general practitioner, while 60% of non-Aboriginal people in the same territory and 77% of the population in the rest of Canada had seen doctors.⁴⁵³

Since 1970, women living in communities with only nursing stations for healthcare facilities have been sent to communities with hospitals to give birth. Inuit have objected to this system, as it removes the family and the community from the experience of the birth.⁴⁵⁴ Some hospitals, such as the one in Povungnituk, Nunavik have established programs to train Inuit midwives. A successful example of such a program is Inuulitsivik Maternity, which is run from the Povungnituk hospital. This hospital was constructed during the early 1980s as part of the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement and has been mainly Inuit-administered, facilitating the development of culturally relevant programs. The Inuulitsivik Maternity program has been recognized by the World Health Organization, the Institute of Circumpolar Health and the Society of Obstetricians and Gynaecologists in Canada as an “excellent model of northern

health care.” In 1999, however, the Quebec Government legislated that midwives can no longer maintain sole responsibility for maternity care services in Nunavik. The Nunavik Regional Board of Health and Social Services is seeking amendment to this legislation that recognizes northern circumstances, while Nunavut is creating a midwifery system based on the Nunavik system.⁴⁵⁵

Like medical care, accessing adequate dental care is often difficult for Inuit because their communities are isolated. In the early part of the twentieth century, dental problems were rare among Inuit because their diets contained little or no refined sugars or carbohydrates. Many Inuit had few or no cavities and retained their teeth throughout their lives. With the introduction of European foods, however, oral hygiene education and care have become increasingly important issues for Inuit. According to a 1999 study, in communities where the introduction of European foods occurred in the mid-twentieth century, elderly people who maintained traditional diets had markedly slower declines in their oral health compared to younger people who had eaten store-bought foods since they were young.⁴⁵⁶ Dentists visit northern communities for several days or weeks at a time throughout the year but are often not accompanied by assistants and are not supported by the range of clinical equipment and supplies found in established dental facilities. According to an article published in *Circumpolar Health*, often, “whatever care is available only relieves pain, and is not capable of addressing comprehensive needs.”⁴⁵⁷ This dental treatment is curative rather than preventative, and does not address the long-term dental needs of Inuit.⁴⁵⁸

Since 1970, Inuit organizations and Inuit-run governments have taken increasing responsibility for administering their communities' healthcare, including programs for mental health and child protection. In particular, organizations such as Pauktuutit, the national association for Inuit women in Canada, have focused on educating Inuit about healthcare issues, such as HIV/AIDS, fetal alcohol syndrome (FAS), family violence, substance abuse and sexually transmitted diseases, through hands-on community based programs and educational campaigns. Pauktuutit receives federal funding for its programs and works closely with community members to ensure that their programs meet the needs of participants.⁴⁵⁹ Noted strengths of Aboriginal communities' healthcare provisions include their holistic approach; the combination of western and traditional medicine; the focus on multidisciplinary primary care to include practitioners such as nurses, doctors, community health workers and traditional healers; and the integration and collaboration of provincial/territorial, federal and local services. Continuous challenges in Inuit healthcare include shorter life expectancy, injury, addiction, family violence and illness, small community size and remote location, lack of qualified Inuit to act as healthcare practitioners, difficulties retaining qualified healthcare providers in northern communities, increase in the number of elderly people within the northern population, and a lack of healthcare funding.⁴⁶⁰

Through its 1998 publication, *Gathering Strength – Canada's Aboriginal Action Plan*, Health Canada, in partnership with Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, has committed to creating diabetes and tuberculosis initiatives, and to establishing an Aboriginal Healing Foundation that will develop a healing strategy to address the intergenerational health-effects of Indian

residential schools. Although these issues affect most Aboriginal people to some degree, Inuit have criticized the federal government for not recognizing that their healthcare priorities are different from those of southern First Nations.⁴⁶¹ To address their healthcare needs, Inuit have begun to focus on creating culturally-relevant preventative and promotional programs addressing Inuit health concerns, including alcoholism, suicide and family violence. Particularly valuable have been programs that address the cyclic nature of health issues in Inuit communities, such as the link between poor nutrition and infants' inability to fight infection.⁴⁶²

Suicide continues to be a major cause of concern in northern communities. The incidence of suicide among Inuit is nearly six times the national average, and is particularly high among young men.⁴⁶³ Improving suicide rates, particularly among young people, requires preventative, educational programs, as well as programs that treat those who have attempted suicide. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) is working with northern communities to create suicide prevention programs, such as the Isaksimagit Inuusirmi Katujjiqatigiit Suicide Prevention Embrace Life Council. The Council contributes to the mental, emotional and physical health and community wellness of Nunavut residents by providing education, research and statistical analysis, and by coordinating holistic approaches to suicide prevention activities. The council recruits, co-ordinates and provides ongoing training to volunteers to give them the expertise required to deliver suicide prevention and community wellness services in their communities. According to the Nunavut RCMP Non-Commissioned Officer in charge of Community Policing, the Council is "generating territory wide awareness and involvement for this cause".⁴⁶⁴ The National Inuit Youth Council, in association with Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, has initiated a Suicide Prevention Framework that provides recommendations for policy and program development addressing youth suicide.⁴⁶⁵ Similar northern initiatives designed to raise awareness about suicide prevention include the Makivik-sponsored Saputiit Youth Association kayak trip and speaking tour, the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation's "Yellow Ribbon" campaign, and the hiring of a community healing coordinator by the Labrador Inuit Association.⁴⁶⁶

Improving training opportunities within northern communities to increase the number of Inuit healthcare workers, including nurses, doctors and social workers, will enhance the provision of healthcare in northern communities and detract from the problem of recruiting and retaining healthcare workers in the North.⁴⁶⁷ In addition to hiring more medical practitioners, recognizing and utilizing traditional Inuit healthcare skills and knowledge will help to nurture a holistic approach to Inuit healthcare, and will make healthcare provision increasingly relevant to Inuit needs.⁴⁶⁸ Inuit are committed to the creation of a federal Inuit health policy that will address Inuit health needs specifically. Such a policy would improve tracking of Inuit-targeted healthcare funding, ensure that programs were culturally sensitive, and would improve co-ordination among federal, provincial/territorial, and regional healthcare providers. Recognizing healthcare needs specific to Inuit and the North, such as the differences in health provisions within each of the four Inuit comprehensive land claim agreements, the need to account for health concerns related to contaminants, and the need to improve broadband services throughout the North in support of a tele-health system, will make healthcare increasingly relevant to Inuit and responsive to their healthcare needs.⁴⁶⁹

INUIT



EDUCATION

Historical Discussion

Before contact with Europeans, Inuit children were educated by adult members of their community in survival skills, such as hunting and the preparation of skins to make clothing and tents. Cultural education involved teaching traditions for food sharing, spirituality, games and oral traditions. Beginning in the early nineteenth century, Moravian missionaries in Labrador, and Roman Catholic and Anglican missionaries in the eastern and western Arctic, combined literacy training with their missions for Inuit. This education was usually irregular, as Inuit continued to live semi-nomadically, and was restricted in subject matter, as Inuit were often taught to read using the Bible. As with First Nations in southern Canada, missionaries built and funded residential and day schools for Inuit

children. By the end of the Second World War, there were four residential schools and nine day schools in the Northwest Territories (NWT) and northern Quebec as well as several residential and day schools in Labrador.⁴⁷⁰

The Canadian Government maintained an official policy of encouraging Inuit to retain their traditional way of life until the mid twentieth century, and was, therefore, reluctant to increase funding for missionary societies or to take a larger role in developing a federal system of education in the North for an Inuit population that continued to live semi-nomadically. The government was concerned that educated Inuit would not be satisfied to continue in their traditional way of life, and that children educated in residential schools would not learn necessary survival skills. Missionaries and American army personnel stationed in the Canadian North during the 1940s, were critical of the government's policy for Inuit education, and perceived it to be short sighted in failing to provide basic education. Missionaries used the education systems for Inuit in Alaska and Greenland as examples of what the Canadian Government should develop for Inuit. By the mid-1950s, about one in fifteen Canadian Inuit were literate.⁴⁷¹ In 1947, the Department of Mines and Resources, through the Bureau of Northwest Territories and Yukon Affairs, assumed responsibility for Inuit education, intending to provide the same quality of programming in the North as in southern Canada. To this end, the Department of Resources and Development initiated a sub-committee on *Eskimo* Education in 1952. The dispersed nature of the Inuit population, their semi-nomadic way of life, teacher shortages, and the high cost of providing staff, supplies and facilities, created difficulties for government administrators in developing an effective system for Inuit education.⁴⁷²

A further agreement for federal administration of Inuit education was made in 1955 between the Northern Administration Branch of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, the Indian Affairs Branch of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration, the NWT Council, and the Roman Catholic and Anglican churches. Under this agreement, the federal government assumed responsibility for all schools but agreed to partially fund church-run hostels that housed students while they attended school. Hostels were similar in purpose to residential schools but more efficiently housed the smaller Inuit student population. Although residential schools were located in several Inuit communities, hostels required fewer staff to operate and could be dispersed through more communities, allowing children to remain closer to their parents while they attended school. Hostel and residential schooling, however, removed children from their parents' care for up to ten months of each year, creating cultural alienation among Inuit parents and children.⁴⁷³

In 1949, the federal government initiated a system of elementary education in northern Quebec. Since education was largely provided in English, concerned French-Canadian nationalists began instituting their own French speaking schools in Inuit communities in 1959.⁴⁷⁴ The Newfoundland government took over the provincial school system and curriculum from the Moravian missionaries in 1949, funding textbook development and setting new criteria for teacher qualifications. Although many schools maintained some religious orientation, the provincial funding and administration meant more and better equipped facilities, increased student enrolment, and standardized expectations for student learning.⁴⁷⁵

Initially, the federal system for northern education adopted curriculum standard in southern Canada. This meant that the subjects and topics covered, and the methods of instruction, were unfamiliar to Inuit and required Inuit to learn English through the vocabulary for foreign cultural references, such as the traffic lights and cornfields that were presented in their textbooks.⁴⁷⁶ Inuit also experienced difficulty maintaining motivation to learn in a “school system [that] attempted to introduce them to a value system that stressed individual achievement, advancement and self-discipline in return for future rewards.”⁴⁷⁷ Inuit culture was present-oriented and sensitive to the maintenance of community relations, making acculturation to such individualistic and long-term concepts difficult. As well as requesting more culturally sensitive curricula, Inuit expressed interest in programming that would educate adults and would help parents to understand the government’s goals for their childrens’ education.⁴⁷⁸ Elementary school teachers were nearly all from southern Canada, most had no previous experience in northern communities or with Inuit, and most had little or no knowledge of Inuit languages or culture when they first arrived. This situation was partially ameliorated in 1958 when the government began to train and hire Inuit educational assistants who helped classroom teachers by translating lessons and curriculum into Inuit languages.⁴⁷⁹

Throughout the 1960s, the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, and then the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, expanded school and hostel accommodations for Inuit children and for those from southern Canada whose parents worked in the civil service or at DEW Line sites.⁴⁸⁰ A new curriculum for northern students was developed by the Education Division of the Department Indian Affairs and Northern Development, with elements such as Inuit-language booklets and the Arctic Reading Series, both of which were more relevant to Inuit culture. The Department created training programs to sensitize southern teachers to Inuit culture, expanded their range of vocational training programs, and introduced a Kindergarten curriculum.⁴⁸¹

Most northern employment, such as at DEW Line sites, required skilled workers. To compete for these jobs, Inuit needed vocational training. Adult education programming was expanded and vocational training institutes were developed at Aklavik, Yellowknife and Iqaluit, with programs that emphasized hands-on training for employment in areas such as nursing, heavy machinery operation, clerical work and construction. Still, some Inuit with vocational training found it difficult to obtain skilled employment upon returning to their home communities. The main employers in most communities were the Hudson’s Bay Company, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, and the Department of Indian Affairs. These employers, however, often sent their own employees to work in northern detachments rather than hiring Inuit locally.⁴⁸² By 1970, only 7% of people living in the Northwest Territories had completed high school or vocational training, and 60% had received no formal schooling at all.⁴⁸³ This lack of training created high unemployment among Inuit, as most positions for unskilled labourers, at defence project sites and in resource development, had not been sustained past the initial boom of these industries during the 1950s and 1960s. By 1970, most employers sought primarily literate and skilled employees, leaving many Inuit dependent on welfare.⁴⁸⁴

Education was a highly acculturative force for assimilating Inuit to southern Canadian culture, and Inuit parents had long requested changes to make the curriculum more relevant to Inuit. These requests included involvement of Inuit parents in the classroom as storytellers and guest teachers, use of traditional languages for instruction, and the incorporation of Inuit cultural elements into the curriculum.⁴⁸⁵ Successful vocation programs, such as teacher-education, which was introduced in 1969 and graduated 11 of the 15 initial participants to jobs in northern schools, provided community role models for children, demonstrating the cultural relevancy and job possibilities available to Inuit through their education. By the 1960s, the federal system of education for Inuit had resulted in increased levels of literacy, and many Inuit were making use of their southern Canadian-style education to participate in aspects of community development, including acting as members of community councils and housing authorities, and later in the development of representative organizations, such as Inuit Tapirisat of Canada.⁴⁸⁶

Program and Policy Development

Despite federal efforts to ensure that all Inuit children between the ages of six and fifteen were attending school during the 1960s, the government had difficulty both accommodating students in remote locations, and keeping pace with the population increase of growing northern communities as Inuit began to settle in centralized, permanent locations. The government sought to construct federal schools in northern communities and to offer a modified curriculum relevant to the North, yet systemic problems in the educational services provided to Inuit continued.⁴⁸⁷ At the same time, northern teachers reported, “a persistent failure of native peoples to achieve success within the system,” and expressed concern about the “extreme alienation” schooling caused for young Inuit attempting to balance their traditional culture practiced at home and the school culture experienced at elementary day schools and secondary residential schools. Further, Inuit claimed, “immense dissatisfaction” with the policies, curriculum teachers and educational facilities in the North.⁴⁸⁸

In 1970, the Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT) assumed responsibility for schools within the territory, and since 1972 have had an official policy of educating children in their traditional language between Kindergarten and grade three. This policy, and others encouraging the maintenance of traditional Inuit culture, have been endorsed and supported by Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK). ITK has argued against education systems that assimilate Inuit to southern Canadian culture, with consequent loss of their sense of identity.⁴⁸⁹ Throughout the 1970s, Inuit in the NWT perceived that the federal government was not sufficiently consulting them about the development of educational programs and facilities. In response, Inuit established the National Inuit Council on Education (NICE) within ITK's Inuit Cultural Institute (ICI) in 1976.⁴⁹⁰ The objective of NICE was to determine the feasibility of establishing Inuit-administered education facilities throughout the North, which would provide a more culturally and geographically relevant education system for Inuit children. Rather than relying on the federal government to develop educational infrastructure and curriculum, and to hire

educators for northern schools, ITK sought to develop an educational program that would encourage children to attend school and would provide them with an education that was sufficient preparation for northern employment opportunities.⁴⁹¹

In 1971, the Gordon Robertson Education Centre (GREC) opened in Iqaluit as a junior and senior residential secondary school. As most Inuit now lived in permanent settlements, more began to rely on sources of income other than hunting and fishing, and there was concern among community leaders that traditional cultural skills would be lost entirely if generations of Inuit were educated in schools rather than on the land. Consequently, in the 1980s, as well as providing instruction in academic curriculum, GREC course offerings began to include igloo and sled building, stone carving, sea and land hunting, snowmobiling, camping, hiking, and instruction in Inuktitut and Inuit folklore. In the late 1960s, many parents, and even non-Inuit teachers, in smaller communities objected to the federal government's lack of consultation in planning to construct the eastern Arctic's only secondary school in Iqaluit. At the time, Iqaluit was the largest community in the eastern Arctic and was developing social problems, including violence and crime. Parents and teachers in small communities had requested that their own schools be adapted to accommodate instruction in secondary grades, thereby allowing youth to remain in their parents' homes while completing their secondary education.⁴⁹²

In the first two years that GREC was open, enrolment dropped from 220 to 100, and there was a high absentee rate. Many GREC students felt culturally isolated and left school before completing their secondary education. Young people who did complete their secondary education often experienced difficulty reintegrating themselves to their home communities. Student testimony suggests that violence, assault, alcohol abuse and even suicide were common within the GREC residence, and parents were often supportive of their children's choice to leave GREC. Secondary schools (some residential) across the North, including those at Fort McPherson, Inuvik, Hay River, Fort Smith, and Yellowknife experienced similar problems of student absenteeism, high drop out rates, and reports of poor community reintegration from students returning to smaller home communities in the summer or upon their completion of secondary school. Secondary schools in Churchill and Ottawa provided Inuit with vocational and academic training, as well as opportunities to learn about southern Canada and participate in Canadian culture, but experienced similar drop-out rates.⁴⁹³

In 1973, the Man in the North Project, sponsored by the Arctic Institute of North America, released a report on education in Nunavik and the NWT which called for increased efforts to incorporate community members in the delivery of education programs, increased opportunities for training Inuit as teachers, and better preparation of non-Inuit teachers for the culture and way of life in northern communities. This report was based on experimental studies carried out under the project in 1971 and 1972, which included community-guided education in Nunavik, an apprentice teacher program for Inuit, and educating southern teachers to prepare them for their role in the North. The goal of the Nunavik program was to demonstrate to young schooled children that Inuit community members did "play a meaningful role within the school curriculum," thereby facilitating their adaptation to the school culture and system.⁴⁹⁴ The apprentice teacher program provided training opportunities for Inuit that combined academic

up-grading with in-service training. The program to acculturate Canadians for northern teaching focused on the culture and history of the North and its communities, respecting the significance Inuit placed in maintaining and transferring knowledge of traditional skills to young people, and providing assistance to teachers in their process of acculturating to the North. Such experimental programs reinforced the need to train Inuit teachers within their communities, thereby retaining local teachers long-term, and minimizing the discontinuity in schools associated with replacing non-Inuit teachers who usually stayed for only one or two years. According to the project's report, training Inuit teachers would also help to ensure that culturally relevant and sensitive curricula were being delivered in northern classrooms.⁴⁹⁵

Through the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement (JBNQA), which was signed in 1974 by the Inuit of Nunavik, the Grand Council of the Cree in Quebec, the Province of Quebec, the federal government, and various hydro corporations, the first Inuit-controlled school board was created. The JBNQA included provisions to establish the Kativik Regional Government, the administrative body for Nunavik, which included the Kativik School Board. From the Government of Quebec, the Kativik School Board was delegated authority to administer curriculum for primary and secondary education in fourteen Nunavik communities, a training program for Inuit teachers, an acculturative program for non-Inuit teachers, and a department to pursue research into educational issues.⁴⁹⁶

Since 1978, the Kativik School Board has improved educational facilities in Nunavik, developed special needs education, created secondary school facilities and curriculum, established adult education programs, and administered programs assisting Inuit students from Nunavik who were studying at post-secondary institutions elsewhere in Canada.⁴⁹⁷ The Kativik School Board has promoted culturally relevant curriculum from its initial establishment, and developed a mandate for the purpose and characteristics of education in Nunavik. According to the Kativik School Board, education should facilitate maintenance of traditional Inuit lifeways within the community, and develop individuals capable of participating to their fullest potential as employable members of the community. The school board's objectives for education in Nunavik are that it be relevant to Inuit culture, promote standards of educational achievement consistent with those in the rest of Canada, and prepare students for post-secondary educational opportunities.⁴⁹⁸

Although the GNWT had established a mandate to provide culturally relevant education for Inuit, by 1982 only 46 of 741 NWT educators were Aboriginal, making it difficult to provide territory-wide instruction in traditional languages. Many communities hired Inuit classroom assistants, particularly to act as interpreters, but they were not fully accredited as teachers. Since 1969, a teacher-training program had operated at Fort Smith in the NWT, and a similar program was established in 1979 at Iqaluit, with an initial enrolment of thirteen candidates.⁴⁹⁹ In 1975, McGill University established a teacher-training course – the Native and Northern Education Program – for Inuit in Nunavik. In 1982, this program was extended to the NWT. Within the program, Inuit who were classroom assistants and spoke Inuktitut fluently could complete a four-year teacher-training program while they continued their classroom work. Graduates of the Nunavik/McGill program taught many of these courses in northern communities.

The strengths of the program were its abilities to accommodate teaching schedules, and community and family responsibilities; the focus on maintenance of traditional languages in the classroom; and the input of teacher-trainers on the course and program content.⁵⁰⁰ In Nunavut, the program is called the Northern Teacher Education Program (NTEP). It is offered at Arctic College in Iqaluit but to make the program more accessible, Arctic College has also begun to offer the program among Nunavut's communities on a rotating basis. Providing the NTEP to train educators within their communities increases the employment opportunities for Inuit and ensures that rural schools have access to local trained teachers who are fluent in Inuktitut.⁵⁰¹

Adult education programs in the 1970s were often sponsored by resource development companies, such as the Alberta Gas Trunk Line Company Limited of Calgary, which initiated formal course and on-the-job training for Aboriginal peoples (including seven Inuit initially) in anticipation of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline project's construction. A study conducted on this training program reported a low dropout rate, high morale on the job, and good relations between employers and Aboriginal employees. Instructors and trainers noted a faster and more effective adaptation to wage labour employment among young Aboriginal peoples who had attended school than among older employees who were not used to schedules based on an eight-hour workday. The Churchill Vocational Centre also provided training for Inuit in such trades as mechanics and carpentry.⁵⁰² More recent adult education includes programs through Arctic College in Nunavut, which has regional campuses in many smaller communities, and offers distance education courses to allow Inuit to upgrade their level of education and skill training without displacing themselves from their homes and communities. Many of the programs offered by Arctic College are targeted to adults who wish to upgrade their skill training but do not have secondary school diplomas; or integrate instruction in traditional skills, such as sewing, with numeracy and literacy up-grading.⁵⁰³

Although Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC) had introduced federal funding for Status Indian and Inuit students attending technical, vocational, college and university programs in 1968, this funding was formalized in 1977 through creation of the Post-Secondary Education Assistance Program. This program was designed to support Status Indian and Inuit students with the cost of post-secondary tuition, books, relocation and living expenses. The creation of federal funding for University and College Entrance Preparation programs followed in 1983. In 1989, the Post-Secondary Education Assistance Program was renamed the Post-Secondary Student Support Program (PSSSP). Funding for the PSSSP is transferred from INAC for administration by Aboriginal organizations for their members.⁵⁰⁴

For many families in the North, even by the late 1970s, limited and often negative experiences with "formal" education meant that there was little promotion of educational achievement, or even school attendance. Having to leave home communities to attend school in larger communities further discouraged many Inuit from secondary school attendance. The turnover rate of teachers imported for employment in northern classrooms continued to be high, as teachers tended to view their time in the North as a temporary experience, rather than as a commitment to a new way of life. The Anik-B satellite television and tele-conferencing project,

funded by INAC from 1978 to 1981, provided an opportunity for ITK to successfully develop media programs in Inuktitut, supporting elements of the school curriculum for selected communities in the North. Despite increased funding and initiatives to make education more culturally relevant, the level of educational achievement for Inuit students remained low throughout the 1970s and 1980s.⁵⁰⁵

With much support from northern teachers, in 1982 the NWT Special Committee on Education tabled a report in the legislature that called for, among other changes, a provision that education from Kindergarten to grade 10 be available in all communities, with Grades 11 and 12 incorporated into programs at Arctic College, thereby facilitating development of vocational and adult education programs. The report also recommended the decentralization of boards of education within the NWT to encourage Inuit participation in the administration of northern education. Further, the report renewed recommendations to increase the use of traditional languages in elementary schools. In 1983, the GNWT amended the Education Ordinance to allow for the creation of regional boards of education within the territory, when requested by communities.⁵⁰⁶

A review of education in Nunavik was held in 1985 through a symposium of delegates from across the region. Through the symposium the Nunavik Educational Task Force was created in 1989. The Task Force was sponsored by Makivik Corporation, the beneficiary organization for JBNQA signatories, and included representation from Makivik and outside specialists in education. The Task Force conducted community consultations and hearings to determine priorities for the future direction of Nunavik education, based on input by Nunavik Inuit. The Task Force's work culminated in the submission of a report to the Kativik School Board in 1992. Issues addressed by the task force included many issues that were of concern to Inuit elsewhere in the North: language of instruction, post-secondary assistance, student involvement in extracurricular activities, recruitment of Inuit teachers, and methods of improving the relevancy of non-Inuit teachers to their northern classrooms.⁵⁰⁷

Three recent studies about language instruction and its use among Nunavik children show similar results: instruction in traditional languages at lower elementary grades seems to promote traditional language retention, but it makes the transition to instruction in English difficult in later grades. In particular, one study concluded that, "the shift from heritage-language to dominant second-language instruction in Grade 3 was associated with a significant decrease in personal self-esteem."⁵⁰⁸ In many northern communities, the local Inuit language is taught as the primary language of instruction from Kindergarten to somewhere between grades three and five. Unless students have significant exposure to English or French in their home, they may experience difficulty and frustration with the transition to school instruction in one of those languages.⁵⁰⁹

Over time, levels of education among Inuit have increased, as only one Inuk from the NWT was attending university in Canada in 1980, and another four Inuit were accepted to universities that year. Between 1990 and 1999, the number of Inuit completing secondary school in the NWT and Nunavut rose from 21 in 1990 to 115 in 1999.⁵¹⁰ Inadequate preparation for higher

education at southern post-secondary institutes, and the cultural and physical isolation of living in urban cities in southern Canada has hindered Inuit completion of post-secondary studies.⁵¹¹ In recent years, efforts have continued to improve educational opportunities and the relevance of education in the North. The Nunavut Sivuniksavut Training Program, which was established in 1985 by the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut and is jointly funded by INAC, is an example of a federally sponsored education initiative for Inuit. Nunavut Sivuniksavut provides urban post-secondary preparation for Inuit youth, and combines courses in Inuit history, culture and politics with knowledge, skills and practical support for coping with the transition from life in isolated northern communities to Ottawa, a large urban city. In addition, the provision of federal, and territorial/provincial financial assistance for Inuit post-secondary tuition, such as through INAC's Post-Secondary Student Support Program, has made it increasingly feasible and attractive for Inuit to pursue post-secondary education.⁵¹²

Ongoing Concerns

The educational completion rates for Inuit obtaining secondary school diplomas have increased substantially since the 1970s but based on INAC's *Northern Indicators 2004* and Human Development Index measurements of Inuit well-being (created using 2001 Canadian Census data), Inuit still have a low level of educational attainment compared to other Aboriginal peoples in Canada.⁵¹³ There are no universities in the Canadian Arctic but Arctic College in Nunavut and Aurora College in the NWT provide a range of post-secondary programs at centralized and satellite campuses throughout the North. The colleges make use of communication technology, including tele-conferencing and e-mail, to make post-secondary education as accessible as possible to people in northern communities. These colleges have also liaised with other Canadian post-secondary institutions to provide specialty programs, such as the Akitsiraq Law School, which is jointly administered by the Akitsiraq Law Society, Nunavut Arctic College and the University of Victoria Faculty of Law in British Columbia. Such programs are often offered for a limited time period, however, and most students wishing to obtain university degrees are required to attend campus facilities in southern Canada.⁵¹⁴

Many areas of northern employment lack sufficiently trained numbers of Inuit to fill available positions, highlighting the need for culturally relevant educational curricula that will ensure high retention rates of Inuit throughout primary and secondary grades.⁵¹⁵ INAC's Cultural Education Centres Program (CECP) is designed to assist Inuit communities in expressing, preserving, developing and promoting their cultural heritage. The CECP supports the development of culturally relevant curricula that promotes improved learning environments and increased educational outcomes for Inuit students.⁵¹⁶ Community involvement in education demonstrates to children the importance of learning and the value placed by the community on education. Involvement of Inuit in their education systems: as principals, teachers, classroom assistants, board of education members, parent advisory council members and employees of the territorial or regional departments of education, have influenced changes to the standardized curricula, such as through student-centred classrooms and culturally-based curricula. It

is hoped that making education increasingly relevant to local community needs, as well as to Inuit culture and northern life, will continue to result in higher educational completion rates among Inuit. Creating more Inuit educators, such as through the Northern Teacher Education Program, provides role models for Inuit students that demonstrate the relevance of the education system.⁵¹⁷

Promoting Inuit dialects, including Inuktitut, Innuinnaqtun and Inuttitut, as the primary languages of instruction in elementary schools is a focus of educational curriculum development in all northern regions. While instruction in traditional languages promotes their retention, high drop out rates for students in the early grades of secondary school have been partially linked to frustrations experienced in transitioning from a traditional language of instruction to instruction almost entirely in English or French. Providing a smoother elementary/secondary transition experience for students has become another key focus for institutions, such as the Government of Nunavut, as a way of retaining students during secondary school.⁵¹⁸ Devolution of authority for education to Inuit governments, such as in the JBNQA or the recently signed Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement, will further facilitate the development of culturally relevant curriculum for Inuit youth, thereby promoting educational achievement.⁵¹⁹

Federal programs providing relevant employment experience to Inuit pursuing secondary and post-secondary studies support students' educational achievement and provide exposure to a wide range of future employment potential. INAC's First Nations and Inuit Youth Employment Strategy (FNIYES), for example, funds four programs to which First Nations and Inuit organizations can submit proposals. Proposals meeting the INAC program guidelines will be funded by INAC but administered by Aboriginal organizations. These programs include: the First Nations and Inuit Student Summer Employment Opportunities Program, the First Nations and Inuit Science and Technology Program, the First Nations and Inuit Career Promotion and Awareness Program, and the First Nations and Inuit Youth Work Experience Program. These programs are designed to provide mentored employment opportunities, promote the benefits of education, offer a variety of employment opportunities and give career counselling.⁵²⁰

Currently, significant barriers to further increasing educational completion rates across the North are the socio-economic issues that discourage school attendance, including the high rates of overcrowded housing and unemployment among Inuit. Overcrowded housing makes it challenging to find quiet study space, and high rates of unemployment contribute to negative attitudes about the importance of education and the economic returns generated by completing secondary school. Initiatives that seek to improve the quality of life for Inuit, such as improving housing or providing employment opportunities, are likely to have indirect positive impacts on education completion rates.⁵²¹ Similarly, increasing the relevancy of elementary and secondary school curricula to Inuit culture, by incorporating Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (Inuit traditional knowledge) for example, will help students to see the relevance of their education to their families' way of life, and to take pride in their educational achievements.⁵²² Thomas Berger, Conciliator in the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement implementation contract negotiations, recently released a report focusing on the need to increase funding for all levels of education in Nunavut in order for the federal government to adequately implement Article 23. In particular, Berger recommended additional funding for Nunavut Sivuniksavut.⁵²³

INUIT



ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND THE INUIT ECONOMY

Historical Discussion

Through their traditional way of life Inuit utilized a variety of naturally occurring mineral resources, including copper, mica, pyrite, galena, chert, quartz and soapstone to make tools, household and decorative items. Animal resources, including caribou, seal, polar bear and whale were used for food, and their skin and fur was used for clothing, blankets and tents. Beginning in Labrador in the eighteenth century, and the eastern and western Arctic and northern Quebec during the nineteenth century, explorers and whalers, and later fur traders, harvested animal resources, such as whale and white fox. Like Inuit, Europeans in the North during the late nineteenth century discovered and mined mineral resources, including coal, graphite and mica at Lake Hazen, Lake Harbour, Pleasant Inlet, Aklavik, Paulatuk, Pond Inlet and on northern

Ellesmere Island. As well, the American Navy operated a mine producing graphite and mica at Cumberland Sound on Baffin Island beginning in 1875. In the 1920s, prospectors began using airplanes to determine likely mine locations, resulting in several valuable finds, including the gold mine at Whale Cove Peninsula on Hudson Bay in 1928.⁵²⁴

With the drop in fur prices during the 1930s, the Canadian Government began to explore other kinds of resource development in the Arctic, including commercial fisheries and mineral extraction projects. During the 1940s, the construction of defence projects in the North created some infrastructure, such as roads and airports, and increased awareness of the region among Canadians. Increased knowledge of the North and motivation from the discovery of oil in Alaska led to increased interest in natural resource exploitation, and hence the development of mining projects. The Canadian Government facilitated this development through commissioning geological and geophysical maps of the region, funding mineral exploration and project prospecting, and financing the construction and expansion of infrastructure necessary for industrial development. According to Hugh Keenleyside, a former Deputy Minister of the Department of Mines and Resources and a Commissioner of the Northwest Territories (NWT) Council, “the awakening of general interest in the Arctic was in part the result of political and defence considerations that marked the period of the Cold War. But additional recognition of its importance came also from a new appreciation of the economic possibilities of that region.”⁵²⁵ During the 1957 election campaign, Prime Minister John Diefenbaker proposed a “Roads to Resources” program, which funded economic development in the North and provided administrative support for the exploitation of natural resources.⁵²⁶

By the mid-1950s, mining projects were operating throughout the NWT, northern Quebec and Labrador.⁵²⁷ Inuit, however, were not consulted about the establishment or location of mining projects. Although Inuit were sometimes employed at these projects, most positions were seasonal or part time and nearly all were unskilled. With the social and economic changes occurring in the North during the mid-twentieth century, the federal government realized that long-term exploitation of animal resources as a primary means of economic and subsistence survival was not sustainable. Instead of promoting the traditional Inuit way of life, the federal government began to focus their efforts on assisting Inuit to become wage earners.⁵²⁸ Organizations such as the Eskimo Affairs Committee and the Advisory Committee on Northern Development (ACND) sought to promote adult education, vocational training, and business incentives for economic development and job creation, including developing community co-operatives, credit unions and the Eskimo Loan Fund.⁵²⁹ The objectives of the federal government’s incentives and training programs were “to ensure that the region contributes to the total national output and to the sustained long-run growth of that output,” and “to raise the average level of income of the inhabitants of the region.” A third objective, which pervaded general government administration of the North during the mid part of the twentieth century, was sovereignty, and hence “the maintenance of effective occupation of the region.”⁵³⁰

As renewable and non-renewable resource development projects expanded throughout the North during the 1960s, Inuit increasingly demonstrated a desire to ensure sustainability of natural resources through stewardship, and expressed concern about perceived insufficient

government and industry consultations regarding the pace and locations of the development. During the 1950s and 1960s, the federal government intended northern projects, such as the construction of Distant Early Warning (DEW) Line sites and the development of mines, to provide employment for Inuit. In reality, however, many of the jobs created were seasonal or short-term, and obliged Inuit to learn English, obtain specialized training, adapt to an employment culture with which they were not familiar, and to sometimes live in work camps away from their families and communities.⁵³¹

Although federal government vocational programs had been available to Inuit for approximately six years in 1961, 57% of Aboriginal people employed in industries in the NWT continued to hunt and trap as a primary means of subsistence, while only 7.7% of mining employees were Aboriginal. As the chart below demonstrates, “the proportion of [Inuit] employed in the mining industry [was] lower than the proportion for all other industrial divisions,” indicating that few Inuit received direct benefit from government funding of mineral extraction projects.⁵³²

Table 3: 1961 Employment Statistics for Aboriginal People in the Industrial Sector, NWT

Industry ⁵³³	Total Number of Employees	Number of Aboriginal Employees	Aboriginal Employees as Percent of Total
Agriculture	23	15	65.2
Forestry	41	11	26.8
Fishing and Trapping	1 610	1 526	94.6
Mines, Quarries, Oil Wells	992	76	7.7
Manufacturing	146	37	25.4
Construction	280	41	14.7
Transportation and Communication	643	67	10.4
Service (trade, retail, finance, insurance, real estate)	2 347	441	18.6
Public Administration and Defence	1 899	507	26.8
Industry not Stated	190	80	42.1
Total of All Industries	7 452	2 671	35.8

Inuit co-operative businesses were established in northern communities beginning in 1959, making use of the community infrastructure developed through larger-scale projects, such as DEW Line stations. The first Inuit co-operative was created in 1959 at Povungnetuk in Nunavik, and was based on the creation and sale of soapstone sculptures. The introduction

of co-operative businesses in the late 1950s provided employment and business management training opportunities for Inuit. Inuit co-operatives developed a variety of resource-based businesses, including tourism, eco-tourism and soapstone carving, as well as artistic endeavours such as carving, print making and sewing. They also took advantage of the increase in fox fur prices during the early 1970s to create employment in trapping and tanning, and to market and sell Inuit-processed furs.⁵³⁴

In 1959, the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources initiated an experimental project to harvest Arctic char for exportation to urban centres in southern Canada. The Eskimo Loan Fund assisted Inuit from several communities in the eastern Arctic and northern Quebec to purchase processing and storage equipment. Many communities in Labrador and throughout the North, including Cambridge Bay, Inuvik, Frobisher Bay, George River, Payne Bay, Whale Cove, Rankin Inlet, Fort Chimo and Port Burwell benefited from government assistance in establishing commercial operations to exploit fish species such as char, lake trout, whitefish, sea trout and salmon.⁵³⁵ Later co-operative businesses, such as those in Iqaluit and Cape Dorset, included the sale of food, hunting supplies, gasoline, and telephone services. Cooperative businesses in the North received financial and business management advice from the Hudson Bay Company and the federal government.⁵³⁶ The Canadian Arctic Producers (CAP) was established in 1963 to market co-op-produced Inuit artwork, including prints and soapstone sculptures, internationally. Similarly, the Canadian Eskimo Arts Council, which was located within Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, provided marketing support for Inuit art from 1961 to 1989, by compiling annual collections of high quality prints, helping to ensure that market value for Inuit art retained its worth.⁵³⁷

Radio and television broadcasting became an entrepreneurial business for some Inuit in the 1970s and 1980s. In 1958, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) developed its Northern Service, which was administered from Yellowknife and Whitehorse. In 1960, the CBC broadcast its first programs in Inuktitut, and by 1972 about 16% of northern broadcasts were in Inuktitut. During the 1970s, many northern communities established their own radio stations, which broadcast local news and music but were also important methods of organizing search and rescue parties and passing messages between communities. In 1973, the first CBC satellite television programs were broadcast in the North. In 1978, the federal government launched the Anik-B satellite project, which allowed Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK) to develop and broadcast television programs and provide teleconferencing services across the North. This program was funded by Indian and Northern Affairs Canada but ended in 1981 because it lacked sufficient funds.⁵³⁸

Although co-operatives in renewable resource development have been a source of small business employment and skill-development for Inuit, their employment in non-renewable resource development projects has not, historically, been as strong.⁵³⁹ A study by Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC) predicting growth in the Northwest Territories (NWT) labour force to 1981, found that in 1968, 80% of jobs in the NWT were considered skilled or semi-skilled but most Aboriginal peoples seeking employment lacked the education and skill-training needed to compete for these jobs.⁵⁴⁰

With the improvement in Inuit education completion rates in recent years, Inuit are increasingly employed in skilled positions requiring post-secondary education, such as positions with the Government of Nunavut. The federal government's procurement policies also provide incentives for private sector companies to hire and train Inuit when they are providing products or services to the federal government in northern communities. Federal departments, such as INAC and Human Resources and Skills Development Canada, have worked with Inuit organizations and northern governments to facilitate the creation and delivery of training and employment programs that improve the skills and employment rate of Inuit.⁵⁴¹

Program and Policy Development

In 1970, the federal government ratified the United Nations' International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination. This facilitated the creation of federal policies giving special measures and protections to assist the social and economic advancement of disadvantaged minority groups. Following this, the federal government released a policy statement in 1972 entitled, "Canada's North 1970-1980: Statement of the Government of Canada on Northern Development in the '70s." Here, the government explicitly stated its goal of assisting Inuit to improve their standard of living and quality of life through the elimination of discrimination in its hiring practices. The federal government intended Inuit to benefit from its new employment policy but stated that employment for Inuit should be, "compatible with their own preferences and aspirations."⁵⁴² A 1978 study by Employment and Immigration Canada, however, quantified barriers to Inuit employment as: cultural bias among non-Aboriginal people regarding the capabilities of Inuit; an "information gap" for Inuit between the knowledge and skills they (on average) possessed and those required for skilled employment; inexperience in the workforce; low levels of education; methods of adult training incompatible with Inuit learning style preferences; lack of skills in English or French; poor health; and cultural attitudes towards work that were incompatible with the workforce culture.⁵⁴³

During the 1980s, the federal government created the Inuit Economic Development Program to support Inuit business initiatives. The program provided loans and loan guarantees through the Eskimo Loan Fund, economic development contributions, and administration for the Arctic Cooperatives Development Program. The Eskimo Loan Fund Advisory Board was established to review requests for loans, and the territorial and federal governments were assigned to assess requests for guarantees and contributions. The program also provided business management training for Inuit, and was administered by the Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT) in the eastern and western Arctic, and by the Indian and Inuit Affairs Program of INAC in northern Quebec and Labrador. Similarly, the Special Agricultural and Rural Development Agreements (special ARDAs) were designed in the late 1970s to raise the level of income and increase employment opportunities for people living in rural and remote areas, particularly Aboriginal peoples. Special ARDAs primarily supported commercial enterprises and primary production projects.⁵⁴⁴

Mixed Economic Development and Co-operative Businesses

In his 1974 inquiry into the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline project, Thomas Berger identified sectors of the northern economy in which Aboriginal peoples were primarily employed: hunting, fishing, gathering, selling renewable resource based products, and business or industrial employment.⁵⁴⁵ Although Aboriginal northerners continued to participate in the economic sectors identified by Berger, they were also increasingly employed in the public service, and continued to generate income through government-sponsored social assistance programs and traditional renewable resource harvesting pursuits.⁵⁴⁶ These activities included hunting, fishing, and artistic occupations, like soapstone carving, to form a mixed economy with wage employment. Where wage-generating opportunities were available to support traditional economic activities, the mixed economy was a stable method of creating economically viable communities. Social assistance payments, including Canadian Child Tax Benefits, Employment Insurance and Old Age Security Pensions, supported the mixed economy.⁵⁴⁷ Such an economy, however, required that resource development projects not interfere with animals through altering migration routes, creating noise pollution, or by contaminating water and food sources. This economy also required support for the development of wage labour, such as through post-secondary education and vocational training opportunities, small business development assistance, and provisions for ensuring Aboriginal employment in the northern civil service.⁵⁴⁸

By the early 1980s, Aboriginal peoples in the North were still, on average, earning less or were under-employed compared to non-Aboriginal people in the rest of Canada. Between 1974 and 1980, Inuit employment in the oil industry peaked in the western Arctic. The oil industry provided greater benefit to Inuit in larger communities, while those in smaller and more remote communities continued to rely more heavily on income from traditional harvesting and social assistance. According to Peter Usher's study for the Beaufort Sea Alliance, wage earnings accounted for no more than 35% to 70% of personal incomes across the North in 1982, and were supplemented by activities such as harvesting renewable resources, artistic pursuits and social assistance payments.⁵⁴⁹

Nunavik and Nunavut have developed several programs to assist Inuit hunters, including support for capital investments in equipment, like boats, and assistance with redistributing the harvested meat. The Kativik Regional Government and Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated, with the provincial and territorial governments, jointly fund both hunter assistance programs. Distribution of country food to Inuit who cannot hunt or who live in southern Canada is a key feature of the Kativik Northern Quebec Hunter Income Support Program, reflecting the cultural significance and traditional reciprocal distribution of country foods by Inuit.⁵⁵⁰ Cooperative and commercial harvesting projects also encourage Inuit use of traditional skills and activities for cash-generating enterprises that are environmentally sustainable. Co-operative businesses provide opportunities for ownership and control of economic initiatives that make use of local skills and resources. Turbot ice fisheries and shrimping businesses, for example, have been established at Pangnirtung on Baffin Island, in the Ungava Bay of Nunavik, and in northern Labrador. Similarly, Labrador Inuit operate a commercial caribou hunt and

meat packing plant, and Inuvialuit in the western Arctic have established a commercial musk-ox hunt. The meat products generated through these enterprises are marketed internationally, particularly to countries in northern Europe.⁵⁵¹

Like the fishery co-ops developed in Labrador communities in the early 1960s, the Labrador Inuit Development Corporation facilitated the establishment of a commercial caribou hunt beginning in 1985, which was Inuit organized and administered. The project maintained Inuit orientation to the land, as well as traditional Inuit hunting skills and practices of animal use. As Inuit conducting the hunt were also investors in the commercial sale of the meat, their commitment to producing a high quality product was a major strength of the enterprise. Successful campaigns by animal rights activists created declining markets for seal pelts in the 1980s, and Labrador Inuit experienced difficulty finding adequate methods of sustaining economic income through renewable resource harvesting. The commercial caribou hunt proved successful both as a business venture and as a community-strengthening exercise.⁵⁵² Labrador Inuit continue to participate in spring sealing hunts, which are worth approximately \$16 million to Atlantic Canada annually.⁵⁵³

Currently, many families in the North rely on a traditional-mixed economic base that combines hunting, trapping, and fishing for subsistence and commercial purposes, with wage labour, social assistance payments, and various forms of domestic production, such as arts and crafts. This type of economy is fluid yet stable, as it allows Inuit to make the most effective use of seasonally available renewable resources or other economic opportunities, most often in the public service, in small businesses, or in mining. In some regions, such as Labrador, where the traditional economy is threatened by declining fish stocks and an animal-rights resistance to the commercial sale of seal pelts, Inuit require comprehensive government support to develop the economic potential of the secondary, tertiary, and service sectors of their economy. The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples report on the North recommended that “support of the traditional-mixed economy is the most effective way to promote the economic vitality of northern communities.”⁵⁵⁴ To ensure sustainability of a traditional-mixed economic base in northern communities for future generations, however, an international and holistic approach to environmental stewardship is required.⁵⁵⁵

Non-Renewable Resource Development and Impact Benefit Agreements

According to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, in the early 1990s, the two largest employment opportunities in the North were the public service and non-renewable resource development projects.⁵⁵⁶ Unfortunately, resource development projects, like mining, have not hired significant numbers of Inuit in skilled or long-term positions largely because Inuit have lacked education, experience, and training for work in mechanized mine environments. Regional Inuit governments and some comprehensive land claim beneficiary corporations have negotiated terms with mining companies, such as Makivik Corporations' agreement with the Raglan Mining Company, whereby mines located near Inuit communities train and hire Inuit, and support local business development.⁵⁵⁷

Through the four comprehensive land claim settlements, Inuit beneficiary corporations have become owners of land, or have input in the management of land, with sub-surface mineral potential. In Nunavut, for example, Inuit selected land with known sub-surface mineral potential for inclusion in their land claim with specific intentions to develop mineral extraction projects for the advantage of land claim beneficiaries. Such projects will assist Inuit in developing skills and experience associated with managing mines. As with all non-renewable resource development projects, assessments are required to determine the projects' potential environmental impacts. These assessments will benefit from the region's traditional ecological knowledge, which has been gathered by Inuit over generations and incorporates knowledge of potential social impacts based on how Inuit use the land and resources. Similarly, benefit arrangements must be negotiated with all potentially affected communities to mitigate and compensate for any potential negative affects of the project. The benefit arrangements are likely to provide opportunities for such things as training and education, which are of benefit primarily to Inuit who are the dominant population of the region.⁵⁵⁸

Through their land claim agreements, Inuit have sought to assert stewardship of renewable and non-renewable resources. The Labrador Inuit Association, for example, signed a Memorandum of Understanding with the Innu Nation and the Government of Newfoundland in 1994 after the discovery of a large nickel deposit at Voisey's Bay. The agreement required an environmental assessment before any mining occurred, and that the mining company negotiate an Impact Benefit Agreement with Aboriginal peoples living in the region. The assessment incorporated analysis of potential impacts to social, economic, recreational and cultural elements of Aboriginal land use in the region, and concluded that outstanding Aboriginal land claims should be settled before mining commenced. The assessment also required that benefit agreements should be negotiated with Aboriginal peoples. The Government of Newfoundland, however, issued mining permits before negotiations for land claims or benefit agreements were concluded. Labrador Innu and Inuit took legal action and successfully delayed the construction of an airstrip in the area.⁵⁵⁹

In Nunavik, Inuit (as represented by Makivik Corporation) established a Memorandum of Understanding with Falconbridge over their proposed Raglan Mine Project in 1993. This agreement created the Raglan Committee, comprised of Inuit and mining representatives, who monitored progress on the development of the mine, and liaised between mine executives and local communities. In 1995, the two organizations signed "The Raglan Agreement," which included provisions for environmental impact mitigation; training, employment, and business development support for Inuit; and stated a role for traditional knowledge in the environmental monitoring of the mine's impact.⁵⁶⁰

The federal government supports a number of Inuit initiatives in the development of non-renewable resources, including the production of natural gas from the Ikhil gas field near Inuvik by Inuvik Gas Limited, a company one-third owned by the Inuvialuit Petroleum

Corporation, a subsidiary of the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation.⁵⁶¹ INAC is responsible for the administration of oil and gas rights on Crown lands in the NWT and Nunavut. The National Energy Board (NEB) regulates oil and gas exploration activities on Crown and private lands (including lands owned by Inuit through comprehensive land claim agreements) in the territories. Annually, INAC provides an opportunity for industry to nominate sub-surface land areas of interest for oil and gas exploration. INAC posts these nominations for competitive bidding only after consultation with the relevant Aboriginal peoples. Under the *Canada Oil and Gas Operations Act*, corporations winning exploration rights are required to develop proposed benefit plans in consultation with any communities who will potentially be affected by their activity. The benefit plan must be approved by the Minister of INAC and is required before the NEB can give permission for development.⁵⁶²

A 2001 report by the National Roundtable on the Environment and the Economy studied aspects of non-renewable resource development in the Northwest Territories. The report concluded that there is significant potential for both gas and diamond mining, which would provide employment opportunities for Inuit and associated advantages through impact benefit agreements and benefit plans. The report also expressed concerns, however, that the resource development projects be sufficiently monitored to ensure mitigation of any negative environmental impacts, as well as impacts on the social, cultural and spiritual aspects of local communities.⁵⁶³

The federal government has also developed programs to assist Inuit in obtaining employment, including the Procurement Strategy for Aboriginal Business and the Aboriginal Workforce Participation Initiative. HRSDC, for example, has recognized the role of Inuit organizations in preparing Inuit to find, obtain and maintain employment (including self-employment) and hence, has made a series of policy commitments since 1991 that were calculated to assist Inuit organizations in designing and delivering human resource development programs for their communities. Most notably, funding to Inuit organizations for human resource programs is through HRSDC's flagship program, the Aboriginal Human Resources Development Strategy (AHRDS), which has recently been renewed to 2009.⁵⁶⁴ The Indian and Northern Affairs' Opportunities Fund and Resource Acquisition Initiative have provided support for the establishment of many businesses by Inuit, including a northern airline, and a company performing environmental contamination clean up at former DEW Line sites and other locations. In addition, the Canadian International Development Agency has assisted the Inuit Circumpolar Conference's delivery of programs. A number of federal support programs provide funding and opportunities specifically for First Nations and Inuit to develop their local and regional economies. Several of these programs are briefly described in Table 4.⁵⁶⁵

Table 4: Federal Economic Development and Support Programs

Program	Description
Professional Development Program	Assists Inuit organizations with capacity development to create governance structures, and policy and program initiatives.
Community Economic Development Organizations	Assists member businesses and organizations to obtain employment and to access business development opportunities.
Regional Opportunity Program	Assists organizations to identify business opportunities, with strategic planning, and with research services in identifying and assessing regional business opportunities.
Major Business Projects Program	Provides business start-up or expansion funding.
Resource Access Negotiation Program	Supports negotiations for commercial resource development projects, joint ventures, and impact benefit agreements.
Resource Partnerships Program	Assists with the planning and development of investments in resource-based projects.
Regional Partnership Fund	Provides financial assistance for participation in major resource development initiatives.

