

# Nunavut, the Unfulfilled Dream: The Arduous Path Towards Socio-Economic Autonomy

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**Abstract:** On 1 April 2009, the Nunavut Territory celebrated its tenth anniversary. Born in 1999, the government of Nunavut was the result of more than twenty years of negotiations between Inuit officials and the government of Canada. One of the goals of the “Nunavut Project,” first submitted for negotiations in February 1976, was to empower the Inuit of the Canadian Central and Eastern Arctic with the necessary political tools to better cope with their contemporary socio-economic challenges. These challenges were well described in a statement of priorities, known as the *Bathurst Mandate*, first put forward by the government of Nunavut a few months after its inception (October 1999). The *Bathurst Mandate* exposes the socio-economic goals and visions of the new government over a twenty year period (2000–2020). The author attempts to gauge the success, to this point, of the government’s vision as reflected in the *Bathurst Mandate*, in light of recent socio-economic realities in Nunavut. The author concludes that, in view of the current socio-economic situation, it is unlikely that the vision of a viable socio-economic environment expressed in the *Bathurst Mandate* will be reached by the year 2020. In the end, though, it is understood that the government of Nunavut is still in its infancy and the jury, at this juncture, is still out on the overall success of the “Nunavut Project.”

On 25 May 1993, Inuit representatives and Canadian government officials signed the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement<sup>1</sup> (NLCA) that carved out the Nunavut Territory from the Northwest Territories (NWT). After several years of planning, the Nunavut Territory,<sup>2</sup> with its own government, was formally established on 1 April 1999. The Nunavut Territory is the largest political unit in Canada covering an area of 2,121,103 km<sup>2</sup>, one-fifth of the Canadian land mass (see figure 1). Today (2006 Census), Nunavut has a

population of 29,474 residents,<sup>3</sup> a majority of whom (85 percent) are Inuit.<sup>4</sup> Political autonomy for the Inuit through the Nunavut Territory<sup>5</sup> has been hailed by the Canadian government as an important political event to solve some of the contemporary social woes of Inuit society.



Figure 1. Map of Nunavut Territory, Canada.

Janet Billson argues that the transition from traditional life on the land to a modern one in the communities, in the 1950s and 1960s, had enormous consequences for the Inuit. The society was completely transformed. Settlement succeeded in creating a structurally and culturally marginalized people.<sup>6</sup> The social welfare system installed by the Canadian government, while designed to help Inuit, shattered or disoriented a society that had been previously socially stable. A rash of social problems emerged from the dramatic changes in lifestyles and livelihood. As the male population lost its

role as sole provider, and unemployment became a way of life, disconcerting rates of alcoholism, drug abuse, and domestic violence appeared.<sup>7</sup> The Inuit lost control over their daily affairs. They had become wards of the State.

Billson indicates that an Inuit political elite emerged in the late 1960s. Educated in non-Inuit ways, it was yet rooted in a strong sense of Inuit identity. This political-administrative elite was not prepared to accept second-class status on their own lands.<sup>8</sup> These Inuit familiar with Canadian political methods could represent Inuit and speak on their behalf on the political scene. They demanded for Inuit a capacity to control their social and political destiny. Many of them were founding members of the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, an organization that provided an awakened sense of politicization among the general Inuit population.<sup>9</sup>

Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC) first suggested the creation of Nunavut in 1971.<sup>10</sup> The "Nunavut Project"<sup>11</sup> was aimed at settling the outstanding land and political claims of the Inuit of the NWT. However, the basic idea behind the Nunavut Project was to create a territory in the Canadian Central and Eastern Arctic where the vast majority of people would be Inuit<sup>12</sup>. As such, the proposed territory and its institutions would better reflect Inuit values and perspectives than could the NWT; it would empower the Inuit with the essential political tools to better cope with contemporary Inuit socio-economic challenges.<sup>13</sup> The first president of ITC, Tagak Curley, summarized the goal of the Nunavut Project: "Our main hope is to ensure that Inuit will have greater control over the policies that are implemented in the Eastern Arctic is the concept of Nunavut [sic] ... Gradually we see the federal government's influence over the north decreasing, until we manage our own house, and run our own affairs."<sup>14</sup>

After seventeen years of arduous negotiations between the Canadian government and the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut (TFN),<sup>15</sup> the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement (NLCA) was signed in May 1993 and approved by the federal government on 10 June 1993. The political component of the agreement, through the Nunavut Act also approved on 10 June 1993, allowed for the establishment of the Nunavut government on 1 April 1999.<sup>16</sup> In 2009, the Nunavut government is celebrating its tenth anniversary.

There have been two general elections (1999, 2004) to the Legislative Assembly of Nunavut, and all its administrative functions, departments, and agencies are now fully operational. The government of Canada has always maintained that the new territory would spark a renaissance for Inuit people by enabling them to gain control over their political destiny.<sup>17</sup> Inuit leaders argued that such control would put their people on the road to solving the socio-economic problems that plague the region.<sup>18</sup> These include poor health

status, fast growing population rates, overcrowded housing, loss of culture and language, family violence, high crime rates, and widespread substance and alcohol abuse.

On the Government of Nunavut's tenth anniversary, this article intends to provide an overview of the current cultural, social, and economic situation in Nunavut. To this end, the author seeks to answer two core questions. First, has political autonomy acquired through the Nunavut Project opened the door to Inuit cultural, economic, and social autonomy? Second, is the vision of a viable Inuit society in Nunavut by the year 2020, as described in the government's 1999 Bathurst Mandate, closer to reality? To answer these questions, I will review the government's vision as reflected in the Bathurst Mandate,<sup>19</sup> and renewed in 2004,<sup>20</sup> in light of the current socio-economic realities of Nunavut.

### **The Bathurst Mandate**

The *Bathurst Mandate*<sup>21</sup> is a statement of priorities that were developed in a series of workshops held by the cabinet of the new government of Nunavut in October 1999. They were renewed in April 2004 after the second election. Under the heading *Pinasuaqtaavut* ('that which we've set out to do'), the document identifies four broad categories of actions organized under four headings: *Inuuqatigiittiarniq* ('healthy communities'), *Pijarnirniqsat Katujjiqatigiinnirlu* ('simplicity and unity'), *Namminiq Makitajunnarniq* ('self-reliance'), and *Ilippallianguinnarniq* ('continuing learning'). Under each category there is a vision, or objective, to be reached by the year 2020. As then premier Paul Okalik stated at the 2004 renewal of these priorities: "This plan envisioned what life in Nunavut will be like in the year 2020 ... I am confident that we will reach these objectives and our goal, which is improving the lives of all Nunavummiut by strengthening our culture and expanding our economy."<sup>22</sup>

In this article I review the components of each of these categories. The goal is to portray how close the current Nunavut society is in reaching these objectives. In so doing, I will highlight the current socio-economic situation so as to show if the objectives contained in the *Bathurst Mandate* could be reached by the year 2020.

### **Inuuqatigiittiarniq: 'Healthy Communities'**

The Nunavut government vision is that by the year 2020 it will respond to all the basic needs of individuals and families to ensure that all Nunavut communities are healthy. The Bathurst Mandate indicates that Nunavummiut

will benefit from improved health and social conditions equal to or better than the Canadian average, while present housing deficiencies will be resolved.<sup>23</sup> This category focuses on: (1) social issues; (2) health; and (3) housing.

### *Social Issues*

The sedentarization of Inuit alienated them from the land and from their traditional culture, and contributed to engendering social pathologies that are still being battled today: low self-esteem, alcohol and substance abuse, family violence, youth suicide, and welfare dependency. These social woes have been part of their daily lives since the 1960s. Culturally, many Inuit have lost the traditional life skills that ensured survival for their grandparents; yet they have not acquired all the skills that are needed to function successfully in a modern and post-industrial society.<sup>24</sup> Inuit deal with the effects of rapid socio-economic changes brought by sedentarization in different ways. Some adapt and try to fit in, some turn to religion to find comfort, others drink and use drugs or commit crimes and acts of violence, and finally, some kill themselves.