Ongoing Concerns

Statistics compiled from 2001 Canadian Census data indicate that overall levels of employment for Inuit increased with the level of education obtained. Most employed Inuit men and women have positions requiring college diplomas, apprenticeship training, secondary school certificates or occupation-specific training. Inuit men with post-secondary education, however, tended to be employed in government services, construction or transportation industries, while Inuit women with post-secondary education are more often employed in government services or education, social, or health services.⁵⁶⁶

A 1995 survey of employment in Nunavik indicated that more beneficiaries of the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement held permanent full-time jobs in Nunavik than non-beneficiaries, but that, “many positions required more education than the local labour force possessed.” A trend between surveys taken in 1993 and 1995 indicated that as post-secondary education became more frequently required for employment in Nunavik, rates of employment among the local labour force, namely land claim beneficiaries, decreased and levels of unemployment increased. Consequently, people who were not local to Nunavik and were non-land claim beneficiaries, were often hired for positions paying higher salaries and requiring more specialized work, while Inuit beneficiaries were increasingly employed in sectors that were lower paying and less skilled.⁵⁶⁷

A 1996 study of Inuit employment with the Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT) found that many Inuit joined the public service for the high salary and benefits, but also because it was the main employer in their community. An important, although secondary, consideration was working for the benefit of Inuit people. Although many Inuit claimed satisfaction with their employment, they expressed concerns about not being promoted to positions requiring more responsibility; little encouragement from their supervisors to seek promotions; lack of orientation to their jobs and the GNWT in general; and too few Inuit in supervisory and managerial positions.⁵⁶⁸

Inuit have identified several barriers significant to the development of small business opportunities in their communities, including the small size of many communities and their lack of business infrastructure, like banks and other financial institutions; the remoteness of communities from large urban centres and the lack of road connections between communities; the high costs and taxes associated with transporting goods to and between northern communities; the extreme northern climate and dominance of the traditional language within communities; and the lack of an available post-secondary educated or specially trained workforce. Inuit are committed to developing the business potential of their communities, and have requested that the federal government ensure the creation of Inuit-specific programs and policies to assist them in overcoming these challenges. Specifically, Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami is seeking federal assistance in four areas to promote the development of renewable and non-renewable resource industries in northern Canada. The ITK priorities for federal economic development assistance are federal amendments to procurement policies, which would allow Inuit companies an advantage in competitions for government contracts providing goods, services and construction; improving the ratio of Inuit/non-Inuit public service employees; ensuring that regulatory processes allow Inuit to access renewable resources for commercial harvesting; and improving international regulations to increase Inuit access to international markets for their renewable resource goods.⁵⁶⁹

According to the premiers of the Northwest Territories and Nunavut, Inuit want to establish economic development initiatives in their communities to provide jobs and to improve the economic and social health of the North. They are focusing their efforts on reducing the amount of money received as transfer payments from the federal government, and wish to replace it with an increased share of profits generated by non-renewable resource development projects. These revenues would allow the territories to take more responsibility for the provision of social services and government operations in the North.⁵⁷⁰ According to Nellie Cournoyea, CEO of the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, recent renewed discussions about the potential construction of a natural gas pipeline through the Mackenzie Valley exemplifies the kind of economic development project where part Inuit project ownership would result in profits for northern communities, thereby decreasing Inuit reliance on federal transfer payments.⁵⁷¹ The territorial leaders are also committed to providing educational and training opportunities for northerners to assist them in obtaining skilled employment, and are dedicated to efforts supporting the federal government in its protection of Arctic sovereignty.⁵⁷²

The historic experience of Inuit with development projects, however, such as whaling camps, the Hudson's Bay Company trading posts, and DEW Line sites, has resulted in caution regarding development without community consultation for potential social and environmental impacts. Inuit seek to be involved in the planning and implementation of economic development initiatives to ensure that they receive maximum social and financial benefit, while also protecting their traditional harvesting grounds and the ecological habitat of animals dependent on the region's natural resources. Inuit want to ensure that all community members affected by renewable and non-renewable resource development projects, including women and elders, are consulted. They desire to have their traditional knowledge of the land and its resources respected and utilized, to provide holistic knowledge of the northern environment, and to ensure that resource development projects meet their standards for community benefit and environmental stewardship.⁵⁷³

INUIT



INUIT SELF-GOVERNMENT AND GOVERNANCE

Historical Discussion

During the late 1960s, Inuit were motivated to organize politically, and later to assert an inherent right to self-government, as they realized that the federal government was restricting their access and management of traditionally used lands and resources. In addition, federal reports and policies, such as the 1967 Hawthorn Report and the 1969 *White Paper*, drew attention to the social, economic and legal concerns of Aboriginal Canadians.⁵⁷⁴ In 1971, Inuit formed the national organization Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (now Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK)) to lobby the Government of Canada for mechanisms to increase their autonomy, including self-government and a land claim for the Northwest Territories (NWT) and northern Quebec.⁵⁷⁵

The 1973 Supreme Court of Canada Calder decision established that Aboriginal rights in Canada pre-existed the 1763 Royal Proclamation, providing contexts both for the settlement of Aboriginal land claims, where land had not been ceded through treaties, and for Aboriginal self-government as an inherent right.⁵⁷⁶ During the 1980s, the federal government initiated studies on Aboriginal self-government, including the 1982 Parliamentary Task Force on Indian Self-Government (Penner Report), a series of First Ministers Conferences on Aboriginal issues that were held between 1983 and 1987, the 1986 Ministerial Task Force on Program Review (Nielson Report), and the 1986 Indian Self-Government Community Negotiations policy. Aboriginal peoples, who advocated more comprehensive governing structures that recognized their “inherent sovereignty,” rejected the resulting municipal-style Aboriginal self-government proposed by the federal government.⁵⁷⁷

Although the Government of Canada had patriated the Canadian Constitution in 1982, including the addition of section 35, which recognized and affirmed Aboriginal and treaty rights in Canada, it was unclear to Aboriginal peoples and the Canadian courts whether self-government was included among those rights. The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP), which was formed by the federal government in 1991, sought to renew Canada's relationship with Aboriginal peoples, based on “mutual recognition, mutual respect, sharing, and mutual responsibility.”⁵⁷⁸ According to the 1996 RCAP report, these four principles should form the future basis of partnerships between Aboriginal peoples and the rest of Canada, and should facilitate the creation of Aboriginal self-governments.⁵⁷⁹

While the RCAP was compiling their report, Aboriginal organizations lobbied for the designation of self-government as an inherent Aboriginal right within section 35 of the Constitution. Rather than analyzing their right to self-government through Canadian common law, Inuit asked the RCAP to consider their sovereignty from a human rights perspective. As ITK stated, such a perspective reveals inequality inherent in the common law to which Aboriginal peoples have been subject.⁵⁸⁰ ITK considers Canadian common law deficient for failing to recognize self-determination as a principle of peoples' equality and as a fundamental human right applicable to Inuit. According to ITK, “the common law recognizes the existence of aboriginal peoples but not the *equality* of aboriginal peoples.”⁵⁸¹

Since the 1993 release of its Red Book, “Creating Opportunity: The Liberal Plan for Canada,” the federal government has supported establishing a process to negotiate regional Inuit self-government. First Nations have received funding to establish governments through the Indian Community Self-Government Negotiation Program since 1986, and Inuit have sought similar federal funding to assist ITK and the regional Inuit associations in establishing an Inuit Self-Government Political Accord, and to negotiate self-government agreements with the Government of Canada. According to ITK, Inuit negotiations for self-government are distinguished from First Nations negotiations by the cohesiveness of Inuit culture across the North and their shared goals for regional self-government, including a preference for non-ethnically based government; prior negotiations of comprehensive land claim agreements; lack of policy to administer Inuit as the *Indian Act* does for First Nations; and no exemption from federal taxes.⁵⁸²

The federal government response to the Aboriginal self-government lobby was the 1995 Inherent Right Policy, which clearly recognized self-government as an inherent right in section 35 of the *Constitution Act, 1982*.⁵⁸³ The Inherent Right Policy also committed the federal government to developing practical agreements with Aboriginal peoples for implementing self-government structures. Aboriginal self-government structures can be ethnic governments, which include only members of the Aboriginal group, or institutes of public government, that allow for participation from Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples living within the government's jurisdiction. The federal policy guide on Aboriginal self-government states that, "Aboriginal peoples of Canada have the right to govern themselves in relation to matters that are internal to their communities, integral to their unique cultures, identities, traditional languages and institutions, and with respect to their special relationship to their land and their resources."⁵⁸⁴

Canada's comprehensive land claim policy was created in 1973, and then revised in 1981. In 1986, the policy was revised in consultation with Aboriginal peoples, who supported the inclusion of new areas for negotiation. Under the revised policy, the federal government agreed to joint management of natural resources and to negotiate access to offshore areas in regions of traditional use. The 1986 revisions also provided options to negotiate resource revenue-sharing agreements where claimants could receive some federal royalties for projects occurring on Crown land within the settlement region.⁵⁸⁵

Three of the four Inuit comprehensive land claim settlements were already in place before the federal government determined in 1995 that self-government was an inherent right – The James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement (JBNQA), the first comprehensive land claim agreement in Canada, had been concluded with the federal government in 1975; the Inuvialuit Final Agreement was concluded in 1984; and the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement was concluded in 1993. A public government structure was proposed for Nunavut, with the same type of jurisdictional authority as the Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT). The governments created through the JBNQA and the Inuvialuit Final Agreement were regional, ethnically based governments and were limited in scope and authority. Since the federal government would not re-negotiate existing land claims to address the inherent right to self-government, Inuit in Nunavik and the Inuvialuit Settlement Region have initiated processes for negotiating self-government agreements with the federal government. Issues addressed in these negotiations include protection of language and culture, harmonization of regional regulations with existing federal and territorial/provincial regulations, administration of non-Aboriginal people living within the self-government region, the transition to self-government, fiduciary obligations of the federal government, and accountability of the Aboriginal government to its members and to other levels of government.⁵⁸⁶

The structures of government in each of the four Inuit land claim regions are different, and include both ethnically based and public governments. In Nunavut, Nunavik and the Inuvialuit Settlement Region, land claim beneficiary corporations were created from the claim negotiation bodies to administer and implement the land claim, while public governments were responsible for the overall management of the region. In Nunatsiavut, the Labrador Inuit Association (LIA) negotiated the land claim but the Nunatsiavut Government, which is ethnically based, will be

elected to govern the region and will also manage the claim. The municipal governments within the settlement region will be public governments. Devolution of provincial-like authority to the NWT and Nunavut Governments, and devolution of provincial/territorial authority to the regional and ethnically based governments will be discussed in the following section.⁵⁸⁷

Program and Policy Development

The JBNQA and the Nunavik Government

The Kativik Regional Government (KRG) was created within the JBNQA as an institute of public government. The large Inuit population of Nunavik has ensured significant Inuit representation within the government, which is comprised of an executive committee and an elected council. The KRG has jurisdiction over issues including community infrastructure, policing, education, and healthcare; and administrative responsibility for issues such as income support, hunting, fishing, and trapping regulations. In addition to the KRG council and executive, two other bodies govern major areas of responsibility in Nunavik: the Kativik School Board and the Nunavik Regional Board of Health and Social Services. As well as the KRG, the system of governance in Nunavik includes Makivik Corporation, which administers the JBNQA for Inuit, both at the regional and community levels. Success of the KRG has been attributed to high levels of autonomy devolved to individual communities, which each have a municipal government responsible to the KRG. Each community also has an Inuit Landholding Corporation, responsible to Makivik.⁵⁸⁸

In 1983, Inuit of Nunavik and the Premier of Quebec agreed to begin negotiations to create the Nunavik Government within the Province of Quebec. Negotiations, however, did not actually commence until the late 1990s. Influenced by the impending creation of the Nunavut Government and the Home Rule Government in Greenland, Inuit in Nunavik requested a tripartite political agreement and creation of a Nunavik Commission to study and make recommendations regarding the Government of Nunavik's structure. Between 1999 and 2001, the Commission conducted community meetings and solicited input from the private and public sector on the design of Nunavik's Government. In 2003, a Framework Agreement on the process for negotiating self-government in Nunavik was signed.⁵⁸⁹

The Nunavik Government will extend the jurisdictional areas currently administered by the three bodies of the KRG, and will include an Assembly of Nunavik with members elected from each community. The Government of Nunavik will replace the existing KRG, will encompass all three elements of the existing KRG, and will be an institute of public government. Although the Government of Nunavik will operate under authority of the Governments of Quebec and Canada, the Government of Nunavik will have substantially more power than the Kativik Regional Government, and the relationship of the three governments will be renegotiated.⁵⁹⁰ In November 2005, Makivik Corporation and DIALOG Network hosted a symposium in Montreal entitled, "Nunavik: A New Way of Governing." Taqramiut Nipingat Incorporated,

a Nunavik radio station, broadcast the symposium live to Nunavik communities. Symposium participants summarized the history of Nunavik's regional administration through the Kativik Regional Government and discussed the future administration of the Nunavik Government, including its potential structure and priorities.⁵⁹¹

The Inuvialuit Final Agreement and the Beaufort/Delta Government

The Government of the Northwest Territories included elected members beginning in 1951, and was initially administered from Ottawa. The government, along with its bureaucracy, moved to Yellowknife in 1967, where involvement of Aboriginal peoples, as elected members and as civil servants, increased dramatically during the 1970s. The GNWT is a consensus style government without partisan representation. Through their land claim negotiations during the 1970s, Inuvialuit sought to establish an Inuit-specific self-government structure called the Western Arctic Regional Municipality (WARM). Through the 1984 Inuvialuit Final Agreement, the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation (IRC) was created to administer the terms of the land claim agreement. The agreement, however, did not include provisions for self-government or regional government, and the Inuvialuit have been governed by the GNWT since 1984.⁵⁹²

In 1982, with pressure from Inuit of the eastern Arctic who had launched their Nunavut land claim in 1976, the Constitutional Alliance was created to develop a process for dividing the Northwest Territories. The Alliance was mandated to select the location of the boundary between the eastern and western Arctic territories, and to negotiate this boundary with the federal government. Through the Alliance, the Nunavut Constitutional Forum and the Western Constitutional Forum were created to manage issues affected by territorial division, including developing proposals for structures of government on each side of the boundary. In 1987, the Iqaluit Agreement was signed, providing a proposed location for the territorial boundary, constitutional goals, and a method for implementing the territorial division. The boundary line identified in the Iqaluit Agreement was amended in 1991, and then accepted by the majority of northerners through a 1992 referendum. The Territory of Nunavut and the Government of Nunavut were established in 1999.⁵⁹³

To determine the structure of the new GNWT, a Commission for Constitutional Development was established with representation from Aboriginal organizations and the GNWT. The Commission recommended a flexible style of government that respected group and individual rights, as well as any established forums of Aboriginal self-government.⁵⁹⁴ Since the Inuvialuit land claim was finalized in 1984, other Aboriginal groups within the NWT have settled comprehensive land claim agreements with the federal government, including the 1992 Gwich'in Tribal Council, who settled the Gwich'in Comprehensive Land Claim Agreement. In 1993, the Inuvialuit and Gwich'in proposed the creation of a regional public government, called the Beaufort Delta Self-Government, which would have jurisdiction of both the Inuvialuit and Gwich'in settlement regions.⁵⁹⁵ This proposal was accepted and the Agreement-in-Principle (AIP) was signed in 2001 by the federal government and the GNWT. The Beaufort/Delta AIP is the first Aboriginal self-government agreement negotiated in the NWT, and will include elements of both public and ethnically based government.⁵⁹⁶

Since the 1970s, the GNWT has negotiated aspects of devolution with the federal government, and has, consequently, gradually assumed provincial-type responsibilities. These responsibilities include the administration of healthcare, social services, education, airports and forestry services. Areas of federal jurisdiction still under negotiation for transfer to the GNWT include the management of surface and subsurface resources, water, Crown land, and the environment. The Northern Affairs Program of INAC currently manages these areas of responsibility, and their transfer to the GNWT is likely to provide significant resource revenues for the territory.⁵⁹⁷

The Government of Nunavut

Historically, the GNWT administered the eastern Arctic from Yellowknife. Frustrated by their isolation from the territories' legislative centre, Inuit in the eastern Arctic, through the ITK, proposed to divide the NWT in 1976. A 1982 plebiscite on territorial division successfully generated majority support among northerners for the concept of Nunavut. The Nunavut Constitutional Forum (NCF) lobbied the federal government for the creation of a Nunavut Territory and the Government of Nunavut.⁵⁹⁸ Tungavik Federation of Nunavut (TFN) and the Government of Canada, through the 1993 Nunavut Land Claims Agreement-in-Principle, the Nunavut Political Accord, and the *Nunavut Act*, negotiated the creation of the Territory of Nunavut and the Government of Nunavut.⁵⁹⁹ Linking the creation of Nunavut as a territory and the Government of Nunavut to resolution of the eastern Arctic land claim was a significant step for the TFN, which facilitated devolution of eastern Arctic governance from the GNWT and the Government of Canada to Inuit of the eastern Arctic.⁶⁰⁰

The Nunavut Implementation Committee established the Legislative Assembly and Cabinet, and the Territorial Government in Nunavut. The Government of Nunavut is a non-ethnically based institute of public government, meaning that it holds the same responsibilities and scope of authority as the other territorial governments in Canada. Similar to the GNWT, the Government of Nunavut is based on a consensus model, where members are elected to the legislature independent of political party affiliation. Inuit from the eastern Arctic have participated in territorial politics since 1967, thereby providing the Government of Nunavut with a group of knowledgeable and practiced politicians to govern the new territory when it was established in 1999. As the Government of Nunavut has only been in existence for six years, departments continue working towards fully staffing and determining their priorities. Although the Government of Nunavut manages some provincial-type responsibilities, like healthcare and education, they are further from concluding agreements for the devolution of provincial-type responsibilities than the GNWT. Eventually, areas of federal administration that have the potential to provide revenue, like the management of water resources and Crown lands, will be devolved to the Government of Nunavut.⁶⁰¹

The population of Nunavut is approximately 85% Inuit, and the Government of Nunavut seeks to reflect that proportion of Inuit in its elected members and in its civil service. As Nunavut is comprised of 28 communities in three regions, the territorial government decentralized its departments and agencies throughout Nunavut to create regional employment, and to ensure access to government services for Nunavummiut (people living in Nunavut Territory).

Protection of Inuit culture and language are also reflected prominently in the Government of Nunavut's structure and legislation. The government is striving to ensure that Inuktitut is its working language, and that each government department has an *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* (IQ) representative who acts as a resource person and ensures that Inuit traditional knowledge and ways of living, including the use of Inuktitut, are integral components of government policy and procedure.⁶⁰²

The Labrador Inuit Land Claim Agreement and the Nunatsiavut Government

Since Newfoundland and Labrador joined Confederation in 1950, services for Inuit within the province have been provided through federal/provincial cost-sharing arrangements, mainly in the areas of healthcare, housing, and education. Historically, these arrangements have reflected Inuit governance by federal and provincial authorities, rather than Inuit entitlement to self-government. In 1975, the cost sharing agreements were expanded to include funding for community and economic development, fisheries, and northern development. In 1990, the agreements were renegotiated to include federal supplementary funds for education and infrastructure projects, skills training, community development, administration of provincial government stores and housing. The Government of Newfoundland and Labrador primarily managed these programs and services, with some authority for management and funds devolved to the municipal governments in each of the five Inuit communities.⁶⁰³

During the 1990s, the LIA sought representation in federal negotiations with the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador for Inuit-specific funding, and proposed to establish a bilateral agreement with the federal government to provide direct funding for Inuit programs and services in Labrador. Both proposals were rejected, leaving the LIA to pursue direct federal funding for specific programs and services, including assistance for post-secondary education and non-insured health benefits. Through their land claim, the LIA sought to increase their bilateral agreements for federal funding and autonomous management of Nunatsiavut, the region inhabited by Labrador Inuit. The Labrador Inuit Land Claim Agreement includes structures for both ethnically based and public government. Within Nunatsiavut, municipal governments are institutes of public government, and representation is encouraged from both Inuit and non-Inuit. The ethnically based Nunatsiavut Government manages the rights and benefits derived from the Labrador Inuit Land Claim Agreement.⁶⁰⁴

The Labrador Inuit Constitution of the Nunatsiavut Government was ratified by members of the LIA in 2002, and forms the basis for the government's structure and operation, including protection for the preservation of Inuit land, culture, and language in Labrador. As an ethnically based government, the Nunatsiavut Government represents Inuit living inside and outside the Labrador Inuit Settlement Area. Similar to the Kativik Regional Government, the Nunatsiavut Government has limited areas of jurisdictional authority, including cultural affairs, education, healthcare, social services, Labrador Inuit Lands and environmental assessments for development projects. Other areas of jurisdiction, such as subsurface mining development, are subject to provincial laws, and joint administration by the Newfoundland and Nunatsiavut governments. The Nunatsiavut Government, however, represents a significant step towards autonomy for Labrador Inuit.⁶⁰⁵

Ongoing Concerns

While three of the four Inuit land claim regions in Canada have some form of self-government, negotiations for governments in Nunavik and the Inuvialuit Settlement Region require completion to provide Inuit with law making authority that will protect their language, culture, lands and resources. Inuit are concerned about their access and management of northern lands and resources. Devolution of federal land and resource administration to the territorial governments is an issue currently concerning the GNWT and the Government of Nunavut; particularly the royalties generated by land and resource development projects, which currently go mainly to the federal government. The territories claim that increasing their share of resource development revenues would reduce their financial dependence on federal transfer payments, pushing the territories closer to provincial levels of administrative authority.⁶⁰⁶

Devolving provincial-type responsibilities to the territorial governments in the NWT and Nunavut was a priority of Prime Minister Paul Martin's Northern Strategy, which was announced in December 2004. ITK expressed concern that Nunavik and Nunatsiavut were not included in the Northern Strategy, despite the imminent creation of Inuit governments in those regions, and the Northern Strategy's stated priorities to settle and implement land claims and self-government agreements. As the GNWT has been in existence for a longer period of time than the Government of Nunavut, the federal government recognized that the "territories have unique challenges and opportunities and are at different stages in their political, social, and economic development."⁶⁰⁷ Similar to the *Yukon Act*, which was introduced in October 2001 and transferred responsibility for provincial-type programs and services from INAC to the Yukon Government, the NWT negotiations for a resource and revenue sharing agreement-in-principle are in progress, and a final agreement is expected for 2006. Indian and Northern Affairs Canada had planned to seek a mandate to negotiate a resource and revenue sharing agreement-in-principle with Nunavut in 2005, with the goal of reaching a final agreement by 2008. As of May 2006, however, Indian and Northern Affairs' mandate to begin devolution negotiations had not been approved by the federal cabinet.⁶⁰⁸

In conformity with the recommendations of the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Peoples, ITK seeks self-determination for Inuit through structures of self-government that fit within the Canadian federal system. In each of the four predominantly Inuit regions of Canada, Inuit have sought to establish institutes of public government that reflect their status as taxpayers within the federal system, but also facilitate representation of non-Inuit within their systems of governance.⁶⁰⁹

INUIT



THE ENVIRONMENT

Historical Discussion

Archaeological evidence from across the Arctic indicates that northerners, including modern Inuit who descended from the Thule culture during a period of climatic cooling about 800 years ago, have traditionally been highly adaptive peoples, able to flex their creativity to provide for their subsistence needs in the harsh and changing northern climate.⁶¹⁰ Inuit traditional knowledge of the Arctic environment is based on continual observations, which have been passed down orally to subsequent generations. Through this long-term acquaintance with the environment's predictable range of variability, for such things as seasonal freezes and thaws, and animal and vegetation availability, Inuit have survived on the land for centuries. Although Inuit traditional knowledge is based on repeated observations, it lacks the long-term documentation that the

scientific community prefers as evidence for interpretations of environmental phenomenon. Traditional knowledge, however, integrates isolated observations to produce dynamic and holistic interpretations of changes occurring in the Arctic environment.⁶¹¹

In recent history, several interrelated environmental issues have significantly affected the North and the Inuit way of life. During the early and mid twentieth century, Inuit and non-Inuit harvesting of animal resources in the Arctic, including whale and caribou, contributed to severe animal de-population, and shortages of resources for Inuit use. Recognition of impacts from unregulated use of non-renewable and renewable resources in the North prompted the development of national and international environmental organizations, and federal resource management legislation, including environmental assessments, to ensure sustainable development in the North. Similarly, traditional Inuit subsistence pursuits are threatened by climate change, which has been identified by Inuit over the past twenty years through observations of weather patterns and in the availability of animals and other resources. Climatic changes are the result of natural and anthropogenic factors, including worldwide increased use of synthetic organic compounds, heavy metals and radionuclides for industrial and agricultural activities in developed and developing nations.⁶¹²

The federal government assumed responsibility for northern resource management in 1921 through creation of the Northwest Territories Branch within the Department of the Interior.⁶¹³ Historically, Inuit use of natural resources was motivated by subsistence needs, and the environment is an intrinsic part of Inuit culture because of this long-term reliance. Federal administration of resources and policies, such as game quotas, restricted Inuit access to traditionally harvested resources. Additionally, the disappearance of resources through overuse prompted subsistence concerns among Inuit. During the late 1960s, their incomprehension of federal land and resource management policies motivated Inuit to organize politically. Their objective was to increase Inuit knowledge and awareness of political rights, especially regarding use of renewable and non-renewable resources. Ultimately, Inuit sought to negotiate land claim agreements with the federal government that would protect their access to traditionally used lands and resources.⁶¹⁴ Since realizing the settlement of four comprehensive land claim agreements with the federal government between 1975 and 2005, Inuit have partnered with Canada on a variety of joint management committees to share administration strategies for the northern environment.⁶¹⁵ Notably, in the settlement of the comprehensive land claim agreements, national parks were created throughout northern territories. The location and boundaries of these parks were established in consultation with Inuit.⁶¹⁶

Program and Policy Development

Renewable and Non-Renewable Resource Management

Renewable resources, such as caribou and seals, continue to support the basic subsistence and mixed economy of Inuit, as well as their commercial harvesting and tourism enterprises. Non-renewable resource development projects, including diamond mining, have the potential

to provide significant employment opportunities and revenue for Inuit. Federal consultations with Aboriginal peoples on non-renewable resource development, such as the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry, were precursors to the resource joint management committees arranged between Canada and Inuit through the four comprehensive land claim agreements.⁶¹⁷ These committees employ traditional ecological knowledge and traditional resource use as elements in their decision-making processes. There are significant challenges, however, associated with using traditional knowledge in scientific studies and federal policy, including differing methods of quantifying and documenting traditional and western scientific knowledge, and the difference in value historically assigned to traditional knowledge (compared to western scientific knowledge).⁶¹⁸

Successful joint management committees include four established through the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement (JBNQA) in Nunavik. In addition, the federal Fisheries and Oceans Canada manages the harvesting and health of marine mammals in partnership with the Fisheries Joint Management Committee of the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation in the western Arctic, and the Nunavut Wildlife Management Board of Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated in the eastern Arctic.⁶¹⁹

Throughout the 1970s, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC) managed most northern natural resources. The department's mandate included approving licenses for resource development projects as well as protecting the interests of northern people. During the 1970s, natural resource legislation for the North included the *Arctic Waters Pollution Prevent Act* and regulations, the Territorial Land Use Regulations, the *Fisheries Act*, the Migratory Birds Regulations, the *Oceans Dumping Control Act*, the 1972 Northern Policy and the Expanded Guidelines for Northern Pipelines, the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry (1972-1977), the 1973 Oceans Policy, and the 1974 Beaufort Sea Project. Through Cabinet directive, the federal government established the Federal Environmental Assessment and Review Process (EARP) in December 1973. Within this process, proposals for land and resource development underwent initial screening by relevant federal departments and agencies. If projects had potential to significantly impact local renewable or non-renewable resources, they were recommended to the Federal Environmental Assessment Review Office (FEARO). Within the EARP, opportunity was provided for community consultation regarding the proposed resource development project. The current process for environmental assessments is similar but often encompasses social elements of the proposed development.⁶²⁰

Where federal legislation and international agreements have restricted traditional Inuit subsistence practices, Inuit have occasionally challenged the regulations. The bowhead whale hunt, for example, was prohibited by international agreement in 1937. Beginning in the 1960s, Inuvialuit expressed desire to hunt bowhead whales, prompting scientific studies of bowhead whale population health. In 1979, Canada instituted a licensing system for bowhead whale hunting under its *Fisheries Act*. The Inuvialuit Final Agreement, which was signed in 1984, provided for joint federal/Inuvialuit management of subsistence harvesting quotas for marine mammals.⁶²¹ In 1991, at the request of the community of Aklavik, the joint management committee issued a whaling license. The whale hunt is significant to the Inuvialuit because it

provides for their physical needs, as well as validating their cultural identity as marine hunters.⁶²² More recently, the 1997 *Oceans Act*, and within it the Oceans Management Strategy (OMS), incorporates principles of integrated resource management and sustainable development. Within the OMS, there are provisions for collaboration between levels of government and other stakeholders with regional interests in the management of marine resources. This is an important consideration for Inuit, who are affected by the OMS designation of protected marine species and regions, conservation quotas, and maintenance of sustainable levels for marine development.⁶²³

Contaminants

Although the Canadian Arctic has a small population, relatively low levels of industrial activity and is remotely located, studies conducted during the past thirty years have consistently found levels of contaminants in the traditional food resources of many northern communities that are higher than animal contaminant levels elsewhere in Canada.⁶²⁴ Scientists first identified contaminants in the Arctic during the late 1970s, which included synthetic organic compounds (also called persistent organic pollutants [POPs] and include PCBs, DDT, toxaphene, dieldrin, and chlordane), heavy metals (mercury, lead, and cadmium), and radioactive isotopes (cesium-134 and cesium-137).⁶²⁵ Studies have demonstrated the atmospheric spread and stability of organic compounds, indicating their ability to concentrate within the fatty organs of animals. Although heavy metals are naturally present in the environment, their levels have been anthropogenically increased, causing concerns about the health affects of heavy metal concentrations in humans. Radioactive isotopes are artificial by-products created through the fission of uranium in nuclear bombs, which are released when bombs are tested.⁶²⁶

Although there are some local sources for contaminants, such as the DEW Line sites constructed throughout the North during the 1950s, most contaminants are transferred to the North through the air or water and are incorporated to the food chain at low levels.⁶²⁷ Contaminants are bio-magnified as they reach the upper levels of the food chain, most notably in humans because Inuit diets tend to rely heavily on country foods. High concentrations of POPs have been found in commonly consumed northern animals, including polar bears, ringed seals, Arctic char, lake trout, and beluga and narwhal whales. High levels of contaminants in humans, particularly infants, have been linked to reductions in gestation period, head circumference and birth weight, as well as impairments in neuromuscular development and visual recognition memory. POPs negatively affect human health, and are also credited with degrading the ozone layer, leading to changes in the Arctic climate.⁶²⁸ Although many countries banned the use of PCBs and other POPs in the 1970s and 1980s because of evidence for their environmental persistence and effects on human reproductivity, these pollutants are slow to biodegrade and exit the ecosystem.⁶²⁹

In 1991, the federal government established the Northern Contaminants Program (NCP) to address the presence of environmental contaminants in the Canadian Arctic. The objectives of the NCP are to reduce and eliminate contaminants in Aboriginal peoples' traditional food resources, and to promote awareness of contaminants to facilitate informed decision making

by communities on the use of traditionally harvested foods. Several federal and territorial government departments, Aboriginal organizations, and researchers affiliated with universities jointly manage the NCP. The federal participants of the program are Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Health Canada, Fisheries and Oceans Canada, and Environment Canada. NCP Aboriginal partners include the Inuit Circumpolar Conference (ICC) and ITK. The NCP primarily focuses on contaminants in the Yukon, Northwest Territories and Nunavut, but will initiate projects in any northern community where there is evidence that people have been exposed to significant levels of contaminants in their traditional food resources, such as communities in the Nunavik region of northern Quebec.⁶³⁰

Between 1991 and 1997, the NCP conducted studies to determine the source, distribution, and quantity of contaminants in northern food resources. The *Canadian Arctic Contaminants Assessment Report* describes the initial findings of the NCP.⁶³¹ Since 1997, the NCP has researched the effects of contaminants on human health by facilitating participation of Aboriginal peoples in the NCP, funding the Centre for Indigenous Peoples' Nutrition and Environment (CINE), supporting international agreements to control the use of contaminants, and by arranging for discussions about contaminants in northern communities. In consultation with the Arctic Council's Arctic Monitoring and Assessment Program, the NCP continues to assess and monitor contaminant levels in the Arctic. Canada has used evidence for contaminant levels generated by the NCP to support international agreements, including the United Nations Economic Commission for the Europe Convention on Long-Range Transboundary Air Pollution, POPs and Heavy Metals Protocols; and the United Nations Environment Programme POPs Convention, which took place in Stockholm in 2001.⁶³² In addition, the Canadian Government funds the organization, Canadian Arctic Indigenous Peoples Against POPs (CAIPAP), which participates in international initiatives, aimed at reducing and controlling the use of environmental contaminants.⁶³³

Climate Change⁶³⁴

Longer summers, shorter winters and shorter springs resulting in a faster thaw, are all indicators of climate change that have been observed by Inuit in communities across the North. Changes in weather patterns have made it more difficult for Inuit to predict weather, making it more dangerous for them to travel on the land and on the sea ice. Aboriginal organizations, such as the Inuit Circumpolar Conference (ICC), began discussing climate change in the 1980s, and have initiated national and international discussions on how climate change affects humans, animals and the environment. Inuit use their traditional knowledge of the Arctic environment, or *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* (traditional knowledge and ways of living), to note the rate of change and its effects on their way of life. Traditional knowledge has been defined as, "a cumulative body of knowledge, practice and belief, evolving by adaptive processes and handed down through generations by cultural transmission, about the relationship of living things (including human beings) with one another and their environment."⁶³⁵ Beginning in the 1950s, the federal government collected climate and observational data on the environment, yet until recently, there were few scientific studies on the effects of climate change in the North.⁶³⁶ Traditional

knowledge of the local environment forms a useful compliment to scientific studies of issues requiring long-term environmental observations, such as patterns, cycles, and changes in the ecosystem that are linked to climate change. In Sachs Harbour, for example, the International Institute for Sustainable Development documented Inuit observations of coastal erosion caused by spring permafrost thaw that was well outside the normal variability of observed weather patterns, and was historically unfamiliar to the community.⁶³⁷

In 1995, Natural Resources Canada initiated the release of Canada's National Action Programme on Climate Change (NAPCC). This programme proposed strategies for federal, provincial/territorial, and municipal agencies to create informed responses to climate change, and was followed by Environment Canada's 1997 Canada Country Study reports, which provided scientific evidence for the currently occurring and predicted effects of climate changes on Canadians and their environment.⁶³⁸ In Canada, ITK and the ICC, and the Canadian Arctic Resources Committee (a non-governmental organization) have lobbied nationally and internationally for protection and preservation of the Arctic environment. Membership of Canadian Inuit in international organizations, such as the ICC, which is a member of the United Nations' Permanent Forum on Indigenous Peoples, has provided opportunities for voicing concerns about the circumpolar North and has generated support for international measures to ensure sustainable development.⁶³⁹

Inuit are also members of non-Aboriginal international organizations. The Arctic Environmental Protection Strategy (AEPS) was established in 1989 with membership from seven Arctic nations. The organization committed to meeting regularly, to involving Aboriginal peoples in its strategies and initiatives, and to establishing four working groups that would monitor aspects of the environment. These working groups were the Arctic Monitoring and Assessment Programme; Protection for the Arctic Marine Environment; Emergency Prevention, Preparedness and Response; and Conservation of the Arctic Flora and Fauna. In 1993, a fifth working group, the Task Force on Sustainable Development, was created in response to the 1992 United Nations Conference on the Environment and Development.⁶⁴⁰ In 1993, the ICC achieved full participation in the AEPS as a permanent participant, and was followed by two other Aboriginal organizations: the Saami Council; and the Association of Indigenous Minorities of the North, Siberia and the Far East (now the Russian Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North). This level of participation by Aboriginal peoples was unprecedented in international organizations but was facilitated by the Canadian Government, who had worked in close partnership with the ICC on Canada's international delegation, and who had partnered with Northern Aboriginal peoples for Canada's Northern Contaminants Programme. The inclusion of northern Aboriginal organizations as permanent participants in the AEPS set a precedent for the status of Aboriginal peoples in other international organizations.⁶⁴¹

Although Canada recognized the significance of issues being addressed by the AEPS, evidence for climate change across the circumpolar North in the late 1980s prompted the Canadian Government to seek international cooperation in forming a council to address and advocate more broadly for northern issues. Led by Canadian academics, politicians and Aboriginal

peoples, a preliminary panel negotiated a model for the council that included full participation of northern Aboriginal peoples.⁶⁴² The Arctic Council was established in 1996 with a program and policy focus on northern sustainable development, including environmental, social and economic aspects of development. The Council's five working groups were modelled on the AEPS, which was subsumed within the Arctic Council.⁶⁴³ The Council is a high-level political forum whose activities are co-ordinated by the chair nation. While the Council does not actively implement programs and policies for environmental stewardship, it defines common issue-based agendas, and member countries use the research generated by its working groups to address national and international environmental issues.⁶⁴⁴

Recently, the Arctic Council and the International Arctic Science Committee commissioned the Arctic Climate Impact Assessment (ACIA), which is a technical report describing the evidence for climate change and its impacts on circumpolar regions. According to the ACIA, major effects of climate change in the North include increased temperatures, rising sea levels, decreased extent of summer sea-ice, melting glaciers, coastal erosion, northern extension of the tree line and reduced permafrost. These changes will affect animal habitats, and the ability of circumpolar peoples to maintain their traditional subsistence strategies.⁶⁴⁵ Other studies have noted incidence of extreme weather in the Canadian Arctic, including electrical storms and increased UV rays causing sunburns. As this is an issue requiring international co-operation, Canada is a signatory to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change.⁶⁴⁶

Ongoing Concerns

As climate change is now widely recognized as one of the most pervasive long-term concerns facing the circumpolar world, Inuit want to ensure their involvement in national and international climate change initiatives. According to Sheila Watt-Cloutier, a Canadian Inuk and the International Chair of the ICC, increased international co-operation and mobilization by Aboriginal political organizations has resulted in Aboriginal-sponsored initiatives and studies on the Arctic. As Watt-Cloutier states, "national government[s] are not leading circumpolar co-operation, they are following it." This is an important consideration for policy development bodies, such as the federal government's Northern Strategy. According to the ICC, Inuit want to create a partnership with the federal government, similar to the arrangement that Canada has with Inuit under the Northern Contaminants Program, to facilitate joint management of climate change issues among Inuit, territorial and provincial governments, other Aboriginal organizations, and the federal government.⁶⁴⁷

Further to the 2004 Canada-Aboriginal Peoples Roundtable, which invited input from Aboriginal organizations on various policy issues, including housing, healthcare, economic development, life long learning and accountability, ITK arranged an Inuit-Specific Environment Session that followed the federally-scheduled sessions. ITK's initiative was supported by the federal government, who participated along with one hundred other stakeholders and observers.⁶⁴⁸ According to Rosemarie Kuptana, a former ICC Chair, by combining traditional knowledge of

northern environmental conditions with contemporary studies, more holistic interpretations of the changes occurring in the Arctic environment will be produced.⁶⁴⁹ Incorporating traditional Inuit knowledge in contemporary environmental research, and ensuring that Inuit are involved in developing processes to assess environmental risks and determine the direction of development is essential. According to Sheila Watt-Cloutier, “the Arctic is the globe’s ‘barometer’ of environmental health” and “Inuit are the mercury in that barometer.”⁶⁵⁰

INUIT

URBAN INUIT



Historical Discussion

Historically, Inuit were seasonally mobile within northern Canada. Inuit camp locations were often determined through ecological and economic subsistence strategies, and kinship ties. On occasion, such as to trade fur pelts for supplies, Inuit congregated for parts of the year near Royal Canadian Mounted Police, missionary and Hudson's Bay Company posts. During the first half of the twentieth century, there were few communities in the North. Military posts and Distant Early Warning (DEW) Line sites were constructed across the Arctic during the 1940s and 1950s. During the 1950s, the Canadian Government began providing Inuit with social services, such as healthcare and education, with increased frequency and geographic range. Schools and nursing stations were often constructed near existing government infrastructure, including

military buildings and police posts, establishing locations for northern communities. Residential schooling of Inuit children encouraged families to settle near schools, contributing to the growth of communities like Iqaluit and Inuvik. In Labrador, the Moravian Church established communities beginning in the late eighteenth century, including those at Nain, Okkak, Hopedale and Hebron.⁶⁵¹

While most Inuit continue to live in northern communities, some have chosen to live permanently or temporarily in urban centres throughout southern Canada. Inuit have migrated to southern cities for a variety of reasons, including access to educational and healthcare facilities, increased opportunities for general employment, and for employment with specific organizations located in urban centres. Often, Inuit families move to urban centres when one member obtains better employment than was available to them in the North, or to accompany ill or elderly relatives who are accessing medical care. Notably, the small size and close nature of northern communities sometimes means that women escaping violent domestic situations will relocate to urban centres where they have access to a wider range of social services for themselves and their children, and greater opportunities to re-establish their lives.⁶⁵²

Northern regions, such as Nunavik and Nunatsiavut, have no post-secondary facilities and college or university education can only be obtained through distance education programs or relocation to urban centres. Similarly, many isolated northern communities have nursing stations but are not staffed with full time physicians, requiring people to obtain medical assistance from the few northern communities with hospitals, or to travel to urban centres in southern Canada for specialist care. Depending upon the treatment required and the age of the patient, medical care may necessitate a term of residence in urban communities by one or more members of an immediate or extended family. In addition to the increased public and private sector employment afforded by urban centres, many Inuit organizations have their headquarters in urban centres of northern or southern Canada.⁶⁵³

According to 2001 Canadian Census data, approximately half of Canadian Aboriginal peoples, including Inuit, live in urban communities. Approximately 5,000 Inuit, out of a total population of 45,000, live outside the four Inuit land claim settlement regions. The largest Inuit community in southern Canada resides in the Ottawa-Gatineau region, with a population between 600 and 900. Several hundred Inuit live in each of five other Canadian cities - Yellowknife, Edmonton, Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver - and smaller numbers of Inuit live in many other cities across Canada.⁶⁵⁴

Program and Policy Development

Within urban Canadian centres, Inuit have access to the same federally, provincially/territorially, and municipally funded services and programs as other Canadians. As Aboriginal peoples, however, Inuit are also entitled to federal services, such as the Non-Insured Health Benefits (NIHB) program, which is administered by the First Nations and Inuit Health Branch

(FNIHB) of Health Canada. Federal services for urban Inuit are provided directly, like the NIHB program, and through community agencies like the Wabano Centre for Aboriginal Health in Ottawa.⁶⁵⁵

Within urban centres, Inuit have access to programs and services offered by Native Friendship Centres, which are operated nearly nationwide through the National Association of Friendship Centres. These centres are supported with funding from the Department of Canadian Heritage, and provide social and recreational activities, and information-based seminar programs for Aboriginal people of all ages.⁶⁵⁶ Additionally, some urban centres have federally-funded Inuit-specific community services, like the Tungasuvvingat Inuit (TI) Community Centre in Ottawa. TI provides support and information for Inuit students attending post-secondary institutions; culturally appropriate support services, such as counselling, addictions treatment and employment training; information on programs for Inuit within the city; and opportunities to meet and socialize with other Inuit in the Ottawa area.⁶⁵⁷

Education

During the 1960s and the early 1970s, few northern communities had facilities for secondary and vocational education, requiring young people from isolated communities seeking higher education to live in school residences in larger northern communities like Iqaluit and Yellowknife, and in urban centres like Montreal and Churchill, to complete their high school educations. The federally funded Churchill Vocational Centre in Manitoba opened in 1964 and offered courses such as carpentry, plumbing and mechanics. In the early 1970s, the Government of the Northwest Territories became responsible for providing educational facilities within the territory, and opened high schools at Iqaluit and Yellowknife. Before that, Samuel Hearne High School at Inuvik, which opened in 1959, was the only secondary school in the territory. In Labrador, secondary education was offered at Lake Melville High School in North West River near Happy Valley-Goose Bay beginning in 1971. Nunavik established a secondary school with a residence near Montreal in 1978.⁶⁵⁸

Post-secondary studies required even greater relocations, often to communities like Montreal and Ottawa where college and university facilities were available. Inuit who relocated for academic purposes often found it difficult to live isolated from their families, and to make the transition from living in northern, rural communities to urban cities in southern Canada. Accessing traditional food resources, and participating in traditional subsistence and cultural activities was difficult in urban centres. Some Inuit experienced problems reintegrating themselves to their home communities after they had lived in urban cities and had obtained post-secondary degrees.⁶⁵⁹

During the 1960s, the Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC) Vocational Training Section (VTS) in Ottawa encouraged graduates of the Churchill Vocational Centre to further their academic and vocational training at secondary schools, colleges and universities. INAC also established a VTS office in Winnipeg to assist Inuit students seeking to further their education there, and a counselling office in Edmonton to assist students from the NWT in

obtaining secondary and post-secondary education-related information and funding. During the 1970s and 1980s, Inuit students attended several post secondary facilities, including the Institutes of Technology in northern and southern Alberta, Algonquin College in Ottawa, George Brown College in Toronto, an air pilot trainee program in Peterborough, and an air mechanic program at Camp Borden in Simcoe County, Ontario.⁶⁶⁰ Students furthering their education in southern Canada were provided with advice on adapting to the different climate and culture through articles in *Inuititut* magazine, which was published by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. A 1972 article, for example, recommended that students do such things as: make friends at school, help out with chores at their boarding home, pay their rent on time and learn to use the city bus system.⁶⁶¹

In 1980, approximately 70 Inuit from across the North were attending schools in southern Canada. According to a report prepared by Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK), most Inuit attending school were at secondary schools and vocational or job training programs in Ottawa. Two Inuit were attending university. In their report, ITK praised Indian and Northern Affairs' VTS for assisting Inuit students, and for funding counsellors, orientations, boarding homes, tutors and the Inuit House drop-in centre (now Tungasuvvingat Inuit).⁶⁶² Still, ITK reported that Inuit experienced difficulty adapting to the southern system of schooling because of inadequate educational preparation in the North, the long distance between the students' urban homes and their schools, the large size of the schools, and the irrelevance of the curriculum to the students' northern lives. ITK stated that Inuit from rural communities experienced similar issues adapting to secondary schools in larger northern communities, including Iqaluit, Yellowknife, North West River and Inuvik, and that services to assist Inuit students with their adaptation in the urban North were not offered to the same degree as they were in southern Canadian cities.⁶⁶³

In 1985, the Nunavut Sivuniksavut Program was created by the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut (TFN) to train Inuit fieldworkers able to liaise between TFN and northern communities, to ensure that Inuit were informed about progress of the Nunavut land claims settlement. With the settlement of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement in 1993, Nunavut Sivuniksavut became a preparatory program for young people seeking post-secondary education. Currently, Nunavut Sivuniksavut is an eight-month program that operates from Ottawa. Its courses have been affiliated with Algonquin College since 1990 and students receive a certificate from the college upon completion of the program. The Nunavut Sivuniksavut program uses its Career Orientation and Independent Living Skills (COILS) course to assist students with the transition from living in rural northern communities to an urban city in southern Canada. Additionally, students learn about Inuit political and cultural history, and complete academic courses, such as English and computer skills.⁶⁶⁴

To facilitate Inuit enrolment at post-secondary institutions, national programs for Aboriginal students, such as INAC's Post-Secondary Student Support Program (PSSSP), are available to Inuit living in urban centres as well as those living within their land claim region.⁶⁶⁵ Programs like Nunavut Sivuniksavut, that support students' adaptations to urban centres in southern Canada, have contributed to the increase in educational completion rates among Inuit, which is

consistent with the trend in increased educational attainment for Aboriginal peoples generally.⁶⁶⁶ Even by 1980, ITK was reporting increased educational completion rates among Inuit in southern Canada. ITK attributed several factors to students' adjustment ability, which students have continued to benefit from during the past twenty years. These factors include a larger network of Inuit in cities, such as Ottawa, to support students; increased family encouragement for students to complete courses, based on improved awareness of education-related benefits and the length of time required to complete programs; and improved knowledge of English and southern Canadian culture through television and other media.⁶⁶⁷

Healthcare

Although most northern communities have nursing stations, few communities have resident physicians. When Inuit in rural communities require medical care beyond the capabilities of a nurse, patients are sent by regular airplane or by medivac in an emergency, to hospitals in larger northern communities, including Yellowknife, Iqaluit and Inuvik. When more specialized medical attention is required, patients are sent to hospitals in southern Canada, including Churchill, Edmonton, Winnipeg, Moose Factory in Ontario, Montreal, Kingston and Ottawa.⁶⁶⁸

Common healthcare issues requiring urban medical attention include major surgery, and paediatric, orthopaedic and cardiology-related concerns. Depending upon the demographic of the person requiring medical care and the family's situation, urban healthcare sometimes involves relocating entire families for several months. Although urban medical treatment is often necessary for Inuit who require specialized medical care, Inuit patients, particularly the elderly, are less likely to speak English or French, and often require interpreters to interact with healthcare staff.⁶⁶⁹ Additionally, interpreters must speak a dialect of Inuktitut that is compatible with the dialect spoken by the patient. Some hospitals in southern Canada that routinely receive Inuit patients have produced guidebooks with English/Inuktitut phrases to assist Inuit patients in communicating with hospital staff.⁶⁷⁰

Increased numbers of Inuit living in urban centres during the last twenty years, and federal recognition of Inuit-specific needs, have resulted in the creation of several national healthcare programs with components that are culturally appropriate for Inuit. These programs are administered through the First Nations and Inuit Health Branch of Health Canada and include: Non-Insured Health Benefits; the Aboriginal Healing Foundation; the Aboriginal Head Start in Urban and Northern Communities Program; the National Native Alcohol and Drug Abuse Program; the National Aboriginal Health Organization; and the Aboriginal Diabetes Initiative for Métis, Off-Reserve Aboriginal, and Urban Inuit Prevention and Promotion. The Non-Insured Health Benefits program was established in 1979 as the Indian Health Policy, and then revised in 1997 to its current name. The program covers many drug, dental, vision care, medical transportation, medical supply and equipment, and crisis intervention counselling costs above those covered by provincial, territorial, and third party health coverage. To receive NIHB coverage, Inuit must be registered members of a land claim beneficiary corporation, and have received an N-number (Northern number).⁶⁷¹

In 2005, the Aboriginal Healing Foundation granted money to several organizations, including Tungasuvvingat Inuit's Mamisarvik Healing Centre in Ottawa to provide addictions, community support and liaison programs for Inuit suffering from the legacy of a residential school experience. The Mamisarvik Healing Centre is the first urban institution to provide Inuit-specific healing services, including non-residential school related counselling and addictions programming.⁶⁷² Through the Aboriginal Head Start and the Native Alcohol and Drug Abuse programs, Inuit communities tailor and administer programs specific to their needs.⁶⁷³ The National Aboriginal Health Organization (NAHO), which was established in 1999 and receives its core funding from Health Canada, and the Aboriginal Diabetes Initiative, create and distribute health-related research. The Ajunnginiq Centre operates within NAHO as an Inuit-specific research branch.⁶⁷⁴

Employment

In the early 1970s, small numbers of Inuit migrated to urban centres in southern Canada for employment opportunities. Approximately 80 Inuit from the Keewatin and Nunavik regions, for example, were living in Churchill, Manitoba during the 1970s. A 1975 study for Indian and Northern Affairs Canada determined that Inuit had moved to Churchill to receive medical attention during the 1950s; for employment opportunities with private companies and with the Departments of Indian Affairs and Public Works; and to attend classes at the Churchill Vocational Centre.⁶⁷⁵

In the 1980s, as an alternative to formal education, and to improve Inuit employment rates, the Department of Indian Affairs' Indian and Inuit Recruitment and Development Program sponsored on-the-job management training in community and business administration for Inuit through several government agencies and organizations located in urban centres. The management-training sponsors included ITK, Makivik Corporation, the Federation des Cooperatives du Nouveau Quebec, the Canadian Armed Forces, Employment and Immigration Canada, and the Vocational Training Section of INAC.⁶⁷⁶

By 1980, approximately 60 Inuit were working in urban centres in southern Canada, with the majority living in Ottawa and Montreal. Most people worked for Inuit organizations, like ITK or Makivik Corporation, or for the Government of Canada at Indian and Northern Affairs or the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) Northern Service. Common issues of concern cited by Inuit living in southern Canada included culture shock, homesickness, lack of access to traditional foods and pursuits, isolation, difficulty understanding cultural rules, and having to communicate in English.⁶⁷⁷ Although Inuit continue to be the least urbanized among Canadian Aboriginal peoples, urban Inuit tend to earn more than Inuit living in rural areas.⁶⁷⁸

Ongoing Concerns

Within northern communities, the NIHB program and use of N-numbers for direct billing of healthcare coverage is well known. Urban Inuit, however, often deal with pharmacies and healthcare providers who are unfamiliar with the program and the N-number cards issued by land claim beneficiary corporations. Each of the land claim beneficiary corporations issues separate identification cards, which include different information. Additionally, corporations do not provide photo identification on the cards, making them appear different from the more widely recognized Indian status cards.⁶⁷⁹

Outside their land claim settlement region, Inuit cannot access some of the rights and benefits derived from their land claim agreement. Inuit living in southern Canadian cities, for example, cannot hunt and fish according to the terms of their land claim. Similarly, Inuit who have lived outside of their land claim region for a year or more have experienced difficulty accessing the post-secondary assistance funding that is intended for land claim beneficiaries.⁶⁸⁰

During the 1990s, most Inuit moving households relocated within rural communities. Many Inuit, however, moved to urban cities and moved between urban cities.⁶⁸¹ As Inuit migrate to urban centres in southern Canada, the need for culturally appropriate services and recognition of Inuit cultural values by municipal and provincial governments similarly increases. Providing culturally appropriate services for urban Aboriginal peoples without an urban land base to centralize their place of residence poses significant challenges for community service providers. Similarly, urban Inuit lack specific community leadership, such as land claim beneficiary corporations, to represent their requests for culturally appropriate and specific services.⁶⁸²

Today, many Inuit who migrate to urban centres in southern Canada are part of extended kin, friend, and community-based networks that have already established themselves in these cities. The presence of such community networks provides increased opportunities for Inuit to practice traditional community activities, such as country food feasts and naming ceremonies, where children are presented to the community and the significance of their Inuit names is explained. As many Inuit children are now born in urban southern Canada, these Inuit communities are making efforts to ensure the transmission of language and traditional culture through the creation of community centres, and Inuit-specific programs and services.⁶⁸³

The recent Urban Aboriginal Strategy (UAS) was announced in 1998 as a four-year initiative that was part of the federal government's commitment to a renewed relationship with Aboriginal peoples in *Gathering Strength: Canada's Aboriginal Action Plan*. The Urban Aboriginal Strategy, "was designed to improve policy development and program coordination at the federal level and with other levels of government."⁶⁸⁴ The UAS focused on several urban centres, including Vancouver, Calgary, Edmonton, Saskatoon, Regina, Winnipeg and Toronto, with additional funding going to local Aboriginal organizations. Objectives of the UAS involved effective responses to community needs and priorities, improved federal co-ordination with provincial services, the creation and testing of innovative policies and programs, and overall improvement in socio-economic status of urban Aboriginal peoples. In 2002, the federal

government committed further funding to the UAS, which has been used to support nearly 100 community-based projects dealing with life-long learning, housing, health, and outreach services. The UAS has involved eight federal departments in partnership with over fifty community and Aboriginal organizations. Although funding for the UAS ends in 2007, the Government of Canada's analysis of projects carried out under this strategy will help them to determine how best to serve the needs of urban Aboriginal peoples, including Inuit, in the future.⁶⁸⁵

In October 2005, Tungasuvvingat Inuit and the Inuit Relations Secretariat of INAC co-hosted a two-day workshop on National Urban Inuit, entitled "One Voice." This workshop was held in Ottawa and included representatives from St. John's, Happy Valley-Goose Bay, Montreal, Ottawa, Winnipeg, Edmonton and Yellowknife, as well as the federal government and Inuit organizations. The three themes consistently raised by workshop participants were: the need for an organization representing Inuit in urban areas, more Inuit-specific community centres in urban areas, and the need for additional support from a variety of sources, including the federal government. The workshop also focused on issues of concern to many Inuit, including the undercounting that results from methods used by Statistics Canada to collect data on Inuit; the ineffectiveness of the federal government's "pan-Aboriginal" approach to programming, which does not meet the needs of Inuit; the feelings of isolation experienced by Inuit living in southern Canada; and the need to provide urban Inuit-specific support services in areas including education, daycare, business development, job training, policing and the justice system, and social work.⁶⁸⁶

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- **Cover photo 1** – Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami Archives.
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Inuit Contact with Explorers, Whalers and Fur Traders to the 1930s

- **Photo 1 top left** – “Esquimaux aboard the *Maud*,” Pond Inlet, NWT [Nunavut], 1889. LAC, Walter Livingstone-Learmonth Collection, C-88383.
- **Photo 2 top right** – Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami Archives, uncatalogued date and location.
- **Photo 3 bottom** – Inuit at Hudson’s Bay Company Post. Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami Archives.
- **Photo 4 background** – Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami Archives, uncatalogued date and location.

The 1939 Re Eskimo Decision and its Impact on Crown/Inuit Relations

- **Photo 1 top** – “P. Ashley Cooper, Governor of the Hudson’s Bay Company, and Mrs. Cooper distributing gifts,” Port Burwell, NWT [Nunavut], 1934. LAC, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada Collection, D.L. McKeand, PA-102134.
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- **Photo 1 top** – “Representative of the Department of Indian Affairs, S.J. Bailey, explaining the benefits of pabulum to two Inuit women with babies,” Repulse Bay, NWT [Nunavut], 1948. LAC, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada Collection, S.J. Bailey, PA-167631.
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- **Photo 1 top left** – Main Street in Resolute, Cornwallis Island, NWT [Nunavut], 1958. LAC, National Film Board of Canada Collection, K.M. Parks, PA-130628.
- **Photo 2 top right** – Indian and Northern Affairs Canada Collection.
- **Photo 3 bottom** – C.G.S. *Arctic*, commanded by Captain J.E. Bernier, Port Burwell, Quebec [actually Nunavut], 1907. LAC, Sir Sandford Flemming Collection, George R. Lancefield, PA-096482.

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E-Number Identification System

- **Photo 1 top left** – “Taking the census and also checking on Family Allowances matters.” Original photograph caption also states, “This lad has his identification disc so there is no trouble in placing him. He is wearing a parka issued on Family Allowances,” Windy River, NWT. LAC, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada Collection, PA-102695.
- **Photo 2 bottom** – Indian and Northern Affairs Canada Collection.
- **Photo 3 background** – Indian and Northern Affairs Canada Collection.

Historical Development of Inuit Political Organizations

- **Photo 1 top left** – Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami Annual General Meeting, Nain, Labrador, June 2005. Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami Archives.
- **Photo 2 top right** – Inuvialuit Regional Corporation board meeting, Inuvik, NWT, 2004. Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami Archives.
- **Photo 3 bottom** – Eskimo C-Operative Conference, Frobisher Bay, NWT [Iqaluit, Nunavut], 1963. LAC, Ted Grant Collection, Item 63-21803, Slide 11.
- **Photo 4 background** – Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami Archives.

Comprehensive Claim Agreements

- **Photo 1 top** – Signing of the Nunavut Land Claim Agreement, Iqaluit, NWT [Nunavut], 27 May 1993. Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami Archives.
- **Photo 2 bottom left** – Signing of the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement, Quebec City, Quebec, 11 November 1975. Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami Archives.
- **Photo 3 bottom right** – Signing of the Inuvialuit Final Agreement, Inuvik, NWT, 1984. Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami Archives.

Housing

- **Photo 1 top left** – Group of Inuit (Abel and Joshua), Hopedale, Labrador, 1886. LAC, William and Lois Pinkney Collection, PA-139027.
- **Photo 2 top right** – Experimental styrofoam igloo constructed in Cape Dorset, NWT [Nunavut], 1961. LAC, National Film Board of Canada Collection, PA-114847.
- **Photo 3 bottom left** – Indian and Northern Affairs Canada Collection.
- **Photo 4 bottom right** – Indian and Northern Affairs Canada Collection.
- **Photo 5 background** – Inuit Constructing an igloo. Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami Archives, uncatalogued date and location.

Healthcare

- **Photo 1 top left** – Inuit child receiving treatment for impetigo infection, Pangnirtung, NWT [Nunavut], 1959. LAC, Canadian Department of National Health and Welfare Collection, H.J. Leclair, PA-141908.
- **Photo 2 top right** – Indian and Northern Affairs Canada Collection.
- **Photo 3 bottom left** – Indian and Northern Affairs Canada Collection.
- **Photo 4 bottom right** – Nurse or doctor with elderly Inuit man and woman, NWT [Nunavut], 1953. LAC, Health Canada fonds, e002394473.
- **Photo 5 background** – Indian and Northern Affairs Canada Collection.

Education

- **Photo 1 top right** – Moravian missionaries at Mission House, Hopedale, Labrador, 1886. LAC, William and Lois Pinkney Collection, PA-139011.
- **Photo 2 bottom** – Royal Canadian Mounted Police Constable Ron Gordon giving a demonstration to Inuit school children, Resolute Bay, NWT [Nunavut], February 1962. LAC, Horst Ehricht Collection, PA-188616.
- **Photo 3 background** – “Home Economics teacher, Miss G. MacKay, instructing young Eskimo girls in dress-making at the local Federal School,” Inuvik, NWT, 1959. LAC, National Film Board of Canada Collection, PA-130781.

Economic Development and The Inuit Economy

- **Photo 1 top** – “Exterior view of the Eskimo Co-op bakery in Cape Dorset, NWT [Nunavut],” 1961. LAC, National Film Board of Canada Collection, C-080145.
- **Photo 2 bottom** – “Henry Anatuk, co-operative manager, taking Inuit woman’s order,” Port Burwell, NWT [Nunavut], 1960. LAC, National Film Board of Canada Collection, PA-145031.
- **Photo 3 background** – “Eskimo handy-man employed at one air base,” 1950. LAC, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada Collection, Album 39, Item 33, pp. 54.

Inuit Self-Government and Governance

- **Photo 1 top left** – Inuit women around a table, Resolute Bay, NWT [Nunavut], 1950-1980. LAC, Health Canada fonds, e002394472.
- **Photo 2 top right** – Nunavut signing ceremony, Iqaluit, Nunavut, 1 April 1999. Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami Archives.
- **Photo 3 bottom** – Results of the Nunatsiavut land claim ratification vote are read, 26 May 2004. Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami Archives.

The Environmental

- **Photo 1 top** – Grise Fjord [Fiord] NWT, 1971[?]. LAC, Canada Post Collection, PA-061670.
- **Photo 2 bottom** – Polar bears on ice, Resolute Harbour, NWT [Nunavut], 1954. LAC, National Defence Canada Collection, PA-141892.

Urban Inuit

- **Photo 1 top** – Tungasuvvingat Inuit Community Centre, Ottawa, 2005. Public History (PHI), photograph by author, Tungasuvvingat Inuit, March 2006.
- **Photo 2 bottom** – Indian and Northern Affairs Canada Collection.
- **Photo 3 background** – Laura, Eskimo woman at Edmonton, Alberta, c.1936. LAC, Canadian Department of Interior Collection, PA-046128.

APPENDIX A

Acronyms

AAMB	Aboriginal Area Management Board
ACIA	Arctic Climate Impact Assessment
AEPS	Arctic Environmental Protection Strategy
ANSCA	Alaska Native Claim Settlement Acts
APS	Aboriginal Peoples' Survey
AROP	Aboriginal Representative Organization Program
CAIPAP	Canadian Arctic Indigenous Peoples Against POPs
CAP	Canadian Arctic Producers
CINE	Centre for Indigenous Peoples' Nutrition and Environment
CMHC	Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation
COILS	Career Orientation and Independent Living Skills (Nunavut Sivuniksavut course)
COPE	Committee for Original Peoples' Entitlement
DEW	Line Distant Early Warning Line
EARP	Environmental Assessment Review Process
FCNQ	Federation des Cooperatives du Nouveau-Quebec
FEARO	Federal Environmental Assessment Review Office
FNIHB	First Nations and Inuit Health Branch
GNWT	Government of the Northwest Territories
GREC	Gordon Robertson Education Centre
HBC	Hudson's Bay Company
HR(S)DC	Human Resources (and Skills) Development Canada
ICC	Inuit Circumpolar Conference
INAC	Indian and Northern Affairs Canada
IQ	Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit
IRC	Inuvialuit Regional Corporation
ITC	Inuit Tapirisat of Canada
ITK	Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami
JBNQA	James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement
KRG	Kativik Regional Government
KSB	Kativik School Board
LIA	Labrador Inuit Association
LIDC	Labrador Inuit Development Corporation
LIHC	Labrador Inuit Health Commission

APPENDIX A

N-number	Northern-number
NAHO	National Aboriginal Health Organization
NAPCC	National Action Programme on Climate Change
NCF	Nunavut Constitutional Forum
NCP	Northern Contaminants Program
NEQA	Northeastern Quebec Agreement
NICE	National Inuit Council on Education
NIHB	Non-Insured Health Benefits
NIYC	National Inuit Youth Council
NORAD	North American Aerospace Defence Agreement
NQIA	Northern Quebec Inuit Association
NRBHSS	Nunavik Regional Board of Health and Social Services
NTI	Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated
NWMP	North West Mounted Police
NWT	Northwest Territories
OMS	Oceans Management Strategy
POPs	Persistent Organic Pollutants
RCAP	Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples
RCMP	Royal Canadian Mounted Police
RRHP	Rural and Remote Housing Program
Special ARDAs	Special Agricultural and Rural Development Agreements
TI	Tungasuvvingat Inuit
TFN	Tungavik Federation of Nunavut
VTS	Vocational Training Section (of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada)
WARM	Western Arctic Regional Municipality

APPENDIX B

The History of Inuit Administration in Canada From Contact to the Present

Date Range	Administrative Body	Comment
1750-1920	Hudson's Bay Company (HBC), and Catholic and Protestant missionary societies	These organizations were unofficial administrators of Inuit services. The HBC was given authority from the British Government, and then from the Canadian Government, to record census information and to make reports about the welfare conditions of Inuit. Missionary societies were given government funding to establish schools and hospitals for Inuit. In contrast, the Department of the Secretary of State (1867-1869) and the Department of the Secretary of State for the Provinces (1869-1873), the Department of the Interior (1873-1880), and the Department of Indian Affairs (1880-1936) administered First Nations.
1890	Northwest Mounted Police (NWMP)	The NWMP established their first posts in the Arctic in 1890. In 1903, a NWMP member was appointed Acting Commissioner of the Northwest Territories (NWT). The NWMP were the official administrators of law and justice in the North but also provided relief to Inuit when necessary.
1905	The Northwest Territories Council, Department of the Interior	The <i>NWT Amendment Act</i> was passed. A commissioner was stationed in Ottawa (also the Financial Comptroller for the NWMP), and with council assistance of four civil servants, administered the territory. The Council had no official mandate to administer Inuit affairs.
1922	Eskimo Affairs Unit and NWT Council, Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch, Department of the Interior	The Deputy Minister of the department was also the Commissioner of the NWT Council. The Director of the NWT and Yukon Branch was given authority to administer daily issues related to Inuit affairs, and oversaw the first federal government offices in the North.
1924	Department of Indian Affairs	Inuit were brought under the jurisdiction of the <i>Indian Act</i> through an amendment. The department was officially given responsibility for Inuit affairs.
1928	Eskimo Affairs Unit, Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch, Department of the Interior	An Order in Council transferred administrative authority for Inuit to the Commissioner of the NWT Council, and the NWT and Yukon Branch Director of the Department of the Interior.
1930	Eskimo Affairs Unit, Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch, Department of the Interior	The government repealed the 1924 amendment to the <i>Indian Act</i> . The NWT Council continued to administer Inuit affairs from Ottawa.
1931	Dominion Lands Branch [Lands, Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch], Department of the Interior	Deputy Commissioner of the NWT Council (also Assistant Deputy Minister of the Department of the Interior) used this branch to administer Inuit affairs. The Branch was renamed the Lands, Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch.
1936-1950	Bureau of Northwest Territories and Yukon Affairs; Lands, Parks, and Forests Branch; Department of Mines and Resources	The Department of the Interior was disbanded and responsibility for northern affairs was transferred to the new Department of Mines and Resources, which continued to administer Inuit affairs after the Supreme Court's 1939 <i>Re Eskimo</i> decision. The Bureau of NWT and Yukon Affairs administered the NWT Council.

APPENDIX B

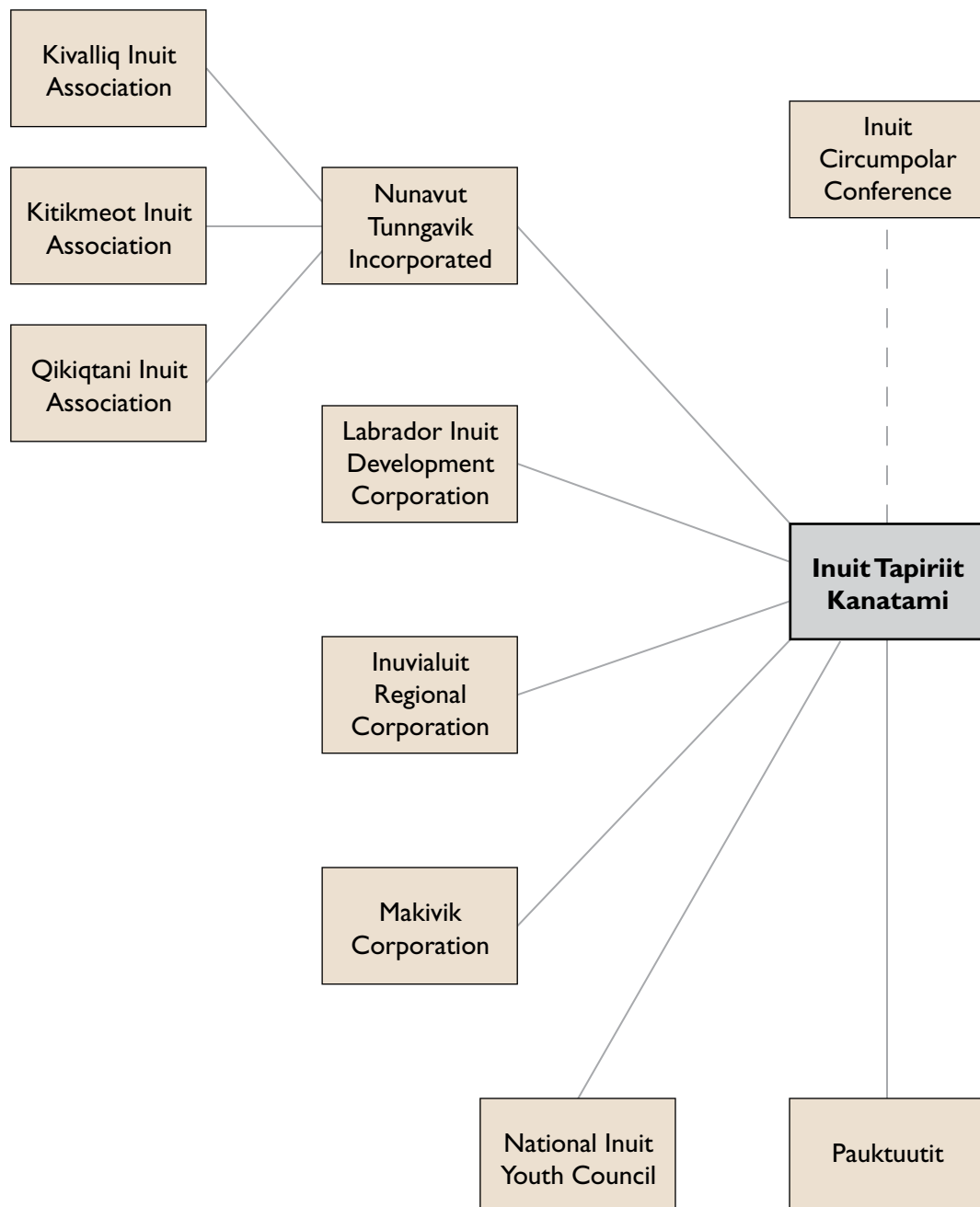
Date Range	Administrative Body	Comment
1945	Department of National Health and Welfare	Responsibilities for health of First Nations and Inuit were transferred to this department by Order in Council P.O. 1945-6495. Most Inuit affairs continued to be administered by Mines and Resources.
1948-1976	Advisory Committee on Northern Development	The Deputy Minister of Mines and Resources initially chaired this Cabinet committee of deputy ministers. Although this department had responsibility for northern affairs, several other departments had interests in the North. The committee was developed to co-ordinate these interests and the resulting programs.
1950-1953	Northern Administrations Service [Northern Administration and Lands Branch], Department of Resources and Development	Responsibility for northern affairs was transferred to the new Department of Resources and Development, which was renamed the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources in 1953. Northern Administrations Service (1950-1951) administered Inuit affairs and was renamed the Northern Administration and Lands Branch (1951-1959).
1951	NWT Council/Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT)	The NWT Act was amended to include three elected members from the North, in addition to five appointed members, on the NWT Council. The Council alternated meeting locations between Ottawa and northern communities. In 1966, two additional elected members, including one from the eastern Arctic, were allowed on the Council. In 1967, Yellowknife became the capital of the NWT, and the Council's administrative centre was moved there. A civil service, the GNWT, developed. In 1976, the Council became fully elected.
1952-1962	Eskimo Affairs Committee	The Committee was administered by the Department of Resources and Development. Attendance included those from various government departments and agencies, churches and the HBC. The goal of the committee was to assist Inuit in maintaining their traditional, self-sufficient way of life insofar as that was possible. The committee was renamed the Eskimo Advisory Board in 1960.
1953-1966	Northern Administration and Lands Branch, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources	In 1959 the branch was renamed the Northern Administration Branch (1959-1968). From 1965 to 1966, this department included an Indian Affairs Branch to administer programs for First Nations.
1966-Present	Northern Administration Branch, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (now Indian and Northern Affairs Canada)	Northern Development included an Advisory Committee on Northern Development, and a Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre. The Indian Affairs Branch was moved to this department.

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APPENDIX C

Organization of Inuit Associations in Canada



APPENDIX D

Inuit Comprehensive Claims Settlements

	James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement	Inuvialuit Final Agreement	Nunavut Land Claims Agreement	Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement
Negotiating Organization	Northern Quebec Inuit Association (1971-1978)	Committee for Original Peoples Entitlement (1970-1984)	Tungavik Federation of Nunavut (1982-1993)	Labrador Inuit Association (1973-?)
Year Land Claim Was Submitted	1973	1974	1977	1977
Land Claim Beneficiary Corporation	Makivik Corporation (1978)	Inuvialuit Regional Corporation (1984)	Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated (1993)	Labrador Inuit Development Corporation (1982)
Year Land Claim Settled	1975	1984	1993	2005
Criteria for Land Claim Beneficiary Enrolment	A person of Inuit ancestry who was born in Quebec or is ordinarily a resident of Quebec, or is a recognized member of an Inuit community covered by the claim. The person may also be an adopted child or descendant of a recognized beneficiary.	A Canadian citizen of Inuvialuit ancestry; someone who is considered Inuvialuit based on custom and tradition; or someone with at least one quarter Inuvialuit blood who was born in the Settlement Region. Under the agreement, Inuvialuit are responsible for defining who is Inuit for enrolment purposes.	A Canadian citizen who identifies as Inuk, or a person considered an Inuk through Inuit customs and usages and is associated with the Nunavut Settlement Area. Under the agreement, Inuit are responsible for defining who is Inuit for enrolment purposes.	Members of the Aboriginal people of Labrador who traditionally used and occupied the lands of the Labrador Inuit Land Claims Area, and are not beneficiaries of other Inuit land claims. Someone who has Inuit ancestry or is a Kablunangajuk ⁶⁸⁷ , and is a permanent resident of the Labrador Inuit Settlement Area or is connected to the area.
Regional Government	Kativik Regional Government (institute of public government (IPG)). ⁶⁸⁸	None.	Nunavut Government (institute of public government), with provisions for increased Inuit participation in government employment in the Nunavut Settlement Area	Nunatsiavut Government (ethnically-based government), with public municipal governments in the five Inuit land claim region communities.

	James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement	Inuvialuit Final Agreement	Nunavut Land Claims Agreement	Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement
Division of Land Within the Settlement Area and Non-Renewable Resource Management	Category I lands are for the use and benefit of Inuit. Category II lands are provincial lands with co-management of hunting, fishing, trapping, forestry and tourism; and some exclusive rights to hunting, fishing and trapping for Inuit. Category III lands are public lands with similar regulations for Inuit and non-Inuit.	5,000 square miles divided to seven community plots where Inuit have surface and subsurface ownership. 30,000 square miles where Inuit have title to the surface only.	The division of land includes Inuit Owned Lands, where subsurface rights may be specified; High Arctic Areas exempted from available Inuit Owned Land; and six Land Use Regions that include all municipalities in Nunavut. The Nunavut Trust receives an annual share of resource royalties.	Inuit have surface rights and a share of subsurface rights to Labrador Inuit Lands. The Nunatsiavut Government is responsible for the administration and control of these Lands, including development and conservation management. The province manages subsurface development in the Labrador Inuit Settlement Area. The province and the Nunatsiavut Government jointly manage subsurface interests in Labrador Inuit Lands.
Environmental and Social Protection	The Kativik Environmental Advisory Committee was established to consult and advise other levels of government on potential negative environmental impacts associated with development projects proposed for the land claim area.	The Environmental Impact Screening Committee was established to review onshore development projects. The Environmental Impact Review Board was established to conduct community reviews of proposed projects.	The Surface Rights Tribunal, the Nunavut Impact Review Board, the Nunavut Planning Commission, and the Nunavut Water Board were established to manage land and resources. The Nunavut Social Development Council was established to develop social and cultural policies and programs that reflect Inuit goals and objectives. Inuit Impact and Benefit Agreements are required for development and exploitation projects wholly or partly on Inuit Owned Land.	The Regional Planning Authority was established to create a Land Use Plan for the Labrador Inuit Settlement Area. The Nunatsiavut Government has jurisdiction to regulate land use of Labrador Inuit Lands. Environmental Assessments are required to mitigate the negative impacts of any potential development projects.
Economic Development	The claim provides support for establishing organizations that promote renewable resource development, and arts and crafts production. Makivik Corporation administers funding for these projects.	The Inuvialuit Development Corporation was established to deliver goods and services in the Inuvialuit Settlement Region. Each community within the Settlement Area has a local Inuvialuit Development Corporation.	The Department of Economic Development and Transportation was established to develop policies and programs within the Government of Nunavut.	The Subsurface Resource Revenue Sharing Committee was established to administer revenue sharing agreements. The Nunatsiavut Government was established to administer economic development policies and programs.

	James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement	Inuvialuit Final Agreement	Nunavut Land Claims Agreement	Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement
Hunting, Fishing and Trapping	The Hunting, Fishing and Trapping Co-ordinating Committee was established to regulate wildlife harvesting. The Committee includes representatives from the Cree, and the provincial and federal governments. The Committee consults with community members in Nunavik, and advises the provincial and federal governments on policy.	The Wildlife Management Advisory Council was established to facilitate joint planning. The Inuvialuit Game Council and the community Hunters and Trappers Committees were also established. Inuvialuit have exclusive rights to harvest polar bears, musk ox, furbearers, and other game on Inuvialuit lands, and have preferential rights to harvest all species for subsistence use.	The Nunavut Wildlife Management Board was established to regulate access to wildlife in the Nunavut Settlement Area and to conduct the five-year Nunavut Wildlife Harvest Study. Local Hunters and Trappers Organizations and Regional Wildlife Organizations were established to oversee harvesting. Inuit have the right to harvest to limits imposed by the Harvest Study, or in the absence of quotas to the level required by their economic, social, and cultural needs.	Inuit have exclusive rights to harvest wildlife and plants in Labrador Inuit Lands. The Torngat Wildlife and Plants Co-Management Board, with the Nunatsiavut Government, establish the Total Allowable Harvest and Inuit Harvest Levels. The Torngat Joint Fisheries Board and the Nunatsiavut Government establish the Inuit Domestic Harvest Levels for fisheries.
Health and Social Services	The Kativik Regional Health Board.	The Inuvialuit Social Development Program and the Social Development Fund were established to improve standards of health, housing, education and living for Inuvialuit.	The Department of Health and Social Services was established to develop policies and programs within the Government of Nunavut. The Nunavut Housing Corporation was created as a Government Agency.	The Nunatsiavut Government is responsible for Labrador Inuit Lands and the Inuit Communities. This includes provisions for healthcare, social services, housing and justice services.
Education	The Kativik Regional School Board was established to provide culturally relevant educational programs.	See Health and Social Services.	The Department of Education was established to develop policy and programs within the Government of Nunavut.	This is a responsibility of the Nunatsiavut Government for Labrador Inuit Lands and the Inuit Communities.

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- ⁸⁵ Although Indian Affairs was granted departmental status in 1880, the Minister of the Interior continued to hold the position of Superintendent of Indian Affairs, creating an administrative link between the departments. Dickerson, 33; Diubaldo (1981), 34; and Jenness, 32-33, 53. Please see the attached chart, Appendix B, which shows changes in the Canadian Government's administration of Inuit affairs from European contact to 1972.
- ⁸⁶ In 1936, the Canadian Government diverted some responsibility for Inuit relief to the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC), by requiring that applicants for trading licenses agree to take responsibility for the welfare of their Inuit patrons. They also advocated the re-location of Inuit families in impoverished areas to regions with greater resource yields, such as the reopening of trading posts at Port Leopold and Arctic Bay. These posts were closed in 1928 because they violated the boundaries of the Arctic Islands Preserve. The government was willing to lift these regulations to ensure that Inuit maintained their self-sufficiency as much as possible. Jenness, 33, 52-57.
- ⁸⁷ In 1931, the position of Deputy Commissioner of the NWT Council was included in the Assistant Deputy Minister of the Department of the Interior's portfolio, and the Department of the Interior's Dominion Lands Branch was used to administer the daily issues of northern affairs. This Branch was renamed the Lands, Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch. A representative from the Branch made annual visits to the eastern Arctic to re-supply police posts and the Pangnirtung Hospital, and to generally observe conditions of Inuit. Jenness, 49-50.
- ⁸⁸ By 1932, the cost of Inuit relief in Quebec was \$9.00 per person annually. Relief for First Nations was funded federally, as First Nations in Canada were wards of the state. The Canadian Government, however, administered Inuit as citizens. Constance Backhouse, *Colour-Coded: a Legal History of Racism in Canada, 1900-1950* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 34; Jenness 32, 40; and Peter Kulchyski, *Unjust Relations: Aboriginal Rights in Canadian Courts* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1994), 32.
- ⁸⁹ Backhouse, 21-22; and Kulchyski, 32-33.
- ⁹⁰ Specifically, an 1856 HBC census of northern Quebec classified Inuit (Esquimaux) as Indians. As the Crown had invested the HBC with administrative authority, their description of Inuit was particularly significant to the Supreme Court's decision. Although much of the region inhabited by Inuit was Rupert's Land in 1867, and therefore not part of Canada at Confederation, the *Constitution Act, 1867* provided for the addition of territories to Confederation. Rupert's Land was ceded to Canada in 1871. Backhouse, 52-53; Diubaldo (1981), 37; Kulchyski, 32-33; and Brian Slattery and Sheila E. Stelck, *Canadian Native Law Cases* (Saskatoon: University of Saskatchewan Native Law Centre, 1987), 123-142.
- ⁹¹ Of note, neither the Canadian nor Quebec governments invited Inuit to participate in the Re Eskimo proceedings. Backhouse, 35.
- ⁹² The Supreme Court of Canada was created in 1875 but decisions could be appealed to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council (JCPC) in London until 1933 for criminal appeals and 1949 for civil appeals. Supreme Court, 19 March 2004, Creation and Beginnings of the Court, http://www.scc-csc.gc.ca/aboutcourt/creation/index_e.asp [3 November 2004].
- ⁹³ Members of the NWT Council and the Minister of the Interior wrote to the Minister of Justice, who wrote to O.D. Skelton, Under Secretary of State for External Affairs, and requested that an appeal be made for a reversal of the decision. Jenness, 40; and Diubaldo (1981), 39.
- ⁹⁴ Backhouse, 55.
- ⁹⁵ In 1936, the Department of the Interior was dismantled and its responsibilities for natural resource management were transferred to the Department of Mines and Resources. Within this department's five branches, the Lands, Parks and Forest Branch administered the Bureau of Northwest Territories and Yukon Affairs. This Bureau was responsible for monitoring northern issues, including schools, hospitals, law and order, liquor regulations, reindeer herds and mining. The NWT Council, under the auspices of the new Bureau, continued to be the dominant administrative body to impart government services for Inuit. Most welfare, healthcare and education services, however, continued to be delivered by Roman Catholic and Anglican missionary organizations. Dickerson, 32, 37-46, 56; and R. Duffy, 11.
- ⁹⁶ The Order in Council transferring responsibility for Inuit and First Nations health to the Department of National Health and Welfare was P.C. 1945-6495. Duffy, 18; and Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 7 February 1997, Administrative Outline of Indian Affairs, http://collections.ic.gc.ca/treaties/text/rec_e_tx/html [3 November 2004].

- ⁹⁷ Diubaldo (1992), 24.
- ⁹⁸ Dickerson, 70; and Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, *Looking Forward, Looking Back*, Vol. 1 (Ottawa: Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996), 300.
- ⁹⁹ Hawley, 8.
- ¹⁰⁰ *Re Eskimo* was used in a 1957 report for the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, which questioned the Newfoundland Government's legal obligation to Labrador Inuit based on Newfoundland's 1949 entrance to Confederation, ten years after the *Re Eskimo* decision. Here, the Supreme Court ruling that Inuit were historically classified as Indians was used to employ a 1950 ruling by the Department of Justice. This ruling, that "it is the responsibility of the federal government to formulate and carry out all policies that are directed at dealing with Indians or Indian problems," demonstrated federal responsibility for Labrador Inuit. Marshall, 4.
- ¹⁰¹ Within the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Inuit and First Nations were administered separately. Northern Development included areas such as the Northern Administration Branch, the Advisory Committee on Northern Development, and the Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre. Terry Cook, *Federal Archives General Inventory Series: Records of the Northern Affairs Program (RG 85)* (Ottawa: Public Archives Canada, 1982), 19-20; F.B. Finland, "Administrative and Constitutional Changes in Arctic Territories," *The Arctic Frontier*, R. St. J. Macdonald, ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966: 130-159), 143.
- ¹⁰² Diubaldo (1992), 10; and Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, *Looking Forward, Looking Back*, Vol. 1 (Ottawa: Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996), 319.
- ¹⁰³ McGoldrick interview (February 2005).
- ¹⁰⁴ Nixon, 149.
- ¹⁰⁵ Duffy, 16.
- ¹⁰⁶ Diubaldo (1992), 16.
- ¹⁰⁷ Duffy, 17. For a more detailed discussion of government programs for Inuit housing, healthcare, education, relocation and employment, please refer to the relevant chapters in this historical review.
- ¹⁰⁸ In the early 1950s, eight federally run schools were established in the Arctic and welfare teachers were sent to communities to teach health, basic education, conservation of resources and physical activities. Between 1922 and 1938, thirteen doctors served as medical officers on the Eastern Arctic Patrol, with little specialized equipment or training. In 1926, the Anglican Church built a hospital at Aklavik, and another at Pangnirtung in 1928. A Catholic hospital was built at Chesterfield Inlet in 1929. Diubaldo (1992), 31-34.
- The Book of Wisdom for Eskimos* (1947) was published in English and Inuktitut, and contained information on many issues including the spread of disease, childcare, hygiene, and on programs like Family Allowances. Public History thanks Peter Irniq for donating a copy of this book. Peter Irniq, former Commissioner of Nunavut, interview by author, 27 April 2005, digital recording, Commissioner's House, Iqaluit, Nunavut.
- ¹⁰⁹ According to Gordon Robertson, though some social welfare programs were applied to communities across the Arctic, some programs were developed to meet the needs of particular communities. R. Gordon Robertson, former Deputy Minister, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Government of Canada, interview by author, 9 November 2004, digital recording, Public History, Ottawa. See also: Chartrand, 241; and W.C. Rockwood, *Memorandum on General Policy in Respect to the Indians and Eskimos of Northern Labrador* (St. Johns: North Labrador Affairs, Department of Public Welfare, 1955), 1-3.
- ¹¹⁰ Chartrand, 241.
- ¹¹¹ Dickerson, 63
- ¹¹² Diubaldo (1992), 30.
- ¹¹³ Robertson (2000), 120.
- ¹¹⁴ Committees within the department responsible for Inuit affairs, such as the Advisory Committee on Northern Development (ACND) and the Eskimo Affairs Committee were created throughout the early 1950s to co-ordinate the administration of Inuit affairs among government departments and to facilitate the development of programs and services for Inuit. For example, the Eskimo Affairs Committee, which began in 1950 with representatives from the civil service, RCMP, and Anglican and Roman Catholic missionaries, encouraged and supported Inuit in retaining their traditional way of life insofar as that was

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- possible by creating programs such as the Eskimo Loan Fund. This fund provided loans of up to \$40,000 to assist Inuit in purchasing equipment to increase their earning power or to initiate economic development projects. Diubaldo (1992), 36-37. In the 1960s the federal government encouraged Inuit to obtain vocational training for careers in areas such as mechanics and heavy machine operation. This training was often obtained outside the community, at institutes like the Churchill Vocational Centre. Peter Irniq interview (27 April 2005) and The Honourable Charlie Watt, Senator, Senate of Canada, interview by author, 19 May 2005, digital recording, Victoria Building, Government of Canada, Ottawa.
- ¹¹⁵ Oblates of Mary Immaculate, *Residential School for Indian Acculturation* (Ottawa: Indian and Eskimo Welfare Commission, Oblate Fathers in Canada, 1958), 4.
- ¹¹⁶ Residents in government housing during the 1960s were required to participate in adult education programs as part of their rental agreement. These programs taught family members, particularly women, how to safely use the appliances that came with the home, how each of the rooms should be used, and how to care for and repair the home. While these programs were primarily intended for safety purposes, and to ensure unnecessary damage was not done to the rental units, they also acculturated Inuit families. The division of rooms in the rental units affected traditional Inuit sleeping patterns, and the use of space for cooking, eating, and performing chores, like skinning seals. Nixon, 2.
- ¹¹⁷ Government agencies hired Inuit for employment in northern communities, and provided incentives to businesses, like mining companies, to hire Inuit. Cultural differences in expectations of job performance and employee behaviour often meant that Inuit did not retain employment for long periods of time, which was as much the decision of Inuit as it was their employers. Very successful, however, was the development of co-operatives, which were first established in 1958. In 1959, the Northwest Territories Council passed the Co-Operatives Ordinance. Along with organizations such as the Canadian Handicraft Guild, Inuit administered the creation, marketing, and sale of their products and services, such as prints and carvings, as well as the creation of sport fishing lodges, and commercial fisheries. The government supported Inuit involvement and administration of such organizations because of the experience in entrepreneurship and business management that it provided. Andrew J. Freyman and Graham T. Armstrong, "The Role of Indians and Eskimos in the Canadian Mining Industry," *Canadian Mining and Metallurgical Bulletin* (1969); Marybelle Mitchell, *From Talking Chiefs to a Native Corporate Elite: the Birth of Class and Nationalism Among Canadian Inuit* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996); and D.K. Thomas and C.T. Thompson, *Eskimo Housing as Planned Culture Change* (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1972).
- ¹¹⁸ Canada, *Health in Canada's North: Brief for the Royal Commission on Health Services* (Ottawa: Northern Health Service, Department of National Health and Welfare, 1962), 2.
- ¹¹⁹ These churches, with some government assistance, funded the construction and administration of several residential and day schools in the Arctic and northern Quebec, including those located at Akalvik, Fort McPherson, Coppermine, Chesterfield Inlet, Port Harrison and Iqaluit. The federal government sought to create standardized education programs on par with those in the rest of Canada to create literate and employable Inuit. Inuit recognized the acculturative force of the federal government's education system, and by the early 1970s were requesting increases to the amount of culturally relevant curriculum material, as well as increased involvement of Inuit community members in teaching children traditional skills, such as sewing skins, during school hours. While Inuit were willing to adopt some elements of southern Canadian culture, many adults were still illiterate and distrustful of an education system that emphasized their children's need to learn culturally unfamiliar skills and knowledge. Adult education programs and vocational training emphasized literacy, as well as practical skills including nursing, construction work, heavy machine operation, and clerical work. They also taught safety skills associated with operating appliances in government homes, and nutrition and hygiene for maintaining healthy families. These programs assisted Inuit in the transition from a primarily self-sufficient land-based subsistence to wage earning supplemented by traditional activities, like hunting and fishing. Increased contact with southern Canadian culture, through communication mediums like television and radio, also helped to acculturate Inuit to southern Canadian culture. Dickerson, 87.
- ¹²⁰ Dickerson, 87; and Cook, 19-24.

- ¹²¹ As late as 2000, 22% of Inuit were not employed in the wage economy. Derek Rasmussen, *Dissolving Inuit Society Through Education and Money: the Myth of Educating Inuit Out of "Primitive Childhood" and into Economic Adulthood* (Montreal: Intercultural Institute of Montreal, 2000), 3-6; and David Omar Born, *Eskimo Education and the Trauma of Social Change* (Ottawa: Northern Science Research Group, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1970), 40.
- ¹²² Chartrand, 252; and Robertson (1960), 2.
- ¹²³ According to Morrison, "it was not that the American Government had conscious designs on Canadian sovereignty; rather, they had a clear idea of what they wanted and needed in the Canadian North, and saw no reason why what was in their interests should not be in the interests of the Canadians as well." William R. Morrison, "Eagle Over the Arctic: Americans in the Canadian North, 1867-1985," *Interpreting Canada's North: Selected Readings*, Kenneth S. Coates and William R. Morrison, eds. (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman Ltd., 1989: 169-184), 176.
- ¹²⁴ Kenneth Coates, *Canada's Colonies: A History of the Yukon and Northwest Territories* (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, Publishers, 1985), 167-180; and Kenneth C. Eyre, "Forty Years of Military Activity in the Canadian North, 1947-87," *Arctic* 40.4 (December 1987: 292-299), 292.
- ¹²⁵ Morrison, 177.
- ¹²⁶ These projects also served Cold War defence needs. Morrison, 177. For a detailed discussion of North American defence in the Canadian Arctic see: Joseph T. Jockel, *No Boundaries Upstairs: Canada, the United States, and the Origins of North American Air Defence, 1945-1958* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1987).
- ¹²⁷ Twenty-one DEW Line sites in Canadian territory were decommissioned in the early 1960s and turned over to the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development for their use in the administration of Inuit affairs. The Department of National Defence operated the remaining 21 sites until they were decommissioned in 1993, and replaced by the North Warning System. N.D. Bankes, "Forty Years of Canadian Sovereignty Assertion in the Arctic, 1947-87," *Arctic* 40.4 (December 1987: 285-291), 287; and R.J. Sutherland, "The Strategic Significance of the Canadian Arctic," *The Arctic Frontier*, R. St. J. Macdonald, ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966: 256-278), 263.
- ¹²⁸ Bankes, 287; Arthur Charo, *Continental Air Defence: A Neglected Dimension of Strategic Defence* (Lanham, Maryland: Centre for Science and International Affairs, Harvard University, 1990), 2-3; Coates 210-211; Duffy, 32-33; Eyre, 294-295; and Sutherland, 269-271.
- ¹²⁹ The NORAD agreement was initially specified for a ten-year period and is now revised at five-year intervals. This regular review "has served to keep NORAD relevant despite the dramatically changing strategic landscape." D.F. Holoman, *NORAD In the New Millenium* (Toronto: Canadian Institute of International Affairs and Irwin Publishing, 2000), 12.
- ¹³⁰ Maurice Sauve, *Interim Report of the Special Committee of the House of Commons on Matters Relating to Defense* (Ottawa: House of Commons, 1963), 20.
- ¹³¹ Sauve, 21.
- ¹³² These included the Mid-Canada Line and the Pine Tree Line stations, as well as stations located in Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick and British Columbia. The Pine Tree Line (also called the Continental Air Defense Integration North (CADIN) Line) was located along the northern boundary of the United States and stretched into Newfoundland. The Mid-Canada Line (also called the McGill Fence) was built and operated by Canada along the fifty-fifth parallel. The DEW Line sites were built along the seventieth parallel. They started in Alaska at Cape Lisburne and ran eastward along the coast, crossing to the Arctic islands, then to the Boothia and Melville peninsulas, then to the southeast corner of Baffin Island at Cape Dyer. Duffy, 33; Bankes, 286; Jockel, 2; Morrison, 178-179; and Sauve, 20-21.
- ¹³³ For example, many of the airport runways constructed for defence projects have since been turned over to community administration, facilitating the movement of people between northern communities and southern Canada, as well as the delivery of items, like mail and fresh foods. Thomas and Thompson, 10-11.
- ¹³⁴ Duffy, 33; and Eyre, 295-296.

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- ¹³⁵ Morrison, 170; and Charo, 7.
- ¹³⁶ Eyre, 292.
- ¹³⁷ National Defence, 31 August 2001, Backgrounder: The Distant Early Warning Line Clean up Project, http://www.forces.gc.ca/site/newsroom/view_news_e.asp?id=205 [5 June 2006]; *San Francisco Chronicle*, 3 November 2001, Heated Arctic Dispute Greenland. Alaska Natives Balk at New U.S. Military Plans, <http://www.sfgate.com/cgi-bin/article.cgi?file=/chronicle/archive/2001/11/03/MN151862.DTL> [14 June 2006]; and Lexum, 4 October 1999, Canada-American Treaties, http://www.lexum.umontreal.ca/ca_us/en/cts.1996.35.en.html [14 June 2006].
- ¹³⁸ Inuit were seasonally nomadic, and community size varied according to season and location, making it common for incompatible families to avoid living in camps with one another. Jean Briggs, *Never in Anger: Portrait of an Eskimo Family* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1970); Diubaldo (1992), 6-7; and Jenness (1964), 14.
- ¹³⁹ Before 1999, the Northwest Territories included the region of the Eastern Arctic that is now the Territory of Nunavut. Unless otherwise specified, any reference to the NWT before 1999 includes Nunavut.
- ¹⁴⁰ As the whalers, traders and missionaries all sought to develop relationships with Inuit, they often learned enough of the local language and customs to facilitate these arrangements. While Inuit culture discouraged direct confrontation, disagreements over such things as money, which were culturally unfamiliar to Inuit, were common. Acculturation to Christian morals included learning norms for property ownership; treatment of family members, such as the inappropriateness of abandoning infants and elderly during periods of food shortage; and consequences for socially inappropriate conduct based on Canadian law. Diubaldo (1992), 3-5; Jenness, 15; and William R. Morrison, *Showing the Flag: The Mounted Police and Canadian Sovereignty, 1894-1925* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1985), 85.
- ¹⁴¹ The NWMP became the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) in 1920. Canadian law was applicable to the Northwest Territories beginning in 1870 when the territory was acquired from the HBC. At this time, northern Quebec was part of the NWT. Diubaldo (1992), 3; and Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 23 April 2004, Historic Treaty Information Site, http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/pr/trts/hti/site/mpindex_e.html [24 November 2004].
- ¹⁴² Jenness (1964), 18-20; Diubaldo (1992), 4-5; and Morrison (1985), 72.
- ¹⁴³ The RCMP did not, however, regulate trade relations between Inuit and whalers or the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC), and they did not initially administer any social welfare programs for Inuit. It was illegal to trade or sell liquor to Inuit during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. To assert Canadian sovereignty, RCMP posts were established in the archipelago beginning in 1922 at Pond Inlet on Baffin Island and at Craig Harbour on Ellesmere Island. In 1930, a post was established at the Bache Peninsula. During the first half of the twentieth century, the RCMP were often responsible for distributing emergency relief to Inuit, as they were the only Crown representative stationed in many regions of the Arctic. Where there were no RCMP posts, HBC, missionaries and medical personnel distributed relief. Dickerson, 49, 54; and Morrison (1985), 84-85.
- ¹⁴⁴ This trial was held in Edmonton. Both men were convicted and sentenced to death, which was commuted to life in prison. Diubaldo (1992), 7.
- ¹⁴⁵ In both cases, Inuit claimed to have practiced homicide as a means of community protection. To deal with infanticide, the NWMP initiated the distribution of social welfare assistance to Inuit in 1921 through "baby bounties." These were packages of European consumer goods, including needles, ammunition, kettles, and clothing, intended to discourage infanticide among Inuit. The packages were logistically difficult to deliver, however, and the practice was discontinued in 1926. The 1923 trial was held at Herschel Island as a demonstration of Canadian law for Inuit. Defense and prosecution lawyers, as well as the judge were brought from southern Canada, along with gallows and an executioner. According to Diubaldo, two graves were dug before the judge passed his sentence. Diubaldo (1992), 7-8.
- ¹⁴⁶ In 1905, the Northwest Territories (NWT) included the regions that are currently the territories of Nunavut and the NWT. The Commissioner, who was also the Financial Comptroller for the NWMP, administered the Council from Ottawa. Four civil servants assisted him. The Council was responsible for ensuring Canadian sovereignty in the North, as well as the maintenance of law and order. As the NWMP were the

only representatives of the Canadian Government in the North, they held a variety of responsibilities, including serving as justices of the peace, postmasters, census officers, and occasionally providing health care. Members of the NWMP served on J.E. Bernier's voyages on the Canadian ship Arctic, which patrolled the eastern Arctic coasts and islands between 1905 and 1911, ensuring Canadian sovereignty, and the maintenance of law and order. Bernier's annual tours of the Arctic, which were known as the Eastern Arctic Patrol began again in 1922 and included members of the RCMP. The first commissioner appointed to the NWT Council died in 1920, and was replaced by Deputy Minister of the Department of the Interior. The Deputy Minister of the federal department responsible for northern affairs acted as Commissioner of the NWT Council, until 1963 when a civil servant was appointed to the position full-time. Dickerson, 29; and Jenness (1964), 21-29.

¹⁴⁷ As well as maintaining stationary posts, members of the RCMP were required to patrol large regions of the Arctic to monitor small camps of Inuit. The RCMP mainly visited Inuit camps to register births and deaths, and to record census information. Inuit were first enumerated for the Canadian census in 1911, and much of this work was accomplished by the NWMP, with assistance from the HBC and missionaries. Mitchell, 111-113.

¹⁴⁸ The Northwest Territories Branch of the Department of the Interior was formed to administer natural resource exploitation in the North. Although the Deputy Minister of the Department of the Interior became the Commissioner of the NWT Council, membership of the Council was expanded to include the Assistant Commissioner of the RCMP. Members of the RCMP served on the Eastern Arctic Patrol from its inception in 1922 through to the 1950s, ensuring sovereignty and the maintenance of law and order in the eastern Arctic. In 1964, the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, which administered Inuit affairs, contained seven divisions of its Northern Administration Branch, none of which focused on legal or policing issues. The NWT Council operating budget contained a Police and Justice section in 1965. Dickerson, 64-69; Jenness, 29; and Legislative Assembly of the Northwest Territories, 30 August 2004, Community Profile—Fort Smith, <http://www.assembly.gv.nt.ca/VisitorInfo/NWTMapandHistory/FortSmith.html> [29 November 2004].

¹⁴⁹ The Royal Newfoundland Constabulary (RNC) policed Inuit communities in Labrador from the 1800s to 1935, when the Commission Government instituted the Newfoundland Ranger Force. The Rangers policed remote areas of Newfoundland and Labrador. The Ranger force was dissolved in 1949, when Newfoundland and Labrador entered Confederation and the RCMP took over community policing. The Royal Newfoundland Constabulary, 2004, History, <http://www.gov.nf.ca/rnc/history.htm> [30 November 2004].