A lot of Inuit youth in Nunavut are bored because they lack intellectual stimulation in the communities. They are lost between the Inuit and the non-Inuit worlds. As the writer of a 2004 op-ed article in the *Nunatsiaq News* wrote: "Our children identify better with a Chinese character named Li than they do with their own grandfather. They know hip hop or rap music better than they know how to drum dance or throat sing. They could probably build a shack better than an igloo, drive a vehicle better than a dog team."<sup>25</sup>

The number of Inuit youths who have taken their lives lately is staggering. Between 1999, when Nunavut was formed, and 2008, 268 Nunavummiut took their lives;<sup>26</sup> this is an average of twenty-five people killing themselves every year in Nunavut. Most are male, between the ages of 15 and 24.<sup>27</sup> According to the Nunavut Tunngavik Inc., suicide in Nunavut is closely linked to a wide range of social and economic conditions such as parenting behaviour, low education levels, high unemployment, poor housing, limited recreation activities, consumption of alcohol and drugs, criminal activities, and so on.<sup>28</sup> Scholars have argued that many factors in Nunavut may contribute to suicide, suicidal thoughts, and the low self-esteem that sometimes leads to suicide:<sup>29</sup> adverse childhood experiences such as poor parental behaviour, the presence of alcohol and violence at home, overcrowded housing, and a high level of school dropouts. Hicks, Bjerregaard and Berman<sup>30</sup> have concluded that suicide is also a function of economic realities such as high unemployment rates: "It should be noted that it is the sub-regions which have experienced the most development in recent decades that have generally

experienced the lowest rates of death by suicide.”<sup>31</sup> Even though Nunavut is facing significant rates of suicide, to this day, the government of Nunavut has yet to implement a territory-wide suicide prevention program. Some initiatives have been taken at the community level, but apparently these are not sufficient.

There are also high rates of violence against women in Nunavut, often the result of excessive consumption of alcohol and drugs. This, in turn, affects family cohesiveness and sometimes may result in one of the two parents leaving the household. In 2004, 26 per cent of families in Nunavut were headed by a single parent<sup>32</sup>. In 2005, the rates of family violence were a staggering fourteen times higher than in the rest of the country.<sup>33</sup> In addition, 22 per cent of people in Nunavut, aged 15 and older, were victims of domestic violence<sup>34</sup>. James Eetoolook, vice-president of Nunavut Tunngavik Inc. said: “Problems of domestic violence are symptoms of deeper economic and social problems in Inuit society that are aggravated by such things as: unemployment, underemployment, inadequate and poorly designed government social policies and programs.”<sup>35</sup> Billson argues that in traditional Inuit societies, family violence was rare compared to the present situation.<sup>36</sup> She maintains that with the sedentarization of Inuit into small coastal villages, the male role as provider became problematic. Williamson illustrates that Inuit hunters living in settled communities no longer have easy access to their traditional hunting grounds and have to travel considerable distances.<sup>37</sup> Hunting style changed; with the use of rifles and motorized canoes as well as snowmobiles, the need to pay for gas and equipment increased, and many male hunters could not afford to hunt as much, lost their role as providers, and increased their dependency on government transfer payments.

On the other hand, through newly created wage employment, many women acquired jobs and moved into the role of provider thus upsetting the balance found in traditional Inuit societies. Billson notes that some men feel that they could “restore the balance of power by abusing women.”<sup>38</sup> The lack of economic opportunities, high unemployment, poverty, substance abuse, and alcohol use are all woes inherited from sedentarization, which in some cases has led to the loss of the male provider role. This in turn explains, in part, domestic violence. I suggest that only economic policies aimed at enhancing the male role in the modern economy could restore Inuit male pride and reduce domestic violence.

Crime is prevalent in contemporary Nunavut society. The rate of people in Nunavut who were charged with crime was more than five times the national rate in 2005. Nunavut has the highest crime rate in Canada and the highest rate of incarceration for violent crime.<sup>39</sup> The number of people

charged with criminal offences every year in Nunavut has almost doubled since the birth of the Nunavut government.<sup>40</sup> For example, in 1999, 1362 adult Nunavummiut were charged with criminal offences, in 2003 that number rose to 2333<sup>41</sup> and rose again to a staggering number of 6142 charges in 2006.<sup>42</sup> For example, in the sole community of Kugluktuk 678 charges were laid in 2007, among a population of 1302; that is one criminal charge for every two residents. Many of these offenders (51 percent) returned to custody within a year after being released.<sup>43</sup> Improving community socio-economic well-being is essential to crime prevention. In addition, rehabilitation programs for those incarcerated, while essential, are currently deficient in Nunavut.

In short, crimes, domestic violence, or suicide are the daily burdens of Nunavut contemporary society. One cannot deny the negative effect of the rapid social changes accompanying sedentarization, portrayed by Billson and Williamson, as a contributor to this social situation. However, social woes remain largely a function of economic realities. In many of these communities, Nunavummiut face the realities of high unemployment and low income. The dependency on government transfer payments contributes to endemic low self-esteem among many Nunavummiut; this in turn leads some of them to alcohol and drug abuse, domestic violence, suicide, or crimes. Solutions can only be found by improving the economic health of these communities and by providing more jobs.

### *Health*

In Nunavut, poor nutrition, high smoking rates, sexually transmitted diseases, and mental and emotional health needs are among the most pressing public health concerns for adult women. The most common health concerns for men also include substance abuse, poor anger management, and deficient nutrition. Lung cancer is five times higher than in the rest of Canada<sup>44</sup>. In Nunavut there is a higher amount of respiratory illnesses such as tuberculosis due to inadequate housing.<sup>45</sup> Diabetes and obesity<sup>46</sup> are also chronic health conditions due to the fact that most people do not move outside the villages in search of game, rely less on country food (i.e., traditional food from the land such as caribou, seal, and so on), and rely more on food available at the community grocery store. Nunavut health indicators<sup>47</sup> compare better with a country such as Egypt, than they do with the rest of Canada. Infant mortality rates in Nunavut (15.6 per 1000) are on par with Romania and 3.5 times higher than the Canadian average.<sup>48</sup> Since 1996, Inuit life expectancy in Nunavut has fallen from an average age of 69.4 (1996) to 68.2 (2003).<sup>49</sup> This is an average life expectancy that is eleven years lower than the rest of Canada.

Because of the remoteness of the area, health costs per capita in Nunavut are higher than anywhere else in Canada. In 2007-2008, the territory spent \$10,903 per person on health while the Canadian average was \$4867.<sup>50</sup> A high staff turnover remains a major barrier to improving public health, particularly in small communities.<sup>51</sup> In 2002, of the 161 nursing positions in Nunavut, forty of them, or 25 percent, were vacant. While there were only twelve family doctors living in Nunavut to serve a population of about 30,000 over an area five times the size of France.<sup>52</sup> In 2008, the situation had not improved, since there were only nine resident doctors in Nunavut, all of them located in the capital, Iqaluit. There is also a high turnover ratio among medical personnel<sup>53</sup> and few Inuit nurses.<sup>54</sup> This makes it difficult to provide for an efficient and culturally sensitive health care system.

To solve many of the health issues raised above, the government of Nunavut needs to launch a campaign to encourage Nunavummiut to acquire better food habits and to reduce their high consumption of alcohol. The government should also initiate aggressive campaigns to reduce the number of smokers in the territory and to encourage physical exercise. In sum, a healthier way of living will go a long way to reducing disease incidence and to improving life expectancy. The health care system needs additional financial investments by the government in order to attract and retain medical staff. Better wages and additional staff housing may also be part of the solution.

### *Housing*

The majority of Inuit in Nunavut live in social housing<sup>55</sup>. In 2001, close to half the population, or 13,666 residents, lived in 3786 social housing units in the territory. Ninety-eight percent of social housing tenants are Inuit, who comprise 85 percent of Nunavut's population.

In 2006, about 40 percent of Inuit lived in overcrowded conditions (four or more persons per dwelling) compared to the national average of five percent.<sup>56</sup> This situation contributes to poor mental and physical health, family tension,<sup>57</sup> violence, and interferes with students' homework and school performances. As K. Etitiq, policy advisor at Nunavut Tunngavik Inc., said on *CBC News*: "More than half of Inuit families are living in overcrowded conditions. With about 15 people living in a three-bedroom house, three generations in one house, it's got to be really stressful for families to be living in such close quarters."<sup>58</sup> Overcrowded housing is largely due to Nunavut's high birth rate and very young population.<sup>59</sup> Many people are on waiting lists for houses, but they usually wait two to three years before acquiring a house.



Research on crowded homes in the community of Cape Dorset (Kinngait), led by Frank J. Tester,<sup>60</sup> showed that overcrowding often leads to mental and social illnesses. Results of the research indicated that in such an environment 26 percent of people felt angry, while 15 percent felt depressed. People have a hard time sleeping or completing homework in crowded houses. Tester noted that the overcrowding situation is a contributing factor to physical ailments such as colds and coughs, flu, and tuberculosis. It also sometimes gives rise to drug and alcohol abuse, domestic violence, and criminal behaviour.