¹⁵⁰ Mark Tindall, Constable, Royal Canadian Mounted Police, interview by author, 18 May 2005, Public History, Ottawa.

¹⁵¹ Through the amended *Northwest Territories Act* of 1878, the territorial government is responsible for the daily administration of territorial affairs, but the federal government has the authority to veto any territorial legislation and retains a more active role in administration of the territory than it does with provincial governments. Dickerson, 90-93.

¹⁵² The federal and territorial governments have encouraged Inuit to train as RCMP Officers, as a career and to deter crime by providing role models with Inuit officers policing their own communities. Northern communities, however, continue to experience high incidence of some criminal behaviour, including illegal alcohol and drug use, and family violence. Through programs such as the RCMP Aboriginal Youth Training Program and RCMP First Nations Community Policing Services, Inuit are encouraged to participate in the development and implementation of community policing programs. Royal Canadian Mounted Police, 6 October 2004, RCMP Aboriginal Policing, http://www.rcmp-grc.gc.ca/ccaps/aborig_e.htm [29 November 2004].

¹⁵³ Diubaldo (1992), 6-8.

¹⁵⁴ In the NWT, for example, the crime rate was an average of 3.7 times the crime rate for the rest of Canada each year between 1977 and 1992. The rate of violent crime increased across Canada every year between 1977 and 1992, and within that time doubled, but the NWT, "has accounted for the single highest percentage within the overall Canadian violent crime rates at an average of 29.4 percent of the national violent crime rate." Allan Lloyd Patenaude, "Crime and Criminal Justice in Nunavut: An Exploration in Aboriginal Peoples and Criminal Justice Policy" (Ph.D. diss., Simon Fraser University, 1997), 263-264.

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- ¹⁵⁵ Please see chapters on housing, healthcare, education, and economic development for more comprehensive discussions on issues contributing to the high northern crime rate. Tina Price, Policy Analyst, Policy and Planning Division, Department of Justice, Government of Nunavut, e-mail to author, 12 September 2005; Harold W. Finkler, *The Baffin Correctional Centre, Frobisher Bay, NWT: A Review of Current Programs and Alternatives* (Yellowknife: Department of Health and Social Services, Government of the Northwest Territories, 1981), 32-33, and 63-73; Harold W. Finkler, "Policy Issues in the Delivery of Correctional Services in the Northwest Territories," Paper given to the American Society of Criminology's 34th Annual Meeting, Toronto, November 4-6, 1982a, 4-9, transcript, Northern Social Research Division, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada; Harold W. Finkler, "Violence and the Administration of Criminal Justice in Northern Canada," Paper given to the Conference on Violence, Justice Center, University of Alaska, Anchorage, October 11-13, 1982b, transcript, Northern Social Research Division, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 3.
- ¹⁵⁶ The Royal Newfoundland Constabulary (RNC) policed Inuit communities in Labrador from the 1800s to 1935, when the Commission Government instituted the Newfoundland Ranger Force. The Rangers policed remote areas of Newfoundland and Labrador but were dissolved in 1949 when Newfoundland and Labrador entered Confederation. Since then, the RCMP has been responsible for community policing. The Royal Newfoundland Constabulary, 2004, History, <http://www.gov.nf.ca/rnc/history.htm> [30 November 2004].
- ¹⁵⁷ Quebec was originally part of the Northwest Territories when it was acquired from the Hudson's Bay Company in 1870. The Kativik Regional Police Force is the only primary Inuit police force in Canada. Candidates must be bilingual in French and English to be employed as special constables with the force. Mary Crnkovich, "The Role of the Victim in the Criminal Justice System—Circle Sentencing in Inuit Communities," paper prepared for the Canadian Institute of the Administration of Justice Conference, Banff, Alberta, 11-14 October 1995, transcript, Canadian Association of Sexual Assault Centres, <http://www.casac.ca/> [14 April 2005]; Diubaldo (1992), 3; Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 23 April 2004, Historic Treaty Information Site, http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/pr/trts/hti/site/mpindex_e.html [24 November 2004]; and Kativik Regional Government, 13 June 2003, Kativik Regional Police Force, http://www.krg.ca/eu/public_security/index.html [29 March 2005].
- ¹⁵⁸ Harold W. Finkler, *Inuit and the Administration of Criminal Justice in the Northwest Territories: The Case of Frobisher Bay* (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1975), 1-2.
- ¹⁵⁹ Aboriginal Peoples and the Criminal Justice System," Canadian Criminal Justice Association Bulletin (15 May 2000), Part II, <http://www.ccja-acjp.ca/en/aborit.html> [14 April 2005].
- ¹⁶⁰ Finkler (1981), 25-26.
- ¹⁶¹ In Inuktitut, the Baffin facility was called Ikajurtauvik ("the place to get help"). Finkler (1981), 27.
- ¹⁶² Finkler (1981), 27-28; and Finkler (1982a), 4.
- ¹⁶³ The program involved several phases for the offender, including *natii* ("a person who needs to be taught"), where offenders were instructed in traditional land-based skills; *reetuk* ("someone who has made progress"), where the privileges and responsibilities of offenders were increased; and *oiyuna* ("a person who has had a full life"), which indicated successful completion of the program. Finkler (1981), 28-30, 73, and 80-81.
- Many criminal offences committed in the North during the 1970s involved alcohol and motor vehicles. Many offences against the person occurred among family members, and included various forms of assault. There was also an increase in non-medical drug use in the North. The high incidence of alcohol use in connection with criminal behaviour characterized many offences in the North as disorderly and antisocial, rather than as premeditated crimes. Finkler (1981), 32-33, and 63-73; Finkler (1982a), 4-9; Finkler (1982b), 3.
- ¹⁶⁴ Quebec's 1970 Ittoshat judgment, where a judge refused to hear the case of an Inuk in Montreal because defense witnesses from his community could not be produced, prompted a review of how the Quebec justice system dealt with Inuit. Serge Bouchard and Clotilde Pelletier, "Justice in Question: Evaluation of Projects to Create a Local Judiciary in Povungnituk (Northern Quebec)" (Montreal: Consulting Services in Social Sciences, Development, 1986), 12-59; and Susan G. Drummond, *Incorporating the Familiar: An Investigation into Legal Sensibilities in Nunavik* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), 1-20. The federal government largely administered Nunavik until the 1960s, when the Quebec Government established a presence in the North. Consequently, most Inuit in Nunavik speak Inuktitut, with English as a second language. Recently, as more professionals from southern Quebec are employed in Nunavik,

educating children in French after Grade 2 has become an increasingly popular choice among Inuit parents. Government of Quebec, Secrétariat aux Affaires Autochtones, Inuit, <http://www.autochtones.gouv.qc.ca/index.asp> [14 April 2005]; and "In Nunavik, French is becoming the language of success," Nunatsiaq News, 8 October 1998, <http://www.nunatsiaq.com/archives/html> [14 April 2005].

- ¹⁶⁵ Bouchard and Pelletier, 12-59; and Drummond, 58.
- ¹⁶⁶ Drummond, 3-25. See also: Corinne Jette, "A Survey of the Administration of Justice Respecting the Inuit of Northern Quebec" (Montreal, La Maison Wakesun House, 1990), Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness Canada, 10 April 2002, http://www.psepc-sppcc.gc.ca/publications/abor_corrections/199205_e.asp [14 April 2005].
- ¹⁶⁷ "Needs of Native Young Offenders in Labrador in View of the Young Offenders Act: Final Report" (Ottawa: Research and Statistics Section, Policy, Planning and Development Branch, 1985), i and 12-13.
- ¹⁶⁸ A report by the Canadian Criminal Justice Association using statistics from 1986, states that the suicide rate among Inuit was 54 per 100,000 of the population, compared to 34 per 100,000 for First Nations, and 15 per 100,000 for non-Aboriginal Canadians. "Aboriginal Peoples and the Criminal Justice System," *Canadian Criminal Justice Association Bulletin* (15 May 2000), Part II, <http://www.ccja-acjp.ca/en/aborit.html> [14 April 2005].
- ¹⁶⁹ Harald A. Finkler, "Inuit and the Criminal Justice System: Future Strategies for Socio-Legal Control and Prevention," Paper given to the Inuit Studies Conference, Montreal, 15-18 November 1984, transcript, Office of the Northern Research and Science Advisor, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada.
- A 1994 study by Correctional Service Canada profiled northern Aboriginal offenders through a survey of 64 adult males serving in federal and territorial correctional facilities. Of survey participants, 36 were Inuit and 26 identified Inuktitut as their primary language. Factors identified as contributing to their criminal behaviour included low levels of education, high rates of substance abuse (84% for alcohol and 50% for drugs), poverty (36%), physical and sexual abuse (72%), and neglectful or absentee parents (75%). Among all study participants, 60% had less than a Grade 10 education. Nearly 38% of participants had maintained seasonal rotations between land and community based economic subsistence before being incarcerated, and 4.7% lived on the land year round. Just over one quarter had full time jobs. Joseph C. Johnston, "Northern Aboriginal Offenders in Federal Custody: A Profile," September 1994, Correctional Service of Canada, 31 August 2004, http://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/text/rsrch/reports/r36/r36e_e.shtml [18 January 2005].
- ¹⁷⁰ John Evans, Robert Hann and Joan Nuffield, "Crime and Corrections in the Northwest Territories," Prepared for the Minister of Justice and the Minister of Health and Social Services, Government of the Northwest Territories (Vancouver: Management and Policy International, 1998), 1-4.
- ¹⁷¹ Naomi Giff, "Nunavut Justice Issues: An Annotated Bibliography" (Ottawa: Research and Statistics Division, Department of Justice Canada, 2000), 25-33, and 37-40, <http://canada.justice.gc.ca/en/ps/rs/rep/rr00-7a-e.html> [19 January 2005].
- ¹⁷² Giff, ii and 3-7; and Tindall interview, 18 May 2005.
- ¹⁷³ Mary Crnkovich, Lisa Adario and Linda Archibald, "Inuit Women and the Nunavut Justice System" (Ottawa: Research and Statistics Division, Department of Justice Canada, 2000), <http://canada.justice.gc.ca/en/ps/rs/rep/rr00-8a-e.html> [19 January 2005]; Patricia Hughes and Mary Jane Mossman, "Re- Thinking Access to Criminal Justice in Canada: A Critical Review of Needs, Responses and Restorative Justice Initiatives" (Ottawa: Research and Statistics Division, Department of Justice Canada, 2001), 46, <http://canada.justice.gc.ca/en/ps/rs/rep/rr03-2.pdf> [19 January 2005]; "Summary of the Inuit Women and the Nunavut Justice System Workshop" (Ottawa: Research and Statistics Division, Policy Sector, Department of Justice Canada, 1999), 1-8, <http://canada.justice.gc.ca/en/ps/rs/rep/rr00-9a-e.html> [19 January 2005].

The Nunavut Department of Justice is currently conducting a review of policing programs, and is specifically addressing the issues of domestic violence and the empowerment of women. The Nunavut Department of Justice's current top priorities program and policy development are family violence support programming, non-confrontational spousal abuse programming, violence against women programming, and the victim services fund. Tina Price, Policy Analyst, and Clara Evalik, Director, Policy and Planning Division, Department of Justice, Government of Nunavut, interview by author, 25 May 2005, telephone to Iqaluit, Public History, Ottawa.

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- ¹⁷⁴ Don Clairmont, "Review of the Justice System Issues Relevant to Nunavut," Atlantic Institute of Criminology, Dalhousie University, Halifax (Ottawa: Research and Statistics Division, Policy Sector, Department of Justice Canada, 1999), 11.
- ¹⁷⁵ Clairmont, 11-13; Wills Thomas, Non-Commissioned Officer, Community Policing, Royal Canadian Mounted Police, interview by author, 26 April 2005, digital recording, Government of Canada Building, Iqaluit, Nunavut; and Rosemarie Kuptana, "The Sustainable Development of Canada's North," speech given to the Second National Capital Colloquium on the Governance of Sustainable Development 2004- 2005: Innovations in Governance of Sustainable Development, Centre on Governance, University of Ottawa, 12 April 2005, author's notes.
- ¹⁷⁶ Clairmont, 13-20; John-Patrick Moore, First Nations, Métis, Inuit and Non-Aboriginal Federal Offenders: A Comparative Profile (Ottawa: Research Branch, Correctional Service of Canada, 2003), i-iii, <http://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/text/rsrch/reports/r134/r134-e.pdf> [10 March 2005]; David King, "A Brief Report of The Federal Government of Canada's Residential School System for Inuit," Aboriginal Healing Foundation, 2006, <http://www.ahf.ca/assets/pdf/english/king-summary-f-web.pdf> [14 June 2006]; and Nathalie L. Quann and Kwing Hung, "Profile and Projection of Drug Prosecutions Jurisdiction Report: Northwest Territories" (Ottawa: Research and Statistics Division, Department of Justice Canada, 2000), 2, <http://canada.justice.gc.ca/> [19 January 2005].
- ¹⁷⁷ Clairmont, 13-20. A 2003 study by Correctional Services Canada comparing Métis, First Nations, and Inuit criminal offenders determined that although many members of each group had considerable numbers of prior convictions, the profiles of offenders from each cultural group were significantly different. Many Inuit offenders (85%) are classified as being of high risk to re-offend when they are brought into the criminal justice system, and many commit sexually based crimes (62%). Large numbers of Inuit offenders were identified as requiring assistance to deal with personal and emotional issues (99%), substance abuse (92%), and marital or family problems (73%). Inuit are also over-represented within Canada for drug related offences, and drug possession in particular. This is compared to First Nations, Métis, and non-Aboriginal offenders convicted of sexual offences (22%, 16%, and 17%, respectively). Predicted rates for high risk to re-offend at intake were First Nations (73%), Métis (68%), and non-Aboriginal (57%). Assessed need for overall assistance managing personal issues was identified to be: 89% for Inuit, 78% for First Nations, 73% for Metis, and 62% for non-Aboriginal offenders. Moore, i-iii, <http://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/text/rsrch/reports/r134/r134-e.pdf> [10 March 2005]. Inuit comprise 0.2% of the population but account for 0.4% of drug related offences. In a 2000 report for the Department of Justice Canada, drug offences in the North were predicted to increase for the next five years. Quann and Hung, 2, <http://canada.justice.gc.ca/> [19 January 2005].
- ¹⁷⁸ Price and Evalik interview, 25 May 2005.
- ¹⁷⁹ The Akitsirag Law School was a one-time program, administered jointly by the University of Victoria Faculty of Law, Nunavut Arctic College, and the Akitsirag Law School Society. The program was created to ensure that Inuit were trained as lawyers, a priority identified by the Government of Nunavut. The program was based in Iqaluit, with courses offered at Nunavut Arctic College that were instructed by faculty from the University of Victoria. This was a four-year program that began in 2001. Students completing the program earned a Bachelor of Laws degree. The University of Victoria Faculty of Law, 2003, Akitsirag Law School, <http://www.law.uvic.ca/akits.html> [15 August 2005]; and Greg Younger-Lewis, "Akitsirag Grads Bring Inuit Values to Northern Law," *Nunatsiaq News*, 17 June 2005, http://www.nunatsiaq.com/archives.50617/news/nunavut/50617_05.html [15 August 2005].
- This understanding of *Inuit Qaujimagatuqangit* was obtained from a report prepared by the Nunavut Social Development Council. Jack Anawak, "Report of the Nunavut Traditional Knowledge Conference," (Igloolik: Nunavut Social Development Council, 20-24 March 1998).
- ¹⁸⁰ The program was conducted in two pilot sessions during 2004 but was so successful that it is now offered to all RCMP in the North, as well as to all Government of Nunavut and to all Government of Canada employees in Nunavut. The program is based on assigned historical readings followed by facilitated discussions. Topics covered in the course were determined through advice provided by high profile Inuit, including Peter Irniq and Jose Kusugak. Thomas interview, 26 April 2005.

¹⁸¹ In their interim report, the RCMP state that they plan to release their final investigation report in May 2006. As of 30 June 2006, the report was not available on their website. The report concluded that socioeconomic upheaval and technological change, such as the introduction of the snowmobile, might have been significant factors in the decision of Inuit families to stop using sled dogs for working purposes. The report describes the high level of maintenance required to keep a sled dog team and notes that if a family was experiencing hardship, it may have found it difficult to keep an active dog team. Further, the report documents incidence of several canine epidemics that wiped out dog populations in parts of the Arctic and the RCMP's attempt to assist Inuit families in re-populating their dog teams. There is also evidence that RCMP sometimes inoculated sled dogs against various diseases. Royal Canadian Mounted Police, "Interim Report: RCMP Review of Allegations Concerning Inuit Sled Dogs" (Ottawa: Operational Policy Section, National Contract Policing Branch, Community, Contract and Aboriginal Policing Services, 22 September 2005), http://www.rcmp-grc.gc.ca/ccaps/reports/sled_dog_e.pdf [6 April 2006]; and "Echo of the Last Howl" (Kuujuaq: Makivik Corporation, 2005). See also: Ian Kenneth MacRury, "The Inuit Dog: Its Provenance, Environment and History", (MA thesis, Scott Polar Research Institute, University of Cambridge, 1991; and J. Garth Taylor, "Canicide in Labrador: Function and Meaning of an Inuit Killing Ritual," *Etudes/Inuit/Studies* 17.1(1993): 3-13.

¹⁸² Inuit-specific programs developed by the federal government to treat and rehabilitate Inuit sexual offenders, such as the Tupiq program, seek to reduce the rate of recidivism and increase the number of Inuit sexual offenders successfully reintegrated to their communities. The Tupiq program was developed in 2000, and is an intensive 16-week program administered from the Fenbrook Institution, a federal penitentiary located in Gravenhurst, Ontario. A 2004 report by Correctional Service of Canada reported that among the 34 initial program participants, there appeared to be some success in minimizing the rate of re-offences and in assisting offenders with their community re-integration. The program provides treatment and counseling for abuse issues, as well as substance abuse counseling, and strategies for managing personal and emotional problems. Shelley Trevethan, John-Patrick Moore and Leesie Naqitarvik, "The Tupiq Program for Inuit Sexual Offenders: A Preliminary Investigation" (Ottawa: Research Branch, Correctional Service of Canada, 2004), http://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/text/rsrch/reports/r153/r153_e.shtml [18 January 2005].

The Department of Justice study into services for victims of violence in the northern territories indicates the need for increased training and support of victim-service providers, public awareness campaigns and the creation of service networks, creation of victim-centred programs and trauma recovery programs, and the creation of territorial legislation that provides protection for victims of violent crimes. Mary Beth Levan, "Creating a Framework for the Wisdom of the Community": *Review of Victim Services in Nunavut, Northwest and Yukon Territories* (Ottawa: Department of Justice Canada, 2003): 177-178.

¹⁸³ Patenaude, 263-264. See also: Giff, and Moore.

¹⁸⁴ The Arctic Archipelago is comprised of the islands located north of the Arctic mainland and south of the North Pole. In 1870, the Northwest Territories included what are presently the Yukon, the Northwest Territories, Nunavut, Saskatchewan and Alberta, as well as the northern parts of Quebec, Ontario and Manitoba. Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 23 April 2004, 1870 Canada—Territorial Evolution Map, http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/pr/trts/hti/mps/eng/hc1870trty_e.pdf [24 November 2004].

¹⁸⁵ The United States of America purchased Alaska from Russia in 1867, and within two years evicted Canadians from the Hudson Bay Company (HBC) post, Fort Yukon, that was built in 1846 on the Yukon River in Alaska. This episode is an example of America's nineteenth century interest in protecting its northern territory. In 1870, the HBC ceded all interest in the Yukon Territory and Northwest Territories (NWT) to the Government of Canada, giving the government all responsibility for administration and maintenance of Canadian sovereignty in the North. Morrison (1989), 170-171.

¹⁸⁶ The Order in Council was precipitated by a request for a land grant land in Cumberland Sound by an American navy engineer in 1874. The Order in Council did not specify that Canada had a social responsibility for Inuit welfare. Jenness (1964), 17. Morris Zaslow, *The Northwest Territories, 1905-1980* (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association Historical Booklet, No. 38, 1984), 4-5.

¹⁸⁷ Rob Huebert, "Climate Change and Canadian Sovereignty in the Northwest Passage," *Canadian Journal of Policy Research* 2.4 (Winter 2001: 86-94), 88, <http://www.isuma.ca> [3 March 2005]; J.L. Granatstein, "A Fit of Absence of Mind: Canada's National Interests in the North to 1968," *The Arctic in Question*, E.J. Dosman, ed. (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1976: 13-33), 30; P.A. Lapointe, "International Law and the Arctic," *Policies of Northern Development*, Nils Orvik, ed. (Kingston: Group for International Politics, Department of Political Studies, Queen's University, 1973: 143-151), 144; and Andrea Charron, "The

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Northwest Passage Shipping Channel: Is Canada's Sovereignty Really Floating Away?" paper presented at Canadian Defense and Foreign Affairs Institute 7th Annual Graduate Student Symposium, Royal Military College, 29-30 October 2004, Canadian Defense and Foreign Affairs Institute, <http://cdfai.org/PDF/Charron,%20Andrea-Paper.pdf> [15 April 2005].

Hans Island was claimed by both Denmark and Canada when the boundary between Greenland and Canada was drawn in 1973. The island's sovereignty was never definitively determined. Danish navy ships and government officials have visited Hans Island several times since the boundary line was drawn and planted a Danish flag on the island several years ago. In July 2005, the Canadian Minister of Defence visited Hans Island and left a Canadian flag and an Inukshuk. CTV Television, 25 July 2005, Canada's Arctic Sovereignty Claim Angers Denmark, http://www.ctv.ca/servlet/ArticleNews/story/CTVNews/1122288891895_37/?hub=Canada [1 February 2006]; and MDA Geospatial Services, 30 August 2005, Radarsat in the News: Canada Plans Arctic Eye, <http://www.gs.mdacrporation.com/news> [1 February 2006].

¹⁸⁸ Bernier obtained much public support for his voyage, including that of Lord Strathcona, Governor General Minto, and 113 members of Parliament who signed a petition requesting that the government fund Bernier's expedition. The government also funded Vilhalmur Stefansson's explorations of the western Arctic Archipelago from 1913 to 1918. Jenness, 22; D. Soberman, "Report to the Canadian Human Rights Commission on the Complaints of the Inuit People Relocated from Inukjuak and Pond Inlet, to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay" (Ottawa: Canadian Human Rights Commission, 1991), 55; Zaslow (1971), 263; and Zaslow (1984), 4-5.

¹⁸⁹ The Sverdrup Islands are located west of Axel Heiberg Island. Jenness, 29-30.

¹⁹⁰ The Northwest Mounted Police were renamed the Royal Canadian Mounted Police in 1920. Richard Diubaldo (1992), 3.

¹⁹¹ A Director of the new Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch of the Department of the Interior, O.S. Finnie (a former Gold Commissioner in the Yukon), was appointed, and two members were added to strengthen the Northwest Territories Council, which continued to operate from Ottawa. Finnie served as Branch Director from 1920 to 1931. As director of the Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch, Finnie sought to increase the availability of government services for Inuit. An Eskimo Affairs Unit within the Branch allowed Finnie to administer programs regarding healthcare, education, sanitation, arts and crafts, Inuit needs, and to support church-run schools and hospitals. Officially, the Canadian Government continued to encourage Inuit retention of traditional lifeways. Jenness, 29-30.

¹⁹² For a discussion of these projects, please see the chapter "NORAD and DEW Line Defence." For a more detailed discussion of Canada's Arctic sovereignty concerns, please see Shelagh D. Grant, *Sovereignty or Security? Government Policy in the Canadian North, 1936-1950* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1988).

¹⁹³ Soberman, 55.

¹⁹⁴ Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, *Looking Forward Looking Back, Volume 1* (Ottawa: Canada Communications Group—Publishing, 1996), 455.

¹⁹⁵ Shelagh D. Grant, "Inuit Relocations to the High Arctic, 1953-1960: "Errors Exposed", Vol. I, Submission to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (Peterborough: Trent University, History and Canadian Studies Department, 1993), iv-v; and Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, *Looking Forward, Looking Back*, 455.

¹⁹⁶ Although the government had success with several small-scale relocations, the 1957 relocation of several Inuit families from Ennadai Lake in the Keewatin District north to Henik Lake failed when caribou herds did not appear; after eight people died the remaining Inuit were returned to Ennadai Lake. In 1934, Inuit from Pangnirtung, Cape Dorset and Pond Inlet were relocated to Devon Island for two years as an experiment. The government wanted to determine how difficult it would be for Inuit to adapt to the High Arctic climate. The experiment was unsuccessful, and the Pangnirtung Inuit returned home in 1936. The Cape Dorset and Pond Inlet Inuit were relocated to Arctic Bay then, in 1937, to Fort Ross. In 1947, they were relocated to Spence Bay. Although Inuit repeatedly requested to return to their homes, the government refused. According to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, "the idea that they could return home if they didn't like the new location was key in getting the Inuit to agree to go in the first place. The failure of the government to keep its promises is a stark example of the arbitrary use of authority." Royal

Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, *Looking Forward, Looking Back, Vol. 1* (Ottawa: Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996), 456. Other Arctic relocations included the 1949 relocation of Inuit from Ennadai Lake to Nueltin Lake, the movement of Inuit from Garry Lake to Rankin Inlet ("Keewatin Re-establishment Project" or "Itivia") and Whale Cove in the 1950s, and the 1951 relocation of families from the Mackenzie Delta to Banks Island. Motivation for this move was explicitly to alleviate sovereignty concerns. Labrador Inuit were relocated from Nutak in 1956 and Hebron in 1959 to Okak Bay to centralize their administration and facilitate their transition from an economy based on hunting and fishing to industrial development. Diubaldo (1992), 31-34; Bud Neville, former Indian and Northern Affairs Canada employee, interview by author, 9 November 2004, digital recording, Public History, Ottawa; and Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, *Looking Forward, Looking Back, Vol. 1* (Ottawa: Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996), 422-425, 460-462. For a more detailed discussion of Inuit relocations see Frank James Tester and Peter Kulchyski, *Tammarniit (Mistakes): Inuit Relocation in the Eastern Arctic, 1939-1963* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1994).

¹⁹⁷ The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples uses the term "de facto" in their description of the Canadian Government's comfort level with the security of Arctic sovereignty in the early 1950s. Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, "Shedding New Light on the Relocation: Summary of the Commission's Conclusions," *Report on High Arctic Relocation* (Ottawa: The Commission, 1994: 134-164), 136.

¹⁹⁸ Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC) initially lodged complaints about the relocation with the Canadian Human Rights Commission (CHRC) in 1990. The CHRC referred the matter to the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND), who commissioned the Hickling Corporation to investigate the legitimacy of the claims. Hickling concluded that the government acted properly; in response, ITC appealed to the CHRC. The CHRC arranged for ITC and DIAND to review circumstances of the relocations, leading to the launch of the Royal Commission enquiry. Criticisms of the relocations include concerns that Inuit were not fully prepared to make the adaptations in lifestyle required of them, and consequently experienced food shortages and discomfort. The ITC perceived that Inuit involved in these relocations were part of an "experiment" to see if they could adapt to the climate and live independently through hunting and trapping. This perception explains why little funding or assistance was extended to them in the initial seven years of the project. As Inuit were representing Canadian sovereignty in the High Arctic, the government was reluctant to grant requests for their return to Inukjuak. Grant (1993), iii-iv; and Soberman, 1-3 and 55-57.

In contrast, other researchers have concluded that these relocations were conducted primarily for the economic benefit of Inuit, with sovereignty concerns remaining a side issue and a low priority in the planning and execution of the project. While some have claimed that the government did not keep its promise to return Inuit to their home communities if they wished, others have asserted that these promises were intended for only the first few years of the project and were not extended indefinitely. Therefore, in 1960, the government was not remiss in suggesting that Inuit charter their own plane to visit friends and family in northern Quebec. Hickling Corporation, "Assessment of the Factual Basis of Certain Allegations Made Before the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs Concerning the Relocation of Inukjuak Inuit Families in the 1950s" (Ottawa: Northern Program, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1990), 1-7. See also: Shelagh D. Grant, "A Case of Compounded Error: The Inuit Resettlement Project, 1953, and the Government Response, 1990," *Northern Perspectives* 19.1 (Spring 1991): 3-29; M. Gunther, *The 1953 Relocations of the Inukjuak Inuit to the High Arctic: A Documentary Analysis and Evaluation* (Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1992); Marc M. Hammond, *Report on Findings on an Alleged Promise of Government to Finance the Return of Inuit at Resolute and Grise Fiord to their Original Homes at Port Harrison (Inukjuak) and Pond Inlet* (Ottawa: Department of Indians and Northern Affairs Canada, 1994); Alan R. Marcus, *Inuit Relocation Policies in Canada and Other Circumpolar Countries, 1925-1960* (Ottawa: Report for the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1995); Alan Rudolph Marcus, *Relocating Eden: The Image and Politics of Inuit Exile in the Canadian Arctic* (Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 1995); and Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, *The High Arctic Relocation: Summary of Supporting Information, Vols. I and II* (Ottawa: Canada Communication Group—Publishing, 1994).

¹⁹⁹ Rosemarie Kuptana, "Ilira: Or Why it is Unthinkable for Inuit to Challenge Qallunaat Authority," paper presented to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 5 April 1993, Ottawa.

²⁰⁰ Kuptana (1993).

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- ²⁰¹ Despite contradiction by former civil servants' testimony, and their caution that the actions of 1953 should not be viewed through the moral lens of 1993, the Commission concluded that relocations were a product of the government's desire to ensure Inuit self-reliance. Although food shortages were not as much of a problem in Inukjuak in the early 1950s, the government was concerned about dropping fox fur prices and the ability of Inuit to compensate for this loss of income on their own. To prevent rising welfare costs to the government, they designed the relocation project to ensure Inuit independence. According to the Commission, this conclusion explains why relocated Inuit were not provided with financial and material support. Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. "Commission Releases Report on High Arctic Relocation," Press Release (Ottawa: The Commission, 1994), 1-2.
- ²⁰² During the 1980s, several Inuit requested to be permanently returned to Inukjuak and Pond Inlet from Grise Fiord and Resolute. The Canadian Government funded the relocation, and offered to refund Inuit who had paid for their own relocation several years earlier. Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, press release, 3.
- ²⁰³ Government-sponsored relocations helped to create centralized communities in the Keewatin region more than anywhere else in the North, yet these communities also reflect Inuit agency in their selection of where to settle. David Damas, *Arctic Migrants/Arctic Villagers: The Transformation of Inuit Settlement in the Central Arctic* (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002), 192-193; Nixon (1983), 90-149; Duffy, 16-17; and Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2005, Backgrounder on Inuit and Housing for Discussion at Housing Sectoral Meeting, <http://www.itk.ca/roundtable/sectoral-housing-backgrounder.php> [6 July 2005].
- ²⁰⁴ The transfer of the Government of the Northwest Territories from Ottawa to Yellowknife in 1967 meant increasing numbers of federal and territorial administrators in the North, and consequently HBC personnel were no longer employed as representatives of the federal government. Cook (1982), 19-24; and Dickerson, 87.
- ²⁰⁵ In 1958, the Eskimo Affairs Committee made recommendations to guide all future Inuit relocations and recommended surveys of several priority regions to determine the future feasibility of relocations. These regions included Keewatin, the east coast of Hudson Bay, the Tuktoyaktuk-Coppermine region, and the north part of Baffin Island. Based on the discovery of mineral and oil deposits in the High Arctic during the 1960s, the federal government created further recommendations for Inuit relocations, suggesting Inuit be housed near weather stations in otherwise uninhabited areas, thereby maintaining Canadian sovereignty of the North and its resource extraction potential. *Looking Forward, Looking Back: Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, Volume 1* (Ottawa: Canada Communication Group – Publishing, 1996), 422-430, 465-466, and 511-512.
- ²⁰⁶ Throughout the 1970s, however, the federal government continued to make decisions about the feasibility of northern communities, which affected their location and survival. Although Inuit at Killiniq in Nunavik were represented in the 1975 James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement, between 1975 and 1978 government services to their community, including healthcare and infrastructure maintenance, were gradually reduced or terminated. In February 1978, Inuit at Killiniq were notified by radio that their community would be closed, and that they would be relocated within the same day. The Killiniq Inuit, who were distributed among five Nunavik communities, have since petitioned for the establishment of a community near the original Killiniq site. Makivik Corporation, with the assistance of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, has conducted feasibility studies for this relocation. Although the studies concluded that a community near the original Killiniq site was economically viable, no action has been taken to construct the necessary community infrastructure. *Looking Forward, Looking Back*, 422-430; 465-466; and 511-512; and *The Relocation to Taqpangajuk: a Feasibility Study* (Quebec: Makivik Corporation, 1987), i-v.
- ²⁰⁷ Gordon W. Smith, "Ice Islands in Arctic Waters" (Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1980), 12. See also: Gordon W. Smith, *Canada's Arctic Archipelago: 100 Years of Canadian Jurisdiction* (Ottawa: Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1980).
- ²⁰⁸ E.J. Dosman, "The Northern Sovereignty Crisis, 1968-1970," *The Arctic in Question*, E.J. Dosman, ed. (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1976: 34-57), 34-39.
- ²⁰⁹ Dosman, 44.
- ²¹⁰ Dosman, 44 and 194.
- ²¹¹ Dosman, 194.

- ²¹² Several countries, although not the United States, had already adopted the twelve-mile rule for territorial sea protection. Dosman, 52. See also: Gordon W. Smith, "Ice Islands".
- ²¹³ During the 1970s, Canada was part of international discussions designed to establish legislation requiring foreign nationals to take responsibility for marine pollution caused by their activities in waters administered by other countries or in international waters. These included the 1973 Marine Pollution Conference, the annual Law of the Sea conferences, and the Seabed Committee of the United Nations. Issues of discussion at these meetings included regulations for the exploitation of seabed resources in international waters, extent of the territorial sea, fishery issues, and research and preservation issues. Lapointe, 145-151.
- ²¹⁴ Donat Pharand, *Canada's Arctic Waters in International Law* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 144-145.
- ²¹⁵ Donat Pharand, "Canada's Jurisdiction in the Arctic," *A Century of Canada's Arctic Islands, 1880-1980*, Morris Zaslow, ed. (Ottawa: The Royal Society of Canada, 1981: 111-130), 117-121; and Pharand (1998), 144-145.
- ²¹⁶ Pharand (1998), xiv-xv.
- ²¹⁷ Pharand (1998), 28.
- ²¹⁸ Despite statements that its objections to American experiments for shipping gas through the Northwest Passage were at least partially environmentally-based, the Canadian Government developed the Arctic Pilot Project in the early 1970s, which was a proposal to ship natural gas from Melville Island east through the Northwest Passage to the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Two ships, with superior ice breaking capabilities, minimal fuel usage, and few maintenance requirements were intended to make 16 trips per year each through the Northwest Passage. This proposal was not approved because of concerns about sufficient market demand. Additionally, Inuit political organizations, including Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK), objected to the negative environmental implications of the project. The Berger Commission, which put a moratorium on the construction of a pipeline through the Mackenzie Valley in 1974, further decreased enthusiasm for the Arctic Pilot Project. Although the federal government promoted the project throughout the late 1970s and early 1980s, the National Energy Board hearing into the proposal was cancelled in 1982 when the proposal failed to meet the Board's early scrutiny. Nils Orvik, *Northern Development, Northern Security*, Northern Studies Series Vol. 1/83 (Kingston: Centre for International Relations, Queen's University, 1983), 30-34; Nils Orvik, *Canada's Northern Security: The Eastern Dimension*, National Security Series No. 2/82 (Kingston: Centre for International Relations, Queen's University, 1982), 60; and Pharand (1998), xiii and 111.
- ²¹⁹ Huebert, 90-91.
- ²²⁰ Donald S. Macdonald, *White Paper on Defence—"Defence in the '70s"* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 1971), 10. Library and Archives Canada, RG 24, Acc. No. 1997-98/050, Box 3, File: "La Defense Dans Les Anees '70."
- ²²¹ Ian Wahn, "Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence of the Standing Committee on External Affairs and National Defence Respecting the White Paper Entitled 'Defence in the '70s'" (Issue No. 3, 3 March 1972), 22-23. Library and Archives Canada, RG 24, Acc. No. 1997-98/050, Box 3, File "Standing Committee on External Affairs and National Defence."
- ²²² R.H. Falls, "Security in the North," *Policies of Northern Development*, Nils Orvik, ed. (Kingston: Group for International Politics, Department of Political Studies, Queen's University, 1973: 136-142), 142.
- ²²³ This clause may put Canada in a better position to negotiate sovereignty of the Northwest Passage without American concern for the effects of such an agreement on the sovereignty of American waterways. The International Maritime Organization sets international standards for sea transportation. Interestingly, Canada has not ratified the Convention to which it contributed this clause. Huebert, 91; and Ann MacInnis, "Arctic Underwater Surveillance," *NIOBE Papers: The Canadian Navy in Peace and War in the 1990s*, Volume 3 (Ottawa: The Naval Officers' Association of Canada, 1991: 17-39), 33.

During the early 1990s, Canada installed experimental sonar grids on the ocean floor at the east end of the Northwest Passage as listening devices to monitor submarine traffic in the Davis Strait and Baffin Bay. These sonar grids served similar functions to the DEW Line sites, which monitored incoming air traffic across the North. The grids were vulnerable to ice damage and extreme Arctic temperatures, poor acoustics caused by water movement and surface transportation noise, and submarines equipped to detect and elude such surveillance technology. Unless sonar grids were used in conjunction with ice-capable,

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nuclear-powered submarines, they were not able to confirm reports of submarine traffic or to intercept and confront foreign vessels. As Canada lacked the submarines to compliment the sonar grids, this technology will not be implemented or fully operational until Canada develops a joint agreement with the United States, whereby their nuclear-powered submarines could be used to confirm potential Canadian sonar grid data. MacInnis, 17-33.

²²⁴ National Defence, 23 December 2002, 1994 White Paper on Defence, Chapter 4, http://www.forces.gc.ca/admpol/eng/doc/5116_e.htm [3 March 2005].

²²⁵ National Defence, 23 December 2002, 1994 White Paper on Defence, Chapter 4, http://www.forces.gc.ca/admpol/eng/doc/5116_e.htm [3 March 2005].

²²⁶ National Defence, 23 December 2002, 1994 White Paper on Defence, Chapter 4, http://www.forces.gc.ca/admpol/eng/doc/5116_e.htm [3 March 2005].

Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC) has awarded contracts for DEW Line site remediation to Inuit-owned firms. National Defence, 12 May 2005, DEW Line Clean-Up in Nunavut Continues, http://www.forces.gc.ca/site/Feature_Story/2004/jun04/23_f_e.asp [11 August 2005]; National Defence, 31 August 2001, Background: The Distant Early Warning Line Clean Up Project, http://www.forces.gc.ca/site/newsroom/view_news_e.asp?id=205 [11 August 2005]; Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 6 July 2005, Inuit Firms Secure Three Contaminated Sites Contracts, http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/nr/prs/m-a2005/2-02688_e.html [11 August 2005]; and Rosemarie Kuptana, former President of Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami and the Inuit Circumpolar Conference, interview by author, 20 April 2005, digital recording, Public History, Ottawa.

²²⁷ Programs such as the Canadian-American Space-Based Radar, Air Defence Initiative, and Strategic Defence Initiative may become increasingly significant to Canada if their claim to sovereignty of the Arctic Archipelago waters is not successful. David Cox, "Ballistic Missile Defences, Cruise Missiles, Air Defences," *Arctic Alternatives: Civility or Militarism in the Circumpolar North*, Canadian Papers in Peace Studies, No. 3., Franklyn Griffiths, ed. (Toronto: Science for Peace/Samuel Stevens, 1992: 237-250), 247-249; and National Defence, 22 April 2003, 1 Canadian Ranger Patrol Group, <http://www.cfna.forces.gc.ca/> [14 July 2005]; and National Defence, 23 December 2002, 1994 White Paper on Defence, Chapter 4, <http://www.cfna.forces.gc.ca/> [3 March 2005].

Northern Rangers are paid to attend initial and annual training courses and for any National Defence operations in which they participate. National Defence, 1 May 2003, Ranger FAQs, http://www.cfna.forces.gc.ca/units/rangers/crpg_faqs_e.sap [14 July 2005].

²²⁸ Inuit Circumpolar Conference, 30 November 2004, Climate Change in the Arctic: Bringing Inuit Perspectives to Global Attention, <http://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/index.php?ID=266&Lang=En>.

²²⁹ Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2005, Canada Aboriginal Peoples Roundtable: Jose Kusugak's Speaking Notes, <http://www.itk.ca/roundtable/roundtable-kusugak-notes.php> [11 August 2005]; Inuit Circumpolar Conference, 30 November 2004, Climate Change in the Arctic: Bringing Inuit Perspectives to Global Attention, <http://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/index.php?ID=266&Lang=En> [3 March 2005]; *Sila Alangotok: Inuit Observations on Climate Change* (Ottawa: International Institute for Sustainable Development, VHS video, 2001; Kuptana interview, 20 April 2005; and Sheila Watt-Cloutier, International Chair, Inuit Circumpolar Conference, interview by author, 26 April 2005, digital recording, Aeroplex Building, Iqaluit, Nunavut.

²³⁰ Calgary Working Group, *A Report and Recommendations for Canadian Foreign Policy in the Circumpolar Arctic* (Calgary: Canadian Centre for Foreign Policy Development, 1998); and Huebert, 86.

²³¹ Huebert, 88-90; and G.R. Weller, *Canada as Circumpolar Power* (Thunder Bay: Lakehead Centre for Northern Studies Research report #10, 1989), 1-3.

²³² Huebert, 91-92.

²³³ Huebert, 93; and Aqqaluk Lynge, "Inuit Culture and International Policy," *Arctic Alternatives: Civility or Militarism in the Circumpolar North*, Canadian Papers in Peace Studies, No. 3., Franklyn Griffiths, ed. (Toronto: Science for Peace/Samuel Stevens, 1992: 94-99).

²³⁴ Huebert, 91-92; and MacInnis, 33.

²³⁵ Inuit Circumpolar Conference, 30 November 2004, ADM Forum on Globalization, Identity and Citizenship, http://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/flash_player_icc_select.php [3 March 2005].

- ²³⁶ An example of these initiatives is the Arctic Climate Impact Assessment, which is a project sponsored by the Arctic Council, an international lobby organization. The project seeks to study the social, economic, environmental, health, and cultural impacts of climate change. This is a significant undertaking, as many reports on climate change have not addressed the cultural effects, which are fundamental to the traditional Inuit way of life. In this capacity, the Arctic Council provides an important forum in which Inuit can combine scientific and traditional knowledge to contribute a more holistic understanding to a complex global issue. Inuit Circumpolar Conference, 30 November 2004, *Climate Change in the Arctic: Bringing Inuit Perspectives to Global Attention*, <http://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/index.php?ID=266&Lang=En> [3 March 2005].
- ²³⁷ *The Northern Dimension of Canada's Foreign Policy* (Ottawa: Communication Bureau, Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, 2000), 1.
- ²³⁸ *The Northern Dimension of Canada's Foreign Policy*, 2-9; Charron, 1-2 and 17-18; and *Toward a Northern Foreign Policy for Canada: A Consultation Paper* (Ottawa: Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, 1998), 11-12.
- ²³⁹ For example, if a female infant was named after her maternal grandfather, the infant's mother could address her child by name, or as "daughter" or "father." This practice was considered appropriate, since many Inuit believed that namesakes often took on their name-givers personality traits. Given the small sizes of most communities, family genealogies would be well known and such multiple forms of address for each person would not cause confusion among Inuit. Birket-Smith, 138 and 153-163.
- ²⁴⁰ For example, the suffixes "apik" (younger) and "ajuk" (elder) indicate the position of an individual relative to another community member with the same name. Names would change throughout a person's life, as suffixes would be added or taken away to reflect a person's relative status within the community. A. Barry Roberts, *Eskimo Identification and Disk Numbers: A Brief History* (Ottawa: Social Development Division, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, 1975), 1.
- ²⁴¹ For example, Elizabeth became Elisapi and Adam was Atami. Inuit did not use some English language sounds, like "r", therefore names like "Mary" became "Imellie." Valerie Alia, *Names, Numbers and Northern Policy* (Halifax: Fernwood Publishing, 1994), 25-28; and Roberts, 2.
- ²⁴² The North West Mounted Police became the Royal Canadian Mounted Police in 1920. Diubaldo (1992), 3; and Derek G. Smith, "The Emergence of "Eskimo Status": An Examination of the Eskimo Disk List System and its Social Consequences, 1925-1970," *Anthropology, Public Policy and Native Peoples in Canada*, Noel Dyck and James B. Waldram, eds. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993: 41-74), 52.
- ²⁴³ Roberts, 10.
- ²⁴⁴ Roberts, 4-7; and Smith, 50.
- ²⁴⁵ *Identification and Registration of Indian and Inuit People* (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1993), 23; and Roberts, 12-15.
- ²⁴⁶ Roberts, 11-24; and Smith, 54-55.
- ²⁴⁷ Classifying people as 'Eskimo' for the purpose of family allowance payments was significant. For Inuit, these payments were issued as lists of goods obtainable from HBC or RCMP posts, rather than as cash, as they were for most Canadians. Roberts, 24-25; and Smith, 57-58.
- ²⁴⁸ Although the disks issued in 1941 and 1945 were inscribed "Eskimo Registration Certificate," according to Department of Mines and Resources correspondence from 1945, they were not intended to be worn by Inuit once the unique identifying numbers stamped on the disks were memorized. As Smith states, it is significant that disks were not intended to be worn because it emphasizes the use of E-numbers for administrative purposes rather than as status markers. For the purposes of issuing E-numbers in 1945, an *Eskimo* was described as "a person who is listed as an Eskimo on the roll of records, and to whom an identification disk has been issued by the Bureau of the Northwest Territories and Yukon Affairs of the Department of Mines and Resources." A nomad was described as "a person of mixed Indian or Eskimo blood, residing in the Northwest Territories or the Yukon Territory, who is neither Eskimo nor Indian, but who follows the Indian or Eskimo mode of living." Although the disks were initially intended to facilitate government administration of Inuit, they became indicators of Inuit status. In the alphanumeric system introduced in 1945, E8-1221 would indicate a number for someone living in northeastern Quebec. Roberts, 24-25; and Smith, 56-58.

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- ²⁴⁹ Roberts, 26.
- ²⁵⁰ Shared given and family names for individuals within communities are a common situation throughout Canada. Therefore, some consider E-number registration as an ethnocentric system imposed on Inuit by administrators who were not willing to learn Inuit names or to understand the subtleties of Inuit naming practices. The disk system has even been criticized for fostering “structured inequalities in Canada, which helped to create a stigmatized ethnic underclass of Northern persons.” Although numeric systems of registration, such as social insurance numbers, are used by government to identify Canadians, they are used in conjunction with given and surnames, not as a replacement. There is some evidence of Inuit resistance to the use of E-numbers, particularly during the 1960s among younger generations of Inuit. Alia, 51-55; Roberts, 27; and Smith, 41 and 57.
- ²⁵¹ Abraham Okpik, a bilingual Inuk, was appointed by the NWT Government to survey every member of every community in the NWT, and to record the first and second names that they chose for themselves. *Identification and Registration of Indian and Inuit People* (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1993), iv; and Roberts, 26-31.
- ²⁵² Canada, *Health in Canada's North: Brief for the Royal Commission on Health Services* (Ottawa: Northern Health Service, Department of National Health and Welfare, 1962), 2; Chartrand, 241; and Dickerson, 87.
- ²⁵³ The Baffin Regional Council should not be confused with the Baffin Regional Inuit Association (BRIA) (now known as the Qikiqtani Inuit Association (QIA)). The BRIA was established in 1975 to work with ITK as a regional association. The BRIA was also a member of the BRC. The BRIA dissolved and was reformed as QIA in 1996, to work with Nunavut Tungavik Incorporated in administering local issues associated with the Nunavut Land Claim Agreement. The BRC stopped meeting in 1993. The same year, NTI was created to administer the terms of the Nunavut Land Claim Agreement, and the Baffin region no longer required special representation in the Government of the Northwest Territories. Duffy, 243-246; Qikiqtani Inuit Association, About QIA, <http://www.qikiqtani.nu.ca/english/about-background.html> [8 February 2005]; “The Native Association's of Canada's Inuit” *Inuttituut* (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, May 1976), 12; Kuptana interview, 20 April 2005; and White, 18-21.
- ²⁵⁴ D.A. Davidson, 116-117; and Hamelin, 4.
- Although prominent members of Inuit organizations were interviewed during the research for this report, the report concerns the history of Inuit political organizations and not the leaders themselves.
- Before 1999, the Northwest Territories included the region of the Eastern Arctic that is now the Territory of Nunavut. Unless otherwise specified, any reference to the NWT before 1999 includes Nunavut.
- ²⁵⁵ Backhouse, 30; McGrath, 1; and McPherson, 51.
- ²⁵⁶ McPherson, 57-60.
- ²⁵⁷ A 1951 amendment to the *Indian Act* states that, “a reference in this Act to an Indian does not include any person of the race of aborigines commonly referred to as Eskimos.” Although this amendment specifically excluded Inuit from sharing the status of First Nations, Inuit affairs continued to be administered federally and were included in some funding and programs administered by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, which would have been lost under the *White Paper*. In 1966, the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development was created. Despite their administration within one department, the differential status of First Nations and Inuit continued. In 1950, for example, Inuit gained the right to vote in federal elections, yet First Nations were not extended this same right until 1960. Within the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Inuit and First Nations were administered separately. Northern Development included areas such as the Northern Administration Branch, the Advisory Committee on Northern Development, and the Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre. Cook (1982), 19-20; Dickerson, 70 and 100; Diubaldo (1992), 10; Finland, 143; Maura Hanrahan, “The Lasting Breach: The Omission of Aboriginal People from the Terms of Union Between Newfoundland and Canada and its Ongoing Impacts” (Royal Commission on Renewing and Strengthening out Place in Canada, 2003), 267, <http://www.gov.nf.ca/> [17 January 2005]; Hawley, 8; Hochstein, 9; Morehouse, 4; and *Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, Looking Forward, Looking Back, Vol. 1* (Ottawa: Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996), 300 and 319.

- Newhouse and Belanger, 2-3, Institute of Intergovernmental Relations, School of Policy Studies, Queen's University, 2005, Literature Reviews, <http://www.queensu.ca/iigr/> [17 January 2005]; Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, The Origin of ITC: Transcript of ITC's First Meeting, <http://www.tapirisat.ca/corporate/~history-origin-transcript-first-meeting.php> [16 May 2005]; Usher, 21; and Hamelin, 14.
- ²⁵⁸ In 1973, the IEA renamed itself the Canadian Association in Support of Native Peoples (CASNP) and focused its objectives in the support Aboriginal organizations. By 1978, with the founding of Aboriginal organizations nationwide, CASNP dissolved. McPherson, 60-61; "The Native Associations of Canada's Inuit," 3; "Timelines and Milestones: 30 Years With ITC," *Inuktitut: Special Edition of Inuit Today* (Ottawa: Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, 2001), 26; and Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, The Origin of ITC, <http://www.itk.ca/index.html?q=/corporate/history-origin-transcript-first-meeting.php> [16 May 2005].
- ²⁵⁹ Initially, COPE sought to represent all Aboriginal peoples in the Arctic. McPherson, 60-61; and Usher, 29.
- ²⁶⁰ *Coppermine Conference of Arctic Native People*. July 14 to 18, 1970 (Edmonton: Indian Eskimo Association, [1970?]), Introduction.
- ²⁶¹ Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2004, The Origin of ITC, <http://www.itk.ca/corporate/jhistory-origin.php> [27 January 2005]; McGoldrick interview, 10 February 2005; Watt interview, 19 May 2005; Irniq interview, 27 April 2005; and Tagak Curley, MLA Rankin Inlet North, interview by author 27 April 2005, digital recording, Government of Nunavut Legislature, Iqaluit, Nunavut.
- ²⁶² McPherson, 64; Morehouse, 12; and Don Whiteside, *Historical Development of Aboriginal Political Associations in Canada: A Documentation* (Ottawa: National Indian Brotherhood, 1973), 7.
- ²⁶³ In Inuktitut, the language of Inuit, Tapirisat means "to come together." Tapiriit, however, means "has come together." ITC was renamed Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami thirty years after it was established to indicate that it had successfully brought Inuit together. Braidek interview, 2 February 2005; Kusugak, 6; and "Timelines and Milestones: 30 Years With ITC," *Inuktitut: Special Edition of Inuit Today* (Ottawa: Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, 2001), 43.
- ²⁶⁴ Hamelin, 11.
- ²⁶⁵ The Department of the Secretary of State, which is now Heritage Canada, funded this program. The government thought that, "viable, adequately funded associations have the capacity to develop program and project proposals according to the agenda and the degree of interest of the Native people themselves" (4). David Newhouse, Kevin Fitzgerald, Yale Belanger, "Creating a Seat at the Table: Aboriginal Programming at Canadian Heritage, A Retrospective Study for Canadian Heritage" (Peterborough: Department of Native Studies, Trent University, 31 January 2005), 2-5.
- ²⁶⁶ Some Aboriginal groups were concerned about their ability to act autonomously and to effectively lobby the federal government if the government funded their operations. Dickerson, 101; and Hochstein, 9.
- ²⁶⁷ These land claim settlements were formalized through provincial or territorial and federal legislation as follows: the *James Bay and Northern Quebec Native Claims Settlement Act* (1977), the *Western Arctic (Inuvialuit) Claims Settlement Act* (1984), and the *Nunavut Land Claims Agreement Act* (1993). The Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement was signed on 22 January 2005 and given Royal Assent in June 2005. An Agreement-in-Principle for the Nunavik Inuit Marine Region was negotiated in 2002. Please see the chapter of Inuit Comprehensive Land Claims for more information on this agreement. Agreements, Treaties and Negotiated Settlements Project, June 2004, <http://www.atns.net.au> and use "Search the Database" with search terms "Nunavik", "Inuvialuit", and "Nunavut" [15 February 2005]; Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, "Backgrounder on Economic Opportunities for Discussion at the Economic Opportunities Sectoral Meeting" (Ottawa: Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 15 November 2004), 2, <http://www.itk.ca/roundtable/sectoral-ec-dev.php> [6 April 2006]; and Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 24 June 2005, "Labrador Inuit Land Claims Act Receives Royal Assent," http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/nr/prs/m-a2005/2-02684_e.html [11 July 2005]. Appendix D summarizes key terms of the four Inuit comprehensive land claims.

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- ²⁶⁸ Please see Appendix C for an explanation of the current structure for Inuit political organizations in Canada. The chapter “Inuit Self-Government and Devolution of Federal Powers” discusses the development of regional Inuit governments and proposals for Inuit self-government. The Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement was finalized in January 2005, but the Labrador Inuit Association will continue to exist once the Nunatsiavut Government is established. Debbie Michelin, Senior Policy Advisor, Intergovernmental Relations Directorate, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Gatineau, interview by author, 14 February 2005, digital recording, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Gatineau; and William Anderson III, President, Labrador Inuit Association, interview by author, 14 March 2005, telephone to Nain, Labrador, from Public History, Ottawa.
- ²⁶⁹ Aboriginal peoples in Alaska successfully delayed oil development in order to negotiate a land claim settlement, motivating the establishment of COPE after oil was discovered at Atkinson Point in January 1970. Hamelin, 12; and Usher, 20.
- ²⁷⁰ “Political Development in Nunavut,” (Ottawa: Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, 1979), 5.
- ²⁷¹ Usher (1973), 14-20.
- ²⁷² Usher (1973), 9-10.
- ²⁷³ Initially, it was an obstacle for political organizations to operate within a structure recognized by the Canadian Government that was also sensitive to Aboriginal peoples’ cultural rules of social conduct. For Inuit, making decisions on behalf of groups and taking leadership roles were unfamiliar positions. COPE required members to have Aboriginal ancestry, at least four generations previously, and to have been resident in the NWT. To ensure access to funding, in 1972 COPE became a regional associate of ITK. Davidson, 123; Hochstein, 9; “The Native Associations of Canada’s Inuit,” 9; and Usher (1973), 38.
- ²⁷⁴ COPE assisted the community of Sachs Harbour when the Canadian Government, against Aboriginal peoples’ wishes, supported oil exploration companies. Community members stopped exploration by oil companies at Cape Bathurst for nearly a year in 1972 with the assistance of COPE. In 1970, COPE established a Northern Games Association as a centennial project. Usher (1973), 32.
- ²⁷⁵ Usher, 32. ITK’s first meeting was held in Toronto, in February 1971. The founding conference was held in Ottawa, in August 1971. Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, ITC Founding Conference: August 1971, <http://www.itk.ca/corporate/history-founding-conference.php> [16 May 2005]; Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, The Origin of ITK, <http://www.tapirisat.ca/corporate/history-origin-transcript-first-meeting.php> [16 May 2005]; and “The Native Associations of Canada’s Inuit,” 3.
- ²⁷⁶ “Speaking for the First Citizens of the Canadian Arctic” (Ottawa: Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, 1977), 1; and William Tagoona, “Inuit Tapirisat of Canada,” *Innutituut* (Autumn 1972: 31-35), 31-32.
- ²⁷⁷ William Tagoona, “I.T.C. Conference in Pangnirtung,” *Innutitut* (Autumn 1972: 5-6), 5-6.
- ²⁷⁸ Since 1970, ITK has received federal funding for its core and regional operations. Two of ITK’s regional associates, the Qikiqtani Inuit Association and the Kivalliq Inuit Association, supported ITK’s objectives for environmental sustainability by monitoring resource development projects, like the Nanisivik Mines near Arctic Bay and the Polar Gas pipeline impact study, which proposed to bring gas from the Arctic Archipelago south through the Keewatin District. Braidek interview, 2 February 2005; “The Native Associations of Canada’s Inuit,” 4-8; and McPherson, 70.
- ²⁷⁹ “Speaking for the First Citizens of the Canadian Arctic” (1977), 4-6.
- ²⁸⁰ Braidek interview, 2 February 2005; Kusugak interview, 6 April 2005; “The Case for Inuit Specific: Renewing the Relationship Between the Inuit and Government of Canada,” <http://www.itk.ca/publications/> [4 January 2005]; and McGoldrick, Makivik interview, 10 February 2005.
- ²⁸¹ Braidek interview, 2 February 2005; and Pauktuutit, 2004, About Us, http://206.191.37.17/about_e.asp [28 January 2004].
- ²⁸² Braidek interview, 2 February 2005; and Pauktuutit, 2004, About Us, http://206.191.37.17/about_e.asp [28 January 2004].
- ²⁸³ Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 21 January 2005, Inuit Youth of Canada, <http://www.tapirisat.ca/inuit-youth/>
- ²⁸⁴ Inuit Circumpolar Conference, 3 November 2003, ICC’s Beginning, ICC (Canada) Overview, Inuit Circumpolar Conference (ICC), <http://www.inuitcircumpolar.com> [1 February 2005]; Inuit Circumpolar Conference, 3 November 2003, Inuit Circumpolar Conference Organizational Structure, and ICC (Canada)

Aims and Objectives, <http://www.inuit.circumpolar.com> [1 February 2005]; Watt-Cloutier interview, 26 April 2005; and Wayne Lord, Director, Aboriginal and Circumpolar Affairs, Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, interview by author, 8 June 2005, Lester B. Pearson Building, Ottawa.

²⁸⁵ Inuit Circumpolar Conference, 3 November 2003, ICC's Beginning, ICC (Canada) Overview, Inuit Circumpolar Conference (ICC), http://www.inuit.circumpolar.com/flash_player_icc_select.php [1 February 2005]; Inuit Circumpolar Conference, 3 November 2003, Inuit Circumpolar Conference Organizational Structure, and ICC (Canada) Aims and Objectives, <http://www.inuit.circumpolar.com> [1 February 2005]; and Watt-Cloutier interview, 26 April 2005.

²⁸⁶ The region of Nunavik is also known as the Ungava Peninsula and as Nouveau (New) Quebec. According to former Makivik President, Zebedee Nungak, the Quebec and federal governments did not negotiate with Inuit regarding the provision of services for Nunavik communities. Inuit expressed their preference to retain services provided by the federal government and their opportunities for employment in the federal civil service, rather than to become more fully part of the provincial government system, which they worried would require them to speak French to obtain employment. Mitchell, 208; F.J. Neville and B. Robitaille, "Report of the Federal-Provincial Team of Officials Directed to Visit the Communities of Nouveau Quebec" (Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, February to March 1970 Watt interview, 19 May 2005; and Zebedee Nungak, "Quebecer?? Canadian? ...Inuk!" *On the Land: Confronting the Challenges to Aboriginal Self-Determination in Northern Quebec and Labrador*, Bruce W. Hodgins, Kerry A. Cannon, eds. (Toronto: Betelgeuse Books, 1995), 21-22.

²⁸⁷ Mitchell, 197.

²⁸⁸ The FCNQ intended that Inuit experienced in co-operative business management would become managers in other areas of the economy, and later leaders in the territory, and the education and political system. The federal government, however, often bypassed the FCNQ in its reliance on the regional Inuit councils to represent Inuit politically. Mitchell, 212.

²⁸⁹ Similarly, the FCNQ complained to Quebec when the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs allowed the newly created Inuit Tapirisat of Canada to determine what regional Inuit organizations would receive federal funding. Quebec and the federal government were not willing to negotiate the creation of a regional government in Nunavik, and Inuit in Nunavik were not interested in joining the Indian Association of Quebec. Assisting Inuit in the creation of their own representative organization provided a vehicle for their self-representation provincially and nationally. Many of the initial leaders of the NQIA were employed in the civil service. Mitchell, 215; Watt interview, 19 May 2005; and McGoldrick interview, 10 February 2005.

²⁹⁰ Agreements, Treaties, Negotiations and Settlements, 13 January 2005, Northern Quebec Inuit Association, <http://www.atns.net.au/biogs/A001590b.htm> [1 February 2005]. Canadian Museum of Civilization, 27 September 2001, "Canadian Inuit History: A Thousand Year Odyssey," <http://www.civilization.ca/> [1 February 2005]; and Taqramiut Nipingat Incorporated, 22 March 2004, About Us, <http://www.taqramiut.qc.ca/en/aboutus.htm> [1 February 2005].

²⁹¹ Donat Savoie, Chief Federal Negotiator – Nunavik, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, to All Federal Departments and Agencies, 24 March 2005, "Status Report – Nunavik Self-Government Project;" "Negotiation Framework Agreement on the Amalgamation of Certain Institutions and the Creation of a New Form of Government in Nunavik" (Ottawa: Government of Canada, 26 June 2003); Donat Savoie, "Convergence and Divergence in North America: Canada and the United States," paper presented at the 5th Biennial Colloquium, Association for Canadian Studies in the United States, 29 to 30 October 2004, Simon Fraser University, Vancouver; and "Nunavik Government: Negotiation Framework Agreement," *Nunavik* 01.02 (2005: 3-6), 3.

²⁹² Whiteside, 7.

²⁹³ Hanrahan, 266; Anderson interview, 14 March 2005; and "Reports on Annual Conference" (Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, Cambridge Bay, NWT, 16-20 September, 1974), 5.

²⁹⁴ Agreements, Treaties, Negotiations and Settlements, 13 January 2005, Labrador Inuit, <http://www.atns.net.au/biogs/A001812b.htm> [1 February 2005]; For information from the same Internet site on the following organizations, please refer to: Labrador Inuit Association, <http://www.atns.net.au/biogs/A001810b.htm> [1 February 2005]; Nunatsiavut Government, <http://www.atns.net.au/biogs/A001811b.htm> [1 February 2005]; and Labrador Inuit Constitution, <http://www.atns.net.au/biogs/A001817b.htm> [1 February 2005]; and Labrador Inuit Association, Overview, <http://www.nunatsiavut.com/en/overview.php> [1 February 2005].

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- ²⁹⁵ Dickerson, 105.
- ²⁹⁶ Agreements, Treaties, Negotiations and Settlements, 13 January 2005, Tungavik Federation of Nunavut, <http://www.atns.net.au/biogs/A001602b.htm> [1 February 2005].
- ²⁹⁷ Dickerson, 104.
- ²⁹⁸ Hamelin, 9; Kuptana interview, 20 April 2005; Irniq interview, 27 April 2005; and Kusugak interview, 6 April 2005.
- ²⁹⁹ Routledge, 2004, *Encyclopedia of the Arctic: Watt-Cloutier Sheila*, <http://www.routledge-ny.com/ref/arctic/watt.html> [31 August 2005]; Yukon College, 17 September 1998, *Nunatsiaq News* Circumpolar News: "Russian Inuit Hard Hit by Nation's Economic Woes," <http://www.yukoncollege.yk.ca/~agraham/nost202/nunats.htm> [31 August 2005].
- ³⁰⁰ Canadian Women's Health Network, 10 December 2004, "Why Canadian women (and men) should be worried: The Pauktuutit Inuit Women's Association" – Letter to the Prime Minister's Office, <http://www.cwhn.ca/hot/news/pauktuutit.html> [31 August 2005]; Denise Rideout, "Inuit Not Getting Fair Share of Aboriginal Money", 10 May 2002, *Nunatsiaq News*, http://www.nunatsiaq.com/archives/nunavut020510/news/nunavut/20510_8.html [31 August 2005]; and "The Case for Inuit Specific: Renewing the Relationship Between the Inuit and Government of Canada," <http://www.itk.ca/publications/20040419-inuit-specificfinal.pdf> [4 January 2005].
- ³⁰¹ The exclusion of Nunavik and Nunatsiavut is of particular concern when devolution of power to Aboriginal governments is an issue in the strategy, and both regions are in the process of forming self-government assemblies within the provinces of Newfoundland and Quebec. Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2004, *Inuit Respond to Northern Strategy Framework*, <http://www.itk.ca/> [4 January 2005]; *The Northern Strategy*, May 2005, *Nation Building—Framework for a Northern Strategy*, <http://www.northernstrategy.ca/> [11 July 2005]; and McGoldrick interview, 10 February 2005.
- ³⁰² Before 1999, the Northwest Territories included the region of the Eastern Arctic that is now the Territory of Nunavut. Unless otherwise specified, any reference to the NWT before 1999 includes Nunavut.
- ³⁰³ Treaty 8 was negotiated in 1899 to provide food for the First Nations and to preserve their land in the form of reserves during the Gold Rush. In 1921, Treaty 11 was negotiated with the Dene and Métis in the Mackenzie Valley after oil was discovered at Fort Norman in 1920. Although the negotiation and settlement of this treaty demonstrated the government's historic recognition of Aboriginal land rights in the North, these were the only Northern treaties negotiated with Aboriginal people before 1970. McPherson, 66-67.
- ³⁰⁴ Usher, (1973), 23-25.
- ³⁰⁵ Duffy, 235-238.
- ³⁰⁶ The Calder decision recognized land rights based on Aboriginal title for the first time. Aboriginal title to land is based on peoples' traditional use and occupancy. Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, March 1996, *Comprehensive Claims (Modern Treaties) in Canada*, http://64.233.167.104/search?q=cache:tVrH6Dr0-ScJ:www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/pr/info/trty_e.html [16 February 2005]; and Braidek interview, 2 February 2005.
- Some Aboriginal groups were concerned about their ability to act autonomously and to effectively lobby the federal government if the government funded their operations. Dickerson, 101; and Hochstein, 9.
- ³⁰⁷ Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami was originally called Inuit Tapirisat of Canada but was renamed in 2001. Kusugak, 6; and "Timelines and Milestones: 30 Years With ITC," *Inuktitut: Special Edition of Inuit Today* (Ottawa: Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, 2001), 43.
- ³⁰⁸ The *Alaska Native Claims Settlement Acts* recognized American Inuit land claims. Under the agreement, Inuit land rights were extinguished in exchange for financial compensation and royalties from resource development revenues. Instead of creating reserves based on locations of Inuit communities, the ANSCA established regional corporations in communities, who also became shareholders in the resource development projects. Alain-G. Gagnon and Guy Rocher, *Reflections on the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement* (Montreal: Quebec Amerique, 2002), 242.

- ³⁰⁹ Mitchell, 343.
- ³¹⁰ Specific claims are not relevant to Inuit circumstances because they deal with unfulfilled legal treaty and land reserve obligations or provisions held in treaties. Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 23 April 2004, Comprehensive Land Claims Branch, http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ps/clm/ccb_e.html [16 February 2005].
- ³¹¹ The 1990 *Sparrow* decision clarified that if Aboriginal title to land had been previously extinguished then the federal government's intent to extinguish title had to have been clear. The 1997 *Delgamuukw* decision decided that Aboriginal people no longer had to prove that they were organized societies or that their use of land was integral to their way of life. Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 23 April 2004, Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, Volume 2: Restructuring the Relationship, Part 2 Chapter 4 – Lands and Resources, http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ch/rcap/sg/sh50_e.html [31 August 2005]; "Timelines and Milestones: 30 Years With ITC," *Inuktitut: Special Edition of Inuit Today* (Ottawa: Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, 2001), 18; and Status of Women Canada, 13 December 2004, "From the Fur Trade to Free Trade: Forestry and First Nations Women in Canada," <http://www.swc-cfc.gc.ca/> [31 August 2005].
- ³¹² Peter Cumming, "Our Land—Our People: Native Rights North of '60" (Ottawa: Canadian Arctic Resources Committee, Prepared for the National Workshop on People, Resources and the Environment North of '60, May 1972), 13-14.
- ³¹³ The James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement and the Inuvialuit Final Agreements were negotiated quickly to facilitate progress of resource development in the affected regions. Supplementary agreements, involving issues such as regional government, have been added to the agreements since their original settlement. It took 13 years for the Nunavut Land Claim Agreement-in-Principle to be negotiated, and 24 years for the Labrador Land Claim Agreement-in-Principle. Mitchell, 343.
- ³¹⁴ Appendix D summarizes key terms of the four Inuit comprehensive land claims. The Inuit comprehensive land claim agreements have been settled in roughly ten-year intervals. These land claims were formalized through provincial or territorial and federal legislation as follows: the *James Bay and Northern Quebec Native Claims Settlement Act* (1977), the *Western Arctic (Inuvialuit) Claims Settlement Act* (1984), the *Nunavut Land Claims Agreement Act* (1993), and the *Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement Act* (2005). Regarding the Nunavik Inuit Marine Region Agreement-in-Principle, portions of the claim area were included in the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement or were considered part of Labrador. The 2002 agreement addresses only the Nunavut portion of the claim. The Labrador portion has been accepted as a claim by Canada but has not yet been negotiated. This agreement is concerned with clarifying use and ownership rights of lands and resources in the specified region, and the inclusion of Inuit from Nunavik in economic development in the marine region. Marine Region Agreement-in-Principle 2002 – Agreements Database Agreement, <http://www.atns.net.au/biogs/A001797b.htm> [14 February 2005]; and Agreements Treaties and Negotiated Settlements Project, June 2004, <http://www.atns.net.au> and use "Search the Database" with search terms "Nunavik," "Inuvialuit," and "Nunavut" [15 February 2005]; and Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, "Backgrounder on Economic Opportunities for Discussion at the Economic Opportunities Sectoral Meeting" (Ottawa: Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 15 November 2004), 2, <http://www.itk.ca/roundtable/sectoral-ec-dev.php> [6 April 2006].
- ³¹⁵ Inuit self-government has not been successfully negotiated within a comprehensive land claim settlement, although the recent Nunatsiavut claim comes the closest. Issues regarding the structure of governance within Inuit land claim settlement areas is discussed in the chapter entitled "Inuit Self-Government and Devolution of Federal Powers." Upon settlement of each land claim, the Inuit organizations conducting the negotiations have dissolved and re-formed as regional development corporations, responsible for managing the terms and funds generated by the comprehensive claim settlement. These corporations have also pursued commercial business opportunities on behalf of their Inuit beneficiaries. The Inuit regional development corporations are: the Labrador Inuit Development Corporation (LIDC) in northern Labrador, Makivik Corporation in northern Quebec, Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated (NTI) in Nunavut, and the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation (IRC) in the western Arctic. The Inuit regional corporations work with national and international organizations, like ITK and the Inuit Circumpolar Conference (ICC), to ensure that Inuit interests are represented outside land claim regions. Michelin interview, 14 February 2005; and Wendy Moss, "Aboriginal Land Claims Issues" (Ottawa: Law and Government Division, Research Branch, Library of Parliament, 1991), 5-6.

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- The corporations have each developed subsidiary corporations, such as Makivik-owned First Air, which often involve joint partnerships with local businesses and support the economies of Northern communities. These regional development corporations are supported by local assistance, such as through the Inuvialuit Development Corporation in the western Arctic; and the Kivalliq, Qikiqtani, and Kitikmeot Inuit Associations in Nunavut. The Internet websites hosted by these corporations provide detailed information about their history and organizational structures and links. For further information on these organizations please see: Inuit Circumpolar Conference, 14 November 2003, <http://www.inuitcircumpolar.com>; Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 14 February 2005, <http://www.itk.ca/>; Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, December 2004, <http://www.irc.inuvialuit.com>; Kitikmeot Inuit Association, <http://www.polarnet.ca/>; Kivalliq Inuit Association, 2000, <http://www.kivalliq.inuitassociation.com>; Labrador Inuit Association <http://www.nunatsiavut.com>; Makivik Corporation, <http://www.makivik.org>; Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated, December 2004, <http://www.tunngavik.com>; and Qikiqtani Inuit Association, <http://www.qia.ca> [all accessed 15 February 2005].
- ³¹⁶ Eric Gourdeau, "Genesis of the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement," *Reflections on the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement*, Alain-G. Gagnon and Guy Rocher, eds. (Montreal: Quebec Amérique, 2002: 17-23), 19-21; and Watt interview, 19 May 2005.
- ³¹⁷ Denis Chatain, "Compatibility of Native Rights and Northern Development: the Significance of the James Bay Agreement" (Calgary: Energy, Rights and Responsibilities Conference, 21-23 March 1976), 3.
- ³¹⁸ Nunavik, the region of Quebec north of the 55th parallel inhabited by Inuit, became part of Quebec in 1912 but was largely administered federally because of the substantial Aboriginal population. In the late 1960s, Quebec sought to exert more influence over the province, and began to implement social service programming, including education and healthcare. Until this time, many Inuit in Nunavik did not realize they were part of a province, and continued to request Aboriginal-specific programs delivered by the federal government. Minnie Grey and Robert Lanari, "The James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement: A Native Perspective" (Canada/USSR Arctic Science Exchange Programme, 16 March 1987), 4-5; Watt interview, 19 May 2005; and McGoldrick interview, 10 February 2005.
- ³¹⁹ The transfer of service provision from federal to provincial responsibility specified in the JBNQA was part of an ongoing transfer of services that had begun in the late 1960s. Neville and Robitaille; and Grey and Lanari, 4.
- ³²⁰ Chatain, 3.
- ³²¹ Within the JBNQA, land was classified into three categories and specific regulations for Aboriginal peoples' use, interest, and influence were assigned to each category. Category I lands are for exclusively Aboriginal use and include the 22 communities north of the 49th parallel. Aboriginal peoples administer residency, access and development on these lands. Aboriginal peoples retained exclusive hunting, fishing and trapping rights to Category II lands. Non-Aboriginal development is allowed, subject to approval for environmental impact mitigation plans. In Category III lands, Aboriginal peoples retain privileges for hunting, fishing, and trapping but the rest of the population is also permitted to access these lands, subject to provincial regulations. Chatain, 5-7; Gourdeau, "Genesis," 22; and Eric Gourdeau, "Synthesis of the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement," *Reflections on the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement*, Alain-G. Gagnon and Guy Rocher, eds. (Montreal: Quebec Amérique, 2002: 25-38), 29-30.
- ³²² This region is called Nunavik and houses 13 communities where the population is overwhelmingly Inuit. The Inuit population in Nunavik is approximately 5,000. Eric Gourdeau, "Genesis," 17.
- ³²³ Makivik Corporation is currently pursuing a self-government agreement with the federal and provincial governments, which would amalgamate these three entities. This agreement is discussed in the Devolution Issues section. Chatain, 7-10; Gourdeau, "Synthesis," 32; Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, "Toward an Inuit Action Plan, Phase I, Review of DIAND Policies, Programs and Services to Inuit" (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, March 2000), 10; *James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement and Complementary Agreements* (Sainte-Foy, QB: Les Publications de Québec, 1998 Edition); and "Social, Cultural, Economic, and Political Organizations in Nunavik 1975-1994: The Implementation of the JBNQA Unit" (Québec: Kativik School Board Secondary Social Studies Programme, 1995), 3.
- ³²⁴ René Morin, "The James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement and the Development of Aboriginal Rights," *Reflections on the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement*, Alain-G. Gagnon and Guy Rocher, eds. (Montreal: Quebec Amérique, 2002: 39-47), 42.

- ³²⁵ The Coolican Report was completed in 1985. The current method of negotiation, however, is not substantially different from the original process. Moss, 6-9.
- ³²⁶ A successful example of this policy revision is the differentiation between Labrador Inuit Lands and the Labrador Inuit Settlement Area, and the specific responsibilities of government and Inuit for each in the recent Labrador Inuit Land Claim Agreement. Moss, 9-10.
- ³²⁷ In 1983, a secretariat was created in the Ministry of Indian Affairs and Northern Development to address issues arising in the JBNQA's implementation. Several issues have been identified in the legal security of Inuit access to country food resources under the JBNQA. These issues include conservation quotas for animal harvesting, conflicts between Aboriginal animal harvesting and public safety, federal powers of expropriation on Inuit-owned land for public use purposes, provincial development of Category II lands for resource development projects, and legislation or regulation prohibiting animal harvesting on category III lands. Gagnon and Rocher, 244; Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, March 1996, Comprehensive Claims (Modern Treaties) in Canada, http://64.233.167.104/search?q=cache:tVrH6Dr0-ScJ:www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/pr/info/trty_e.html [16 February 2005]; Stephen Hendrie, "The Supreme Court Decision on Quebec Secession," *Makivik Magazine* 48 (Fall 1998: 16-17); McGoldrick interview, 10 February 2005; Watt interview, 19 May 2005; Morin, 42; Agreements, Treaties, and Negotiated Settlements Project, 2 February 2005, Nunavik Inuit Marine Region Agreement-in-Principle 2002 – Agreements Database Agreement, <http://www.atns.net.au/biogs/A001797b.htm> [14 February 2005]; Agreements, Treaties, and Negotiated Settlements Project, 13 December 2004, James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement and Complimentary Agreements (11 November 1975), <http://www.atns.net.au/biogs/A001581b.htm> [13 July 2005]; Agreements, Treaties and Negotiated Settlements Project, June 2004, <http://www.atns.net.au> and use "Search the Database" with search terms "Nunavik", "Inuvialuit", and "Nunavut" [15 February 2005]; Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, "Backgrounder on Economic Opportunities for Discussion at the Economic Opportunities Sectoral Meeting" (Ottawa: Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 15 November 2004), 2, <http://www.itk.ca/> [6 April 2006]; and Ghislain Otis, *Inuit Subsistence Rights Under the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement: A Legal Perspective on Food Security in Nunavik* (Montreal: GETIC, Université Laval, 2000), 2-6. See also: Gerard Duhaime, *The Governing of Nunavik: Who Pays for What?* (Montreal: Groupe D'Études Inuit et Circumpolaires, Université Laval, 1993).
- ³²⁸ William R. Morrison, *A Survey of the History and Claims of the Native Peoples of Northern Canada* (Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1985), 65-67.
- ³²⁹ T.R. Berger, *Northern Frontier, Northern Homeland: The Report of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry, Revised Edition* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1988), 254.
- ³³⁰ In the Alaska and Quebec settlements, Aboriginal peoples had agreed to extinguish their claim to large portions of land in return for money and titles for smaller parcels surrounding their communities. Communities included in this claim are Inuvik, Aklavik, Tuktoyaktuk, Sachs Harbour, Paulatuk, and Holman Island. McPherson, 68-69, and 77.
- ³³¹ For Category I lands, Inuvialuit sought surface and subsurface rights to ownership. Class II lands required the same principles of ownership but would allow any development lease agreements to be honoured. Class III lands would remain under Crown ownership, but any development would require consultation with community corporations, and hunter and trapper organizations. McPherson, 76-78.
- ³³² COPE/Government Working Group, *Joint Position Paper on the Inuvialuit Land and Rights Claim* (Ottawa: Indian Affairs and Northern Development Canada, 1978), 3; McPherson, 76-78; and Morrison (1988), 77.
- ³³³ McPherson, 79.
- ³³⁴ The Inuvialuit Final Agreement provides Inuit with 91,000 square kilometers of land and \$45 million paid over 13 years. Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, March 1996, Comprehensive Claims (Modern Treaties) in Canada, http://64.233.167.104/search?q=cache:tVrH6Dr0-ScJ:www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/pr/info/trty_e.html [16 February 2005]; and Janet M. Keeping, *The Inuvialuit Final Agreement* (Calgary: The Canadian Institute of Resources Law, University of Calgary, 1989); McPherson, 80-81; and Morrison (1988), 77-78.
- ³³⁵ Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, "Political Development in Nunavut" (Igloolik: Inuit Tapirisat of Canada Annual General Meeting, 3-7 September 1979), 4-6.

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- ³³⁶ ITK did not pursue home-rule, similar to the Aboriginal administrative model in Greenland, because it would place the territory outside the framework of federalism. Inuit Taprisat of Canada, "Political Development," 11-15.
- ³³⁷ Milton R. Freeman, *Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project, Volume I (Land Use and Occupancy), Volume II (Supporting Studies), and Volume III (Land Use Atlas)* (Ottawa: Thorn Press, 1976); and McPherson, 65; Curely interview, 27 April 2005; and Kusugak interview, 6 April 2005.
- ³³⁸ McPherson, 69-71; Morrison (1988), 79; Curely interview, 27 April 2005; and Kusugak interview, 6 April 2005.
- ³³⁹ Voter turn out was particularly high for this referendum. Immigrants from southern Canada populate the western Arctic in higher levels and have full participation in the local and territorial governments; hence Inuit in the western Arctic were not achieving the same autonomy of those in the east from the division of the Northwest Territories. Franklyn Griffiths and Justin Peffer, *Turning Point in Canadian Policy Towards the Circumpolar North: Implications for Aboriginal Peoples* (Ottawa: Report to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1993), 15.
- ³⁴⁰ This included the *Nunavut Land Claim Agreement Act and the Nunavut Act*. The *Nunavut Act* provides for the creation of the Territory of Nunavut, encompassing two million square kilometers. The land claim settlement control of 350,000 square kilometers to Inuit, including mineral rights on 36,000 square kilometers. As beneficiaries of the land claim agreement, Inuit in Nunavut will receive more than \$1.17 billion over 14 years. Within the settlement, Inuit "owned lands" were designated to promote traditional pursuits, including hunting, fishing and trapping, as well as mineral extraction and tourism. These lands were identified to contain significant deposits of carving stone, areas of archaeological importance, areas of traditional wildlife exploitation, regions with potentially significant mineral deposits, and the land contained in and around the 23 communities in Nunavut. The land claim agreement provided for the creation of such institutions such as the Nunavut Wildlife Management Board, the Nunavut Planning Commission, the Nunavut Impact Review Board, and the Nunavut Water Board to monitor and manage the administration of lands and resources. *Agreement Between the Inuit of the Nunavut Settlement Area and Her Majesty the Queen in right of Canada* (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1993); and Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 23 April 2004, The Nunavut Land Claim Settlement, http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/nu/nunavut/index1_e.html [15 February 2005]; and Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, March 1996, Comprehensive Claims (Modern Treaties) in Canada, http://64.233.167.104/search?q=cache:tVrH6Dr0-Scj:www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/pr/info/trty_e.html [16 February 2005].
- ³⁴¹ "Tunngavik" means, "a multi-layered organism or foundation." Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated, December 2004, History and Overview of N.T.I., <http://www.tunngavik.com/site-eng/overview.htm> [15 February 2005].
- ³⁴² The Government of Nunavut is an institute of public government, and is comprised of elected officials representing regions of Nunavut in the territory's Legislative Assembly. Similar to the Northwest Territories, the Government of Nunavut employs a civil service to administer its departments and carry out its programs and policies. Like Makivik Corporation, NTI administers the terms and funds generated by the land claim settlement on behalf of Inuit in Nunavut. Braidek interview, 2 February 2005; Government of Nunavut, *The Road to Nunavut: A Chronological History*, <http://www.gov.nu.ca/Nunavut/English/about/road.shtml> [2 February 2005].
- ³⁴³ The LIA was cautious, however, as Inuit communities in Nunatsiavut have a long history of economic relations with the Department of National Defence, through the construction of DEW Line sites in the 1950s to the more recent low-level flight training projects. Although the influx of people provides economic support for Inuit communities, low-level flight affect wildlife habitats through noise pollution, and erosion of culture and lifestyle. Significantly, the Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement gives Inuit a stronger role in negotiating conditions for national and international flight training. Maura Hanrahan, "The Lasting Breach: The Omission of Aboriginal People from the Terms of Union Between Newfoundland and Canada and its Ongoing Impacts" (Ottawa: Royal Commission on Renewing and Strengthening out Place in Canada, 2003), 249, <http://www.gov.nf.ca/publicat/royalcomm/research/Hanrahan.pdf> [17 January 2005]; and Mitchell 361-363.

³⁴⁴ On behalf of its 5,300 members, the LIA negotiated a claim for jurisdiction over a tract of 72,500 square kilometres of land and 48,690 square kilometres of ocean in northern Labrador. The claim also included 9,600 square kilometres of land encompassing the Torngat Mountains National Park Reserve, \$140 million compensation, and \$156 million to cover the cost of implementation. The LIA land claims agreement is the first settled land claim in the province. The LIA represents Inuit who live mainly in the communities of Nain, Hopedale, Postville, Makkovik, and Rigolet, and the Upper Lake Melville region. Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 22 January 2005, Labrador Inuit Land Claims, <http://www.laa.gov.nl.ca/laa/liacclaims/default.htm> [17 February 2005]; Hanrahan, 231; Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 28 January 2005, Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement Signed, http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/nr/prs/ja2005/2-02574_e.html [17 February 2005]; and "Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement-in-Principle in Brief" (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 2001[?]), 1-2.

As the LIA claim was the fourth Inuit comprehensive land claim settled in Canada, the LIA was able to learn from the three land claims settled earlier. The LIA claim, for example, contains funding for the claim's implementation that is payable over a 15 year period. The claim is also the first to contain provisions for the creation of an ethnically-based government. Anderson interview, 14 March 2005.

³⁴⁵ Labradorite is mined mainly for export to Italy, and is used in marble fireplaces and floor coverings. Inuit Circumpolar Conference, 14 November 2003, 9th General Assembly and 25th Anniversary of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference, <http://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/index.php?ID=40&Lang=En> [16 February 2005].

³⁴⁶ Hanrahan, 249; and "Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement-in-Principle in Brief" (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 2001[?]), 1-6.

³⁴⁷ The provincial government and the Nunatsiavut Government jointly regulate use of mineral resources. Inuit are entitled to portions of the mineral extraction revenue in both the Settlement Area and the Inuit Lands, and for established projects like Voisey's Bay. Specific Material Land is designated for 3,950 square kilometres of the settlement area, and gives Inuit complete rights to quarry certain resources, such as soapstone for carving. Similar to restrictions and revenue agreements for land use, the Labrador Inuit Land Claim Agreement includes regulations for water use and fisheries harvesting rights. Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 28 January 2005, Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement Signed, http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/nr/prs/j-a2005/2-02574_e.html [17 February 2005]; and "Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement-in-Principle in Brief," 3-6.

³⁴⁸ The Constitution of the Labrador Inuit specifies the government's structure, which will include a President, Executive Council, and an Assembly of Representatives from seven constituencies in Nunatsiavut. The seven constituencies are: Nain (the administrative capital), Hopedale (the legislative capital), Makkovik, Rigolet, Postville, Upper Lake Melville, and Canada. Representatives will be elected to the Assembly for terms of four years. Seven community councils will be elected to administer municipal issues. Agreements, Treaties, Negotiations and Settlements, 13 January 2005, Nunatsiavut Government, <http://atns.net.au/> [1 February 2005]; Nunatsiavut, 2005, Land Claims Ratification, <http://www.nunatsiavut.com/en/ourlandclaim.php> [2 February 2005]; and Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 24 June 2005, "Labrador Inuit Land Claims Act Receives Royal Assent," http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/nr/prs/m-a2005/2-02684_e.html [11 July 2005].

³⁴⁹ Gagnon and Rocher, 245; "Land Claim Implementation Talks Grind to a Halt," *Nunatsiaq News*, 14 January 2005, <http://www.nunatsiaq.com/> [14 January 2005]; and John Bainbridge and Philippe Lavallee, Policy Analysts, Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated, interview by author, 25 April 2005, digital recording, Igluvut Building, Iqaluit, Nunavut.

³⁵⁰ Berger (2006).

³⁵¹ Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2004, 2004 Press Release Archive: Uukkarujjaujuq!, <http://www.itk.ca/media/press-archive-20040419.php> [31 August 2005].

³⁵² Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 16 April 2004, 2004 Press Release Archive/Aboriginal Summit, <http://www.itk.ca/index.html?q=/media/press-archive-20040416.php> [13 July 2005]; Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2004, 2004 Press Release Archive: Uukkarujjaujuq!, <http://www.itk.ca/media/press-archive-20040419.php> [31 August 2005]; and Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2004, ITK 2003/2004 Annual Report, <http://72.14.207.104/search?q=cache:5Gy iOiqkbn4j:itk.ca/publications/2003-2004-ar.pdf+%22land+claims+coalition%22&Hl=en> [13 July 2005].

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- ³⁵³ Linda Archibald and Mary Crnkovich, "If Gender Mattered: A Case Study of Inuit Women, Land Claims and the Voisey's Bay Nickel Project" (Ottawa: Status of Women Canada, 1999), http://www.swc-cfc.gc.ca/pubs/pubspr/0662280024/index_e.html [31 August 2005].
- ³⁵⁴ Kusugak interview, 6 April 2005; Curely interview, 27 April 2005; Hagar Idlout-Sudlovenick, Director, Intergovernmental Affairs and Inuit Relations Directorate, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada—Iqaluit, interview by author, 22 February 2005, telephone to Iqaluit, Public History, Ottawa; Irniq interview, 27 April 2005; and Kuptana interview, 20 April 2005.
- ³⁵⁵ Duffy, 20-21; Michael Corley Richardson, "Community Development in the Canadian Eastern Arctic: Aspects of Housing and Education" (MA thesis, University of Alberta, 1976), 88; and Thomas and Thompson, 9.
- ³⁵⁶ The Northwest Mounted Police became the Royal Canadian Mounted Police in 1920. Diubaldo (1992), 3. As well as their traditional housing, Inuit used spare wood, such as packing crates, to create more permanent housing. Duffy, 22; and Richardson, 90.
- ³⁵⁷ Inuit settlement in communities facilitated the administration of government funds through, for example, family allowance and welfare payments. As well as providing access to medical attention and improved school attendance, the Canadian Government was concerned about high levels of respiratory illness, like tuberculosis, and infant mortality in Inuit communities, which it linked to housing conditions. According to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, the Canadian Government had de facto concerns for its Arctic sovereignty during the 1950s. Duffy, 22; Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, "Shedding New Light on the Relocation: Summary of the Commission's Conclusions," *Report on the High Arctic Relocation* (Ottawa: The Commission, 1994), 134-164; Thomas and Thompson, 23; and Robert Robson, "Housing in the Northwest Territories," *Urban History Review* XXIV.1 (October 1995:3-20): 3.
- ³⁵⁸ Duffy states that, "the government's objective was to meet a minimum requirement of 50 square feet of floor space per person at a capital cost of not more than 20 cents per square foot per year during the life of the building and a heating cost related to the consumption of not more than two gallons of fuel a day." Duffy, 31.
- ³⁵⁹ During the 1950s and 1960s, the government adopted a generally pragmatic approach to developing infrastructure, as well as programs and services in Inuit communities. Programs were adapted to needs and circumstances in each community. R. Gordon Robertson, former Deputy Minister, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Government of Canada, interview by author, 9 November 2004, digital recording, Public History, Ottawa.
- ³⁶⁰ The styrofoam was translucent enough to allow light to enter the structure, even when seams were sealed and the entire structure was painted with an ultra violet-resistant coating. Although the Department of Northern Affairs and Natural Resources conducted a variety of tests to improve the durability of these structures, they could not be made effective enough to warrant distribution outside of Cape Dorset and were not manufactured after 1959. In 1957, the government conducted tests on several other types of structures at Iqaluit, including a styrofoam based structure with canvas walls called a quonset, and double-walled tents with wooden frames similar to those used by the RCMP. Duffy, 31; Nixon, 120-121.
- ³⁶¹ Rigid digit homes were purchased by Inuit on a payment installment plan. In northern Quebec, structures made of sod, stone and wood with moss chinking were tested. Bud Neville, former Indian and Northern Affairs Canada employee, interview by author, 9 November 2004, digital recording, Public History, Ottawa; Leo Bereza, "Rigid Frame Houses," *Northern Affairs Bulletin* VI.4 (September-October 1959: 38), 38; and Nixon, 122-125, 140.
- ³⁶² This style of home provided no separate areas for quiet study or cleaning caribou skins, thereby impeding the educational progress of Inuit children and their parents' efforts at maintaining household hygiene. Nixon, 130-132, 141.
- ³⁶³ Richardson, 104-105; and Robson, 4-5. According to Nixon, Inuit were not consulted about the design or manufacture of the government houses built in their communities. Heating and sanitation were often inadequate, rendering these houses little better than traditional Inuit homes for their ability to lower mortality rates and the spread of respiratory disease. Nixon, 141 and 157-158. In Labrador, housing programs for Inuit were developed by the provincial government to assist the recovery of tuberculosis

patients and in regions with economic potential, such as southern Labrador. This region had trees to construct homes and burn for heat, as well as the Goose Bay airport to provide industrial employment opportunities. W.C. Rockwood, *Memorandum on General Policy in Respect to the Indians and Eskimos of Northern Labrador* (St. Johns, Newfoundland: Department of North Labrador Affairs, 1955), 3-8.

- ³⁶⁴ Thomas and Thompson, 9.
- ³⁶⁵ Many Inuit had opted to purchase the smallest of the model homes, which were 280 square feet. By 1965, 800 Eskimo families had signed agreements to purchase homes on payment plans, yet 90% of those families defaulted on payments and 50% made only one payment toward the purchase of homes. Nixon, 141 and 157-158; Richardson, 92-93; and Thomas and Thompson, 10.
- ³⁶⁶ According to Robson, the initiative's focus on the eastern Arctic, where 83% of new housing stock was constructed, and in particular the communities of Frobisher Bay (Iqaluit) and Baker Lake, which received 23% of the new housing stock, reflected the federal government's plan to centralize the Inuit population at two administrative centres. In total, 864 housing units were constructed under the Eskimo Rental Housing Program, with 784 units being constructed in the NWT and 80 units constructed in northern Quebec. Of the 784 units constructed in the NWT, 655 were constructed in the eastern Arctic, with Frobisher Bay receiving 101 units and Baker Lake receiving 79 units. The remaining 475 units were constructed in communities throughout the Frobisher Bay and Keewatin regions. Robson notes that few new housing units were constructed in the western Arctic, mainly because of the relocation projects at Aklavik, Inuvik and Tuktoyaktuk, which precluded the need for additional housing projects in those communities. Robson, 7.
- ³⁶⁷ Jean Bruce, "Arctic Housing," *North XVI.1*(January-February 1969: 1-9), 3.
- ³⁶⁸ All tenants were required to pay some rent, and most rents ranged between \$37 and \$67 per month, based on the size of the house and each family's ability to pay. Richardson, 95.
- ³⁶⁹ Tenants within a community elected the Housing Authority for a term of one year. Depending on the size of the community and the number of rental units, the Housing Authority was comprised of between three and nine elected members. A government employee, whose position on the committee was reduced as the elected members became familiar with their roles and responsibilities, initially chaired the Housing Authority. The rental program, which subsidized the cost of heating and hydro, discouraged Inuit ownership of homes; ownership of homes required full payment for these services. Duffy, 45-46; Nixon, 146-149; Richardson, 10-11 and 101-102; and Thomas and Thompson, 11, 23. While housing was initially segregated, with government employees restricted to certain types of housing in certain neighbourhoods, these rules were lifted in the late 1960s, facilitating the development of friendlier relations among Inuit and government employees, based on their neighbourly accommodations. Duffy, 50; and Richardson, 102-109.
- ³⁷⁰ G.H. Caldwell, *et al.* "Report No. 1970-5, Far North Housing Construction Northwest Territories (Keewatin)" (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1970), 1; and "Housing in Nunavik: From the Igloo to Multi-Bedroom Modern Dwellings," paper presented by Makivik Corporation to Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Ottawa, August 2005.
- ³⁷¹ In 1966, responsibility for the administration of Inuit affairs was transferred to the newly created Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Shortly afterwards, the Government of the Northwest Territories (NWT) was moved to Yellowknife, creating a territorial civil service responsible for many issues. The NWT Housing Corporation administered Inuit housing. Nixon, 155-156; and Thomas and Thompson, 11.
- ³⁷² Under the Northern Rental Purchase Program, which replaced the earlier ethnically-based housing programs, the federal and territorial governments intended to construct 1,558 housing units within 43 northern communities. In reality, 1,378 housing units were constructed. Unlike earlier housing initiatives that had focused on the eastern Arctic, this program included housing units for the Dene in the NWT and focused on the western Arctic, and in particular the region surrounding Yellowknife. Through the rental purchase program, rents were applied to home down payments. By 1987 this program had largely ended, as any houses left from the initial construction were in such poor condition that they were no longer saleable. Robson, 7.

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³⁷³ In the Keewatin region for 1968 to 1970, construction of federal government staff housing cost an average of \$39,730 per unit and homes built for Inuit under the Northern Rental Housing Program cost an average of \$12,250 per unit. Caldwell *et al.*, 23; Duffy, 40-46; and R.C. Redgrave, "Helping Both Ways in the Housing Administration: Inuit Middlemen in the Arctic" (MA thesis, University of Calgary, 1985), 45-46.

Before 1999, the Northwest Territories included the region of the Eastern Arctic that is now the Territory of Nunavut. Unless otherwise specified, any reference to the NWT before 1999 includes Nunavut.

³⁷⁴ E.J. Buchanan, "Arctic Housing: Problems and Prospects" (MA thesis, University of British Columbia, 1979), 112-114; and Caldwell *et al.*, 12.

³⁷⁵ Duffy, 46-48.

³⁷⁶ Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 23 April 2004, Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, Volume 3, *Gathering Strength*, Chapter 4, "Housing," http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ch/rcap/sg/si36_e.html [22 March 2005]; and Robson, 11.

³⁷⁷ R.D. Brown, "Statistical Report: Listing of Information Related to the Housing Needs Analysis—1977" (Ottawa: Program Support Group, Indian and Inuit Affairs Program, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1977), 34-37.

³⁷⁸ Robson, 3-10.

³⁷⁹ Peter C. Dawson, "Examining the Impact of Euro-Canadian Architecture on Inuit Families Living in Arctic Canada," paper given at the Proceedings of the 4th International Space Syntax Symposium, London, 2003, <http://www.spacesyntax.net/syposia/SSS4/fullpapers/2/Dawsonpaper.pdf> [19 January 2005]; and Peter C. Dawson, "An Examination of the Use of Domestic Space by Inuit Families Living in Arviat, Nunavut" (Ottawa: Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation, 2004), <http://www.cmhc-schl.gc.ca> [22 March 2005].

³⁸⁰ Dawson (2003) 3-15; and Dawson (2004).

³⁸¹ Redgrave, 46.

³⁸² Buchanan, 19-27; and Brown, 1.

³⁸³ Homes constructed by the NWT Housing Corporation include single-family detached homes and row homes, which are built from prefabricated designs or are constructed on-site. Redgrave, 5 and 47-48; Peter Scott, President, Nunavut Housing Corporation, interview by author, 27 April 2005, digital recording, Parnaivik Building, Iqaluit, Nunavut; and Robson, 10-11. 384 Activities of housing associations are guided by the Housing Association Operating Manual, which was developed by the Housing Corporation's main office to ensure that housing associations consistently implemented administrative policies. Housing associations prepare annual budgets, which are approved regionally, to ensure that they are operating according to centrally standardized regulations and in accordance with the management agreements. A large portion of housing associations' budgets are used to offset the costs of maintaining and renovating housing units, and providing utilities, including electricity, heat, water, and sewage disposal. Housing association tenants and a board of directors, which is elected annually from among the tenants, staff the local associations. The board chairperson is elected from among the members annually. Each rental unit is allowed one vote for issues raised at association meetings. Although the NWT Housing Corporation central office in Yellowknife has a mandate to devolve administrative responsibility for local decision making to the local associations, the regional and central offices are often reluctant to grant much latitude for local autonomy because of concerns that local offices are often influenced by traditional modes of social organization. These social traditions involve alliances and reciprocal trade arrangements among extended family and community members. Such traditional social partnerships have affected housing association administration through preferential treatment in rent collection and overdue payments, housing unit allocations, and housing maintenance and renovations. By the mid-1980s, devolution of authority to local housing associations had not occurred effectively, and was not predicted to occur until the regional and central offices ensured that local associations were operating without traditional modes of patronage. Redgrave, 6-10, 54-60.

³⁸⁵ Duffy, 48-50.

³⁸⁶ Duffy, 46-48.

³⁸⁷ Buchanan, 85-86; and Robson, 13-16.

- ³⁸⁸ Under the NTRPP, the owner of the home had to also be the occupant. Although Inuit purchased many homes, the program did not require that the purchaser be Inuit. In Iqaluit, the last house was sold through this program in 1992. Robson, 9-11; and Peter Scott, President, Nunavut Housing Corporation, e-mail to author, 1 September 2005.
- ³⁸⁹ Robson, 3-10.
- ³⁹⁰ "Research on Native and Northern Housing From CMHC" (Ottawa: Research Division, Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, 1986), 2-6.
- ³⁹¹ In some Nunavik communities, the rental discrepancies for similar-sized dwellings are between \$300 per month for rent in a subsidized dwelling and \$2,500 per month for rent in a privately leased dwelling. Pauktuutit Inuit Women's Association, *Inuit Women: The Housing Crisis and Violence* (Ottawa: Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, 1995), 3-4.
- ³⁹² Pauktuutit Inuit Women's Association, 4-5.
- ³⁹³ Pauktuutit Inuit Women's Association, 1 and 15.
- ³⁹⁴ Pauktuutit Inuit Women's Association, 2-3; and Peter Williamson, "The Housing Crisis in Canada's Inuit Communities: Final Report" (Ottawa: Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, 1995), 1-6.
- ³⁹⁵ Dawson (2004), 75-78.
- ³⁹⁶ Regionally, the names of some programs vary although they provide the same services for Inuit. All names of similar regional programs are indicated on the table. Pauktuutit Inuit Women's Association, 3; Northwest Territories Housing Corporation, 1999, Programs, http://nwthc.gov.nt.ca/pgm_public.html [12 August 2005]; Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corporation, 1998, Provincial Home Repair Program, <http://www.nlhcnf.ca/programs/phrp.htm> [12 August 2005]; Société d'habitation Québec, Home Ownership for Residents of the Kativik Region, http://www.habitation.gouv.qc.ca/en/programmes/acceder_kativik.html [12 August 2005]; and Karen Bolt, Senior Officer, Aboriginal Capacity Building, Aboriginal Housing Division; Janet Neves, Senior Analyst, Aboriginal Affairs, Distinct Housing Needs Group, Policy and Research Division; and Randy Risk, Manager, Aboriginal Delivery and Capacity Development, Aboriginal Housing Division, Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, interview by author, 20 March 2006, Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, Ottawa.
- ³⁹⁷ Lack of housing quantity over housing quality is a pattern specific to Inuit communities. Elsewhere in Canada, including First Nations communities, it is often housing quality that is of more concern than housing quantity. Data for this report was compiled using 2001 Canadian Census data. Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, "The Well-Being of Inuit Communities in Canada" (Ottawa: Strategic Research and Analysis Directorate, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 2005), 5, 11. 398 Bacterial infections in homes, such as E.Coli, are largely the result of overcrowding and insufficient sanitation within the home. Dawson, 1-3; Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 1 November 2004, Backgrounder on Inuit and Housing for Discussion at Housing Sectoral Meeting, <http://www.itk.ca/roundtable/sectoralhousing-backgrounder.php> [7 July 2005]; and "Housing Need Among Inuit in Canada, 1991."
- ³⁹⁹ The creation of north-specific positions at the CMHC is designed to increase capacity for research and technical expertise by centralizing and streamlining research priorities. The CMHC involves multiple stakeholders in its research and seeks to serve the research needs of businesses, agencies, communities, and professionals by assessing housing issues such as technical challenges of northern construction, construction costs, climate and the cultural appropriateness of housing. An issue currently occupying CMHC research resources is melting permafrost, which causes foundational shifting and shoreline erosion in northern communities. Bolt, Neves and Risk interview, 20 March 2006.
- ⁴⁰⁰ Pauktuutit Inuit Women's Association, 1; Scott interview, 27 April 2005; and Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, Backgrounder on Inuit and Housing for Discussion at Housing Sectoral Meeting, <http://www.itk.ca/roundtable/sectoral-housing-backgrounder.php> [6 July 2005].
- ⁴⁰¹ "The Case for Inuit-Specific: Renewing the Relationship Between the Inuit and Government of Canada" (Ottawa: Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2004), 5, <http://www.itk.ca/publications/20040419-inuit-specific-final.pdf> [4 January 2005].
- ⁴⁰² Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 1 November 2004, Backgrounder on Inuit and Housing for Discussion at Housing Sectoral Meeting, <http://www.itk.ca/roundtable/sectoral-housing-backgrounder.php> [7 July 2005].