A further problem results from the pro-rated rent arrangements of the social housing system. People who benefit from social housing are usually on income assistance. An unemployed tenant rent is set at about \$60 per month (with utilities and heating included). However, when a tenant gains employment, he or she must pay the full cost for utilities and fuel, while the monthly rent is pro-rated based on employment income. Thus, there is little incentive to work, unless one makes over \$1500 a month, since any employment income would largely be absorbed by an increased rent. In short, social housing has become a clear disincentive to seeking employment.<sup>61</sup>

The Bathurst Mandate declared housing to be one of the two primary commitments (along with education) of the government of Nunavut.<sup>62</sup> Since its creation, the government has been able to finance the building of about fifty houses per year,<sup>63</sup> only two to three per community, while the need is growing at a rate of about 270 units a year.<sup>64</sup>

The waiting time for social housing in Nunavut's capital, Iqaluit, averages two years, but can be as high as five years in smaller communities<sup>65</sup>: P. Kilabuk, then a member of the legislative assembly of Nunavut, was quoted in the *Nunatsiaq News*: "It's nearly impossible to find, afford or even build adequate housing in Nunavut."<sup>66</sup> In 2006, approximately 3800 people (or 1000 families) were on the waiting list to obtain social housing, this represented about 15 percent of Nunavut's population<sup>67</sup>. By 2016, if nothing substantial has been done to alleviate the current state of housing deficiencies in Nunavut, overcrowding rate among Inuit could reach a staggering 70 percent.<sup>68</sup>

To stop the crisis, the government of Nunavut proposed, in its "Ten-Year Inuit Housing Action Plan" that Canada invest \$1.9 billion over a ten-year span (2006–2016)<sup>69</sup> so as to build the 3000 units that are currently missing, the 2730 units (or 273 per year) that are needed to keep pace with the Inuit population growth, and finally to repair 1300 current units that are deficient.<sup>70</sup>

Only a large Canadian investment would be sufficient to address the housing crisis in Nunavut. However, the initial response to the proposal from

the Canadian federal government was not positive. Ottawa indicated that the project was too ambitious.<sup>71</sup> In its 2006 budget, the federal government of Canada gave Nunavut \$200 million for housing construction. However, the federal money was enough to build just 725 units over the next three years at an average cost per unit of \$250,000. This would meet only 20 percent of Nunavut's needs.<sup>72</sup> In 2009, Ottawa again committed in its budget to invest \$100 million over two years to build an additional 300 units.<sup>73</sup> However, these investments are not enough to alleviate the current and future pressure on housing demands. In sum, the federal money for housing falls short of the \$1.9 billion requested by the government of Nunavut in their "Ten-Year Inuit Housing Action Plan" submitted by the government of Nunavut to Canada in 2005.<sup>74</sup>

### **Pijarnirniqsat Katujjiqatigiinnirlu: 'Simplicity and Unity'**

By the year 2020, the Nunavut government expects that Inuit culture and traditions will be reflected in its institutions while the Inuit language (Inuktitut)<sup>75</sup> will be the working language of the government.<sup>76</sup> To make sure that Nunavut eventually operates with Inuit norms and values, it is important that the Inuktitut language be widespread within government. A policy to hire more Inuit government employees has been put forward, with the goal to have 85 percent Inuit employment within government by 2020 so as to properly reflect the percentage of Nunavut citizens who are Inuit. This vision centres on: (1) the Inuktitut language; and (2) Inuit employment in government.

#### *The Inuktitut Language*

Nunavut is the only jurisdiction in Canada where a majority of the population speaks an Aboriginal language. In 2006, Inuktitut<sup>77</sup> was the mother tongue of 88 percent of Inuit in Nunavut. However, only 64 percent of Inuit used Inuktitut as their first language spoken at home.<sup>78</sup> This situation is alarming since it constitutes a significant decrease from the 1996 census when 88 percent of Inuit had Inuktitut as a mother tongue and 76 percent spoke it at home.<sup>79</sup> In the capital, Iqaluit, English is the principal language of communication for Inuit under 30.<sup>80</sup> Even though Inuktitut is in better health than most other Aboriginal languages in Canada, the survival of Inuktitut rests first and foremost among parents and community residents; if the language is not spoken in the homes and in the communities, there is little hope for the language to survive.<sup>81</sup> A limited Inuktitut curriculum in schools, and an ever growing presence of southern media (TV, Internet), make it more challenging to pass on Inuktitut from one generation to the next.

Even though Inuktitut is the language most widely spoken in Nunavut, 42 percent of Inuit have reported difficulties receiving services in Inuktitut.<sup>82</sup> This is particularly the case if one is an Inuk elder (most of them speak only Inuktitut) living in the capital, Iqaluit. As an anonymous letter to the editor complained in a 2007 issue of the *Nunatsiaq News*: “I went to the post office and took the time to look around ... there is absolutely nothing in Inuktitut, and we’re in Nunavut. There isn’t a single staff member that speaks Inuktitut. Imagine yourself in the place where you were born and raised, and you couldn’t communicate with the people who are there to serve you. It’s as if you are foreign to your own country.”<sup>83</sup> In sum, if one speaks only Inuktitut, it is very difficult to perform simple activities such as mailing a package at the post office, paying bills at the bank, or ordering coffee at a local restaurant.

English is currently the working language of the government of Nunavut, not Inuktitut. Half of government employees are non-Inuit and few of them attain much capacity to speak and to write Inuktitut, while all Inuit in the public service are fluent in English. One of the key demands by Inuit leaders, who conducted the negotiations that led to the creation of Nunavut, was to address the lack of “Inuitness” in the previous government of the Northwest Territories. Yet, little seems to have been done by the new government of Nunavut to answer this issue. Johnny Kusugak, the languages commissioner of Nunavut in 2005 said then that “the government of Nunavut needs more Inuktitut speakers ... in order to reach the goal of making Inuktitut their working language by 2020.”<sup>84</sup>

In May 2006, a government policy was put forward to try to counteract the prevalence of English in government. The policy requires that all senior government officials in Nunavut be able to speak Inuktitut by the year 2008 or risk losing their positions. The then premier, Paul Okalik, announced the policy: “They have to be fluent, they have to work with members and with people within Nunavut ... They should understand and be able to communicate with Inuit that may be unilingual.”<sup>85</sup> However, two years later the program had produced little result; Okalik then admitted that “the move is largely a symbolic gesture meant to appease constituents who feel the Government of Nunavut isn’t Inuit enough.”<sup>86</sup>

In its 2002-2003 report on *The State of Inuit Culture and Society*, Nunavut Tunngavik Inc. indicated that: “For Inuit it is unacceptable that the majority of signage and advertising in Nunavut are in English only: Inuktitut should be displayed as prominently as English.”<sup>87</sup> Johnny Kusugak, the former languages commissioner, suggested that “laws should force all enterprises to use Inuktitut in their commercial signs, posters, and advertisements posted

outside their business”<sup>88</sup> so as to promote and to better protect the Inuktitut language.

To counteract the slow erosion of Inuktitut, a new territorial Official Languages Act,<sup>89</sup> along with a companion bill, the Inuit Language Protection Act, were drafted in March 2007. The Official Languages Act was approved by the Nunavut Legislative Assembly on 4 June 2008. This Act establishes the Inuit language on equal terms with French<sup>90</sup> and English as official languages.

The Inuit Language Protection Act<sup>91</sup>—the most important of the two new pieces of legislation—was approved by the Legislative Assembly on 18 September 2008. The Act will oblige all organizations to use the Inuit language in public signs along with English and/or French. On all signs the Inuit language would have to be at least equal in prominence to the other languages. The Nunavut language commissioner will be in charge of enforcing the act. Fines of up to \$25,000<sup>92</sup> could be imposed on those who do not comply with the new law once enacted. The Act calls for any business or governmental institution serving the public to be able to do so in Inuktitut. However, only time will tell if this new act will diminish the current pre-eminence of English throughout Nunavut, and whether it will help to slow the erosion of the Inuit language. Ultimately, the Nunavut government hopes to make Inuktitut the primary cultural means of communication and identity for Nunavummiut, as Kalaallisut is for Greenlanders or French is for Quebecers.