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⁴⁰³ "Housing in Nunavik", (Quebec: Government of Quebec, 2001), 22-24; and "New Five-Year Housing Agreement," *Makivik* 73 (Summer 2005), 50-52.

⁴⁰⁴ "Social Housing," paper presented by Makivik Corporation to Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Ottawa, August 2005; and Bolt, Neves and Risk interview, 20 March 2006.

⁴⁰⁵ In January 2005, the federal government announced a \$40 million joint funding project with the Nunavut Housing Corporation for the construction of a further 160 subsidized housing units across Nunavut. The homes are intended for low-income seniors, families, and single people, and will be constructed to exceed standards for energy efficiency set by the National Energy Code for Houses. The housing project is expected to provide local employment and training opportunities for Inuit in the construction industry, as well as providing social, cultural, environmental, and economic benefits to communities. This project is within the objectives of Prime Minister Martin's Northern Strategy for creating, "housing that is suitable, adequate and affordable," to ensure that communities are healthy, safe and sustainable. The federal funding for the project is derived from Canada's Strategic Infrastructure Fund as part of the New Deal for Cities and Communities, but the project will be administered federally by the CMHC. According to Peter Scott, President of the Nunavut Housing Corporation, the announcement of this funding is a re-announcement, as the funding was originally promised to Nunavut in 2004. Scott interview, 27 April 2005; Infrastructure Canada, 20 January 2005, Agreement Provides Funding for 160 New Social Housing Units in 25 Nunavut Communities, <http://www.infrastructure.gc.ca/> [24 January 2005]; Sara Minogue, "Where Housing is Concerned, Even Old News in Good News," *Nunatsiaq News*, 28 January 2005, <http://www.nunatsiaq.com/> [28 January 2005]; Office of the Prime Minister, 20 December 2004, First Ministers Partner on Northern Strategy, <http://www.pm.gc.ca/eng/news.sap?id=358> [1 February 2005]; and The Northern Strategy, Nation Building Framework for a Northern Strategy, <http://www.northernstrategy.ca/> [2 February 2005].

⁴⁰⁶ *Nunavut Ten-Year Inuit Housing Action Plan* (Nunavut: Government of Nunavut (Nunavut Housing Corporation) and Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated, 2004); and Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 1 November 2004, Backgrounder on Inuit and Housing for Discussion at Housing Sectoral Meeting, <http://www.itk.ca/roundtable/sectoral-housing-backgrounder.php> [7 July 2005].

⁴⁰⁷ According to ITK's "Backgrounder Inuit and Housing," created for discussion at the Aboriginal Peoples' Roundtable Housing Sectoral Meeting held in April 2004, overcrowding among Inuit is at 68% in Nunavik, 54% in Nunavut, 28% in Nunatsiavut, and 35% in the Inuvialuit Settlement Region. Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 1 November 2004, Backgrounder on Inuit and Housing for Discussion at Housing Sectoral Meeting, <http://www.itk.ca/roundtable/sectoral-housing-backgrounder.php> [7 July 2005]. According to the 2001 Aboriginal Peoples Survey, rates of overcrowding declined in each of the Inuit land claim regions except Nunavik. Statistics Canada, "Aboriginal Peoples Survey 2001 – Initial Findings: Well-Being of the Non-Reserve Aboriginal Population," <http://www.statcan.ca/cgi-bin/downpub/listpub.cgi?catno=89-589-XIE2003001> [8 November 2005].

The buildings designated as "in core housing need" housed 47% of the Canadian Inuit population. Regionally, core-housing need was lowest in Nunavik, where 29% of homes were below standard, and was highest in Nunavut, where 55% of homes were in core need. Among Inuit, rental housing is predominant in Nunavik and Nunavut, where 96% and 91% of households live in rental accommodations. Although more Inuit in Labrador than elsewhere are home owners, in large part through the federal Rural and Native Housing Program, 30% of Labrador Inuit are in core housing need, as many homes lack sewage disposal amenities and running water. "Housing Need Among Inuit in Canada, 1991"; and Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 23 April 2004, Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, Volume 3, *Gathering Strength*, Chapter 4, "Housing".

⁴⁰⁸ *Nunavut Ten-Year Inuit Housing Action Plan* (Nunavut: Government of Nunavut (Nunavut Housing Corporation) and Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated, 2004); Scott interview, 27 April 2005; and Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 1 November 2004, Backgrounder on Inuit and Housing for Discussion at Housing Sectoral Meeting, <http://www.itk.ca/roundtable/sectoral-housing-backgrounder.php> [7 July 2005].

⁴⁰⁹ Jenness (1964), 139-143.

⁴¹⁰ Diseases such as influenza, measles, small pox, chicken pox and poliomyelitis were particularly detrimental to Inuit populations. Medical supplies were left with community "distributors", such as the RCMP and Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) personnel, as well as the Roman Catholic and Anglican missionary hospitals. The eastern Arctic Patrol began in 1922 on the Canadian ship Arctic, captained by J.E. Bernier.

In 1925, *Arctic* was retired and replaced by *Beothic*, then *Ungava* in 1932, *Nascopie* in 1933 (this was an HBC ship), *C.D. Howe* in 1950, and *d'Iberville* in 1953. Duffy, 52; and C.R. Maundrell and C. Graham-Cumming, "Health of the Original Canadians, 1867- 1967," *Medical Services Journal*, Canada (February 1967) Copy held by Ottawa: National Science Library, National Research Council of Canada, 142-146.

- ⁴¹¹ Nine of these facilities were located in the western Arctic, and only two were in the eastern Arctic, with one also serving Inuit in northern Quebec. Eldorado Mining and Refining Ltd. at Great Bear Lake, and Consolidated Mining and Smelting Co. at Yellowknife owned the mining company facilities. These facilities were quite small and mainly treated their employees but would also take outside patients. The two hospitals in the eastern Arctic were the Catholic facility at Chesterfield Inlet and the Anglican St. Luke's Hospital and Industrial Home at Pangnirtung, which also served northern Quebec. Duffy, 52.
- ⁴¹² According to staff within the Bureau of Northwest Territories and Yukon Affairs, local government control of welfare, including the distribution of food, clothing, and assistance with shelter, was required to supplement medical care and prevent poor health among Inuit. Nixon, 89-90.
- ⁴¹³ In 1974, the Department of National Health and Welfare released the Policy of the Federal Government Concerning Indian Health Services, which sought to ensure that healthcare was available to Aboriginal people, and that they had financial assistance to cover the cost of medical treatment. Similarly, the 1979 Indian Health Policy included provisions for the payment of Aboriginal people's non-insured health benefits by the federal government. "The policy also recognized the need for community development, a strong relationship between Indian people, the federal government, and the Canadian health system." Health Canada, 23 July 2001, First Nations and Inuit Health Branch, History of Providing Health Services to First Nations and Inuit People, <http://www.hc-sc.gc.ca/fnihb-dgspni/fnihb/history.htm> [21 February 2005].
- ⁴¹⁴ Common conditions among Inuit included eye disease, skin diseases (lice, scabies, and impetigo), pneumonia and intestinal infection. Many of these illnesses were spread through unsanitary living conditions in traditional and government housing, as well as through increased contact caused by community living. Following this, medical services were expanded throughout the North, including nursing stations located at Cape Dorset and Lake Harbour, as well as improved services for x-rays, immunizations, dental and eye care, and nutritional assessments for many Inuit. Duffy, 56-57, 91.
- ⁴¹⁵ In a 1960 article published in the *Northern Affairs Bulletin*, Abraham Okpik (who later led *Project Surname* on behalf of the federal government) wrote about the two years of tuberculosis care that he received at the Misericordia Hospital in Edmonton and then at the Charles Camsell Hospital. According to Okpik, the federal government's intervention during the 1940s tuberculosis epidemic was the beginning of the transition period, from a traditional way of life to one influenced by southern Canadian culture, for Inuit. As Okpik states, "none of us Eskimo people ever had time to ask how the Government of Canada got interested in our general health." Abraham Okpik, "What do the Eskimo People Want," *Northern Affairs Bulletin* VII.2 (March-April 1960: 38-42), 38-39.
- ⁴¹⁶ Hospitals used for treatment of Inuit included the Mountain Sanatorium in Hamilton, St. Boniface in Winnipeg, and Charles Camsell in Edmonton. Hospitalizing Inuit in large groups helped them to cope with the isolation and cultural shock involved in the transition from northern camps to southern hospitals, yet the large number of Inuit leaving northern communities created difficulties for remaining community members. By 1965, there were only 90 new, active tuberculosis cases in the Northwest Territories, and by 1982, the rate of incidence had dropped to 59.02 cases per 100,000. Federal government improvements to Inuit housing during the 1950s and 1960s did much to lessen the incidence of tuberculosis and other communicable diseases. Tuberculosis and other epidemics were largely eradicated in northern Canada by the 1960s, but many people were traumatized by the experience of being sent south for healthcare while they were ill, causing them to lose communication with their families, sometimes for years. Young children who were sent to sanatoriums were often not able to communicate with their parents in their Inuit language when they returned. Duffy, 70-75; Maundrell and Graham-Cumming, 139; and P.G. Nixon, "Early Administrative Development in Fighting Tuberculosis among Canadian Inuit: Bringing State Institutions Back In," *Northern Review* 2 (Winter 1988: 67-84), 67. See also: Elizabeth Anarye Blake, "Negotiating Health and Illness: an Inuit Example" (Ph.D. diss., University of Alberta, 1978); Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Tuberculosis Among Indians and Eskimos, 1950-1952* (Ottawa: Institutions Sections, Health and Welfare Division, Department of Trade and Commerce, 1956); and Pat Sandiford Grygier, *A Long Way From Home: the Tuberculosis Epidemic Among the Inuit* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994).

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- ⁴¹⁷ For example, in 1946, 37 children under age 15 died on southern Baffin Island, and approximately 20 children died in the Cumberland Sound area. Most of these children were undernourished and lived in what administrators considered “poorer” camps. Most children died between December and March when food was in shortest supply. Between 1956 and 1958, infant mortality rates across Canada averaged 31 per 100,000. Among Inuit, however, the infant mortality rate was 230 per 100,000. Mortality rates among infants between two and twelve months old were higher than for newborns under one month of age, leading the Northern Health Services Office to conclude that inadequate housing with poor heating, unsanitary living conditions, exposure to viruses and bacteria, lack of parental hygiene education, and inaccessible medical care were the main causes of infant mortality. By the mid-1960s, however, Canadian Medical Service studies continued to show high rates of mortality, now mainly among bottle-fed children. The introduction of powdered food suitable for infants discouraged mothers from breast feeding, lowering their infants’ resistance to gastro-intestinal infection, respiratory problems, middle ear problems and anemia. A study by the Department of Pensions and National Health in 1944 determined that Inuit in remote areas with little access to the HBC, and reliant on country diets, were generally healthier than Inuit living near HBC posts. Although the government made substantial efforts toward improving access to medical care and housing for Inuit during the 1950s and 1960s, educational programs in nutrition did not develop at the same rate, leading to deficiencies, such as iron, calcium, and vitamins C and D, and widespread illness. Duffy, 74-86. See also: Richard J. De Boer, “Observations of the Maternal-Infant Caretaking Modalities Among the Netsilik Eskimo of the Central Canadian Arctic” (Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1968).
- ⁴¹⁸ Duffy, 59-61.
- ⁴¹⁹ In 1962, the leading cause of death among Inuit was pneumonia, followed by senility and unknown causes (many people died without receiving medical care), then infant diseases, injuries, gastro-intestinal diseases, cardiovascular diseases, other infectious and parasitic diseases, nervous system diseases, and tuberculosis. Nursing stations provided immediate and preliminary care, and could arrange for patient transportation to larger health care facilities in the North or in southern Canada as was required. Community involvement in health care, such as training Inuit as doctors, nurses, and for other types of community health care has contributed to improved levels of health education among Inuit. Canada, *Health in Canada's North: Brief for the Royal Commission on Health Services* (Ottawa: Northern Health Service, Department of National Health and Welfare, 1962), 3; and John D. O’Neil, “The Politics of Health in the Fourth World: a Northern Canadian Example,” eds. Kenneth S. Coates and William R. Morrison, *Interpreting Canada's North: Selected Readings* (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman Ltd., 1989: 279-298), 283-287.
- ⁴²⁰ The Department of Mines and Resources was given administrative authority for First Nations health when the Department of Indian Affairs was dismantled in 1936. The Northwest Territories Branch was originally part of the Department of the Interior, and was invested with responsibility for Inuit in 1905. Health Canada, 10 April 2003, First Nations and Inuit Health Branch: History of Providing Health Services to First Nations and Inuit People, <http://www.hc-sc.gc.ca/fnihb-dgspni/fnihb/history.htm> [21 February 2005]; and Library and Archives of Canada, Medical Services Branch sous-fonds, <http://data4.collectionscanada.ca>, Search for “Medical Services Branch” in title category of General Inventory [7 March 2005].
- ⁴²¹ The prevalence of these issues have contributed to northern Canada’s labeling as a “Fourth World.” According to O’Neil, fourth worlds are “structured as internal colonies in relation to the larger nationstate, ...[where] the populations involved are the original inhabitants of the area, whose lands have been expropriated and who have become subordinate politically and economically to an immigrant population. Fourth World peoples generally inhabit marginal geographic regions relative to central metropolitan areas, and their resources have historically been exploited by the dominant group without local consultation. ...Fourth world situations continue to be structured by colonial policies. Most importantly, Fourth World peoples are often aggressively involved in ethnonationalist movements.” O’Neil, 280.
- ⁴²² Housing issues are discussed in the previous chapter of the historical review, devoted to programs, policies and infrastructure concerns associated with northern housing.
- ⁴²³ Duffy, 66.
- ⁴²⁴ Duffy, 64-66; *Health Status of Canadian Indians and Inuit* (Ottawa: Health and Welfare Canada, 1990), 21; and *NWT Health Status Report* (Yellowknife: Government of the Northwest Territories, 1999), <http://www.hlthss.gov.nt.ca/hstatus/hstatus.htm> [24 January 2005].
- ⁴²⁵ Senecal.

⁴²⁶ Duffy, 93-94; "Guidelines for the Delivery of HIV/AIDS Programs and Services by Medical Services Branch" (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Health Services Directorate, Medical Services Branch, Health Canada, 1995); and *Health Status of Canadian Indians and Inuit*, 47-48. See also: Alan D. Bowd, "Otitis Media: Its Health, Social and Educational Consequences Particularly for Canadian Inuit, Métis and First Nations Children and Adolescents," Centre of Excellence for Children and Adolescents With Special Needs, Learning and Communication (Thunder Bay: Lakehead University, 2002), <http://www.lcnorth.ca/omforweb.htm> [18 January 2005]; Lloyd Brunes, "The Seniors of Canada's Far North," *Expression: Bulletin of the National Advisory Council on Aging* 17.2 (Spring 2004: 1-8); Peter Collings, "If You Got Everything, Its Good Enough: Perspectives on Successful Aging in a Canadian Inuit Community," *Journal of Cross-Cultural Gerontology* 16.2 (2001: 127-155), <http://ipsapp008.kluweronline.com/IPS/content/ext/x/J/4831/I/17/A/2/abstract.htm> [18 January 2005]; "Interjurisdictional Coordination on HIV/AIDS and Aboriginal Populations: Issues and Approaches" (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Health Services Directorate, Medical Services Branch, Health Canada, 1995); T.K. Young et al, "Cardiovascular Diseases in a Canadian Arctic Population," *American Journal of Public Health* 83.6 (1993: 881-887), <http://www.ajph.org/cgi/content/abstract/83/6/881> [17 January 2005]; and T.K. Young, "Obesity, Central Fat Patterning, and Their Metabolic Correlates Among the Inuit of the Central Canadian Arctic," *Human Biology* 68.2 (1996: 245-263), http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/entrez/query.fcgi?cmd=Retrieve&db=PubMed&list_uids=8838915&dopt=Ci [17 January 2005].

Before 1999, the Northwest Territories included the region of the Eastern Arctic that is now the Territory of Nunavut. Unless otherwise specified, any reference to the NWT before 1999 includes Nunavut.

⁴²⁷ In contrast, diseases of the circulatory system are the leading cause of death among the general Canadian population, followed by cancer, diseases of the respiratory system, injury and poisoning, diseases of the digestive system, nutritional and metabolic diseases, and infectious and parasitic diseases. *Health Status of Canadian Indians and Inuit*, 18-19, 47-49.

⁴²⁸ David Helwig, "NWT Residents are Accident Prone, Live Shorter Lives," *Canadian Medical Association Journal* 162.5 (7 March 2000), <http://www.cmaj.ca/cgi/content/full/162/5/681> [24 January 2005]; and *NWT Health Status Report*, <http://www.hlthss.gov.nt.ca/hstatus/hstatus.htm> [24 January 2005].

⁴²⁹ *Diabetes Among Aboriginal People in Canada: the Evidence* (Ottawa: Health Canada, Aboriginal Diabetes Initiative, 2000), 7-8. See also: T. Kue Young et al, "Type 2 Diabetes Mellitus in Canada's First Nations: Status of an Epidemic in Progress," *Canadian Medical Association Journal* 163.5 (5 September 2000), <http://www.cmaj.ca/cgi/content/full/163/5/561> [17 January 2005].

⁴³⁰ Incidences of gonorrhoea, for example, were at 5,577 per 100,000 among Inuit, compared to 200 per 100,000 for the rest of Canada. Duffy, 93-94; "Guidelines for the Delivery of HIV/AIDS Programs and Services by Medical Services Branch" (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Health Services Directorate, Medical Services Branch, Health Canada, 1995); and *Health Status of Canadian Indians and Inuit*, 47-48. See also: Bowd; Brunes; "Interjurisdictional Coordination on HIV/AIDS and Aboriginal Populations: Issues and Approaches" (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Health Services Directorate, Medical Services Branch, Health Canada, 1995); T.K. Young et al; and T.K. Young.

⁴³¹ Many northern church leaders and government administrators objected to the policy of removing Inuit to the south for tuberculosis treatment. They focused on the benefits of constructing northern treatment centers, thereby preventing cultural loss. Health and Welfare personnel, however, expressed concerns about retaining qualified medical staff at northern facilities. Duffy, 67-71. See also: Stefan Grzybowski and Edward A. Allen, "Tuberculosis: 2. History of the Disease in Canada," *Canadian Medical Association Journal* 160.7 (6 April 1999: 1025-1028). Infant mortality continues to exist in higher levels among Aboriginal Canadians than the population in general, with 16.3 per 1,000 deaths among Inuit infants compared to 7.3 per 1,000 for the rest of Canada. Duffy, 80; and H.L. MacMillan et al., "Aboriginal Health," *Canadian Medical Association Journal* 155.11 (1996): 1569-1578, <http://www.cmaj.ca/cgi/content/abstract/155/11/1569> [17 January 2005]. See also: Jennifer Blythe, "Maternal-Child Health Care Programs for Aboriginal People: A Review of the Literature" (Ottawa: Department of National Health and Welfare, 1995).

⁴³² By 1982, there were only 59.02 new cases per 100,000 of tuberculosis in the Northwest Territories. The rate of infant mortality decreased from 86.5 per 1,000 live births to 38.5 per 1,000, and by 1978, the rate of infant mortality had dropped to 17.6 per 1,000 births in the eastern Arctic. Russel Lawrence Barsh, "Canada's Aboriginal Peoples: Social Integration or Disintegration," *Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 14.1 (1994: 1-46), 17, <http://www.brandonu.ca/library/cjns/14.1/barsh.pdf> [17 January 2005]; and Duffy, 67-71.

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- ⁴³³ Low Income Measures (LIMs) were identified from secondary source data collected on a community, and in accordance with Statistics Canada methods of establishing poverty levels. Marcelle Chabot, "Socio-Economic Status and Food Security of Low-Income Households in Kuujuaq" (Pontiac, Quebec: Community Health Research Program, 2004), iii-v.
- ⁴³⁴ While the Inuit birth rate is steadily growing, the birth rate for the rest of Canada is declining. In 1973, the birth rate for Inuit was 33.8 per 1,000 of the population, compared to 15.5 per 1,000 for the rest of Canada. By 1988, the birth rate for Inuit was 36.7 per 1,000 of the population, while it was 14.5 per 1,000 for the rest of Canada. The Medical Services Branch (now the First Nations and Inuit Health Branch) of Health Canada generated these statistics. Only Inuit in the Northwest Territories (including what is now Nunavut) were included in these statistics. *Health Status of Canadian Indians and Inuit*, 12. See also: Anna Banerji *et al.*, "Lower Respiratory Tract Infections in Inuit Infants on Baffin Island," *Canadian Medical Association Journal* 164.13 (26 June 2001), <http://www.cmaj.ca/cgi/content/full/164/13/1847> [24 January 2005]; Alan Cass, "Health Outcomes in Aboriginal Populations," *Canadian Medical Association Journal* 171.6 (14 September 2004), <http://www.cmaj.ca/cgi/content/full/171/6/597> [24 January 2004]; Louise Seguin *et al.*, "Effects of Low Income on Infant Health," *Canadian Medical Association Journal* 168.12 (10 June 2003: 1533-1538), <http://www.pubmedcentral.nih.gov/articlerender.fcgi?artid=156683> [17 January 2005]; Wanda Wenman *et al.*, "A Prospective Cohort Study of Pregnancy Risk Factors and Birth Outcomes in Aboriginal Women," *Canadian Medical Association Journal* 171.6 (14 September 2004), <http://www.cmaj.ca/cgi/content/abstract/171/6/585?view=abstractfp=585&vol=171&lookupType=volpage> [24 January 2005].
- ⁴³⁵ The 2001 Aboriginal Peoples Survey indicates that 70% of adult Inuit engaged in traditional harvesting activities during the year that the survey was conducted. Traditional harvesting was most frequent among middle aged adult males, and in the regions of Nunavik (81% of adults), Labrador (76%) and Nunavut (70%). In the Inuvialuit Region, 55% of adult Inuit engaged in traditional harvesting activities. In Nunavik, traditional foods comprised a significant portion of the diet, as 78% of households harvested at least half of the meat and fish that they consumed. "Harvesting and Community Well-Being Among Inuit in the Canadian Arctic: Preliminary Findings from the 2001 Aboriginal Peoples Survey – Survey of Living Conditions in the Arctic," 6 March 2006, Statistics Canada, <http://www.statcan.ca/english/freepub/89-619-XIE/89-619-XIE2006001.htm> [9 March 2006].
- ⁴³⁶ *Contaminants in Northern Ecosystems and Native Diets: Summary of an Evaluation Meeting* (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 28 February to 2 March 1989), 5. See also: P. Ayotte, *et al.*, "PCBs and Dioxin-Like Compounds in Plasma of Adult Inuit Living in Nunavik (Arctic Quebec)," *Chemosphere* 34.5-7 (March-April 1997: 1459-1468), <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/entrez/query.fcgi?CMD=Display&DB=pubmed> [17 January 2005]; and Gina Muckle *et al.*, "Determinants of Polychlorinated Biphenyls and Methylmercury Exposure in Inuit Women of Childbearing Age," *Environmental Health Perspectives* 109.9 (September 2001: 957-963), <http://ehp.niehs.nih.gov/members/2001/109p957-963muckle/muckle.pdf> [17 January 2005].
- ⁴³⁷ Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 23 April 2004, Description of the NCP, http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/NCP/abt_e.html [1 June 2006].
- ⁴³⁸ In one study of country food contamination, however, many Inuit claimed having abilities to detect contamination in animals, based on their behaviour and appearance. C. Furgal *et al.*, *Country Foods: Benefits and Risks: A Resource Document for Nunavik and Labrador* (Waterloo: Institute for Risk Research, University of Waterloo, 1999), Fact Sheet 3-1.
- ⁴³⁹ Barsh, 20.
- ⁴⁴⁰ Indian and Northern Affairs Canada administers this program in partnership with Canada Post. Luc L. Ladoceur and Frederick Hill, "Results of the Survey on Food Quality in Six Isolated Communities in Labrador, March 2001" (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, January 2002); and Judith Lawn, "An Update on Nutrition Surveys in Isolated Northern Communities" (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 2002).
- Labrador Inuit were most dissatisfied with the freshness of food in their grocery stores (45%), compared to Inuit in Nunavut (32%) and in Nunavik (23%). "Harvesting and Community Well-Being Among Inuit in the Canadian Arctic: Preliminary Findings from the 2001 Aboriginal Peoples Survey – Survey of Living Conditions in the Arctic," 6 March 2006, Statistics Canada, <http://www.statcan.ca/english/freepub/89-619-XIE/89-619-XIE2006001.htm> [9 March 2006].

- ⁴⁴¹ A program evaluation noted that hunting should be more broadly conceptualized to include processing activities, which would mean subsidizing the cost of items like sewing machines. This would be of direct benefit to women, who are often the people most involved in processing activities. When hunters have to rely on others to take them hunting, the entire family does not benefit from the exercise as much as when they are able to hunt as a unit. Archibald and Crnkovich.
- ⁴⁴² Stella van Rensburg and Alice Isnor, "Primary Health Care 2000 in Kitikmeot, Nunavut, Canada: "Polar Bare Facts" (Melbourne, Australia: International Conference, Primary Health Care 2000, "Creating Healthy Communities", 17-20 April 2000: 1-6), 3, http://www.latrobe.edu.au/aipc/PDF%20Papers/isnor_78.pdf [24 January 2005].
- ⁴⁴³ Health Canada, 20 August 2002, Non-Insured Health Benefits, <http://www.hc-sc.gc.ca/fnihb/nihb/aboutnihb.htm> [19 January 2005].
- ⁴⁴⁴ Health Canada, 28 May 2005, Non-Insured Health Benefits Program, Annual Report, 2003-2004, http://www.hc-sc.gc.ca/fnih-spni/pubs/nihb-ssna/2003-2004_rpt/2-1_e.html#1 [15 June 2006].
- ⁴⁴⁵ Within the NIHB Directorate, there is a Program Analysis and Planning Division, an Operational Support Division, Benefit Management Division, and a First Nations/Inuit Liaison/Policy, Program Development Division. Health Canada, 20 August 2002, Non-Insured Health Benefits, <http://www.hc-sc.gc.ca/fnihb/nihb/aboutnihb.htm> [19 January 2005].
- ⁴⁴⁶ Inuit status cards are generated by each of the four land claim beneficiary corporations, and hence, are not nationally standardized in their appearance or in the information that they contain. None of the four beneficiary corporations currently provides its members with cards that include photographic identification. The lack of photo ID, which is included on First Nations status cards, and the different appearance of the cards means that they are often not recognized as legitimate by pharmacies and other healthcare services in Canada. This means that Inuit have to pay for healthcare, and then seek reimbursement from Health Canada. Lemchuk-Favel and Richard Jock, "Aboriginal Health Systems in Canada," *Journal of Aboriginal Health* (January 2004: 28-51), 35-37, <http://www.naho.ca/> [17 January 2005]; and Michelin interview, 14 February 2005.
- Please refer to Table 1 in the chapter on Inuit Political Organizations for a visual understanding of the relationship between regional Inuit organizations, comprehensive land claims, and Inuit land claim beneficiary corporations. The four comprehensive land claim settlements between Inuit and Canada are: the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement and Complementary Agreements (JBNQA), which were reached in 1975 in northern Quebec; the Inuvialuit Final Agreement, which was reached in 1984 in the western Arctic; the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement, which was settled in 1993 in the eastern Arctic; and the Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement, which was settled in 2003 in northern Labrador.
- ⁴⁴⁷ Health Canada, 28 January 2003, Northern Secretariat, <http://www.hc-sc.gc.ca/fnihb/ns/index.htm> [21 February 2005].
- ⁴⁴⁸ Roberta E. Stewart, *Voices from Communities: First Nations and Inuit* (West Vancouver: SAGALTS' APKW Community Development Group, 1995), 4-5.
- ⁴⁴⁹ Daily costs to run the hospitals vary between the eastern and western Arctic, and also vary yearly based on types of care required. Duffy, 64-65.
- ⁴⁵⁰ *First Nations and Inuit Regional Health Survey* (Ottawa: First Nations and Inuit Regional Health Survey Steering Committee, 1999), 224, http://www.naho.ca/firstnations/english/pdf/key_docs_1.pdf [18 January 2005]; and Lemchuk-Favel and Jock, 44-45.
- ⁴⁵¹ Lemchuk-Favel and Jock, 44-45.
- ⁴⁵² Beginning with the administration of a single program, the LIHC has overseen the NIHB program since 1989, the FNIHB federal health transfer since 1996, and provincial community and public health services since 1997. Lemchuk-Favel and Jock, 47-48.
- ⁴⁵³ *First Nations and Inuit Regional Health Survey*, 227.
- ⁴⁵⁴ In some cases, language barriers between expectant mothers and hospital staff increase the women's sense of loneliness and isolation, and cause increased levels of stress. Inuit Women's Health: Overview and Policy Issues (Ottawa: Pauktuutit Inuit Women's Association of Canada, 2000), 2-3 and 13.

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- ⁴⁵⁵ *First Nations and Inuit Regional Health Survey*, 227; and “The Inuulitsivik Maternity: Issues Around the Return of Inuit Midwifery and Birth to Povungnituk, Quebec” (Montreal: Report Submitted to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, November 1993), 1-22, 2, 22-30, 45-46.
- ⁴⁵⁶ *First Nations and Inuit Regional Health Survey*, 229. See also: “Agenda for First Nations and Inuit Mental Health” (Ottawa: Steering Committee, Medical Services Branch, Health and Welfare Canada, 1991); Lucy J. Boothroyd *et al.*, “Completed Suicides Among the Inuit of Northern Quebec, 1982-1996: a Case- Control Study,” *Canadian Medical Association Journal* 165.6 (18 September 2001), <http://www.cmaj.ca/> [24 January 2005]; and Nancy K. McGrath-Hanna *et al.*, “Diet and Mental Health in the Arctic: Is Diet and Important Risk Factor For Mental Health in Circumpolar Peoples?—A Review,” *International Journal of Circumpolar Health* 62.3 (2003: 228-241), <http://ijch.fi/> [18 January 2005].
- ⁴⁵⁷ Carlos R. Quinonez, “A Political Economy of Oral Health Services in Nunavut,” *Circumpolar Health* (2003: 324-329), 325, http://ijch.oulu.fi/issues/63suppl2/ICCH12_Quinonez.pdf [17 January 2005].
- ⁴⁵⁸ Although dental care for Inuit is covered under the NIHB program, there is significant criticism by Aboriginal people regarding the transfer of these services from federal to Aboriginal administration and the post-transfer level of funding assigned for these services. Dentists, too, have expressed concerns regarding the NIHB program and, “the levels of oral health experienced by those it is meant to insure.” The predominance of private dental practices rather than public dental clinics throughout the North compounds the need for preventative oral health education and greater access to dental care services. Quinonez, 326-7.
- ⁴⁵⁹ Pauktuutit was established in 1984 and provides hands-on healthcare programming and educational campaigns for Inuit. Although Pauktuutit is the national organization representing Inuit women, and therefore focuses on health issues of particular concern to women, such as family violence and breast cancer, Pauktuutit recognizes that health issues affecting individual family members have repercussions for the entire family and seek to work with entire families and communities holistically in resolving health issues. Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami also has a health division and focuses their efforts on healthcare policies. Martha Greig, President, Pauktuutit, interview by author, 9 February 2006, digital recording, Pauktuutit, Ottawa; and *Inuit Women's Health: Overview and Policy Issues* (Ottawa: Pauktuutit Inuit Women's Association of Canada, 2000), 12-22.
- ⁴⁶⁰ Lemchuk-Favel and Jock, 28-36.
- ⁴⁶¹ The Aboriginal Healing Institute was officially incorporated as the Organization for the Advancement of Aboriginal Peoples' Health, and will conduct research on health information, traditional health and healing, and health policy. Projects funded by the Foundation in Nunavut include those for women survivors of residential schools, family counseling initiatives, and training youth/peer counselors. Aboriginal Healing Foundation, 2004, Funded Projects – Nunavut, http://www.ahf.ca/newsite/english/funded_projects/display_projects.php?region=Nunavut&sort=name&active=1 [21 February 2005]; Health Canada, 23 July 2001, First Nations and Inuit Health Branch, “History of Providing Health Services to First Nations and Inuit People,” <http://www.hc-sc.gc.ca/fnihb-dgspni/fnihb/history.htm> [21 February 2005]; Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 4 November 2004, “Gathering Strength - Canada's Aboriginal Action Plan,” http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/gs/index_e.html [21 February 2005]; Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2005, Background on Inuit Health for Discussion at Health Sectoral Meeting, <http://www.itk.ca/> [19 July 2005]; and McGoldrick interview, 10 February 2005.
- ⁴⁶² A recent study by the Canadian Co-operative Association demonstrates that establishing healthcare cooperatives in isolated, Aboriginal, and northern communities has the potential to address many of the healthcare issues currently concerning Inuit, including providing Inuit-specific and culturally-sensitive programming and services, developing preventative healthcare services as well as offering curative services, using strengths of Inuit communities and building on them rather than focusing on elements lacking in northern communities, and providing opportunities for local development and administration of healthcare services. Similar to economic co-operatives, which have successfully provided opportunities for Inuit to learn business skills, created year-round and sustainable jobs for Inuit, and contributed to local economies, healthcare co-operatives would be member operated, thereby facilitating the development of community directed programs. Shannon Rohan, “Opportunities for Co-operative Health Provision in Rural, Remote and Northern Aboriginal Communities” (Canadian Co-Operative Association, November 2003), 2-3.

Recent studies on the healthcare needs of Aboriginal Canadians concluded that, relative to their population among Aboriginal peoples, Inuit men were over-represented in healthcare studies. Women and children were understudied based on their ratio of the Aboriginal population. Many studies focused on the issues of health determinants, health status, and healthcare. While significant, these issues do not affect Inuit to the same degree as accidents and injuries, which were addressed in few studies. Similarly, rehabilitation was neglected as a topic of study. This study was conducted through a search of *Medline Journal* articles published between 1992 and 2001. 254 journal articles were included in the study. Location plays a significant role in the ability of Inuit to effectively access medical care. K. Bruce Newbold, "Problems in Search of Solutions: Health and Canadian Aboriginals," *Journal of Community Health* 23.1 (February 1998: 59-74), 59, <http://www.springerlink.com/content/umo8365880k5842h/?p=52beba618233443cf8238c0a3b8da8720&pi=0> [18 January 2005]; and T. Kue Young, "Review of Research on Aboriginal Populations in Canada: Relevance to Their Health Needs," *BMJ* 327.7412 (23 August 2003), <http://www.pubmedcentral.nih.gov/articlerender.fcgi?artid=181255> [18 January 2005].

For more information on family violence, please see the chapter on Justice and Policing Issues.

- ⁴⁶³ Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2005, Backgrounder on Inuit Health for Discussion at Health Sectoral Meeting, <http://www.itk.ca/roundtable/sectoral-health-backgrounder.php> [19 July 2005].
- ⁴⁶⁴ Thomas interview, 26 April 2005.
- ⁴⁶⁵ Lemchuk-Favel and Jock, 45; Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2005, 2004 Press Release Archive: "Inuit Youth experiencing Alarming Suicide Rates Take Responsibility and Action to Restore Hope," <http://www.itk.ca/> [19 July 2005]; and Thomas interview, 26 April 2005.
- ⁴⁶⁶ Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, "Inuit Embrace Life, Motivate Others to Follow Suit: Commemorating World Suicide Prevention Day," 6 September 2005, <http://www.itk.ca/media/press-archive-20050906.php> [9 November 2005].
- ⁴⁶⁷ Lack of healthcare providers is a significant problem in the North. In 1998, for example, fewer Aboriginal peoples in the NWT had seen medical specialists or dentists than the rest of the Canadian population. More Aboriginal peoples in the NWT, however, had seen nurses and social workers than the rest of the Canadian population. *First Nations and Inuit Regional Health Survey* (Ottawa: First Nations and Inuit Regional Health Survey Steering Committee, 1999), 227, http://www.naho.ca/firstnations/english/pdf/key_docs_1.pdf [18 January 2005].
- ⁴⁶⁸ David Helwig, "NWT Report urges Recognition for Aboriginal Healers," *Canadian Medical Association Journal* 162.13 (27 June 2000), <http://www.cmaj.ca/cgi/content/full/162/13/1862> [24 January 2005]; Lemchuk-Favel and Jock, 45; and Michelin interview, 14 February 2005. See also: Claudette Dumont-Smith, "Information Session of Proceedings on The National First Nations and Inuit Working Group on the Non-Traditional Use of Tobacco for Medical Services Branch, Health Canada" (Ottawa: Medical Services Branch, Health Canada, 1995); Heather Kent, "MDs Get Crash Course in Inuit Culture as Young Patients Arrive in Ottawa," *Canadian Medical Association Journal* 162.10 (16 May 2000), <http://www.cmaj.ca/cgi/content/full/162/10/1481> [17 January 2005]; and Barbara Sibbald, "Inuit Physician Aims to Inspire," *Canadian Medical Association Journal* 162.12 (13 June 2000), <http://www.cmaj.ca/> [24 January 2005].
- ⁴⁶⁹ Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2005, Backgrounder on Inuit Health for Discussion at Health Sectoral Meeting, <http://www.itk.ca/roundtable/sectoral-health-backgrounder.php> [19 July 2005].
- ⁴⁷⁰ Three of the residential schools were Catholic and were located at Aklavik, Fort Resolution, and Fort Providence. One residential school, also at Aklavik, was Anglican. Only one of the day schools, an Anglicanrun facility at Pangnirtung, was located in the eastern Arctic. Of the remaining eight day schools, five were Catholic, one was Anglican and two were public. The schools accommodated Aboriginal (Inuit, Métis and First Nation) and non-Aboriginal students. Missionary societies were granted \$400 per year to operate residential schools, \$200 to \$250 annually for day schools, and \$500 to \$1,500 was given to operate public day schools. The eastern Arctic received its first two federal day schools from the Department of Mines and Resources in 1949 and 1950. The schools were located in Coral Harbour and Cape Dorset. Canada, *Education in the North* (Ottawa: Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, 1965), 2; and Duffy, 95-96; Patrick Flanagan, "Schooling, Souls and Social Class: the Labrador Inuit" (MA thesis, University of New Brunswick, 1984), ii-iii, 54-56; and Ben-Dor, 297-301.
- ⁴⁷¹ Duffy, 95-97, 105.

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- ⁴⁷² The Department of Resources and Development sent a representative on the Royal Canadian Mounted Police's (RCMP) annual Eastern Arctic Patrol to assess the level of education then provided to Inuit and to make recommendations for their future needs. The government realized it was impractical for Inuit to maintain traditional subsistence practices, and that some degree of assimilation to southern Canadian culture would be required for their successful participation in the wage economy. Duffy, 102.
- ⁴⁷³ Hostel accommodations were established in Iqaluit, Great Whale River, Churchill, Inuvik and Yellowknife. As well as residential schools and hostels, some Inuit children were boarded in private homes. Children living in residential schools found it physically difficult to adjust to meat-based diets and outdoor living after spending ten months in school residences. Parents expressed concern about their children's lack of respect for the family and culture. By 1959, residential schools with vocational training and teachers' quarters had opened in Iqaluit, Fort Macpherson, Fort Smith and Aklavik. Between 1960 and 1967, similar facilities were constructed at Pagnirtung, Broughton Island, Arctic Bay, Resolute Bay, Clyde River, Igloodik, Pond Inlet, Grise Fiord, Padloping, Lake Harbour and Hall Beach. Residential schools were found to be "diseducative" for students returning to camp life or even very rural communities. The experiences of residential school were often so different from community life that students did not carry over skills or knowledge they had acquired. To the frustration of students, they were often required to repeat the same grade several times as the length of the school year was shorter for Inuit students, because of parents' need to move to summer camps, than was needed to complete grade-level curriculum. Duffy, 97, 105; Charles W. Hobart, "Report on Canadian Arctic Eskimos: some consequences of residential schooling," *Journal of American Indian Education* 7.2 (1968: 7-17), 13-17; David King, "A Brief Report of The Federal Government of Canada's Residential School System for Inuit," Aboriginal Healing Foundation, 2006, <http://www.ahf.ca/assets/pdf/english/king-summary-f-web.pdf> [14 June 2006]; and D.W. Simpson and D.K.F. Wattie, "The Role and Impact of the Educational Program in the Process of Change in Canadian Eskimo Communities," 19th Alaskan Science Conference (Whitehorse, 26-30 August 1968), 1.
- ⁴⁷⁴ The dual system of education continued in Quebec into the early 1970s. Dwight Louis Moodie, "Federal and Provincial Initiatives and Conflicts in Arctic Quebec Inuit Education" (MA thesis, University of Calgary, 1975), iii-iv.
- ⁴⁷⁵ Ben-Dor, 297-301.
- ⁴⁷⁶ Duffy, 114-116; John K. Naysmith, "The Impact of Technology Upon Native People and their Traditional Pursuits," (Buenos Aires, Argentina: Seventh World Forestry Congress, October 1972); and Arnaquq and Pitsiulak interview, 27 April 2005.
- ⁴⁷⁷ Duffy, 106; and Simpson and Wattie, 2.
- ⁴⁷⁸ Abraham Okpik, "Ancient People in a Changing World," *Imperial Oil Review* 44 (October 1960: 17-20), 17-20.
- ⁴⁷⁹ These assistants are the first example of Inuit as classroom teachers. Teachers were expected to participate in community activities after school hours and were often leaders of recreational and organized activities, such as Girl Guide and Boy Scout groups. Many northern teachers had one year of experience and were between the ages of 26 and 30. By 1960, all northern teachers had at least a first class teaching certificate. Canada, *Education in the North: Ten Years of Progress* (Ottawa: Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, 1961), 5-6, 13; D.K.F. Wattie, "Education in the Canadian Arctic," *The Polar Record* 14.90 (1968: 293-304), 298.

Federally run adult education and vocational programs were also offered to prepare Inuit for work in viable economic opportunities, while ensuring maintenance of their connection with family and community. The 1968 manual for a course in managing co-operative businesses for Inuit, sponsored by Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, is an example of such an initiative. The course was designed and packaged for instruction within northern communities, and includes speaking notes, visual aids, and a course book for participants that is translated into both English and Inuktitut. The course explained the history of the shift from a subsistence-oriented way of life to a wage-labour oriented lifestyle, how Arctic co-operatives should operate, and where co-operatives existed within the context of the Canadian and international economies. Born, 1; and Keith J. Crowe, *Introduction to Arctic Co-operatives* (Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Adult Education, Arctic District, 1968), 1-2.

⁴⁸⁰ By 1968, there were 67 schools serving Inuit students in the NWT and northern Quebec. Sixty two schools were federal, three were municipal (Yellowknife and Hay River) and two were run by mining companies (Discovery, located near Yellowknife; and Tungsten, located near the Yukon border). As schools were often the largest buildings in northern communities, the government ensured the inclusion of large multipurpose rooms in schools for community events and meetings as well as students' physical activities. There were nine large student residences operating in the North; two were federally run, while administration of the other seven was contracted to Roman Catholic and Anglican missionary organizations. These residences were: Fleming Hall (Fort McPherson), Bompas Hall (Fort Simpson), Lapointe Hall (Fort Simpson), Breynat Hall (Fort Smith), Grollier Hall (Inuvik), Stringer Hall (Inuvik), Akaitcho Hall (Yellowknife), Turquetil Hall (Chesterfield Inlet), and a vocational school residence (Fort Churchill, Manitoba). One hundred and three students were also housed in seven hostels located in smaller communities. Wattie, 297-298.

⁴⁸¹ In 1955, 15% of six to fifteen year olds attended school in the NWT. By 1964, this number had risen to 75% for the same age group. Many more students than the government predicted remained in school after the compulsory age of 15, to complete some level of secondary education. The average length of time for secondary study was three years. In 1965, the Education Division of the Northern Administration Branch, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources stated that its objectives for education in the North were to provide, "basic elementary education and secondary education for all children in the Northwest Territories and vocational and adult education for those beyond school age." The Department's goal was to have all school-aged children in the NWT and northern Quebec in the education system by 1970. Canada, 1; Duffy, 111-12; and Wattie, 293-294.

⁴⁸² Elijah Menarik, "Eskimo Viewpoint," *The Northian* 4.2(Spring 1967: 125-128), 125-126; Irniq interview, 27 April 2005; and Watt interview, 19 May 2005.

⁴⁸³ Raising the literacy rate of Inuit was a slow process complicated by many factors, including the lack of tradition for formal education among Inuit, and the continued predominance of Inuit languages spoken in most homes. Duffy, 112-115.

⁴⁸⁴ In 1963, the NWT Council passed legislation to provide free university tuition to northern residents, with the condition that they reside in the NWT for three years upon completion of their degree. Scholarships, bursaries, grants, student aid and correspondence courses improved education levels. Throughout the late 1960s, and continuing to the present, the government departments responsible for Inuit education have expanded the range and types of vocational training available to include apprentice training, and programs in areas including teaching, communications, construction, and tourism. The first Inuk elected to the NWT Council in 1966 was a carpenter from Iqaluit with experience in his local housing authority and the co-operative business movement. Canada (1965), 3-4; and Duffy, 114-116. See also: Robert Richard O'Reilly, *Northern Students Attending Post-Secondary Institution in Canada, 1966-1967: A Preliminary Study* (Ottawa: Education Division, Northern Administration Branch, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1968[?]).

⁴⁸⁵ The government also realized the importance of providing at least some education during early grades in traditional languages to ease the transition of young children from home to school, and continued to expand programming that utilized languages, such as Inuktitut, the Inuit language spoken in the eastern Arctic. Born, 1.

⁴⁸⁶ Inuit from the western Arctic were more likely to be hired for work at DEW Line sites, even those sites located in the eastern Arctic, because their literacy rates were generally higher than those of Inuit in the eastern Arctic. This situation prompted the construction of day schools in smaller communities to encourage elementary schooling while allowing children to live with their parents. As secondary schools were only located in the largest communities, however, most of these students had to live in hostels, boarding homes, or residences to obtain education. Two elected Inuit members also served on the NWT Council, the governing body of the NWT. Duffy, 102-115.

⁴⁸⁷ Before 1999, the Northwest Territories included the region of the Eastern Arctic that is now the Territory of Nunavut. Unless otherwise specified, any reference to the NWT before 1999 includes Nunavut.

Additionally, in 1969, only 25% of Aboriginal peoples in the NWT had full time wage employment. By 1970, 60% of the population of the NWT had not received any formal education. Duffy, 127-129; Paul Welsman, "Education of Native Peoples in the Northwest Territories: A Northern Model," *The North in Transition*, Nils Orvik, ed. (Kingston: Centre for International Relations, Queen's University, 1976: 21-47), 38.

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⁴⁸⁸ Duffy, 111-114; Welsman, 21; and Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, Backgrounder on Inuit and Education for Discussion at Life Long Learning Sectoral Meetings, 20 October 2004, <http://www.itk.ca/roundtable/sectoral-lifelearning-backgrounder.php> [19 July 2005].

In a report recently released by the Conciliator of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement implementation contract negotiations, Justice Thomas Berger recommended increasing the relevancy of Nunavut's educational curricula to Inuit. Berger (2006).

⁴⁸⁹ Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami was originally called Inuit Tapirisat of Canada but was renamed in 2001. Kusugak, 6; "Timelines and Milestones: 30 Years With ITC," Inuktitut: Special Edition of Inuit Today (Ottawa: Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, 2001), 43; and Duffy, 118-119.

⁴⁹⁰ The Inuit Cultural Institute is a branch organization of Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, whose objective is to preserve and promote traditional Inuit languages and cultures. Duffy, 118-121.

⁴⁹¹ NICE lacked funding, however, only met once and did not establish any alternative educational programming for Inuit. Duffy, 121.

⁴⁹² The President of the Education Society in Igloodik suggested that he would rather have children in the eastern Arctic attend secondary schools in southern Canada than GREC in Iqaluit when it meant exposing impressionable youth to social problems without their parents present to guide their behaviour. Duffy, 118-120.

⁴⁹³ Duffy, 118-121; Welsman, 35-37; Curley interview, 27 April 2005; and Irniq interview, 27 April 2005.

⁴⁹⁴ Man in the North Project, *Education in the Canadian North: Three Reports, 1971-1972* (Montreal: The Arctic Institute of North America, 1973), v, 7-9.

⁴⁹⁵ Man in the North Project, 57, 115-125.

⁴⁹⁶ Ann Vick-Westgate, *Nunavik: Inuit-Controlled Education in Arctic Quebec* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2002), 85; Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, Backgrounder on Inuit and Education for Discussion at Life Long Learning Sectoral Meetings, 20 October 2004, <http://www.itk.ca/roundtable/sectoral-lifelearningbackgrounder.pho> [19 July 2005]; *Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, Vol. 3 Gathering Strength, Ch. 5 Education*, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 23 April 2004, http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ch/rcap/sg/si42_e.html [21 March 2005]; and Michael Mills, Senior Policy Analyst, Education Policy and Planning, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, interview by author, 23 January 2006, telephone to Public History, Ottawa.

⁴⁹⁷ Before the Kativik School Board initiated development of secondary school facilities in Nunavik, Inuit were sent to secondary schools in Ontario or Churchill, Manitoba. Vick-Westgate, 86.

⁴⁹⁸ The Kativik School Board is comprised of representatives from each of the fourteen communities, a counsellor appointed by the Kativik Regional Government, and an executive drawn from the members of the board, who are elected every three years. Vick-Westgate, 89-90.

⁴⁹⁹ Arnaquq and Pitsiulak interview, 27 April 2005.

⁵⁰⁰ Vick-Westgate, 96; Welsman, 32-33; and Arnaquq and Pitsiulak interview, 27 April 2005.

An example of the successes and failures of Inuit education during the 1970s and early 1980s are evident in a 2002 report for the Status of Women Canada. Here, Aboriginal women, including Inuit, provided testimony regarding their educational experiences. An Inuk woman recalled her childhood school experiences (likely during the 1970s or early 1980s), including her family's move from a camp to a community so that she could live at home while attending school. She described her unilingual English education, and claimed that she lost much of her cultural knowledge during elementary school. She remembered the teacher education college program that she later attended as very culturally relevant. She stated that the program helped her to appreciate her history, language and culture. Carolyn Kenny, *North American Indian, Métis and Inuit Women Speak About Culture, Education and Work* (Ottawa: Status of Women Canada, 2002), 49-51, <http://dsp-psd.communication.gc.ca/Collection/SW21-90-2001E.pdf> [11 March 2005].

⁵⁰¹ The NTEP is accredited through McGill University and has graduated over 280 students with 3-year certificates and another 103 students with four-year degrees since 1981. Although not all NTEP graduates seek employment as educators, the high population growth rate in the North means that many teachers

who speak Inuktitut are needed as educators, particularly to teach primary grades. Mark MacKay, Director of Policy, Department of Education, and Louise Flaherty, Director, Northern Teacher Education Program, Government of Nunavut, interview by author, 26 April 2005, digital recording, Sivumut Building, Iqaluit, Nunavut; and Arnaquq and Pitsiulak interview, 27 April 2005.

- ⁵⁰² This study also noted the need for employees to participate in positive, community oriented activities during non-work hours, as many were lonely away from home for their training and initial employment, and were prone to alcoholism and other self-destructive behaviour. Naysmith, 13-17; and Irniq interview, 27 April 2005.
- ⁵⁰³ MacKay and Flaherty interview, 26 April 2005; and Arnaquq and Pitsiulak interview, 27 April 2005.
- ⁵⁰⁴ INAC's post secondary support for Aboriginal students is designed to increase student participation in post-secondary education and to improve future employment opportunities. In northern Quebec and Labrador, third party agreements are used to fund the program, which is administered by the land claim beneficiary organizations. Regional INAC offices administer the third party agreements and transfer funding. Generally, Inuit in Nunavut and the NWT are ineligible for INAC's post-secondary support as they receive comparable support from territorial student financial support programs. Inuit who have relocated to southern Canada for several years and are ineligible for territorial programs can access postsecondary support from INAC. Mills interview, 23 January 2006; Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 13 May 2004, Post-Secondary Education for Status Indians and Inuit: December 2000, http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/pr/info110_e.html [9 November 2005]; and Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 27 April 2004, Post-Secondary Education Program, http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/pr/pub/ywtk/sgp03_e.html [9 November 2005].
- ⁵⁰⁵ The Anik-B project was discontinued in 1981 because it lacked funding. Duffy, 126-127; *Federal Programs for Status Indians, Métis and Non-Status Indians and Inuit* (Ottawa: Intergovernmental Affairs Branch, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1980), C7; Kenny, 49-51; *Native Broadcasting in the North of Canada: A New and Potent Force* (Ottawa: European Joint Study on the Role of Communications in the Cultural Development of Rural Areas, Canadian Commission for UNESCO, 1986); and Welsman, 32-33.
- ⁵⁰⁶ *Learning, Tradition and Change in the Northwest Territories* (Yellowknife: Northwest Territories Legislative Assembly, Special Committee on Education, 1982), 11-22; Duffy, 126-127; and Welsman, 32-33.
- ⁵⁰⁷ Vick-Westgate, 125-126; and *Silatunirmut: The Pathway to Wisdom: Final Report of the Nunavik Educational Task Force* (Lachine, Quebec: Makivik Corporation, 1992).
- ⁵⁰⁸ Additionally, parents' language ability in English and French is often better in terms of their reading and comprehension rather than their speaking and writing. Interestingly, as parents' capacity in second languages increased, they perceived their children's capacity for their traditional language to decrease. E. Bougie, *et al.*, "Early Heritage-Language Education and the Abrupt Shift to a Dominant-Language Classroom: Impact on the Personal and Collective Esteem of Inuit Children in Arctic Quebec," *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 6.5 (1 September 2003: 349-373), 349; W. Louis and D.M. Taylor, "When the Survival of a Language is at Stake," *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 20.1 (March 2001: 111-143); N. Spada and P.M. Lightbown, "L1 and L2 in the Education of Inuit Children in Northern Quebec," *Language and Education* 16.3 (1 September 2002: 212-240); D.M. Taylor, M. Caron and L. McAlpine, "Patterns of Perceived Language Ability and Use in Arctic Quebec," *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 3.4 (1 December 2000: 283-296); and Vick-Westgate, 125-126.
- ⁵⁰⁹ Providing up to date curriculum material in traditional languages is difficult because this material cannot be ordered from most educational publishers in Canada. In Nunavut, for example, the Department of Education writes the curriculum for each grade and also has to create its own textbooks in Inuktitut. Writing, updating, and publishing textbooks is time consuming and costly for the Department of Education. Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, Backgrounder on Inuit and Education for Discussion at Life Long Learning Sectoral Meetings, 20 October 2004, <http://www.itk.ca/roundtable/sectoral-lifelearningbackgrounder.pho> [19 July 2005]; MacKay and Louise interview, 26 April 2005; and Arnaquq and Pitsiulak interview, 27 April 2005.
- ⁵¹⁰ *Northern Indicators 2000* (Ottawa: Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 2000), 2-4; Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 23 April 2004, http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ps/sts/pu2000_e.pdf [22 March 2005].

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⁵¹¹ In 1980, the total Inuit population was 15,489 and there were 552 Inuit high school students in the NWT. Duffy, 127.

⁵¹² Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 23 April 2004, Government of Canada Provides \$279,000 in Funding for Nunavut Students to Attend Nunavut Sivuniksavut Training Program, http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/nr/prs/m-a2001/2-01179_e.html [7 March 2005]; Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, Inuit Youth and Education, <http://www.tapirisat.ca/inuit-youth/niyc-education.html> [7 March 2005]; and Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 23 April 2004, Post-Secondary Education Programs, http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ps/edu/ense_e.html [7 July 2005].

Such programs and financial incentives are especially necessary to encourage young Inuit men to complete secondary and post-secondary education. Presently, more young women than men obtain higher levels of post-secondary education. A recent study by Pauktuutit, the national Inuit women's association, links this reversal of traditional gender roles, where men were providers, to the increasing incidence of spousal assault in northern communities, as men threatened by a loss of identity attempt to rebalance power within the family, leading to the abuse of their partners. Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 23 April 2004, Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, Volume 4, Section 2, Women's Perspectives, http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ch/rcap/sg/sjm2_e.html [10 March 2005].

⁵¹³ Approximately 2% of Inuit have university degrees or certificates. Statistics generated from the 2001 Canadian census show that, generally, levels of education decrease with age among Inuit. Jeremy Hull, "Aboriginal Post-Secondary Education and Labour Market Outcomes Canada, 2001" (Winnipeg: Prologica Research Inc., 2004), 8-10; Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, March 2005, Northern Indicators 2004, http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/pr/sts/ni04_e.pdf [9 November 2005]; and "Measuring Inuit Well-Being" (Ottawa: Strategic Research and Analysis Directorate and Inuit Relations Secretariat, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 2005).

According to a 2003 report by Correction Service of Canada, 57% of Inuit convicted of criminal offences have less than a grade 8 education. The number of Inuit offenders with low levels of education is higher than that of non-Aboriginal offenders, and even First Nations (31%) and Métis (22%) offenders. Moore, 14.

⁵¹⁴ Gunilla Johansson, Chris Paci, Sylvi Stenersen Hovdenak, "Education", Arctic Human Development Report, p. 180, November 2004, <http://www.svs.is/> [26 May 2005]; The University of Victoria Faculty of Law, 2003, Akitsiraq Law School, <http://www.law.uvic.ca/akits.html> [15 August 2005].

⁵¹⁵ A recent study on the demographics of people entering training in medical and related fields in Canada indicates that Aboriginal peoples and people from rural areas are under-represented, and that these people and areas are likely to be under served by physicians in the future. Irfan A. Dhalla, Jeff C. Kwong, David L. Streiner, Ralph E. Baddour, Andrea E. Waddell and Ian L. Johnson, "Characteristics of First Year Students in Canadian Medical Schools," *Canadian Medical Association Journal* 166.8 (16 April 2002: 1029-1035), <http://www.pubmedcentral.nih.gov/articlerender.fcgi?artid=100877> [17 January 2005]; and Welsman, 40-41.

⁵¹⁶ Mills, interview, 23 January 2006.

⁵¹⁷ Johansson *et al.*

⁵¹⁸ Inuktitut is spoken primarily in the eastern Arctic, while Inuit in Nunavik speak a dialect of Inuktitut called Inuttit. Inuinnaqtun is the dialect spoken by Inuit in the western Arctic. These languages are similar enough that speakers of one language can understand speakers of another, yet some words do differ entirely in their meaning. In Nunavik there are no colleges or universities, requiring those seeking postsecondary education to take some form of correspondence or distance education, or to relocate outside of Nunavik. MacKay and Flaherty interview, 26 April 2005; *Silatunirmut: The Pathway to Wisdom: Final Report of the Nunavik Educational Task Force* (Lachine, Quebec: Makivik Corporation, 1992), 5-10; Hull, 8-10; Johansson *et al.*; and Northern Indicators 2000 (Ottawa: Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 2000), 2-4; Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 23 April 2004, http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ps/sts/pu2000_e.pdf [22 March 2005].

⁵¹⁹ Anne S. Douglas, "Recontextualizing Schooling Within an Inuit Community," *Canadian Journal of Education* 19.2 (1994: 154-164), 154-155, <http://www.csse.ca/CJE/Articles/FullText/CJE19-2/CJE19-2-05Douglas.pdf> [8 March 2005]; Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 22 January 2005, Labrador and Aboriginal Affairs, <http://www.laa.gov.nl.ca/laa/liacclaims/pdf/January212005AgreementComplete.pdf> [7 March 2005]; Michelin interview, 14 February 2005; and Welsman, 40-41.

In Nunavik, the Kativik School Board was created through the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement and is responsible for providing a system of education with standards comparable to the Quebec provincial system. Under the Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement, the Nunatsiavut Government will be responsible for providing education to Inuit in a system comparable to the Newfoundland and Labrador provincial system. Mills interview, 23 January 2006.

- ⁵²⁰ Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 12 May 2005, First Nations and Inuit Youth Employment Strategy, http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ps/ys/index_e.html [9 November 2005].
- ⁵²¹ Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, Backgrounder on Inuit and Education for Discussion at Life Long Learning Sectoral Meetings, 20 October 2004, <http://www.itk.ca/roundtable/sectoral-lifelearning-backgrounder.pho> [19 July 2005].
- ⁵²² MacKay and Flaherty interview, 26 April 2005; and Arnaquq and Pitsiulak interview, 27 April 2005.
- ⁵²³ Berger (2006).
- ⁵²⁴ The mine at Cumberland Sound produced 14.5 tonnes of mica, graphite and other minerals worth \$120,000. Many of these mines were operated until the early twentieth century, with some remaining open until quite recently. Jonathan L. Pierce, *Aboriginal People and Mining in Nunavut, Nunavik, and Northern Labrador* (Ottawa: Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1994), 5-7.
- ⁵²⁵ Keenleyside, 308-309.
- ⁵²⁶ John Diefenbaker, *One Canada: Memoirs of the Right Honourable John G. Diefenbaker: The Years of Achievement, 1957-1962* (Toronto: MacMillan of Canada, 1976), 11-17, 84-85; Freyman and Armstrong, 644; and Patrick Kyba, *Alvin: A Biography of the Honourable Alvin Hamilton, P.C.* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1989), 104-105. See also: Sheila D. Grant, "Northern Nationalists: Visions of 'A New North', 1940-1950," *For Purposes of Dominion: Essays in Honour of Morris Zaslow*, Kenneth S. Coates and William R. Morrison, eds. (North York: Captus Press, Inc., 1989: 47-70).
- ⁵²⁷ No agreement on administration of Inuit and First Nation affairs was made with the federal government when Newfoundland and Labrador joined Confederation in 1949. In 1950, however, the federal government departments of Resources and Development as well as Citizenship and Immigration, began reimbursements to the provincial government for their administration of First Nation and Inuit affairs. The federal Department of National Health and Welfare also began reimbursements for the cost of administering healthcare and education to First Nations and Inuit. Reimbursements were issued to the provincial government as well as to the Grenfell Association, which had provided medical assistance to Labrador Inuit. The Moravian missionaries supported Labrador Inuit in the development of cod fisheries, fur trade, and lumber industries, and later with their participation in mining and hydro development. Open pit mines were developed at Schefferville, Labrador City and Wabush during the 1950s and 1960s. Freyman and Armstrong, 1969, 644; Marshall, 1; Pierce, 10; and Rockwood, 3-6.
- ⁵²⁸ The government goal was to have Inuit replace skilled workers from southern Canada in the resource development industry by the mid-1960s. To this end, the government expanded the range of available vocational programs and the locations where the programs were offered. A sub-committee to discuss northern economic problems within the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources was developed to educate other government departments and industry businesses in the need to hire Inuit. Mines in the Northwest Territories and Nunavut included the North Rankin Nickel Mine, the Nanisivik Mine, the Hope Bay Mine, the Polaris Mine, the Cullaton Lake Mine, and the Lupin Mine. The Asbestos Hill Mine was located in northern Quebec, and several mines between Labrador City and Schefferville, and a mine at Nain operated in Labrador. Diubaldo (1992), 36-37; and Pierce, 8-9. See also: Andrew J. Freyman and Graham Armstrong, *Employment of Indigenes in the Territorial Mining Industry* (Ottawa: Economic Staff Group, Development Branch, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1968); D.S. Stevenson, *Problems of Eskimo Relocation for Industrial Development* (Ottawa: Northern Science Research Group, 1968); Edward R. Weick, *Economic Development of the Canadian North and its Consequences for the Canadian Eskimo Society* (Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1969); and Edward R. Weick, "The Eskimos of Canada's Northwest Territories: a Problem of Northern Development" (MA thesis, University of Ottawa, 1971).

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- ⁵²⁹ Through community partnerships, however, some projects were nearly completely staffed by Inuit, such as Gulf Oil of Canada's exploration work at Coppermine on Coronation Gulf. These resource exploitation projects helped to create roads and other infrastructure that aided community development, including communication and transport, to support the establishment of other industries within Arctic communities. The Coppermine project provided much employment for the community and raised the standard of living for families. Increased wages, however, facilitated an influx of alcohol to the community, increasing levels of family violence. Bruce Alden Cox, "Changing Perceptions of Industrial Development in the North," *Native People, Native Lands: Canadian Indians, Inuit and Metis*, Bruce Alden Cox, ed. (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1987: 223-231), 224; and Charles W. Hobart and George Kupfer, "Impact of Oil Exploratory Work on an Inuit Community" (Toronto: Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association Meetings, 1974), 1, 23-25.
- ⁵³⁰ Freyman and Armstrong (1969), 643-645. The collapse of the fur trade in the 1930s and the increasing development of Inuit communities during the 1940s meant high levels of Inuit unemployment in concentrated areas, as described in the 1950 *Cantley Economic Report on Eskimo Affairs*. The first local Eskimo Council Meeting was held at Baker Lake in 1957. Following this meeting, local councils were created in Rankin Inlet, Great Whale River, Port Harrison, Povungnituk, Fort Chimo and Sugluk. Such councils assisted Inuit in presenting organized and representative requests to government bodies regarding their community development. Similarly, the Committee on Eskimo Co-operatives held its first meeting in 1957, culminating in the development of co-operatives in Port Nouveau in northern Quebec, and at Port Russell at Cape Dorset. These co-operatives assisted Inuit entrepreneurs, and industrial development of char fishing, logging, boat building, handicrafts, carving, retail operations, graphic art, baking and fur marketing. By 1963, there were 16 co-operatives throughout the Canadian North. Vocational programs included training in use of heavy construction equipment, auto mechanics, home economics, and clerical and secretarial programs. In 1959, two Inuit addressed the Eskimo Affairs Committee, and requested government assistance in economic development and vocational training. After visiting Greenlandic communities and witnessing their prosperity, the Canadian Inuit were inspired to create a similar quality of life in their own communities. J. Cantley, *The Cantley Economic Report on Eskimo Affairs: Survey of Economic Conditions Among the Eskimos of the Canadian Arctic* (Ottawa: Department of Resources and Development, 1950), 31-36; Diubaldo (1992), 37-47. For more on the development of Inuit co-operatives see: Mitchell.
- ⁵³¹ Since Inuit often lacked training for skilled positions, they were employed as unskilled labourers. Cox, 1987, 224; and Hobart and Kupfer, 1 and 23-25.
- ⁵³² Information presented in Table 3 is from: Freyman and Armstrong (1968), 24-26. In 1961, the total population of the NWT was 22,098, and 14,030 of those were Aboriginal people. In a 1968 study of mine management and the employment of Aboriginal peoples, researchers reported that 2,002 people were employed in eleven mines throughout the NWT and northern Quebec, and 4.5% (91 people) of the workforce was Aboriginal. Aboriginal employees were largely segregated into unskilled positions, as they lacked the education and technical skills to be promoted further. Mine management denied ethnic profiling and discrimination in their hiring practices, yet stated that Aboriginal employees worked best when grouped with other Aboriginal people, and opined that, "the indigenous employee is unreliable, prone to absenteeism, and 'good for only one paycheque.'" In a study of senior Aboriginal high school students, however, mining was ranked low among desirable professions. Inuit students ranked mining 38th and First Nation students ranked mining 39th out of a possible 45 professions they were interested in pursuing. Freyman and Armstrong conclude that both the government and the mining industry failed to adequately advertise and train Aboriginal students for skilled positions in the mining industry. Consequently, it was often Aboriginal people with few other options who sought employment in the mining industry. Inuit cultural values relating to family and money also differed substantially from the perspectives of southern Canadians. Generally, Inuit did not value financial compensation highly enough to reside in the bunkhouses provided for mine employees if it meant social isolation from their families and communities. Additional considerations, such as time off for hunting, were important to Inuit, but were not often allowed by employers. In 1961, Aboriginal people comprised 63.5% of the NWT's population, and by the late 1960s, an estimated 70% of wages paid to those working in the North were directly and indirectly the result of mineral exploitation projects. Freyman and Armstrong (1969), 643-645.
- ⁵³³ This data was obtained from the 1961 Census. Freyman and Armstrong (1968), 27.

- ⁵³⁴ James Houston, an Ontario artist, brought several sculptures from northern communities on his 1948 return trip from a summer of painting in the North. The Canadian Handicrafts Guild requested more sculptures. Houston was able to sell 1,000 Inuit soapstone sculptures in Montreal in 1949, and 10,000 sculptures in 1950. It was not until 1959, however, that the first Inuit art-based cooperative was developed at Povungnetuk on the west coast of the Ungava Peninsula. Following this, Inuit cooperatives were developed throughout the Arctic, including Iqaluit and Cape Dorset on Baffin Island. The HBC was supportive of Inuit cooperative business, and assisted Inuit by providing financial and business advice. As well as art, cooperatives were developed to provide commodities and services including food, hunting supplies, gasoline and telephone service. The Canadian Arctic Cooperative Federation Ltd. was established at Yellowknife in 1972. Duffy, 164-165, 168-174.
- ⁵³⁵ Inuit had a traditional, at least seasonal, orientation to coastal settlements, and in some regions, such as Labrador, fishing afforded a large part of the diet for many people. In more northerly regions, however, hunting for seal and other marine mammals was often preferred to fishing. The Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources gave government assistance in association with the Department of Fisheries. Fishery co-operatives to manage the commercial operations were developed beginning in 1958 in several communities. Commercial fishery operations were dependent on demand for products from southern Canada, ability of Inuit to supply fish to southern markets, and sustainability of fish populations. J.M. Jacobsen, *The History, Development and Potential of Eskimo Commercial Fisheries* (Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1965), 4-7.
- ⁵³⁶ By 1967, there were 22 Inuit co-operative businesses across the North. Co-operatives provided an opportunity for Inuit to gain business management advice, and facilitated Inuit acculturation to Canadian business culture. The knowledge and organizational experience gained through co-op management motivated Inuit to develop representative political organizations, such as Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK) in 1969. Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami was originally called Inuit Tapirisat of Canada but was renamed in 2001. Such organizations were developed in each of the four northern regions inhabited by Inuit - the western Arctic, the eastern Arctic, northern Quebec, and Labrador - to advocate on behalf of Inuit for their perceived land and resource rights. Kusugak, 6; and "Timelines and Milestones: 30 Years With ITC," Inuktitut: Special Edition of Inuit Today (Ottawa: Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, 2001), 43.
- ⁵³⁷ This organization suffered, however, from a lack of communication among its member co-ops, lack of management expertise, and acceptance of too much product below saleable standards. The consequent excess of Inuit art on the market during the 1970s resulted in financial losses for the CAP and Inuit artbased co-operative businesses. One of the largest art co-ops in the North, the West Baffin Co-op in Cape Dorset, established its own marketing department, "Dorset Fine Arts," in 1978 in Toronto. This step allowed the co-op to market its artwork directly to an international market. "Annual Report, 1982-1983" (Ottawa: Canadian Eskimo Arts Council, 1983); Lesley Boyd, "Producers' Co-Ops: The West Baffin Eskimo Co-operative in Cape Dorset," *Community Economic Development in Canada's North* (Ottawa: Canadian Arctic Resources Committee, 1990: 137-140), 137-139; and *Canadian Eskimo Arts Council Program Evaluation* (Ottawa: Bureau of Management Consulting, Social and Cultural Development Division, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1979). See also: "Inuit Fine Art Task Force Report" (Yellowknife: Department Economic Development and Tourism, 1985).
- ⁵³⁸ Duffy, 164-174; Lon David Duncombe, "Co-Operatives and Cultural Change in the Canadian Arctic: A Case Study" (MA thesis, University of Manitoba, 1978); Jayati Ghosh and Bob Sharpe, "Co-Operative Enterprises in the Canadian Arctic and India: A Comparative Analysis" (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada Departmental Library, 1995), 10-15; Inter-American Development Bank, the Canadian International Development Agency, and the Canadian Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, "Cooperative Development Assistance in Support of Arctic Co-operatives," paper presented at a Seminar on Handicraft Development, National Conference Centre, Ottawa, 16-20 June 1975, transcript; Jacobsen, 4-7; Kusugak, "The Inuit of Canada"; *Native Broadcasting in the North of Canada: A New and Potent Force* (Ottawa: European Joint Study on The Role of Communication in the Cultural Development of Rural Areas, Canadian Commission for UNESCO, 1986); and John Stager, *Inuit Co-Operatives and Change in the Canadian North* (London: Canadian High Commission, Canada House Lecture Series, No. 16, 1982). See also: Mitchell.
- ⁵³⁹ Freyman and Armstrong (1968), 24-27; and Freyman and Armstrong (1969), 643-645.

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⁵⁴⁰ As secondary and tertiary industries were predicted to require more employees between 1968 and 1981, the study reported that INAC was creating training programs to assist Inuit in obtaining the education requisite for employment positions in the NWT. Such programs were intended to reduce Inuit reliance on social assistance. D.C. Emerson Mathurin, *Indian and Eskimo Labour Force Projections to 1981, Northwest Territories* (Ottawa: Economic Staff Group, Resource and Economic Development Group, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1968), 1-3.

Before 1999, the Northwest Territories included the region of the Eastern Arctic that is now the Territory of Nunavut. Unless otherwise specified, any reference to the NWT before 1999 includes Nunavut.

⁵⁴¹ Michael I. Asch, "Capital and Economic Development: A Critical Appraisal of the Recommendations of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Commission," ed. Bruce Alden Cox, *Native People, Native Lands: Canadian Indians, Inuit and Metis* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1987: 232-240), 234-235; Bruce Alden Cox, "Prospects for the Northern Canadian Native Economy," *Native People, Native Lands: Canadian Indians, Inuit and Metis*, Bruce Alden Cox, ed. (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1987: 256-264), 256-257; Cox, 224-225; and Robertson (1960), 1-6.

Although Inuit comprise approximately 85% of the population in Nunavut, only 40% of Government of Nunavut employees are Inuit and 33% of Government of Canada employees in Nunavut are Inuit. Idlout-Sudlovenick interview, 22 February 2005; John W. Kozij, Director, Aboriginal Strategy Policy, and Marilyn J. Lumsden, Program Manager, Aboriginal Skills and Employment Partnerships, Human Resources and Skills Development Canada, interview by author, 24 May 2005, digital recording, Promenade du Portage, Gatineau; and *The Aboriginal Human Resources Development Strategy: Partnering for Progress* (Ottawa: Human Resources Development Canada, 2003).

⁵⁴² Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 23 April 2004, Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, Volume 4, Section 6, The North, http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/cg/rcap/sg/sjm6_e.html [10 March 2005]. A 1974 study quantified barriers to equal opportunity employment for Inuit as legal, administrative and attitudinal. Legally, the study concluded that, equal opportunity hiring practices were not considered valid, "unless all Canadians have also had an equal opportunity to obtain the education, training, and experience (both work and social) needed to compete on equal terms for job opportunities." As the tradition of formal education was less than twenty years old in many parts of the NWT during the early 1970s, few Inuit could hope to compete equally for employment in the civil service. In terms of administration, Inuit-friendly hiring practices, such as restricting the geographic region of applicants, and requiring local knowledge of culture and environment, were suggested to compensate for lack of formal education and experience, thereby increasing the number of Inuit qualified for employment in the civil service. The attitudes of Inuit towards employment in the civil service, as well as the attitudes of departments seeking to hire employees, were reinforced based on their behaviour towards each other. The study recommended encouraging awareness of cultural diversity within the civil service to overcome stereotypical attitudes towards Inuit. Kalmen Kaplansky, *Constraints on the Employment of Native Northerners in the Northern Public Service Community* (Ottawa: Special Staff Group, Northern Employment and Economic Opportunities, 1974), 3.

⁵⁴³ *Development of an Employment Policy for Indian, Inuit and Métis People* (Ottawa: Employment and Immigration Canada, 1978), 5-9; and Kaplansky, 2-14. See also E. R. Weick, Kathleen Shaw and Dale McIntyre, *Development Agencies for the Northwest Territories: Preliminary Discussion Paper* (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1972).

⁵⁴⁴ The federal government's 1988 policy statement on northern economic development aimed to transfer administrative responsibility for provincial-type programs and management of natural resources to the territorial and provincial governments. These transfers provided many employment opportunities in the public service for Inuit. In some northern communities, up to 70% of jobs were in the public sector. Many of these jobs were in education and healthcare provision, or in local government administration. The advisory boards ruling on project approvals were comprised of equal numbers Aboriginal and territorial, provincial and federal representatives. Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2005, "Backgrounder on Economic Opportunities. For Discussion at the Economic Opportunities Sectoral Meeting, December 13th and 14th, 2004, Ottawa, Ontario", 5, <http://www.itk.ca/roundtable/sectoral-ec-dev.php> [30 January 2006]; "Federal Programs for Status Indians, Métis, Non-Status Indians, and Inuit: Northwest Territories" (Ottawa: Intergovernmental Affairs Branch, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1980), E13; "Federal Programs and Services to Aboriginal Peoples" (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1987), 3-4 and 7-9; Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 23 April 2004, Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, Volume 4,

Section 6, The North, http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ch/rcap/sg/sg/sjm6_e.html [10 March 2005]; and Helen Young, Acting Senior Economic Analyst, Strategic Management and Economic Analysis Directorate, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, interview by author, 15 March 2005, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Gatineau.

⁵⁴⁵ Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 23 April 2004, Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, Volume 4, Section 6, The North, http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ch/rcap/sg/sg/sjm6_e.html [10 March 2005]. See also: Thomas R. Berger, *Northern Frontier Northern Homeland: The Report of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Enquiry, Volumes I and II* (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1977).

⁵⁴⁶ According to a report by Peter Usher, Inuit attitudes toward employment in the public service were affected by their traditional subsistence, which involved harvesting practices that reinforced Inuit cultural values and characteristics, including equality, flexibility, personal autonomy, community consensus in decision-making, and transmission of skills and knowledge through generations. In contrast, employment in the public service, industries, and even small businesses emphasized rigid adherence to regulations and routines, group conformity, hierarchical organization, and competition for jobs and salaries. Schools facilitated Inuit introduction to labour force culture, by teaching skills and knowledge, as well as emphasizing individual achievement for compensation, regular hours of attendance and conformity to routine. Workplace compensation, which is usually based on individual achievement and takes the form of money, has created differences in income levels among Inuit, within households and throughout communities. Where elder care and sharing of food resources within a community were once fundamental to group cohesion, wage labour's emphasis of individuality has encouraged more people to enter the labour market and to retain jobs for longer periods of time. Differences in achievement and level of economic income have affected traditional Inuit values of reciprocity, and have required adaptations to generational and gender roles. Peter J. Usher, "Assessing the Impact of Industry in the Beaufort Sea Region" (Ottawa: Beaufort Sea Alliance, 1982), 29-33.

⁵⁴⁷ As Canadians, Inuit were eligible for social assistance payments but in some cases required surnames and social insurance numbers before such payments could be issued. Registration for these forms of identification was completed in the North by 1972. *Identification and Registration of Indian and Inuit People* (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1993) iv; Roberts, 26-31; and Usher (1982), 11-12.

⁵⁴⁸ Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 23 April 2004, Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, Volume 4, Section 6, The North, http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ch/rcap/sg/sg/sjm6_e.html [10 March 2005].

⁵⁴⁹ Men tended to be employed seasonally, and more often in jobs requiring physical labour, while women were hired for in full or part time employment with the public service, at a corporation or at a resource development project base camp. This employment for women, however, was often only found in larger communities. Usher, 7-18.

⁵⁵⁰ Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 23 April 2004, Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, Volume 4, Section 6, The North, http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ch/rcap/sg/sg/sjm6_e.html [10 March 2005].

⁵⁵¹ Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 23 April 2004, Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, Volume 4, Section 6, The North, http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ch/rcap/sg/sg/sjm6_e.html [10 March 2005]; and *Aboriginal Co-Operatives in Canada: Case Studies* (Ottawa: Strategic Research and Analysis Directorate, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 2001), 2, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 27 May 2004, *Aboriginal Co-Operatives in Canada*, http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/pr/ra/coo/arct_e.html [23 August 2005].

⁵⁵² Sadie Popovitch-Penny, "Working With Government Regulators for Successful Commercial Harvesting of Caribou in Labrador," *Community Economic Development in Canada's North* (Ottawa: Canadian Arctic Resources Committee, 1990: 141-144).

⁵⁵³ Fisheries and Aquaculture Management – Seals and Sealing in Canada, Fisheries and Oceans Canada, 28 March 2006, http://www.dfo-mpo.gc.ca/seal-phoque/faq_e.htm[7 April 2006].

⁵⁵⁴ Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 23 April 2004, Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, Volume 4, Section 6, The North, http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ch/rcap/sg/sg/sjm6_e.html [10 March 2005].

⁵⁵⁵ Successful co-operative businesses in the Arctic include Arctic Co-operatives Limited, which sells northern works of art throughout southern Canada, and has department stores in northern communities. Ikaluktutiak Co-operative Limited, which is based in Cambridge Bay and includes a char fishery, a retail

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- store, a taxi service, a hotel and a cable service. Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 23 April 2004, Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, Volume 4, Section 6, The North, http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ch/rcap/sg/sg/sjm6_e.html [10 March 2005]; Colin Irwin, "Lords of the Arctic: Wards of the State: The Growing Inuit Population, Arctic Resettlement, and Their Effects on Social and Economic Change," CARC—*Northern Perspectives* 17.1(January-March 1989), Canadian Arctic Resources Committee, 1989, <http://www.carc.org/pubs/v17no1/index.html> [23 August 2005]; and Peter J. Usher, Gerard Duhaime, and Edmund Searles, "The Household as an Economic Unit in Arctic Aboriginal Communities, and its Measurement by Means of a Comprehensive Survey," *Social Indicators Research* 61(2003: 175-202).
- ⁵⁵⁶ The Commission pointed out that, "mining is also the single largest private sector, goods-producing, export dollar activity in the North." Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 23 April 2004, Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, Volume 4, Section 6, The North, http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ch/rcap/sg/sg/sjm6_e.html [10 March 2005].
- ⁵⁵⁷ Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 23 April 2004, Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, Volume 4, Section 6, The North, http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ch/rcap/sg/sg/sjm6_e.html [10 March 2005]; and Usher, 1-3.
- ⁵⁵⁸ Currently, most royalties generated from non-renewable resource development projects in the North go to the federal government. The territorial governments have requested a share of these profits to decrease their reliance on federal transfer payments. Through the Prime Minister's announcement of a Northern Strategy in November 2004, the territorial governments hope to develop agreements, whereby they will receive a share of non-renewable resource profits. Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 23 April 2004, Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, Volume 4, Section 6, The North, http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ch/rcap/sg/sg/sjm6_e.html [10 March 2005]; Usher (1982), 1-3; Anna Maria Tremonti, "Pipeline Seems Closer to the Horizon Today," *The Current* (CBC-Radio), National, 14 February 2005, Bowdens Media Monitoring Limited, Ref # 44F1CB-2, transcript; The Northern Strategy, May 2005, Nation Building—Framework for a Northern Strategy, <http://www.northernstrategy.ca/> [11 July 2005]; and John Sallenave, "Giving Traditional Ecological Knowledge its Rightful Place in Environmental Impact Assessment," CARC—*Northern Perspectives* 22.1(Spring 1994), <http://www.carc.org/pubs/v22no1/> [26 August 2005].
- ⁵⁵⁹ Significant to this action was criticism by two women's organizations, the Tongamiut Inuit Annait and the Ad Hoc Committee on Aboriginal Women and Mining in Labrador, who criticized the mining companies' environmental impact statement for failing to account for women's perspectives with regards to mining development, and for insufficiently responding to the environmental assessment guidelines. William Hipwell, Katy Mamen, Viviane Weitzner, and Gail Whiteman, "Aboriginal Peoples and Mining in Canada: Consultation, Participation and Prospects for Change" (Ottawa: North-South Institute, 2002), 42-43.
- Currently, Inuit of Baker Lake, Nunavut are seeking to negotiate impact and benefit clauses directly with Cumberland Resources Ltd., who is proposing to construct the Meadowbank gold mine 70km outside of the hamlet. Under the Nunavut Impact Review Board regulations, mine developers must negotiate impact and review agreements with the regional Inuit associations. The hamlet of Baker Lake, however, is not satisfied with the agreement that the Kivalliq Inuit Association is preparing with Cumberland, and is seeking to ensure that their resources and community are protected through direct negotiation. Jim Bell, "Impact and Benefit Agreement Not Enough For Us, Baker Lake Says," *Nunatsiaq News*, 1 July 2005, <http://www.nunatsiaq.com/> [5 July 2005].
- ⁵⁶⁰ Significantly, however, the agreement provided no quota for Inuit employment. Since 1995, Inuit have never comprised more than 20% of mine employees, and frequently assert that they are subjected to racism and discrimination in their workplace. Hipwell *et al.*, 46-48.
- ⁵⁶¹ Under the Inuvik project, called Inuvik Gas Limited, 600 out of 800 customers have switched from diesel to natural gas since 1999. This has reduced toxic environmental emission levels and reduced the cost to customers for heating their homes. The project sells gas to customers in Inuvik and to the Northwest Territories Power Corporation. Inuvik Gas Limited is owned by the Inuvialuit Petroleum Corporation, Enbridge and AltaGas. "Partners in Building a Stronger North" (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 2003), 3, http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/pr/pub/pni/pdfindex_e.html [9 March 2005].
- ⁵⁶² The annual nominations are conducted on a regional basis that includes the Mackenzie Delta and Beaufort Sea, the Arctic Archipelago and the central Mackenzie Valley. Benefit plans are designed to give Northerners and their businesses first consideration in training, hiring and business contracts. Given the

high proportion of Aboriginal people comprising the population of the NWT and Nunavut, Aboriginal peoples often benefit directly from these agreements. INAC requires benefit plans for development on Inuit owned land, although they try to ensure their harmonization with land claim settlements to ensure that the relevant Inuit receive maximum benefit from these agreements. Wayne Greenall, Economic Policy Advisor, Oil and Gas Management, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, interview by author, 31 March 2005, digital recording, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Gatineau; and Greenall e-mail to author, 30 September 2005.

⁵⁶³ *Aboriginal Communities and Non-Renewable Resources Development* (Ottawa: National Roundtable on the Environment and the Economy, 2001), xvii-xxiv and 103.

⁵⁶⁴ Marilyn J. Lumsden, Program Manager, Aboriginal Skills and Employment Partnerships, Human Resources and Skills Development Canada, e-mail to author, 7 October 2005.

⁵⁶⁵ Idlout-Sudlovenick interview, 22 February 2005; "Partners in Building a Stronger North" (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 2003), 3-5, http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/pr/pub/pni/pdfindex_e.html [9 March 2005]; "Backgrounder on Economic Opportunities", 8-9; and "Indian and Inuit Services: Programs and Services Guide" (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 2001), http://nwt-tno.inac-ainc.gc.ca/ii-p_e.htm [25 January 2005].

⁵⁶⁶ Hull, xix; and Jeremy Hull, *Occupational Characteristics of Aboriginal People in Canada*, 2001, manuscript in process of publication (Winnipeg: Prologica Research Inc., 2005), viii-x and 37-38.

⁵⁶⁷ The rate of land claim beneficiary employment in full-time permanent employment decreased by 2% between 1993 and 1995. In 1993, 34% of jobs required a college diploma, trade certificate or university degree. By 1995, the rate of jobs requiring such educational attainment was 40%. Denis Lefebvre, *Jobs in Nunavik* (Nunavik: Employment and Training Department, Kativik Regional Government, 1996), 193-194.

⁵⁶⁸ Nunavut 1999 Consulting, *"In Their Own Words": Turnover and Retention Amongst Inuit Employees in the Northwest Territories* (Iqaluit: Department of Education, Culture and Employment, Government of the Northwest Territories, 1996), 5-13.

⁵⁶⁹ ITK's first two priorities for economic development are guaranteed as Articles within the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement but require federal assistance for implementation. The third priority is included in some sense within all four Inuit comprehensive land claim agreements. "Backgrounder on Economic Opportunities," 6-12.

⁵⁷⁰ Anna Maria Tremonti, "Newfoundland and Labrador Resource Revenues," *The Current* (CBC-Radio), National, 15 February 2005, Bowdens Media Monitoring Limited, Ref # 44FD95-9, transcript.

⁵⁷¹ Tremonti, 14 February 2005.

⁵⁷² Tremonti, 15 February 2005.

⁵⁷³ Hipwell, 47-49.

⁵⁷⁴ The Hawthorn Report described the poverty experienced by many Aboriginal peoples and the discrepancies in living standards between Aboriginal peoples and other Canadians. The *White Paper*, "A Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy", recommended the assimilation of Aboriginal Canadians by terminating their status under the *Indian Act*. "Timelines and Milestones: 30 Years With ITC," Inuktitut: Special Edition of Inuit Today (Ottawa: Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, 2001), 4; Newhouse and Belanger, 2; and Hawthorn.

⁵⁷⁵ Other Aboriginal organizations, such as the National Indian Brotherhood, had formed several years earlier, and influenced the formation of a national Inuit organization. Newhouse and Belanger, 3.

Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami was originally called Inuit Tapirisat of Canada but was renamed in 2001. Kusugak, 6; "Submission of the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples" (Ottawa: Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, 1994), 22-23; and "Timelines and Milestones: 30 Years With ITC," Inuktitut: Special Edition of Inuit Today (Ottawa: Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, 2001), 43.

Before 1999, the Northwest Territories included the region of the Eastern Arctic that is now the Territory of Nunavut. Unless otherwise specified, any reference to the NWT before 1999 includes Nunavut.

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- ⁵⁷⁶ The existence of Aboriginal rights pre-1982 was further entrenched in Canadian law precedence by the 1990 Sparrow decision. The Sparrow decision affirmed that Aboriginal rights were protected under section 35 of the *Constitution Act*, 1982. Through the 1997 Supreme Court of Canada Delgamuukw decision, Aboriginal peoples were provided two legal arguments for claiming historic title to land, that “title is presumed from possession” and that, “possession is title as against anyone who cannot prove that he or she has a better title.” Where no treaties were established with Aboriginal peoples, such as in the four regions inhabited by Inuit, title to land was unextinguished. Hence, the federal government sought extinguishment of land title through the comprehensive claims process. Newhouse and Belanger, 12-13, 23, and 31-32. See also: “In All Fairness: A Native Claims Policy, Comprehensive Claims,” *National and Regional Interests in the North: Third National Workshop on People, Resources, and the Environment North of 60°* (Ottawa: Canadian Arctic Resources Committee, 1984: 57-70), 57-62.
- ⁵⁷⁷ Newhouse and Belanger, 16 and 24.
- ⁵⁷⁸ Newhouse and Belanger, 27.
- ⁵⁷⁹ Newhouse and Belanger, 27-28.
- ⁵⁸⁰ “Submission of the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples” (Ottawa: Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, 1994), 22-23.
- ⁵⁸¹ Historically, under Canadian common law, Crown sovereignty of Aboriginal peoples has stemmed from the discovery and settlement of land. This theory, however, ignores the pre-existence of Aboriginal peoples, as well as their legal and governance systems. Although Crown sovereignty of Canada is fact, and therefore not an issue for debate in the court system, some recent scholarship has demonstrated continuity in Aboriginal law and governance systems pre and post imposition of Crown sovereignty. This observation casts doubt on the settlement thesis, and has assisted Aboriginal peoples in questioning the Crown’s historic affect on their sovereignty and on their rights. Emphasis in original. “Submission of the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples,” 9-11, 22-23 and 31.
- ITK states that they do not seek participation in the Indian Community Self-Government Negotiation Program. It does address their self-government concerns, but as a distinct Aboriginal people they require their own funding to negotiate their self-government structures and implementation with the federal government. The three orders of government in Canada would be federal, provincial/territorial, and Aboriginal. “Submission of the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples,” 8-9, and 46-49; and Rosemarie Kuptana, “The Canadian Inuit and the Renewal of Canada,” *Etudes/Inuit/Studies*, 16.102 (1992: 39-42), 39-40.
- ⁵⁸² In 1991, the Inuit Assembly on the Constitution adopted the Pangnirtung Accord, which called for recognition of the Inuit inherent right to self-government, full and equal participation of Inuit in the process of federal constitutional reform, and for recognition of Aboriginal government as one of three orders of government in Canada. Based on geographic, demographic, and historic factors, as well as the specifics of each of the four comprehensive land claim agreements negotiated with Inuit, the Accord sought recognition for Inuit as a distinct people, and recognition that self-government structures in each of the Inuit regions should be unique and require specific negotiations regarding their form and structure. The 1992 Charlottetown Accord would have provided a national framework to negotiate and implement Aboriginal self-government structures, and its defeat required Inuit to adopt new strategies for mobilizing self-government negotiations with the Government of Canada. Privy Council Office, 1 April 2001, The Charlottetown Accord (1992) Summary, <http://www.pco-bcp.gc.ca/> [22 April 2005]; and “Submission of the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples,” 48-49.
- ⁵⁸³ As the Calder decision recognized Aboriginal rights as separate from those of other Canadians, the Government of Canada had to adopt a direction for Aboriginal policy that further retracted from its 1969 *White Paper* policy of assimilation. Section 35 of the Constitution also recognized comprehensive land claim agreements with the same protection as treaties. Newhouse and Belanger, 9-14; “NWT Plain Facts On Land and Self-Government: Beaufort-Delta/Gwich’in and Inuvialuit Self-Government Negotiations,” Indian and Northern Affairs, 12 April 2005, Publications, http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/pr/pub/index_e.html [12 April 2005]; and Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 13 May 2004, Federal Policy Guide: Aboriginal Self-Government, “The Government of Canada’s Approach to Implementation of the Inherent Right and the Negotiation of Aboriginal Self-Government,” http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/pr/pub/sg/plcy_e.html [22 March 2005].

⁵⁸⁴ Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 13 May 2004, "Federal Policy Guide: Aboriginal Self-Government: The Government of Canada's Approach to Implementation of the Inherent Right and the Negotiation of Aboriginal Self-Government," http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/pr/pub/sg/plcy_e.html [22 March 2005].

⁵⁸⁵ These revisions did not include provisions for subsurface resource management. Claimants have joint management of environmental assessments for resource development projects but no rights to explore or develop subsurface resources on federal Crown land. Terry Fenge, "Political Development and Environmental Management in Northern Canada: The Case of the Nunavut Agreement," *Etudes/Inuit/Studies* 16.1-2 (1992: 115-141), 118-119.

⁵⁸⁶ Other issues negotiated by the federal government under self government agreements include structures and processes for establishing constitutions and laws, and for conducting elections and selecting leaders; creating membership eligibility; marriage; adoption and child welfare; education; language, culture and religious regulations; health and social services; policing; property rights; land and resource management; taxation; infrastructure management; housing; business management and licensing; and local transportation. Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 13 May 2004, "Federal Policy Guide: Aboriginal Self-Government: The Government of Canada's Approach to Implementation of the Inherent Right and the Negotiation of Aboriginal Self-Government," http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/pr/pub/sg/plcy_e.html [22 March 2005].

⁵⁸⁷ The Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement was ratified by the Government of Canada on 23 June 2005. Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 13 May 2004, "Federal Policy Guide: Aboriginal Self-Government: The Government of Canada's Approach to Implementation of the Inherent Right and the Negotiation of Aboriginal Self-Government," http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/pr/pub/sg/plcy_e.html [22 March 2005].

⁵⁸⁸ The KRG was established through an agreement between the Province of Quebec and the Inuit of Nunavik, the 1978 *Kativik Act*. According to The Honourable Charlie Watt, who was President of the Northern Quebec Inuit Association during the JBNQA negotiations, the Government of Quebec was reluctant to call the KRG a "government" and preferred the term "administration". Watt interview, 19 May 2005; McGoldrick interview, 10 February 2005; Mark O. Dickerson and Robert Shotton, "Northern Self-Government: Statism vs. Community Empowerment—A Choice of Futures" (Ottawa: Prepared for the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1993), 27-31; Donat Savoie, "The Challenges for a Northern Dimension Foreign Policy in International Relations," paper presented to the Cultural Identities and Northern Dimensions Symposium, Canadian Studies Centre, State University of West Georgia, 3 to 5 March 2005, Atlanta, Georgia; and Savoie (29 to 30 October 2004).

The Neville-Robitaille Federal-Provincial Commission who visited Nunavik communities in the late 1960s reported to Canada that Inuit of Nunavik sought self-government. Neville and Robitaille (2004); Donat Savoie, "Indigenous Movements in Plural Societies: The Canadian Inuit and the Ainu of Japan," paper presented at the International Symposium, National Museum of Ethnology, 13 to 15 January 2005, Osaka, Japan; and Daniel Bienvenue, "Comments of the Quebec Negotiator," Nunavik 05 (2005: 17-21), 17.

⁵⁸⁹ The negotiations did not begin for ten years, and were further delayed by the 1995 Quebec referendum on potential secession. Negotiations resumed in 1997, and included representatives from the federal government. Negotiations for the Agreement-in-Principle for the Government of Nunavik concluded in January 2005. The Agreement is currently undergoing consultation within the Government of Canada, Makivik Corporation and the Government of Quebec. Savoie (24 March 2005); "Negotiation Framework Agreement on the Amalgamation of Certain Institutions and the Creation of a New Form of Government in Nunavik" (Ottawa: Government of Canada, 26 June 2003); Savoie (2004); and "Nunavik Government: Negotiation Framework Agreement," *Nunavik* 01.02 (2005: 3-6), 3.

⁵⁹⁰ "Submission of the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples," 48. In his paper, Savoie notes that Canada is currently negotiating 77 self-government and land claims agreements. Although the majority of Aboriginal self-government proposals are for ethnic governments, in all four Inuit regions non-ethnic structures of self-government are being negotiated or have been established. Donat Savoie, "The Challenges for a Northern Dimension Foreign Policy in International Relations," paper presented to the Cultural Identities and Northern Dimensions Symposium, Canadian Studies Centre, State University of West Georgia, 3 to 5 March 2005, Atlanta, Georgia; Donat Savoie, "Indigenous Movements in Plural Societies: The Canadian Inuit and the Ainu of Japan," paper presented at the International Symposium, National Museum of Ethnology, 13 to 15 January 2005, Osaka, Japan; and Robert M. Bone, "Final Report: The Importance of Creating a Nunavik Statistics Office," (Saskatoon: Signe Research Associates Limited, 2004), 4.

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The 2001 Nunavik Commission's Report recommended that the Nunavik Assembly contain 15 members, with one elected from each community and one member elected from the Naskapi Region. Communities with populations in excess of 2,000 people may be allowed to elect a second representative. The Nunavik Assembly would adopt a Constitution, would have exclusive law-making power for Inuit language and culture in Nunavik, and would have final veto on any decisions regarding natural resource development within Nunavik. The Commission's report also recommended the creation of a Council of Elders to advise the Assembly. Elders would be elected from the 14 communities on Nunavik, as well as Chisasibi. Rather than the present system of an itinerant court, the Commission's report recommends creating a permanent judicial district within Nunavik, including a resident judge, Crown attorney, community justice committees and detention facilities. Further, the Commission's report recommended that Nunavik have seats in the Quebec National Assembly and the Parliament of Canada, and that the Government of Nunavik should be given latitude to develop autonomous relationships with other governments, such as those of Nunavut and Greenland. "Amiqqaaluta: Let Us Share: Mapping the Road Toward a Government for Nunavik" (Ottawa: Nunavik Commission, 2001), i-iii, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 23 April 2004, http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/pr/agr/nunavik/lus1_e.pdf [20 June 2005].

- ⁵⁹¹ "Nunavik Symposium," *Nunavik* (a special edition of Makivik magazine) 07(2005): 1-2.
- ⁵⁹² The legislative executive, including the premier, is elected from among the members of the legislature. The Government of the Northwest Territories gained two additional elected members in 1966, but was not fully elected until 1976. Dickerson and Shotton, 8-17.
- ⁵⁹³ Former NWT Commissioner John Parker's 1991 report on territorial division recommended amending the location of the boundary line. Following the release of Parker's report, the Bourque Commission was established to draft an interim report on the new western territory's constitution. Fifty four percent of people in the Northwest Territories voted in favour of the boundary line identified by John Parker to create Nunavut. Michael Asch and Shirleen Smith, "Consociation Revisited: Nunavut, Denendeh and Canadian Constitutional Consciousness," *Etudes/Inuit/Studies*, 16.1-2(1992: 97-114), 105-106; Curley interview, 27 April 2005.
- ⁵⁹⁴ The government would be based on representation from municipal districts comprised of one or more communities throughout the western Arctic. Districts would have the powers of territorial governments, which they could decide to devolve to a central governing authority (like the GNWT) if they chose. Districts comprised primarily of Aboriginal communities could decide to forgo a relationship with the GNWT in favour of a self-government arrangement with the federal government. Composition of districts would be determined by the communities concerned and would not have to be of similar size. In reality, the current structure of the GNWT is very similar to what it was before territorial division. Dickerson and Shotton, 13-17 and 57-61.
- ⁵⁹⁵ Within their comprehensive land claim agreements, both the Gwich'in and the Inuvialuit received title to land. Their title to subsurface rights of this land, however, is limited to one quarter (Gwich'in) and one seventh (Inuvialuit). "NWT Plain Facts On Land and Self-Government: Beaufort-Delta/Gwich'in and Inuvialuit Self-Government Negotiations," Indian and Northern Affairs, 12 April 2005, Publications, http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/pr/pub/index_e.html [12 April 2005].
- ⁵⁹⁶ "NWT Plain Facts On Land and Self-Government: Beaufort-Delta/Gwich'in and Inuvialuit Self-Government Negotiations," Indian and Northern Affairs, 12 April 2005, Publications, http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/pr/pub/index_e.html [12 April 2005]; and "Submission of the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples," 48-49.
- ⁵⁹⁷ Many of the responsibilities currently being negotiated for transfer to the GNWT have already been successfully transferred to territorial management in the Yukon. The transfer of provincial-like responsibilities to the territories has been a long-term objective of the federal and territorial governments, yet there is no current plan to negotiate the transfer of provincial-type responsibilities to the GNWT that are currently managed by federal departments other than INAC. Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 23 April 2004, Backgrounder – Devolution in the Northwest Territories, http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/nr/pr/s-d2002/02199bk_e.html [29 August 2005]; Curley interview, 27 April 2005.
- ⁵⁹⁸ Fenge, 120-123. In 1997, the Nunavut Implementation Commission held a referendum on the proposed structure of the Legislative Assembly. Initially, it had proposed to have gender parity through the election of one male and one female member to the legislative assembly for each electoral riding. The proposal

for gender parity was supported and opposed by both prominent Inuit men and women. Support for the proposal recognized inherent barriers for women in the political system and sought to ensure their participation. Detractors of the proposal viewed it as paternalistic and identified Inuit cultural expectations for women as major barriers. They sought to change cultural perceptions and expectations for women to encourage political participation. The proposal was rejected, however, as 57% of respondents voted against it. Lisa Young, "Gender Equal Legislatures: Evaluating the Proposed Nunavut Electoral System," *Canadian Public Policy* XXIII.3 (1997: 306-315), 306-308, Canadian Public Policy, 2002, Online Archive, <http://economics.ca/cgi/jab?journal=cpp&view=v23n3/CPpv23n3p306.pdf> [18 January 2005]; and Carole Cancel, "Inuit Women Reach a Deadlock in the Canadian Political Arena: A Phenomenon Grounded in the Iglu," paper presented at the Aboriginal Policy Research Conference, 21 to 23 March 2006, Ottawa.