#### *Inuit Government Employment*

The government is the major employer in Nunavut, accounting for about 40 percent of all jobs.<sup>93</sup> The recruitment process of government staff has been plagued by a shortage of qualified Inuit professionals. One in every four territorial government jobs is currently unfilled.<sup>94</sup> Article 23 of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement (NLCA)<sup>95</sup> requires that Inuit fill 85 percent of government employment;<sup>96</sup> however, in 2008 the Inuit filled only about 50 percent.<sup>97</sup> Although there has been some improvement over the years,<sup>98</sup> the lack of education and training make attaining this goal difficult to reach for 2020. The problem is that more than half of the government positions require college or university training, which is not accessible in most communities.<sup>99</sup> The Nunavut Sivuniksavut program, founded in 1985 and located in Ottawa, has trained Inuit youth for career opportunities with land claims organizations or with government. However, the eight month post-secondary program does not provide more than two graduates each year and only a few of them go on to work for the Government of Nunavut.<sup>100</sup>

At the time of writing, the supply of qualified Inuit is exhausted. The government workplace has absorbed all available qualified Inuit. Talented and ambitious Inuit often prefer politics to administration and seek to make their mark by holding office in the Inuit organizations (e.g., Nunavut Tunngavik Inc.) or in one of the numerous public institutions. This means that government staff is comprised of a significant proportion of non-Inuit—a largely transitional workforce of often young and inexperienced people looking for their first work experience. The average length of employment for non-Inuit in the government of Nunavut is eighteen months.<sup>101</sup> This situation is a concern for some Inuit leaders; Jose Kusugak, president of the Kivalliq Inuit Association (and former president of Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami), pointed out that government was hiring too many new civil servants from the South.<sup>102</sup> Only an increase of Inuit high school graduates entering into the workplace would help the situation. However, with the current low graduation rates at Nunavut high schools, this does not appear as a solution anytime soon.

#### **Namminiq Makitajunnarniq: ‘Self-reliance’**

The Bathurst Mandate states that the government of Nunavut expects to be economically self-reliant and debt free by the year 2020. It is hoped that Nunavummiut will enjoy a growing economic prosperity. To reinforce the current economy, the government will negotiate with the federal government in order to obtain a fairer share of resource royalties from Nunavut’s lands and waters. The current high unemployment figures are expected to be considerably reduced. By 2020, according to the *Bathurst Mandate*, Nunavummiut will enjoy low levels of dependency on government transfer payments such as income support programs. The government intends to help build local employment through continuing government decentralization in order to ensure an increased number of Inuit employees within government. This self-reliance section addresses issues centred on the economy: (1) Nunavut fiscal status; (2) the economy; and (3) the decentralization initiative.<sup>103</sup>

#### *Nunavut Fiscal Status*

The Nunavut Territory is the most fiscally dependent jurisdiction in Canada and relies on federal funding for about 90 percent of its annual budget.<sup>104</sup> Nunavut collects only \$75 million annually from its own source revenue such as taxes and local services. Nunavut’s operational budget comes from the Canadian government, primarily through a multi-year unconditional

formula-funding arrangement. This heavy dependence on Ottawa is unlikely to be reduced significantly for the foreseeable future.

Nunavut's 2008-2009 annual budget was set at \$1.07 billion. However, the expenses of the government of Nunavut traditionally have been higher than its set annual budgets. In fact, the government's spending has grown by an average of 6.5 percent annually since 1999, while Canada's funding transfers to Nunavut have increased at a rate of 3.5 percent a year.<sup>105</sup> This situation has contributed to an accumulated deficit of \$141 million by the end of the year 2005.<sup>106</sup> This fiscal predicament will likely continue to grow unless Canada increases its contributions.<sup>107</sup>

Nunavut hopes to improve upon its fiscal precariousness by acquiring from the Canadian government control, management, and benefits over public Crown lands and resources. Currently, the lands in Nunavut are mostly owned by the federal government and all resource royalties and taxation<sup>108</sup> that come from resource extractions (minerals, oil, gas) on those public Crown lands flow to the Canadian government. The government of Nunavut does not benefit from any resource extraction. This has raised some concerns among Inuit. As Nick Illauq of Clyde River wrote in a letter to the editor: "To me, the Nunavut government is just a puppet with no actual powers. To the Canadian government, we are a minority, they will take all our resources and give them to the rest of Canada and abroad ... We have no control over the land, waters, and subsurface. If we have all these resources in our lands, we should have a say in everything and have more than 80 percent or even all the rights to the resources."<sup>109</sup>

Nunavut hopes that a "devolution agreement" would increase the government's internal revenue sources and would decrease its dependency on federal funding. Devolution is seen as a solution to Nunavut's economic problems and a panacea that could lead to resolving Nunavut's social woes. Talks on devolution have yet to start between federal and Nunavut officials on that issue. The previous Liberal government had announced, in 2004, that devolution negotiations with Nunavut would begin immediately and could be concluded by 2008 with an effective date for devolution by 2012. However, a June 2007 report<sup>110</sup> prepared for the federal Department of Indian and Northern Affairs has called for a slow approach to devolution. The report indicates that Nunavut suffers from a shortage of skilled professionals and that government would need to address human capacity before it could take over additional powers. The author of the report, Paul Mayer, argued that "if the human resource capacity issue cannot be satisfactorily dealt with, then the right conditions will not be in place to transfer federal responsibilities."<sup>111</sup> On 5 September 2008, some progress was made when the Government of

Nunavut, Nunavut Tunngavik Inc., and the federal government signed a protocol to guide future negotiations on devolution. The protocol proposes a human resources strategy to ensure that the Government of Nunavut has a qualified work force when devolution is implemented. Still, at the beginning of 2009, Canada had not proceeded yet with these negotiations. In the end though, the benefits of devolution remain unclear. Almost every mine expected to open in the next decade is on Inuit-owned lands where royalties and lease payments would flow to the Inuit organization, Nunavut Tunngavik Inc.

### *The Economy*

In Nunavut there is no industry, and no agricultural or manufacturing base. Government is the dominant player in the domestic economy providing for about 45 percent of all employment.<sup>112</sup> Mining and construction industries are the only other substantial employers.<sup>113</sup> Most construction companies in Nunavut are Inuit owned and receive preferential contracting selections through the NLCA (article 24).<sup>114</sup> Nunavut can best be described as having a mixed economy: cash income from a variety of sources (wages, social assistance, fur, arts and crafts sales) combined with income in kind from the land.<sup>115</sup> In fact, 85 percent of all Inuit families are involved to various degrees in the traditional economy as a supplement. The annual value-exchange coming from country food (mostly caribou and seal meat) per family amounts to about \$23,000.<sup>116</sup>

Full-time trapping, once the mainstay of the economy of the North and a principal source of employment, now provides support for relatively few Inuit.<sup>117</sup> To trap, it is necessary to possess the costly equipment (snowmobiles, rifles, ammunition, and so on). To pay for the equipment and to support oneself from full-time trapping of sealskins, it would be necessary to kill three or four seals per day every day of the year, at about \$70 each, and somehow manage to find the two hours per pelt to prepare them for market sale. The trapping of seals today is hardly a valuable source of income.<sup>118</sup> Other economic activities such as tourism<sup>119</sup> and commercial fishing<sup>120</sup> currently still play minor roles in Nunavut's economy.

Most households rely on government transfers (i.e., unemployment insurance, social assistance) for their incomes. In 2001, the Nunavut unemployment rate among the Inuit was 32 percent<sup>121</sup> compared with 2 percent for non-Inuit; it had decreased to 24 percent in 2006.<sup>122</sup> Small communities usually had very high rates of unemployment, some as high as 70 percent.<sup>123</sup> The average cost of living in Nunavut is 1.65 times higher than in southern Canada<sup>124</sup> while the average income of Inuit remains low at

\$26,000 per year (27 percent lower than in the rest of the country).<sup>125</sup> Store-bought food is particularly expensive. For example, a kilogram of apples that costs \$4.99 in Iqaluit would cost about \$1.79 in Ottawa. This makes living in Nunavut a constant economic challenge for lots of residents.

Mining is by far the most dynamic private sector in Nunavut. Since 1999, Nunavut's economy has grown by an average of 5 per cent largely because of the mining sector.<sup>126</sup> In 2007 alone, the economy grew by 13 per cent as a result of activities in the mining exploration industry with total expenditures of more than \$250 million in comparison to \$50 million in 1999.<sup>127</sup> For example, in 2004, about 1000 exploration permits were delivered to companies.<sup>128</sup> So far, many minerals have been found in Nunavut (diamonds, gold, sapphires, uranium), but they are hardly accessible in a region with little infrastructure—no roads, no railroad, and with no deep-sea ports. Currently, no mine is operational in Nunavut. The Jericho diamond mine,<sup>129</sup> which employed about 125 people, closed its operation in April 2008. Other mines are also expected to open soon: Izok Lake Mine (lead and zinc), Mountain Lake (uranium), and Doris North and Meadowbank (gold). All are located close to the NWT border where winter roads linking the proposed mines to Yellowknife can be constructed at a reasonable cost. Only the Baffinland Iron Mine project at Mary River is located away from the NWT border, on Baffin Island. Much hope is riding on mining, which could create 1500 jobs over the next decade.<sup>130</sup> There are also vast reserves of oil and gas, which lie beneath Nunavut's lands and sea; but the tremendous logistical difficulties of extracting these resources and transporting those to southern markets have thus far prevented sustained efforts at developing them.<sup>131</sup>

#### *The Decentralization Initiative*

Unquestionably the most unusual organizational feature of the Nunavut government is its strong administrative decentralization. The desire to adopt a decentralized model rested mainly on two factors. First, decentralization spread the economic benefits of well-paid government employment around the territory. Second, decentralization was consistent with Inuit political culture, which prefers government to be as close to the people as possible.<sup>132</sup> Ultimately, the main goal of decentralization was to provide training and employment for residents in smaller communities.

The decentralization initiative that saw the transfer of over 700 government employees in ten small communities outside the capital Iqaluit was completed within three years; however, the initiative did not appear in the renewed Bathurst Mandate of 2004.



The success of decentralization depended on having trained personnel available in the designated communities. But in many instances government could not employ the local population, except for those holding administrative and clerical works, because of lack of training on the part of many applicants. Often, staff located in the capital Iqaluit were asked to move into smaller and remote communities. Bringing candidates from outside the communities defeated one of the purposes of the decentralization plan, which was employment for the local residents of the community.

The government's plan to decentralize quickly met with both problems and criticism. There were not enough staff residences in the communities to house the incoming staff. Often staff located in the capital Iqaluit did not wish to move to more remote communities, so resistance to decentralization was constant. A large number of employees who were working in the capital and who were asked to move to smaller communities simply chose to retire or quit. This hurt the government's ability to provide efficient services. As a July 2005 editorial in the *Nunatsiaq News* complained: "When Nunavut residents try to get services from their government, they're too often confronted with incompetence and confusion ... it's clear that many employees still don't know what they're doing, and that some departments are still suffering from the effects of decentralization."<sup>133</sup> At the time of writing, the government of Nunavut has yet to conduct a complete review of its decentralization initiative.

### **Ilippallianguinnarniq: 'Continuing Learning'**

Under this heading, government seeks to provide a full range of education programs in Inuktitut by 2020. The goal is for the education curriculum to reflect Inuit culture and values. Education is the second major commitment of the government of Nunavut (the other is housing). This priority arises from the fact that Inuit urgently need to be trained to run the government. The Bathurst Mandate predicts that Inuit will have taken leadership roles in government and will be an important part of the Nunavut workforce by 2020.<sup>134</sup> Education is the sole subject matter expressed in this fourth and final category of actions.

The residential education system of the 1950s was replaced, in 1960, by a community-based education system. The generation of Inuit, who followed the earlier Inuit generation of students assigned to residences, did not have the same education conditions.<sup>135</sup> These Inuit children lived at home while they attended school. They went to school in the communities.<sup>136</sup> They did not acquire either the tradition or the formal education possessed by the earlier generation of students, many of whom became the first Inuit political

leaders. They found it very difficult to live on the land, to develop a career, or to complete a higher education. They became, in a sense, a lost generation. Today, their children suffer from high numbers of school dropouts<sup>137</sup> (75 percent of Inuit children do not complete their high school).<sup>138</sup> School-age children drop out for a lot of reasons. Some face difficulties at home; it is hard to study when squeezed into a social housing unit shared with several other families. Some students have parents who distrust schools; most parents did not graduate either and see schools as an imposition of an outside culture on Inuit values. Some become pregnant and leave school. Generally, the dropout rate is linked to Nunavut's current incidence of crimes, drug use, and domestic violence. The children who drop out have not developed the skills to live off the land, neither do they have employment skills. So they are caught between two worlds. The newly elected premier of Nunavut, Eva Aariak, summarized the education dilemma well when she said in *Nunatsiaq News*: "Education connects to everything ... To employment, to social conditions, and when one has more education then they are less likely to be involved in negative actions in the community."<sup>139</sup>

Since the mid-1960s, with less than 25 percent of Inuit children graduating from high school, the challenge has become how to close the gap between the low level of training of most Inuit and the level of training required to build Nunavut.<sup>140</sup> The problems facing the Nunavut education system include a lack of Inuit teachers, the use of English as the main medium of instruction, a curriculum foreign to the Inuit culture, and the inability of non-Inuit teachers to communicate effectively with their Inuit students in a culturally compatible way.<sup>141</sup>

By far the most important issue in education is the culture of the schools and the language of instruction. Teachers from the South have been recruited to teach in Nunavut schools without adequate training to teach in a cross-cultural setting, and with curriculum simply adopted from southern provinces.<sup>142</sup> Often cultural differences between the teachers and the students become barriers. There is an urgent need for large numbers of Inuit teachers throughout Nunavut's school system.<sup>143</sup> At the time of writing, there is no grades one to twelve curriculum that combines Inuit and non-Inuit perspectives and no teaching tools that reflect an Inuit perspective.<sup>144</sup> Misunderstanding and frustrations occur with ensuing management problems, underachievement, lateness, frequent absences, and dropping out.<sup>145</sup>

In Nunavut, Inuktitut material resources are limited to early grades (one to four). Nunavut's educational curriculum was inherited from the NWT, which copied its education system from the southern province of Alberta.

In grade five, Inuktitut is abandoned as the sole language of instruction, and Inuit children are introduced suddenly to English as the sole language of instruction. Once children leave the Inuktitut-only grades (one to four) and take on the higher grades in English only (five to twelve), many of them feel lost.<sup>146</sup> This change of language instruction causes a rift during a critical phase of a child's language skills development.

After grade four, the curriculum does not recognize that most students' first language is not English, neither does it reflect Nunavut's Arctic environment. This often creates an incongruous situation as a teacher has described: "Here I am reading a story about little squirrels jumping from tree to tree ... a lot of these kids don't ever see trees ... you have to explain what a tree is, then you have to explain what a squirrel is, by then they have lost the flow of the whole story."<sup>147</sup> The current Nunavut education system produces young adults who cannot function properly in either English (because they were unable to catch up to the English curriculum) or Inuktitut (because they learned only a childhood version of their mother tongue).<sup>148</sup> It appears that Nunavut schools are essentially foreign institutions delivering a foreign curriculum in a foreign language.

Without an efficient Inuktitut curriculum education from grades one to twelve, the prospect of establishing Inuktitut as the working language of Nunavut seems to be remote at best. As Jack Hicks asked in an article on education in the Canadian Arctic: "How long would the French Language survive in the province of Québec, the only French-speaking jurisdiction in North America, if Québécois children were educated in English from Grade 4 on?!"<sup>149</sup>

In March 2006, the Berger Report<sup>150</sup> proposed to drastically revise the current education system to improve school attendance and education levels. Berger proposed that children from kindergarten to grade four should study entirely in their mother tongue. Berger argued that focus on Inuktitut in the classroom would ensure students possess a good knowledge and a wide understanding of their first language. An English second language program should also be an important component of primary schooling education so that students can be brought up to speed before entering bilingual grade five classes. Such a bilingual program should continue up to graduation at grade twelve.

Berger argued that a bilingual system would solve the current deficiencies.<sup>151</sup> Following Berger's recommendations, Inuktitut would continue to be the language of instruction from grades one to four. Starting in grade five, both Inuktitut and English would be languages of instruction right through grade twelve. The report concludes that only a massive

investment (\$20 million per year over a ten year period) from the Canadian government will ensure the success of education in Nunavut.<sup>152</sup>

However, the “Berger Proposal” faces at least three serious obstacles. First, the federal government has already indicated that it will not contribute the additional annual investment of \$20 million to implement the plan; second, there is a shortage of teachers who are able to speak Inuktitut;<sup>153</sup> third, the lack of material resources in Inuktitut beyond grade four is quite apparent.

Partly in response to the Berger Report, and also to improve the education system in Nunavut, the Nunavut education minister introduced, in November 2007, a new Education Act<sup>154</sup>. The Act was approved by the legislature on 18 September 2008. The goal of the Act is to establish a bilingual system from kindergarten to grade twelve by the year 2019.<sup>155</sup> The Act also promises to make Inuit culture relevant in Nunavut’s schools by introducing such subjects as Inuit traditional knowledge and beliefs, hunting, survival skills, wild food preparation, and similar topics.