In 1987, the NCF disbanded and the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut (TFN), which was created in 1982 to negotiate the Nunavut land claim, completed the constitutional negotiations. Peter Jull, "Politics, Development and Conservation in the International North," *Conservation and the North in a Decade of Uncertainty* (Ottawa: Canadian Arctic Resources Committee, 1986), 19-21.

⁵⁹⁹ The Nunavut Land Claims Agreement-in-Principle and the final land claims agreement was a comprehensive land claim negotiated by the federal government and the TFN to include land, social and economic benefits in return for the extinguishment of Aboriginal title to land in Nunavut. The Nunavut Political Accord was negotiated among the GNWT, the federal government, and the TFN to establish the date for creating Nunavut (1 April 1999) and the process of shifting jurisdictional authority from the GNWT to the Government of Nunavut. The *Nunavut Act* represents the Government of Canada's ratification of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement. Asch and Smith, 100-103.

⁶⁰⁰ Please see the chapter on Inuit political organizations for more information on regional organizations. Although regional associations with limited authority were established in the eastern Arctic during the 1970s as part of the GNWT's decentralization and devolution of authority, residents of the eastern Arctic and Inuit in particular, continued to push for the division of the Northwest Territories and the creation of a government in the eastern Arctic that would be responsive to the specific needs of the eastern Arctic's population. The Baffin Regional Council (BRC) is an example of a successful organization that was largely Inuit administered. It was established in 1977 as the first regional council in the Northwest Territories but was soon followed by the creation of six other similar bodies. These councils included the Keewatin, Kitikmeot, South Slave, Beau-Del, Deh Cho, Sahtu, and Dogrib Regional Councils. Regional councils are not regional governments, as they have no law-making abilities. Rather, they are bodies comprised of local government representatives and members of the Government of the Northwest Territories Legislative Assembly who meet to advise the territorial government with a united voice on local issues. Fenge, 123-125; Duffy, 243-246; Qikiqtani Inuit Association, About QIA, <http://www.qia.ca/> [8 February 2005]; Linda A. White, "Political Development and Inuit Self-Government in the Eastern Arctic: The Case of the Baffin Regional Council" (MA thesis, 1991), 18-21; and Asch and Smith, 97-100.

⁶⁰¹ The members of the legislature elect the cabinet and the premier from amongst themselves. Peter Jull, "The Making of Northern Territories & Canada's Indigenous Hinterlands," Norwegian Polar Institute, 2001, <http://www.npweb.npolar.no/> [17 January 2005]; Idlout-Sudlovenick interview, 22 February 2005; and Dickerson and Shotton, 65.

Both Tagak Curley and Peter Irniq were elected as MLAs in the NWT before Nunavut was created. Curley interview, 27 April 2005; and Irniq interview, 27 April 2005.

⁶⁰² "Submission of the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples," 48-50. The Clyde River Protocol was signed by Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated and the Government of Nunavut to establish roles and responsibilities of each organization in governing the Territory of Nunavut and managing implementation of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement. IQ representatives sit on the Tuttarviit Committee, which oversees the government's implementation of IQ, and are advised by an elders' council called, Inuit Qaujimagatuqangit Katimajit. Arnaqq and Pitsiulak interview, 27 April 2005; Mike interview, 29 April 2005; Tuttarviit Committee, Government of Nunavut, interview by author, 28 April 2005, Trigram Centre, Iqaluit, Nunavut; Irniq interview, 27 April 2005; Louis Tapardjuk, "Report of the Nunavut Traditional Knowledge Conference," Nunavut Social Development Council, held 20-24 March 1998, Igloodik, Nunavut; and Jull (2001); and Government of Nunavut, "The Clyde River Protocol," <http://www.gov.nu.ca/clyde.pdf> [28 June 2005].

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In his recently prepared Conciliator's final report on the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement implementation contract negotiations, Justice Thomas R. Berger stated that the education system in Nunavut has to be re-designed to produce high school graduates who are truly bilingual in Inuktitut and English, and to encourage youth to pursue post-secondary studies. According to Berger, more highly educated youth will improve that rate at which Inuit are employed in the upper echelons of the territorial public service and will increase the use of Inuktitut as the working language of the government. Berger (2006).

- ⁶⁰³ Although the municipal governments in the Inuit communities of Hopedale, Nain, Rigolet, Postville and Makkovik are elected in the same way as other municipal governments within the province, these communities have historically received funding for Inuit-specific programs and services. Veryan Haysom, "The Struggle for Recognition: Labrador Inuit Negotiations for Land Rights and Self-Government," *Etudes/Inuit/Studies* 16.1-2(1992: 179-197), 190-192.
- ⁶⁰⁴ In 1982, the LIA successfully negotiated an agreement to directly administer the Labrador Inuit Alcohol and Drug Abuse Program, under federal funding from the National Native Alcohol and Drug Abuse Program. In 1989, the LIA established the Labrador Inuit Health Commission to administer the community health representative program and non-insured health benefits, which also received direct federal funding. LIA administration of post-secondary assistance funding has been similarly successful. The LIA has primarily administered these programs since 1987 and 1989, respectively. Haysom, 190-193. The municipal governments are comprised of an elected chief executive officer and councilors. Nunatsiavut, 2005, Nunatsiavut Government, <http://www.nunatsiavut.com/en/nunatsiavutgov.pho> [27 June 2005].
- ⁶⁰⁵ The Nunatsiavut Government is comprised of a president, an executive council and an assembly. The assembly provides a forum for debate, it enacts laws, and it monitors work of the executive council. By forming non-profit community corporations, and electing a chairperson and executives, predominantly Inuit communities outside the settlement area can have representation in the Nunatsiavut Assembly. Nunatsiavut, 2005, Nunatsiavut Government, <http://www.nunatsiavut.com/> [27 June 2005]; and Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 11 February 2005, Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement, http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/pr/agr/labi/index_e.html [4 July 2005].
- ⁶⁰⁶ Asch and Smith, 102-104. Tremonti, 14 February 2005; Watt interview, 19 May 2005; and James Dean, "Reconsidering Equalization for the Canadian Territories," *Aboriginal Health, Identity and Resources*, Jill Oakes *et al.*, eds. (Winnipeg: Department of Native Studies and Zoology and Faculty of Graduate Studies, University of Manitoba, 2000: 305-323), 307-314.
- ⁶⁰⁷ Office of the Prime Minister, 20 December 2004, Prime Minister of Canada: First Ministers Partner on Northern Strategy News Release, <http://www.pm.gc.ca/eng/news.asp?id=358> [29 August 2005].
- ⁶⁰⁸ Office of the Prime Minister, 20 December 2004, Prime Minister of Canada: First Ministers Partner on Northern Strategy News Release, <http://www.pm.gc.ca/eng/news.asp?id=358> [29 August 2005]; Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2004, Inuit Respond to Northern Strategy Framework, <http://www.itk.ca/media/pressarchive-20041215.php> [29 August 2005]; McGoldrick interview, 10 February 2005; Kusugak interview, 6 April 2005; Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 18 April 2005, Bulletin – Minister's Update on Aboriginal and Northern Initiatives, http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ai/b1180405_e.html [29 August 2005]; Government of Nunavut, 12 May 2005, Honourable Paul Okalik, Premier of Nunavut, Keynote Address: "Realizing the Nunavut Dream", The Empire Club of Canada, <http://www.gov.nu.ca/Nunavut/English/premier/press/poc.pdf> [29 August 2005]; Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 31 October 2001, Background: Yukon Devolution and the Proposed New Yukon Act, http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/nr/prs/s-d2001/01246bk_e.html [16 June 2006]; Canadian Broadcasting Corporation North, 26 May 2006, Devolution for Nunavut Still Stalled in Ottawa, <http://www.cbc.ca/north/story/nor-devolution-nunavut.html> [16 June 2006]; Canadian Broadcasting Corporation North, 13 August 2004, PM Leaves Nunavut Premier Smiling, <http://www.cbc.ca/north/story/aug13pmokalik13082004.html> [16 June 2006]; and Canadian Broadcasting Corporation North, 1 April 2003, It's Official: Yukon Devolution in Effect, <http://www.cbc.ca/north/story/apr01devolution04012003.html> [16 June 2006].
- ⁶⁰⁹ "Submission of the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples," 44; "Inuit Tapiriiksakkut Kanatami, "Timeless Milestones: Thirty Years With ITC," *Inuktitut: Inuit Today Special Edition* (Ottawa: Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, 2001), 4; Kusugak interview, 6 April 2005; and Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, "The Case for Inuit Specific: Renewing the Relationship Between the Inuit and Government of Canada" (Ottawa: Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2004), 3, <http://www.itk.ca/publications/20040419-inuitspecific-final.pdf> [4 January 2005].

- ⁶¹⁰ Alan D. McMillan, *Native Peoples and Cultures of Canada* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1995), 257-269.
- ⁶¹¹ Kuptana, 12 April 2005, author's notes.
- ⁶¹² Kuptana interview, 20 April 2005; *Sila Alangotok: Inuit Observations on Climate Change* (Ottawa: International Institute for Sustainable Development, 2001), 42 minutes; and Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2005, Backgrounder on the Environment for Discussion at the Environment Sectoral Meeting, <http://www.itk.ca/roundtable/sectoral-inviro-backgrounder.php> [11 August 2005].
- ⁶¹³ The Northwest Territories Branch was created to administer natural resources after oil was discovered at Fort Norman in the Northwest Territories. Jenness, (1968), 29; and J.G. Nelson and Sabine Jessen, *Planning and Managing Environmentally Significant Areas in the Northwest Territories: Issues and Alternatives* (Ottawa: Canadian Arctic Resources Committee, 1984), Preface.
- ⁶¹⁴ Curley interview, 27 April 2005; and Watt interview, 19 May 2005.
- ⁶¹⁵ Through the settlement of four comprehensive land claims in Canada, regional environmental management boards were created to assess the implications of economic development. The regional boards function in association with the land claim beneficiary corporations under the terms of the land claim agreements, but also work with the provincial or territorial governments on co-management committees. These committees have identified several issues that impede their effective functioning, such as high turnover of membership and length of time required arriving at decisions. Evelyn J. Peters, "Views of Traditional Ecological Knowledge in Co-Management Bodies in Nunavik, Quebec," *Polar Record* 39.208 (2003: 49-60), 49-59.
- ⁶¹⁶ Philip Goldring, Historical Services Branch, Parks Canada, interview by author, 23 February 2005, digital recording, Public History, Ottawa.
- ⁶¹⁷ The Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry lasted from 1974 to 1976 and involved consultations with many Aboriginal communities potentially impacted by the pipeline's construction. Thomas R. Berger, *Northern Frontier, Northern Homeland: The Report of the Mackenzie Valley Inquiry* (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1977).
- ⁶¹⁸ Although these committees are designed to advise government on policy, the committees often administer resource management as well. Leslie Treseder *et al.*, *Northern Eden: Community Based Wildlife Management in Canada* (Edmonton: Canadian Circumpolar Institute, 1999), 12-13; and Peters, 49-59.
- ⁶¹⁹ These committees are the Hunting, Fishing, Trapping Coordinating Committee; Kativik Environmental Advisory Committee; the Kativik Environmental Quality Commission; and the Federal Review Committee North. A study conducted in 2000 to assess the use of traditional knowledge by the committees concluded that Inuit committee members are actively trying to incorporate traditional knowledge into the committees' work but it is often viewed as local knowledge and more funding is needed to collect and document traditional knowledge so that it can be evaluated with scientific knowledge on a broader geographic scale. In 1982, the Beverly-Qamanirjuaq Caribou Management Board was established in the NWT, as one the first Canadian/Aboriginal environmental joint management board. Peters, 51-59; Treseder, 12-13; Peter J. Usher, "The Beverly-Kaminuriak Caribou Management Board: An Evaluation of the First Ten Years and Recommendations for the Future" (Ottawa: P.J. Usher Consulting Services for the Beverly and Kaminuriak Caribou Management Board, 1991); and Susan Cosens, "The History and Subsistence of Hunting and Management of Bowhead Whales in Canada," *Issues in the North*, Vol. II, Jill Oakes and Rick Riewe, eds. (Edmonton: Canadian Circumpolar Institute, 1997: 9-15), 9. See also: *Circumpolar Aboriginal People and Co-Management Practice: Current Issues in Co-Management and Environmental Assessment* (Calgary: Arctic Institute of North America and Joint Secretariat—Inuvialuit Renewable Resource Committees, 1996).
- ⁶²⁰ William MacLeod, *Water Management in the Canadian North: the Administration of Inland Waters North of 60°* (Ottawa: Canadian Arctic Resources Committee, 1977), 1-11 and 103-104.
- The Beaufort Sea Project was initiated in 1973 and was, "Canada's first large-scale, multi disciplinary environmental research effort," according to Cynthia Lamson, Assistant Professor of Environmental Studies at Dalhousie University. Government and industry conducted this project jointly to assess effects of drilling on regional flora and fauna. Cynthia Lamson, "In Pursuit of Knowledge: Arctic Shipping and Marine Science," *The Challenge of Arctic Shipping: Science, Environmental Assessment, and Human Values*, David L. VanderZwaag and Cynthia Lamson, eds. (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990: 3-19), 14.

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Environmental assessments became legal requirements before initiating economic development projects in 1992. This requirement was made public knowledge through the *Friends of the Oldman Society v. Canada* (Minister of Transport) Supreme Court of Canada case, whose decision was based on a 1984 Order-in-Council, known as the "1984 EARP Guidelines Order." These guidelines were used to create the federal government's environmental review process, which included two levels of screening and a process for conducting public hearings. Although the Regional Environmental Review Committee at Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC) had the procedure for environmental assessments and community reviews in place by the mid 1980s, and several projects underwent small-scale environmental assessments, no proposed projects were recommended to undergo the full process until the BHP/Dia Met Diamond Mine project was announced in 1994. Based on the large scale of the project and proposals to construct potentially environmentally damaging mining infrastructure, INAC and Environment Canada initiated an environmental assessment that reviewed potential environmental and socio-economic effects of the proposed development, and included community consultations. Environment Canada appointed a four-person panel to conduct the environmental assessment, which included the potential short term, long term, and cumulative environmental and socio-economic effects on the whole NWT. The panel was also asked to, "give full and equal consideration to traditional knowledge." William E. Rees, *Reflections on the Environmental Assessment and Review Process (EARP): A Discussion Paper* (Ottawa: Canadian Arctic Resources Committee, 1979), 1-3; Larry Reynolds, "All That Glitters is Not Green: Environmental Responsibilities and Canada's Arctic Diamond Rush," *Issues in the North, Vol. III*, Jill Oakes and Rick Riewe, eds. (Edmonton: Canadian Circumpolar Institute, 1996: 183-195), 187; and Kevin O'Reilly, "The BHP Independent Environmental Monitoring Agency as a Management Tool," prepared for the Labrador Inuit Association and submitted to the Voisey's Bay Environmental Assessment Panel, 1998, Canadian Arctic Resources Committee, 2005, Environmental Assessment Roundtable Library, <http://www.carc.org/rndtable/vbpanels.html> [11 July 2005]. All mine proposals submitted to INAC must now contain mine closure and reclamation plans to mitigate the environmental damage caused by the mine. "Mine Site Reclamation in Nunavut," Nunavut Rocks (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Winter 2005, Edition 5), 1.

⁶²¹ Bowheads were considered a protected species in Canada beginning in 1935 under the Convention for the Regulation of Whaling. Although the International Whaling Commission had permitted subsistence whaling beginning in 1950, they cancelled this practice in 1977, fearing that over harvesting was negatively affecting whale populations, and created a quota system solely for Aboriginal subsistence hunting. The Hunters and Trappers Committee and the Inuvialuit Game Council are also part of joint federal resource management strategies. Cosens, 9-12.

⁶²² In the eastern Arctic, subsistence bowhead whaling continued throughout the twentieth century until 1979 when it was restricted. Under the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement, Inuit negotiated provisions for a traditional knowledge study that would assess the contemporary bowhead whale population and set quotas for their harvest. The federal Department of Fisheries and Oceans collaborated with the Nunavut Wildlife Management Board to conduct the study, which concluded that hunters' assertions of bowhead whale population health were generally correct. Cosens, 12-14; Mats Ris, "Inuit Bowhead Whaling: Canadian Inuvialuit Response to History, Tradition, and Modern Management," *Issues in the North, Vol. I*, Jill Oakes and Rick Riewe, eds. (Edmonton: Canadian Circumpolar Institute, 1998: 203-207), 203-207. See also: Evelyn Peters, *Sustainable Development, Food Security and Aboriginal Self-Government in the Circumpolar North* (Quebec: GETIC, Université Laval, 2000).

Environmentally Significant Areas (ESAs) of the North, which were identified by scientists in the 1960s and 1970s, include caribou calving grounds, bird nesting areas, and animal migration routes. These areas are protected by a variety of federal legislation, including designation as national or territorial parks, and as national wildlife areas, preserves, and sanctuaries. Nelson and Jessen, Preface.

⁶²³ Other federal legislation, including the Aboriginal Fisheries Strategy, also provides opportunities for Inuit to become involved in the management of northern fisheries. The 1997 Canada Oceans Act mandates that federal agencies use traditional knowledge in their decision-making processes. Fisheries and Oceans Canada, "Ensuring the Health of the Oceans and Other Seas" (Ottawa, 1997), Environment Canada, 30 April 2002, Sustainable Development, <http://www.sdinfo.gc.ca/reports/en/monograph3/splash.cfm> [12 April 2005]; Terry Fenge, "The Inuit and Climate Change," *Isuma 2.4* (Winter 2001), 1-4, http://www.isuma.net/v02n04/fenge/fenge_e.shtml [3 May 2005].

- ⁶²⁴ Lyle Lockhart and Gary Stern, "Chemical Contaminants in the Canadian Arctic," *Pushing the Margins: Native and Northern Studies*, Jill Oakes, Rick Riewe, Marlyn Bennett and Brenda Chisholm, eds. (Winnipeg: Native Studies Press, 2001: 356-367), 356-357.
- ⁶²⁵ *Communicating About Contaminants in Country Food: The Experience in Aboriginal Communities* (Ottawa: Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, 1995), i-vi; and Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2005, Northern Environmental Contaminants, <http://www.itk.ca/environment/contaminants-taking-action.php> [27 May 2005].
- ⁶²⁶ Radioactive isotopes in the Canadian Arctic have been linked to the Chernobyl accident in 1986. In particular, high levels of PCBs have been found concentrated in the breast milk of Inuit women, and high levels of mercury have been found in the blood of northern Aboriginal peoples. Both synthetic organic compounds and mercury have also been found concentrated in marine mammals and fish, which are significant Inuit food resources and a major opportunity for these contaminants to become concentrated in humans. Lockhart and Stern, 357-366.
- ⁶²⁷ In 1989, the federal government initiated a large-scale DEW Line site cleanup project through the Department of National Defence. To date, four of 21 sites have been cleaned up, and seven sites are undergoing cleanup measures. The federal government plans to complete the cleanup project in 2008. National Defence, 6 June 2005, DEW Line Cleanup Project, http://www.rmc.ca/academic/gradrech/esg/dlcu_e.html [16 June 2005].
- ⁶²⁸ Rob Huebert, "The Canadian Arctic and the International Environmental Regime," *Issues in the North*, Vol. II, Jill Oakes and Rick Riewe, eds. (Edmonton: Canadian Circumpolar Institute, 1997: 45-53), 45-46; and Derek Muir, "Arctic Contaminants: Implications for the Environment and Indigenous Peoples in the Arctic," *Issues in the North*, Vol. II, Jill Oakes and Rick Riewe, eds. (Edmonton: Canadian Circumpolar Institute, 1997: 55-66), 55.
- ⁶²⁹ The issue of country food contamination is discussed in greater detail in the Healthcare chapter. The slow metabolism characteristic of many northern mammals, and the presence of third-level carnivores, such as polar bears, within the food chain, means increased opportunity for biomagnification of contaminants within the food chain. Several studies of Inuit traditional food resources have been conducted to determine if ingested quantities of POPs are within Canadian tolerable daily intake (TDI) levels. Lactating women and their infants have also been studied in northern communities to determine if POPs passed through the placenta and breast milk are placing infants at increased risk of negative health affects. Muir, 55-65. See also: C. Furgal *et al.*, *Inuit Perspectives on Environmental Contaminants: Report on Avativut/Ilusivut Risk Management Workshops in Nunavik and Labrador* (Waterloo: Institute for Risk Research, University of Waterloo, 1995).
- ⁶³⁰ Until 1999, the Territory of Nunavut was included within the Northwest Territories. Hence, any reference in this report to the NWT preceding 1999 includes the eastern Arctic unless otherwise specified. Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 23 April 2004, Description of the NCP, http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/NCP/abt_e.html [1 June 2006]; Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2005, Northern Contaminants Program, <http://www.itk.ca/environment/ocntaminants-ncp.php> [27 May 2005]. See also: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 13 May 2004, Northern Affairs Program—Contaminated Sites Program Performance Report 2001-02, November 2002, http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ps/nap/consit/1csrep0102_e.html [12 April 2005].
- ⁶³¹ *Canadian Arctic Contaminants Assessment Report II*, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 23 April 2004, Northern Contaminants Program—Publications, http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ncp/pub/donlod_e.html [24 January 2005].
- ⁶³² Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 23 April 2004, Description of the NCP, http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/NCP/abt_e.html [1 June 2006].
- ⁶³³ Sustainable Development Information, 30 September 2003, Indigenous Peoples and Sustainable Development in the Canadian Arctic Towards a Sustainable Future (5 May 2000), <http://www.sdinfo.gc.ca/> [12 April 2005].
- ⁶³⁴ A more detailed discussion of climate change and its effects on Canadian sovereignty of the Northwest Passage and Arctic Archipelago is found in the chapter on Arctic Sovereignty.
- ⁶³⁵ F. Berkes, *Sacred Ecology: TEK and Resource Management* (London and Philadelphia: Taylor and Francis, 1999) in Dyanna Riedlinger, "Inuvialuit Knowledge of Climate Change," *Pushing the Margins: Native and Northern Studies*, Jill Oakes, Rick Riewe, Marlyn Bennett and Brenda Chisholm, eds. (Winnipeg: Native Studies Press, 2001: 346-355), 346-347.

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- ⁶³⁶ Riedlinger, 346-348.
- ⁶³⁷ Riedlinger, 348-351; and *Sila Alangotok: Inuit Observations on Climate Change* (Ottawa: International Institute for Sustainable Development, 2001), 42 minutes.
- ⁶³⁸ The Mackenzie Basin Impact Study was conducted over six years and was completed in 1997 by government, university and private sector researchers. The research objective was to determine the potential affects of climate change on the Mackenzie Region, which include an earlier spring season, reduced water levels and ice cover, and permafrost thaw and land erosion in coastal areas (Beaufort Sea) and the Mackenzie Valley. These changes would have potential affects on the traditional way of life for Inuit living in the Mackenzie Region by changing the time and location where particular animal and other resources were available. This study was completed between 1991 and 1997. Stewart Cohen, "What if the Climate Warms? Implications for the Mackenzie Basin," *Issues in the North, Vol. I*, Jill Oakes and Rick Riewe, eds. (Edmonton: Canadian Circumpolar Institute, 1996: 199-201), 199-200. See also: Stewart J. Cohen, "Adaptation and Impacts Research Group: Mackenzie Basin Impact Study (MBIS) Final Report: Summary of Results," 1996, Environment Canada, 18 December 2002, <http://www.msc-smc.ec.gc.ca/> [12 April 2005]; and John Yackel and David Barber, "Arctic Climate Change: A Case of Mounting Evidence," *Pushing the Margins: Native and Northern Studies*, Jill Oakes, Rick Riewe, Marlyn Bennett and Brenda Chishom, eds. (Winnipeg: Native Studies Press, 2001: 338-345), 344-345.
- Canada signed the Kyoto protocol in 1997 and ratified it in 2005, which was supported by ITK. Under the protocol, Canada agreed to reduce its greenhouse gas emissions by about 26%. Yackel and Barber, 344-345. Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2005, 2005 Press Archive: Inuit Hold Unique Environmental Policy Session as Follow-Up to Canada-Aboriginal Peoples Roundtable, <http://www.itk.ca/media/press-archive-20050307.php> [27 May 2005].
- ⁶³⁹ Sheila Watt-Cloutier, "Inuit and Arctic Perspectives on Global Environmental Issues," remarks given at The World Bank Environmentally and Socially Sustainable Development Week, Washington DC, 30 March 2005, transcript, Inuit Circumpolar Conference, 4 April 2005, Media Room, http://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/flash_player_icc_select.php [15 April 2005].
- ⁶⁴⁰ Early objectives for the organization included identifying major environmental pollutants, identifying existing initiatives designed to protect the environment, and identifying potential initiatives that could be implemented to mitigate environmental damage. Under the amended 1995 Auditor General Act, federal departments are required to adopt sustainable development strategies. The departments tabled their first strategies in 1997 and are required to update them every three years. The implementation, management, and impact of the strategies are monitored by the Auditor General's office. This federal initiative is part of Canada's commitment to the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development. The revised strategy produced by INAC in 2001 demonstrates a federal response to some Inuit concerns about the environment, and includes targets, action, and performance measures taken to address each of the department's objectives. Particular INAC initiatives include sustainable utilization of northern natural resources, holistic approaches used in land and resource management, improved nutrition and health in northern communities, mitigating health effects from contaminants, active involvement of Aboriginal peoples in addressing issues related to climate change, and use of traditional knowledge in INAC decisions that affect communities. Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 2005, Publications—Sustainable Development Strategy 2004-2006, http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/pr/pub/index_e.html [12 April 2005]; "Action Plan North of 60°N" (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 2001), Publications, http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/pr/pub/index_e.html [12 April 2005]; Huebert (1997), 45-48; and Rob Huebert, "The Arctic Council and Northern Aboriginal Peoples," *Issues in the North, Vol. III*, eds. Jill Oakes and Rick Riewe (Canadian Circumpolar Institute, 1998: 141-151), 144. See also: Peter Jull, "The Politics of Sustainable Development: Reconciliation in Indigenous Hinterlands," paper given at the Indigenous Peoples, Power and Sustainable Development in the Global World, University of Tromso, Norway, 11 October 2002, transcript, The University of Queensland Australia, 4 February 2004, Cybrary, <http://eprint.uq.edu.au/archive/00000097/> [24 May 2005].
- ⁶⁴¹ Huebert (1998), 142-146.
- ⁶⁴² In 1994, Canada appointed Mary Simon as Ambassador of Circumpolar Affairs, with a mandate to conduct bilateral discussions with Arctic states and Aboriginal organizations regarding the creation of the Arctic Council. Mary Simon is a past President of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference. Huebert (1998), 142-145.

⁶⁴³ Although Canada sought to include Arctic security in the issues addressed by the Arctic Council, it was specifically excluded in the Arctic Council's declaration at the request of the United States of America. Huebert (1998), 146. The Arctic Council working groups are: The Sustainable Development Working Group; The Arctic Monitoring and Assessment Program; Protection of the Arctic Marine Environment; Conservation of Arctic Flora and Fauna; and Emergency, Prevention, Preparedness and Response. As well as its five working groups, the Arctic Council also has the Arctic Council Plan to Eliminate Pollution of the Arctic and recently completed the Arctic Climate Impact Assessment Study. The Arctic Council works closely with several international bodies, including the European Union and the United Nations Environment Program. Arctic Council, 2004, About, <http://www.arctic-council.org/en/main/infopage/1/> [24 May 2005].

⁶⁴⁴ International organizations who are observers to the Arctic Council are the Conference of the Parliamentarians of the Arctic Region, International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, International Union for the Conservation of nature, Nordic Council of Ministers, Northern Forum, North Atlantic Marine Mammal Commission, United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, United National Environment Program, and the United Nations Development Program. NGOs who are observers to the Arctic Council are the Advisory Committee of Protection of the Seas, the Association of World Reindeer herders, the Circumpolar Conservation Union, the International Arctic Science Committee, the International Arctic Social Sciences Association, the International Union for Circumpolar Health, the International Working Group for Indigenous Affairs, the University of the Arctic, and the Worldwide Fund for Nature. Council membership was comprised of ministers of foreign affairs from circumpolar nations, three Aboriginal organizations with status as Permanent Participants, and official observers. The original permanent participants were the Inuit Circumpolar Conference; the Saami Council; and the Association of Indigenous Minorities of the North, Siberia and the Far East of the Russian Federation. Recently, the Aleut International Association, the Arctic Athabaskan Council, and the Gwich'in Council International have joined these organizations as permanent participants. Permanent participant status provides for inclusion in all discussions and consultation on decisions but no voting capacity. Five European states (France, Germany, The Netherlands, Poland, and the United Kingdom) and several international organizations and NGOs are official observers to the Arctic Council. With increasing ice melt in the Northwest Passage and predictions that it could eventually be used as a shipping route, China and Japan have expressed interest in the Northwest Passage and in becoming official observers to the Council. While permanent participants do not enjoy the same privileges as states within the Council, they have successfully encouraged the Council to adopt their agendas on several occasions. The ICC, for example, compiled the principles of sustainable development adopted by the Council. The Canadian Government recognizes the importance of the ICC and provides it with operational base funding. Arctic Council, 2004, Observers, <http://www.arctic-council.org/> [24 May 2005]; Fenge (2001), 1-2; Kuptana interview, 20 April 2005; Watt-Cloutier (2005); and Watt-Cloutier interview, 26 April 2005.

According to Huebert, the three permanent participants on the Arctic Council are entitled to participate in the Council as equals but are primarily funded by member states, putting the participants in a position of dependency, and thereby making it difficult for them to act autonomously in opposition to their funding state without fearing repercussions. Huebert (1998), 141-149.

⁶⁴⁵ Arctic Climate Impact Assessment, 2004, Impacts of a Warming Arctic: Highlights of the Arctic Climate Impact Assessment, <http://www.amap.no/acia/Highlights.pdf> [15 April 2005]; and *Unikkaaqatigit: Putting the Human Face on Climate Change* (Ottawa: Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, Nasivvik Centre for Inuit Health and Changing Environments at Université Laval, the Ajunnginiq Centre at the National Aboriginal Health Organization; Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated, Makivik Corporation, Labrador Inuit Association, 2005).

⁶⁴⁶ Yackel and Barber, 338.

⁶⁴⁷ Sheila Watt-Cloutier was recently appointed to the National Round Table on the Environment and the Economy. Office of the Prime Minister, 4 March 2005, "Prime Minister Announces Appointments to the National Round Table in the Environment and the Economy" (16 February 2005), <http://www.pm.gc.ca/eng/news.asp?id=418> [15 April 2005]; and Sheila Watt-Cloutier, remarks given to the Circumpolar Cooperation Panel, Northern Strategy, Ottawa, 22 March 2005, transcript, Inuit Circumpolar Conference, 4 April 2005, Media Room, http://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/flash_player_icc_select.php [15 April 2005].

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- ⁶⁴⁸ ITK's objective for the session was to provide the federal government with a better understanding of the issues faced by Inuit, to facilitate the creation of Inuit-specific policies that will close the gap of living standards between Inuit and other Canadians. Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2005, 2005 Press Release Archive/Climate Change Plan: Inuit Seek Consultation Commitments and Ways to Adapt Plan for the Arctic, <http://www.itk.ca/media/press-archive-20050414.php> [27 May 2005].
- ⁶⁴⁹ Cohen (1996), 199.
- ⁶⁵⁰ Rosemarie Kuptana supports education that will encourage Inuit to perform roles as executives and middle managers in the federal and territorial governments, land claim beneficiary corporations, private companies, and non-governmental organizations, which she predicts will positively impact the development of policies and programs for northern environmental protection and management. Kuptana (2005).
Watt-Cloutier (30 March 2005). See also: Watt-Cloutier (22 March 2005).
- ⁶⁵¹ The North West Mounted Police became the Royal Canadian Mounted Police in 1920. Dickerson, 63-88; Robert G. Williamson and Terrence W. Foster, "Eskimo Relocation in Canada" (Ottawa: Social Research Division, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, 1975), 9-11; and Diubaldo (1992), 3-6, 30.
- ⁶⁵² Nobuhiro Kishigami, "Life and Problems of Urban Inuit in Montreal: Report of 1997 Research" Osaka, Japan: National Museum of Ethnology, 1999: 81-109), 88-89. *Inuit Rights in the City: A Guide to Understanding the Rights of Inuit Living in the Ottawa Area* (Ottawa: Tungasuvvingat Inuit, 2000), 5.
- ⁶⁵³ Makivik Corporation, for example, has its head office in Kuujuaq but also maintains offices in Montreal and Ottawa. *Inuit Rights in the City*, 5.
- ⁶⁵⁴ Statistics Canada, "2001 Census: Analysis Series. Aboriginal Peoples of Canada: A Demographic Profile," <http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/Products/Analytic/companion/abor/contents.cfm> [8 November 2005]; Community Centre: Tungasuvvingat Inuit, 2005, Inuit of Ontario, <http://www.ontarioinuit.ca/> [6 July 2005]; A. Siggner and R. Costa, "Inuit Population and Profile: Canada and Nunavik" (Social and Aboriginal Statistics Division, Statistics Canada, 2005), 3; and Christopher M. Reid, "Urban Aboriginal Communities in Canada," paper presented to the Pacific Business & Law Institute Conference, Ottawa, 28 to 29 April 2004; and *Inuit Rights in the City*, 4.
- ⁶⁵⁵ The Wabano Centre uses traditional and western medicine to create a more comprehensive approach to healthcare that is culturally sensitive to Aboriginal peoples. Wabano Center for Aboriginal Health, 2003, <http://www.wabano.com/main.html> [6 July 2005].
In the absence of federal funding, most provincial governments do not provide specific Inuit programming, as they consider Inuit to be within the jurisdiction of the *Constitution Act*, 1867, section 91(24), definition of Indians, which makes specific programs and services a federal responsibility. In northern land claim regions, Inuit programs and services are funded through federal transfer payments to the province/territory or to the land claim beneficiary corporation. Reid, 28-29 April 2004.
- ⁶⁵⁶ The Odawa Native Friendship Centre in Ottawa, for example, offers parenting and family support services, a criminal court-worker program, youth programming, Alcoholics Anonymous meetings, employment training programs and a volleyball league. Odawa Native Friendship Centre, 2005, Programs, <http://www.odawa.on.ca/programs.htm> [6 July 2005]; and Canadian Heritage, 28 May 2004, Aboriginal Friendship Centre Program, http://www.canadianheritage.gc.ca/progs/pa-app/progs/pcaa-afcp/index_e.cfm?nav=2 [6 July 2005].
- ⁶⁵⁷ Inuit Community Centre: Tungasuvvingat Inuit, 2005, <http://www.onatrioinuit.ca/> [6 July 2005].
- ⁶⁵⁸ The Churchill Vocational Centre was closed in 1970 when the Government of the Northwest Territories assumed responsibility for education in the territory, and began to construct smaller high schools in northern communities. The Kativik Regional School Board's residential secondary school was located at Dorval, near Montreal. A combination of poor planning and organization, and high student drop out rates forced the school's closure after only six months. Instead, the Kativik Regional School Board began offering grades 9 and 10 in Nunavik's elementary schools, and grades 11 and 12 in a few of the larger communities. "Within the South: Inuit Education, Training, Employment," (Ottawa: Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, 1980), 5-9; and Marsha Kaplansky, *Inuit in the South* (Ottawa: Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, 1981), 5, 15-16.

⁶⁵⁹ Watt interview, 19 May 2005; and Curley interview, 27 April 2005; Michelin interview, 14 February 2005; Williamson and Foster, 2; "Within the South: Inuit Education, Training, Employment," 1-4; Paul Welsman, "Education of Native Peoples in the Northwest Territories: A Northern Model," *The North in Transition*, Nils Orvik, ed. (Kingston: Centre for International Relations, Queen's University, 1976: 21-47), 35-37; and Duffy, 118-121.

⁶⁶⁰ Kaplansky, 5-7.

⁶⁶¹ "So You're Going to School in Ottawa," *Inuititut* (Autumn 1972:8-12), 8-12.

⁶⁶² Although these students were often the first generation of their family to attend secondary or postsecondary education in urban centres, they were not the first in their family to experience culture shock associated with urban living. In many cases, the movement of families from rural camps to communities through the North during the 1950s and 1960s produced culture shock associated with the adaptation to life in urban centres.

⁶⁶³ Additionally, no programs were provided for students returning to the North or to rural communities, and these students often experienced significant culture shock upon their return home. "Within the South: Inuit Education, Training, Employment," 1-12.

⁶⁶⁴ Although more Inuit were pursuing secondary and post-secondary education in the 1980s, their completion rate for these programs was low relative to completion rates across Canada. In their 1980 report, ITK cited a lack of Inuit involvement in the design and delivery of education as a factor in low education completion rates. To address the gaps in knowledge identified by many Inuit pursuing secondary and post-secondary studies, and to promote confidence, self-esteem, and cultural pride, ITK recommended creating a program through VTS that would be accredited, and would facilitate school instruction in topics such as Inuit literature, art, language, and history, and in northern and southern life skills. "Within the South: Inuit Education, Training, Employment," 17-19. The Tungavik Federation of Nunavut was renamed Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated in 1993.

Over 175 people have graduated from the Nunavut Sivuniksavut Program. The program encourages students to become involved in Ottawa's Inuit community, and to learn about Inuit organizations. Students complete fieldwork in their communities during the Christmas break to gather information used in research projects by Inuit organizations. In the future, students may be able to transfer their Nunavut Sivuniksavut/Algonquin College credits to programs at Nunavut Arctic College, such as the Management Studies Program. Recent sponsors of the Nunavut Sivuniksavut Program include Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated, Kakivak, Kivalliq Partners, Kitkmeot Economic Development Commission, the Government of Nunavut Department of Culture, Language, Elders and Youth Nunavut, the Government of Nunavut Department of Education, and Indian and Northern Affairs Canada. Nunavut Sivuniksavut, 2005, <http://www.nstraining.ca/about/sponsors.html> [6 July 2005].

⁶⁶⁵ This program provides funds for tuition, books, living expenses, and travel to eligible students enrolled in recognized post-secondary programs. Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 23 April 2004, Post-Secondary Education Programs, http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ps/edu/ense_e.html [7 July 2005].

⁶⁶⁶ Hull, xii.

⁶⁶⁷ Kaplansky, 12-13.

⁶⁶⁸ In 1980, about 400 Inuit were sent to hospitals in southern Canada for treatment lasting an average of between one and three weeks. Kaplansky, 31-35.

⁶⁶⁹ A recent article in the *Nunatsiaq News*, for example, described the circumstances of a man from Nunavut who required kidney dialysis, which was not available in Nunavut. This man needed to live in Ottawa to receive medical care but had no housing and experienced difficulty accessing the support services that he required. As a beneficiary of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement, the man stated that he was entitled to a better level of healthcare closer to home. Jane George, "Abandoned in Ottawa," *Nunatsiaq News*, 8 July 2005, <http://www.nunatsiaq.com/> [8 July 2005].

⁶⁷⁰ Kaplansky, 31-35; *Inuit Rights in the City*, 4-5.

⁶⁷¹ For a more comprehensive discussion of the NIHB program, see the Healthcare Issues section. Health Canada, 8 June 2004, Non-Insured Health Benefits, <http://www.hc-sc.gc.ca/fnihb/nihb/publications/infobook.htm> [6 July 2005]; and Michelin interview, 14 February 2005.

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- ⁶⁷² Jane George, "Healing Foundation Gives \$2 Million to Ottawa Inuit Program: Mamisarvik Healing Centre One of Nine Inuit Projects to Get Money," 25 January 2005, *Health News Digest*, <http://www.qcna.org/healthstories99.html> [6 July 2005]; and Inuit Community Centre: Tungasuvvingat Inuit, 2005, Programs and Services, <http://www.ontarioinuit.ca/html/programs.htm> [6 July 2005].
- ⁶⁷³ Health Canada, 16 April 2003, National Native Alcohol and Drug Abuse Program, http://www.hc-sc.gc.ca/fnihb/cp/nnadap/terms_of_reference.htm [6 July 2005]; and Public Health Agency of Canada, 16 February 2004, Division of Childhood and Adolescence: Program Overview, http://www.hc-sc.gc.ca/fnib-spni/pubs/ads/1996_terms_cadre_reference/index_e.html [6 July 2005].
- ⁶⁷⁴ National Aboriginal Health Organization, 2005, About NAHO, http://www.naho.ca/english/about_naho.php [6 July 2005]; and "Aboriginal Diabetes Initiative: Métis, Off-Reserve Aboriginal, and Urban Inuit Prevention and Promotion Program Framework," (Ottawa: Health Canada, 2000); and Inuit Community Centre: Tungasuvvingat Inuit, 2005, Programs and Services, <http://www.ontarioinuit.ca/html/programs.htm> [6 July 2005].
- ⁶⁷⁵ According to the report, the majority of Inuit lived in government housing at a site near Churchill called Akudlik, where extensive kinship ties served as a cohesive bond for the community, despite the differences in dialect and sub-culture among Inuit from the western Arctic and Nunavik. Inuit at Churchill were able to pursue traditional activities in their leisure time, including hunting and fishing, and the Government of Canada provided soapstone to Inuit for carving purposes, with completed projects purchased by the administration at Akudlik for re-sale. Akudlik was built in the 1950s as a transitional centre for Inuit migrating to southern Canada, and then became the Government of Canada's administrative centre for the District of Keewatin in the 1960s. The report stated that all adult Inuit males living in Churchill were employed at the time of the study. Williamson and Foster, 26-28.
- ⁶⁷⁶ Within northern communities, on-the-job training for Inuit was offered through the Kativik Regional School Board's teacher-training program, the Government of Northwest Territories, and ITK. Although vocational programs had been offered at facilities in Churchill and at Fort Smith, many Inuit who participated in these programs did not find employment in their chosen field of study, leading to discontent with the education process and reluctance of younger Inuit to enroll in vocational programs. "Within the South: Inuit Education, Training, Employment," 24-26.
- ⁶⁷⁷ In addition, families of Inuit employed in southern Canada cited boredom as a problem. Kaplansky, 17-20.
- ⁶⁷⁸ According to the 2001 Census of Canada data, rural Inuit earn an average of \$16,940 while urban Inuit earn an average of \$20,982. Both of these figures are less than non-Aboriginal people, who earn an average of \$30,023 per year. Approximately 7% of Inuit live in urban cities. Siggner and Costa, 7 and 20; Mary Jane Norris and Stewart Clatworthy, "Aboriginal; Mobility and Migration Within Urban Canada: Outcomes, Factors and Implications" in *Not Strangers in the These Parts: Urban Aboriginal Peoples*, ed. David Newhouse and Evelyn Peters (Ottawa: Policy Research Initiative, 2000: 51-78), 54; and Inuit Community Centre: Tungasuvvingat Inuit, 2005, Inuit of Ontario, <http://www.ontarioinuit.ca/html/ontatio.htm> [6 July 2005].
- ⁶⁷⁹ When pharmacies and healthcare providers do not recognize NIHB cards, Inuit must pay for services and then apply for reimbursement from the NIHB program. Michelin interview, 14 February 2005.
- ⁶⁸⁰ In 1991, Human Resources Development Canada (HRDC) began providing funding for specific programs and services to Aboriginal peoples in urban centres through its Pathways to Success program. The program was offered nationwide, but locally administered. In urban centres without Aboriginal governing structures, Aboriginal Area Management Boards were created with representation from relevant Aboriginal groups to administer Pathways programs. With the 1996 revisions to the Pathways program, funding for Aboriginal peoples was divided among three national organizations, Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (now Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK)), the Assembly of First Nations, and the Métis National Council, rendering the management boards obsolete. The lack of service for urban Aboriginal peoples was challenged in the 2002 Misquadis case, which determined that Aboriginal peoples in urban centres do have structures of governance with the organizational and decision-making capacity to administer HRDC programs, and that urban Aboriginal peoples are entitled to equity of service with those living in Aboriginal communities. Reid, 28-29 April 2004.

In Ottawa, Inuit are negotiating with the Algonquin First Nations for permission to hunt and fish in the Ottawa area. In Nunavut, for example, post-secondary assistance funding can be accessed from the Government of Nunavut's Financial Assistance for Nunavut Students (FANS). For beneficiaries who have lived outside of Nunavut for more than one year previous to submitting their funding application, FANS funding may be difficult to obtain. Tungasuvvingat Inuit, *Akiurvik* (Winter 2004), 3, <http://www.ontarioinuit.ca/html/ti.htm> [6 July 2005]; and *Inuit Rights in the City*, 24-35.

⁶⁸¹ According to 1996 Census of Canada data, 1,330 Inuit household moves were between rural communities; 1,175 moves were from rural to urban communities; 1,150 moves were from urban to urban communities; and 920 moves were from urban to rural communities. In fact, the 2001 Census of Canada data indicate that population redistribution of Inuit between rural and urban communities has changed little since 1996. Norris and Clatworthy, 59 and 74.

⁶⁸² Inuit in Ottawa, for example, are currently seeking to have their population, which is consistent with the population of a mid-sized northern community, recognized by the provincial government. Inuit refer to the Ottawa Inuit community as "Ottawamiut." Although Section 35 of the Constitution guarantees Inuit protection of their Aboriginal and treaty rights, Ontario law does not recognize specific Inuit rights. Within Ontario, the government can designate official "Native communities," allowing them to take responsibility for some areas of provincial jurisdiction, including child welfare and community services. The federal government uses the term "Aboriginal" to refer to First Nations, Métis and Inuit, and the Province of Ontario uses the term "Native." At present, the Province of Ontario only officially recognizes First Nations communities by designating them as Native communities. Taking responsibility for social service provision is particularly important for Inuit, who have experienced significant legal difficulties in having their system of customary adoption recognized provincially. Although Inuit agencies, such as Tungasuvvingat Inuit in Ottawa, have worked with social workers, to inform them about Inuit cultural practices and to facilitate customary adoptions with the Children's Aid Society's knowledge, the precarious legal status of customary adoptions has meant adoptive parents face difficulty registering children in school, and obtaining documentation, such as birth certificates, provincial health cards, and passports. *Inuit Rights in the City*, 1-3 and 10-18; and Calvin Hanselmann, "Ensuring the Urban Dream: Shared Responsibility and Effective Urban Aboriginal Voices," *Not Strangers in These Parts: Urban Aboriginal Peoples*, David Newhouse and Evelyn Peters, eds. (Ottawa: Policy Research Initiative, 2003: 167-177), 172-173; and John Loxley and Fred Wien, "Urban Aboriginal Economic Development," *Not Strangers in These Parts: Urban Aboriginal Peoples*, David Newhouse and Evelyn Peters, eds. (Ottawa: Policy Research Initiative, 2003: 217-242), 223.

Urban Inuit have sometimes found their traditional practices of childrearing and adoption misunderstood and unrecognized by provincial Children's Aid Societies. Inuit culture promotes a communal attitude towards childcare, meaning that it is usual and expected for children to live with adults other than their natural parents, such as aunts, uncles and grandparents, for some period of their childhood. These arrangements may reflect what is convenient or necessary for the parents, the wishes of the children for schooling or other purposes, or the extended family's desire for more children. Since adoption is common and sometimes temporary among Inuit, the arrangements are rarely formalized through the Canadian legal system. For consistency with the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement, the federal government recognizes the legal authority of adoptive parents for customary adoptions occurring in Nunavut, even if adoptive families move from the land claim settlement region. Adoptions occurring within urban centres in southern Canada, even if they are among people from Nunavut, are not federally recognized. A report by Tungasuvvingat Inuit on the rights of urban Inuit states that the Children's Aid Society's foster care system is likely necessary because most Canadians do not have *ilagiit* to assist them in caring for their children. Within Inuit culture, several layers of "family" are recognized, and this is reflected in Inuktitut, which assigns separate names to members of one's immediate family (*qatangutigiiit*), member's of one's extended family (*ilagiit*), and family members' connected through traditional naming practices (*tuqlluraniq*). There is no stigma with adoption in Inuit culture, and the Inuktitut word for adoption means "the one we took," indicating desire for the child by the adoptive parents. The lack of Inuit foster parents in many urban areas means that Inuit children who are taken into custody by the Children's Aid Society will likely end up, at least temporarily, in non-Inuit homes. *Inuit Rights in the City*, 8-19; and *Within the South: Inuit Education, Training, Employment and Health Care* (Ottawa: Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, 1980), 11.

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- ⁶⁸³ The lack of legal recognition for Inuit customary adoptions is similar to other Inuit experiences of cultural misunderstanding. Inuit interactions with the police and other urban service providers are made more difficult when consistent and adequate translation services are not available. Many Inuit, particularly elderly people, still have Inuktitut as their primary or only language of interaction, and require interpretive services on a regular basis within the urban community. In Ottawa, the Inuit community is working with officers from the Diversity and Race Relations Section of the Ottawa-Carleton Regional Police Force to improve relations. *Inuit Rights in the City*, 4-25.
- ⁶⁸⁴ Government of Canada Privy Council Office, 25 November 2003, Backgrounder – Urban Aboriginal Strategy, <http://www.pco-bcp.gc.ca/premier.asp> [9 August 2005].
- ⁶⁸⁵ Hanselmann 170; Government of Canada Privy Council Office, 25 November 2003, Backgrounder – Urban Aboriginal Strategy, http://www.pco-bcp.gc.ca/interloc/default.asp?Language=E&Page=strategy&Doc=20031125_backgrounder_e.htm [9 August 2005]; Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 23 June 2005, Interlocutor for Métis and Non-Status Indians – Urban Aboriginal Strategy, http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/interloc/uas_e.html [9 August 2005]; and Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 19 January 2005, Backgrounder – Urban Aboriginal Strategy, http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/nr/prs/j-a2005/02564abk_e.html [9 August 2005].
- ⁶⁸⁶ Tungasuvvingat Inuit, *National Urban Inuit “One Voice” Workshop* (Ottawa: Inuit Relations Secretariat, 26-27 October 2005), 1.
- ⁶⁸⁷ A Kablunangajuk is a person who is designated as an Inuk in accordance with Inuit traditions. This can be someone with Inuit ancestry or someone who has no Inuit ancestry but has lived in the Labrador Inuit Land Claims Area since 1940 or is the descendant of someone fitting this description (and was born before 30 November 1990). Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement (Ottawa: Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 2004), 30-31.
- ⁶⁸⁸ Negotiations for an Agreement-in-Principle to create the Nunavik Government concluded in January 2005. This will be an institute of public government and will include elected members from each community. Savoie, 24 March 2005, “Status Report – Nunavik Self-Government Project”; “Negotiation Framework Agreement on the Amalgamation of Certain Institutions and the Creation of a New Form of Government in Nunavik” (Ottawa: Government of Canada, 26 June 2003). 689 A list of the interviews conducted is included in the Bibliography.