However, to make this possible the government of Nunavut would need about 200 additional Inuktitut-speaking teachers. Many of the current Inuit teachers would need to take on additional qualifications so as to teach courses beyond grade ten (senior high school).<sup>156</sup> In addition, new Inuktitut curriculum would need to be introduced for high school students since none currently exist. Such a curriculum would need to be redesigned to teach an Inuit world view and philosophy. In the end, significant additional investments would be needed to implement the new Act.<sup>157</sup>

As we have seen, the current source of the problem in the Nunavut education system lies in: (1) the shortage of qualified Inuit human resources, (2) the lack of material resources in Inuktitut, and (3) the use of a curriculum agenda foreign to Inuit environment and society. I believe that to alleviate the high dropout rate,<sup>158</sup> there would be a need to train additional Inuit teachers and to create a complete “made-in-Nunavut” Inuktitut curriculum from kindergarten to grade 12 with adequate material resources and financial investments. The new Education Act may be part of the solution that would slow down the alarming dropout rate, although it is too early to gauge its possible success.

## **Discussion**

On Nunavut’s tenth anniversary, the socio-economic assessment is problematic. Nunavut faces enormous challenges: high birth rates, a young work force with high levels of unemployment and dependence on

social assistance, low educational levels, high costs for goods, inadequate public services and public housing, poor health conditions, escalating rates of substance abuse, violence, suicide, and incarceration. As I have demonstrated, some socio-economic areas have improved since the birth of Nunavut. There has been an increase of high school graduates, an annual increase of economic growth, a decrease in Inuit unemployment rate and in the number of overcrowded houses. However, these improvements over time have been incremental and much remains to be done.

Many Nunavummiut are today complaining about the unfulfilled dream of Nunavut. As a July 2005 editorial in the *Nunatsiaq News* stated: "... many residents are not happy with the Nunavut project ... for many years Nunavut's western region received better services from Yellowknife than they now get from Iqaluit."<sup>159</sup> A November 2004 issue of the *Nunatsiaq News* reported that Mary Inuktaluk, the Sanikiluaq representative for the Baffin Region Association (Qikiqtani), told then premier Okalik that: "people are finding their health care and education systems have deteriorated since 1999." The newspaper quoted her as saying, "Now that we're Nunavut, we seem to have more problems than when we were the Northwest Territories."<sup>160</sup> Peter Irniq, former commissioner of Nunavut, expressed doubts about the success of Nunavut: "The creation of Nunavut was to have helped reduce stress for all residents of Nunavut. It seems things have changed from the original dream of Nunavut."<sup>161</sup> Eva Aariak, who succeeded Paul Okalik as premier in November 2008, in her remarks to the MLAs after her election as premier questioned the current lack of enthusiasm around the "Nunavut Project" and expressed her desire for the people of Nunavut to reconnect with the original dream of Nunavut; in *Nunatsiaq News* some of her remarks were reprinted as a op-ed article: "When I look around me today ... the energy and enthusiasm, which were so much a part of us leading up to Nunavut have apparently gone missing. Many Nunavummiut are moving away from their personal hopes and dreams. Too many are moving away from their responsibilities. To reconnect with that vision and the spirit of hope, we need to re-engage people in building Nunavut."<sup>162</sup>

A solution to the many contemporary socio-economic woes of Nunavut may lie in breaking free from fiscal dependence on Canada, and in forging a path towards a sound economy that would help to provide better programs and services for all Nunavummiut. I believe that Nunavut's current fiscal dependency and its weak economy have harmed the successful implementation of the Nunavut Project. However, developing a sound and self-sufficient economy in such a remote and isolated region of Canada where communities have little economic base, high living expenses, lack of

qualified labour, absence of markets, difficulty in obtaining raw resources, and punishing transportation costs caused by the absence of roads linking them with the rest of Canada, makes such a task next to impossible.

Nunavut, though, is not alone in facing these socio-economic challenges; other circumpolar jurisdictions with similar isolated geographies are confronted with similar dilemmas. Northern Russia, Alaska, and Greenland also encounter high rates of social problems. In Greenland, for example, the rate of death by suicide per 100,000 persons in 2000 was approximately 100, while it was less than five in Denmark. Nunavut's familiar social issues also occur in Greenland—alcohol abuse, domestic violence, high educational dropout levels, alarming suicide rates, and social apathy.<sup>163</sup>

### **Conclusion**

In 2001, Janet Billson argued that the establishment of Inuit political autonomy through the Nunavut Project represented an opportunity for the Inuit to break free from their bonds of cultural, social, and economic dependency. Billson pointed out that Nunavut could shatter Inuit social marginalization (alcoholism, drug addiction, suicide, unemployment, violence, and so on), which has characterized Inuit society since the 1960s.<sup>164</sup> To this day, though, one must conclude that the Nunavut experiment has yet to produce significant social improvements for the Inuit.

My review of current cultural, social, and economic issues faced by the government of Nunavut shows that political autonomy alone is not a panacea and does not necessarily bring a quick cure to all the socio-economic ills faced by the society. Rather, the creation of the government of Nunavut in 1999 simply empowered Inuit to be in a better position to overcome challenges such as unemployment, poverty, alcoholism, inadequate housing, domestic violence, and suicide.

Through the Nunavut Project, Inuit are still today trying to reclaim their sense of cultural pride and to improve their social and economic conditions. Although they have achieved political autonomy they have yet to achieve socio-economic autonomy. The jury is still out on how close Nunavut is in achieving the viable goals illustrated in the Bathurst Mandate. However, as we celebrate Nunavut's tenth anniversary, current socio-economic realities tend to show that the vision expressed by the Mandate for a prosperous Nunavut by the year 2020 seems to be out of reach.<sup>165</sup> In sum, Nunavut remains today an unfulfilled dream.

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## Notes

1. See Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, *Nunavut Land Claims Agreement* (Ottawa: Government of Canada, Supply and Services, 1993).
2. Nunavut is an Inuktitut word, the language of the Inuit, which means 'our land'.
3. Statistics Canada, <http://www12.statcan.ca/English/census06/data/popdwell/Table.cfm?T=101> (accessed September 6, 2007, page now discontinued).
4. Inuit and non-Inuit residents of Nunavut are known as *Nunavummiut*, which means 'the inhabitants of our land'.
5. For a description of the political structures of the government of Nunavut see André Légaré, "The Government of Nunavut (1999): A Prospective Analysis," in Rick J. Ponting (ed.), *First Nations in Canada: Perspectives on Opportunity, Empowerment and Self-Determination* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd., 1997): 404–431.
6. J.M. Billson, "Inuit Dreams, Inuit Realities: Shattering the Bonds of Dependency." *The American Review of Canadian Studies* 31, no. 1-2 (2001): 283–299.
7. *Ibid.*, 284.
8. Jack Hicks, Graham White, "Nunavut: Inuit Self-determination Through a Land Claim and Public Government," in Jen Dahl, Jack Hicks, Peter Jull (eds.), *Nunavut: Inuit Regain Control of Their Lands and Their Lives* (Copenhagen, International Working Group for Indigenous Affairs, 2000): 52.
9. John Merritt, Terry Fenge, *Nunavut: Political Choices and Manifest Destiny* (Ottawa: Canadian Arctic Resources Committee, 1989): 258.
10. For an historical retrospective on the negotiations that led to the creation of Nunavut see André Légaré, "The Process Leading to a Land Claims Agreement and its Implementation: The Case of the Nunavut Land Claims Settlement." *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 16, no. 1 (1996): 139–163.
11. Cf., Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, *Nunavut: A Proposal for the Settlement of Inuit Lands in the Northwest Territories* (Ottawa: Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, 1976).
12. Hicks and White, 2000: 30–115.
13. See Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, 1976: 15.

14. Tagak Curley, Policy Issues in Nunavut, *Inter-Nord* 16 (1982): 411.
15. The Tungavik Federation of Nunavut succeeded Inuit Tapirisat of Canada in August 1982 as the Inuit organization representing the interests of the Inuit of the Canadian Central and Eastern Arctic for the purpose of negotiating the “Nunavut Project.” However, ITC still exists today under the name Inuit Tapariit Kanatami and deals with Inuit national issues (e.g., climate change, environmental contaminants, etc.). As for the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut, it is now known as Nunavut Tunngavik Inc. and it is responsible for administering the provisions of the NLCA.
16. Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1993: 23.
17. See Tom Molloy, “Negotiating the Nunavut Agreement: A View from the Government’s Side.” *Northern Perspectives*, 21, no. 3 (1993): 9–11.
18. See Peter Ernerk, “Nunavut: Vision or Illusion?” *Canadian Parliamentary Review* 13, no. 1 (1990): 6–10.
19. Government of Nunavut, *The Bathurst Mandate Pinasuaqtavut: That Which We’ve Set Out To Do* (Iqaluit: Legislative Assembly, Government of Nunavut, 1999).
20. Government of Nunavut, *Pinasuaqtavut 2004-2009: Our Commitment to Building Nunavut’s Future* (Iqaluit: Legislative Assembly, Government of Nunavut, 2004a): 1–18.
21. For complete analyses of the Bathurst Mandate see André Légaré, “Bathurst Mandate,” in Mark Nuttall (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of the Arctic, vol. 1*, (New York: Routledge Publisher, 2005): 210–211; Peter Jull, “Indigenous Self-Government in Canada: the Bathurst Mandate.” *Indigenous Law Bulletin*, 4, no. 27 (2000): 14–18.
22. See Government of Nunavut, 2004a: 1–2.
23. See Government of Nunavut, 1999: 1–2, and Government of Nunavut, 2004a: 4–7.
24. Billson, 2001: 289.
25. S. Arngnanaaq, “Inuit culture should be taught in Inuit schools,” *Nunatsiaq News, Opinions*, November 26, 2004, <http://www.nunatsiaq.com/opinionEditorial/opinions.html> (accessed February 12, 2007, page now discontinued).
26. CBC News, “Number of Nunavut suicides up in 2008: Coroner,” *CBC News North*, January 13, 2009, <http://www.cbc.ca/canada/north/story/2009/01/13/nus-suicides.html> (accessed January 13, 2009).
27. In 2003, the rate of death by suicide was eleven times the national Canadian average. Inuit men committed 86 percent of suicides, with 60 percent between the age of 15 and 24. See Jack Hicks, Peter Bjerregaard, Matt Berman, “The Transition from the Historical Inuit Suicide Pattern to the Present Inuit Suicide Pattern,” in J. White, S. Wingert, D. Beacon, P. Maxim (eds.), *Aboriginal Policy Research Moving Forward, Making a Difference, Vol. IV* (Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing Inc., 2007): 45.



28. Nunavut Tunngavik Inc., *An Annual Report on the State of Inuit Culture and Society, 2002-2003* (Iqaluit: Nunavut Tunngavik Inc., 2004): 42.
29. F.J. Tester and P. McNicoll illustrate that 56 percent of all suicides were related to alcohol and drug abuse; 64 percent had a history of economic distress and chronic depression; 12 percent of all adult Inuit have reported having seriously considered committing suicide. See Frank J. Tester and Paula McNicoll, "Isumagijaksaq—Mindful of the State: Social Construction of Inuit Suicide." *Social Science and Medicine* 58 (2004): 2626–2631.
30. Hicks, Bjerregaard, Berman, 2007: 51.
31. *Ibid.*, 53.
32. Paul Mayer, *Mayer Report on Nunavut Devolution* (Ottawa: INAC, 2007): 9
33. For example, the sexual assault rate was, in 2005, twelve times higher than the Canadian national average. In 2005, 460 people in Nunavut were charged with some form of sexual assault. (The number of assaults could be higher since a majority of sexual assaults are never reported in Nunavut.) See Nunatsiak News, "Nunavut leads nation in violence, sexual assault," *Nunatsiak News*, November 3, 2006, [http://www.nunatsiak.com/archives/61103/news/nunavut/61103\\_03.html](http://www.nunatsiak.com/archives/61103/news/nunavut/61103_03.html) (accessed November 8, 2006).
34. *Ibid.*
35. Hicks and White, 2000: 4.
36. J.M. Billson, "Shifting Gender Regimes: The Complexities of Domestic Violence among Canada's Inuit." *Etudes/Inuit/Studies* 30, no. 1 (2006): 69–88.
37. L.J. Williamson, "Inuit gender party and why it was not accepted in the Nunavut legislature." *Etudes/Inuit/Studies* 30, no. 1 (2006): 51–68.
38. J.M. Billson, 2006: 76.
39. See J. George, "Nunavut cells overflowing as remands grow," *Nunatsiak News*, November 3, 2006, [http://www.nunatsiak.com/archives/61103/news/nunavut/61103\\_05.html](http://www.nunatsiak.com/archives/61103/news/nunavut/61103_05.html) (accessed February 6, 2007).
40. In 2004, the rate of criminal offences was five times the Canadian average. There were 7,943 violent crimes per 100,000 inhabitants in Nunavut compared to 963 per 100,000 in Canada. In 2004, there were at any given time an average of 93 Nunavummiut doing time in territorial correctional facilities up from 85 five years early in 1998 when Nunavut had not yet been created. See George, November 3, 2006 (accessed February 6, 2007).
41. J. Bell, "Nunavut crime rates keep on soaring," *Nunatsiak News*, August 6, 2004, [http://www.nunatsiak.com/archives/40806/news/nunavut/40806\\_09.html](http://www.nunatsiak.com/archives/40806/news/nunavut/40806_09.html) (accessed February 12, 2007).
42. J. Bell, "Why Nunavut courts are busy," *Nunatsiak News*, July 27, 2007, [http://www.nunatsiak.com/test/archives/2007/707/70727/news/nunavut/70727\\_351.html](http://www.nunatsiak.com/test/archives/2007/707/70727/news/nunavut/70727_351.html) (accessed on July 27, 2007).

43. J. George, "Nunavut's correctional system a revolving door," *Nunatsiaq News*, March 3, 2006, [http://www.nunatsiaq.com/archives/60303/news/nunavut/60303\\_06.html](http://www.nunatsiaq.com/archives/60303/news/nunavut/60303_06.html) (accessed June 22, 2007).
44. In 2006, Nunavut had the highest smoking rates in Canada—at 60 percent more than three times the national average rate of 17 percent. See CBC News "Statistics Canada brings latest social figures to Nunavut," *CBC News North*, February 6, 2009, <http://www.cbc.ca/canada/north/story/2009/02/06/nunavut-stats.html> (accessed February 6, 2009).
45. Although the incidence rate of tuberculosis in Nunavut has decreased from 172.9 (per 100,000) in 2000 to 93.4 (per 100,000) in 2004, it is still much higher than the Canadian average in 2004 of 5.2 (per 100,000). See Government of Nunavut, *Nunavut Report on Comparable Indicators* (Iqaluit: Department of Health and Social Services, 2004b): 20.
46. In 2005, Nunavut's adult obesity rate was at 26 percent. See *ibid.*
47. Nunavut Bureau of Statistics, 2004 estimates, <http://www.stats.gov.nu.ca> (accessed June 20, 2006, page now discontinued).
48. *Ibid.*
49. R. Wilkins et al., *Life Expectancy in the Inuit-Inhabited Areas of Canada, 1989 to 2003* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, catalogue 82-003, 2008): 6.
50. See Graeme Clinton, Stephen Vail, *2008 Nunavut Economic Outlook. Our Future to Choose* (Iqaluit, Nunavut Economic Forum, 2008): 32.
51. Recruitment is tough because full-time staff from the South may pay \$2500 a month for rent and can easily find jobs in other regions of Canada with much lower costs of living.
52. Nunavut Tunngavik Inc., 2004: 49.
53. Doctors do not generally stay more than twelve months in Nunavut. Burnout is a major cause of the high turnover rate among doctors in the territory.
54. In 2005, there were only two Inuit nurses among the 150 nurses working in Nunavut. Since 2000, the Nunavut Arctic College has tried to improve the ratio of Inuit nurses by introducing a four-year nursing program. However, few Inuit nurses graduate each year.
55. Social housing refers to subsidized housing available to Nunavummiut. It is intended to provide affordable accommodation for people with low or no income. See Government of Nunavut, *Nunavut Ten-Year Inuit Housing Action Plan* (Iqaluit: Government of Nunavut, 2004c): 1.
56. This number compares to the 1996 figure of 43 percent Inuit living in overcrowded homes. Therefore, one notes only a marginal improvement over a ten-year span. See Statistics Canada, *Aboriginal Peoples in Canada in 2006: Inuit, Métis and First Nations, 2006 Census*, (Ottawa, Statistics Canada, Catalogue 97-558, 2008a): 25.
57. In 2005, 20 percent of adult Nunavummiut reported being stressed and depressed. See J. George, "Nunavut out-smoke rest of Canada," *Nunatsiaq*

- News*, June 23, 2006, [http://www.nunatsiaq.com/archives/60623/news/nunavut/60623\\_08.html](http://www.nunatsiaq.com/archives/60623/news/nunavut/60623_08.html) (accessed July 20, 2007).
58. CBC News, "Billions demanded to tackle Nunavut housing crisis," *CBC News North*, September 30, 2004, <http://www.cbc.ca/north/> (accessed July 12, 2007, page now discontinued).
  59. Nunavut possesses a birth rate of 25.6 (per 1,000); 60 percent of its residents are under the age of 25; 42 percent are under 15. Among Inuit the average age is 19.1 while the average age of Canadians nationally is 39.5. See Statistics Canada, 2006 estimates, <http://www40.statcan.ca/101/cst01/demo31a.htm> (accessed July 12, 2007).
  60. See F.J. Tester, *Iglutaq (in my room). The Implications of Homelessness for Inuit*, (Kinngait: The Harvest Society), 2006.
  61. *Ibid.*, 68.
  62. Government of Nunavut, 1999: 3.
  63. Building costs are three times higher in Iqaluit than in Ottawa. The cost to build in Iqaluit is \$330 per square foot compared to \$103 per square foot in Ottawa. See Mayer, 2007: 9.
  64. J. Bell, "GN-NTI make \$1.9 billion bid for Inuit housing," *Nunatsiaq News*, October 1, 2004, [http://www.nunatsiaq.com/archives/41001/news/nunavut/41001\\_02.html](http://www.nunatsiaq.com/archives/41001/news/nunavut/41001_02.html) (accessed July 23, 2007).
  65. There are twenty-eight communities in Nunavut. Most of them have an average population of 400 residents.
  66. P. Kilabuk, "Still no houses and no land: Why?," *Nunatsiaq News*, March 17, 2006, <http://www.nunatsiaq.com/archives/60317/news/nunavut/legislative.html> (accessed June 12, 2007).
  67. Clinton and Vail, 2008: 26.
  68. Government of Nunavut, 2004c: 17.
  69. *Ibid.*, 19–20.
  70. *Ibid.*
  71. Graeme Clinton and Stephen Vail, *2005 Nunavut Economic Outlook. Update on Five Years of Progress, Final Report* (Iqaluit: Nunavut Economic Forum, Government of Nunavut, 2005): 8.
  72. C. Windeyer, "NAM2007—news roundup," *Nunatsiaq News*, May 18, 2007, [http://www.nunatsiaq.com/test/archives/2007/705/70518/news/nunavut/70518\\_134.html](http://www.nunatsiaq.com/test/archives/2007/705/70518/news/nunavut/70518_134.html) (accessed May 18, 2007).
  73. C. Windeyer, "Tories praised for helping Nunavut with housing," *Nunatsiaq News*, February 27, 2009, [http://www.nunatsiaq.com/test/archives/2009/902/90227/news/nunavut/90227\\_1939.html](http://www.nunatsiaq.com/test/archives/2009/902/90227/news/nunavut/90227_1939.html) (accessed February 27, 2009).
  74. Government of Nunavut, 2004c.

75. Inuktitut is divided up into seven different dialects including Inuinnaqtun, which is spoken in the western part of Nunavut. See [http://langcom.nu.ca/languages/en\\_inuktitut.html](http://langcom.nu.ca/languages/en_inuktitut.html) (accessed June 12, 2007).
76. Government of Nunavut, 2004a: 8.
77. Inuktitut, the Inuit language, counts seven dialects including Inuinnaqtun. Inuktitut therefore lacks a common dialect; often Inuit from different regions of Nunavut would have a tendency to use English when they communicate with each other.
78. Statistics Canada, 2008a: 29.
79. Ibid.
80. J. George, "Inuktitut slowly dying across Nunavut," *Nunatsiaq News*, March 6, 2009, [http://www.nunatsiaq.com/archives/60707/news/nunavut/60707\\_02.html](http://www.nunatsiaq.com/archives/60707/news/nunavut/60707_02.html) (accessed March 6, 2009).
81. See L.-J. Dorais, "Discours et identité à Iqaluit après l'avènement du Nunavut." *Etudes/Inuit/Studies* 30, no. 2 (2006): 163–190.
82. Nunavut Tunngavik Inc., *An Annual Report on the State of Inuit Culture and Society, 2002-2003*: 31.
83. *Nunatsiaq News*, Opinion, "No Inuktitut at P.O.," *Nunatsiaq News*, May 4, 2007, [http://www.nunatsiaq.com/test/archives/2007/705/70525/news/nunavut/70525\\_150.html](http://www.nunatsiaq.com/test/archives/2007/705/70525/news/nunavut/70525_150.html) (accessed May 4, 2007).
84. G. Younger-Lewis, "Jobs top priority for new languages commissioner," *Nunatsiaq News*, March 25, 2005, [http://www.nunatsiaq.com/archives/50325/news/nunavut/50325\\_12.html](http://www.nunatsiaq.com/archives/50325/news/nunavut/50325_12.html) (accessed June 14, 2007).
85. CBC News, "Learn Inuktitut or iqqanajaaqajaagunniqtutit, mandarins told," *CBC News North*, June 7, 2006, <http://www.cbc.ca/north/> (accessed June 7, 2007, page now discontinued).
86. J. Thompson, "Senior team have mastered basic Inuktitut: Okalik." *Nunatsiaq News*, February 22, 2008, [http://www.nunatsiaq.com/test/archives/2008/802/80222/news/nunavut/80222\\_952.html](http://www.nunatsiaq.com/test/archives/2008/802/80222/news/nunavut/80222_952.html) (accessed March 6, 2009).
87. Nunavut Tunngavik Inc. 2004: 35.
88. Younger-Lewis, 2005.
89. See Government of Nunavut, *Chapter 10, Official Languages Act* (Iqaluit: Legislative Assembly, Statutes of Nunavut, 2008).
90. About 600 people in Nunavut are Francophones. Most of them live in Iqaluit.
91. See Government of Nunavut, *Chapter 17, Inuit Language Protection Act* (Iqaluit: Legislative Assembly, Statutes of Nunavut, 2008).
92. Ibid., 22
93. Annelies Pool, "Nunavut Setting Economic Foundation in Place." *Trade and Commerce* (Spring, 2000): D2–D6.

94. C. Windeyer, "GN picks quality of life as top priority," *Nunatsiaq News*, February 20, 2009, [http://www.nunatsiaq.com/test/archives/2009/902/90220/news/nunavut/90220\\_1908.html](http://www.nunatsiaq.com/test/archives/2009/902/90220/news/nunavut/90220_1908.html) (accessed February 20, 2009).
95. Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1993: 191–195.
96. As of December 31, 2005, there were 3516 full-time jobs available within all departments, agencies, boards, and corporations of the government of Nunavut; 2886 of those jobs were filled. There were 630 vacant jobs in the government of Nunavut. The biggest holes were in the Department of Health and Social Services (190 vacancies) and in the Department of Education (120 vacancies). See Government of Nunavut, *Towards a Representative Public Service. Statistics as of December 31<sup>st</sup>, 2005* (Iqaluit: Department of Human Resources): 2–21.
97. Government Inuit employment is mainly concentrated (84 percent) in administrative support categories. There are few Inuit who occupy professional or senior managerial positions within the government of Nunavut. See T. Berger, *Nunavut Land Claims Agreement Implementation Contract Negotiations for the Second Planning Period 2003-2013. Conciliator's Final Report: "The Nunavut Project,"* (Iqaluit: Government of Nunavut, 2006): 18.
98. In 2001, the proportion of Inuit employees stood at only 42 percent, climbing to 48 percent in 2006 and finally reaching 50 percent in March 2007. See *Nunatsiaq News*, "Inuit fill 50 percent of government jobs," *Nunatsiaq News*, October 12, 2007, [http://www.nunatsiaq.com/test/archives/2007/710/71012/news/nunavut/71012\\_603.html](http://www.nunatsiaq.com/test/archives/2007/710/71012/news/nunavut/71012_603.html) (accessed October 12, 2007).
99. There is no university in Nunavut and one college whose headquarters are in Iqaluit with regional campuses in Rankin Inlet and Cambridge Bay. The remaining twenty-five communities have no college access. Information technology resources to facilitate post secondary distance learning programs remain a challenge in these far northern latitudes.
100. Nunavut Sivuniksavut means "Our Future." The program was originally created by Tungavik Federation of Nunavut in order to train land claims fieldworkers at the time of the Nunavut claim negotiations. Currently managed by Nunavut Tunngavik Inc. it has since then evolved into an Inuit-focused academic and independent post-secondary program. Students learn about their history, culture, and the NLCA. Once graduated, some of them may choose to pursue university degrees or may return north to work with employers of their choice.
101. Mayer, 2007: 12.
102. J. George, "A look back—and ahead—at Nunavut," *Nunatsiaq News*, February 6, 2009, [http://www.nunatsiaq.com/test/archives/2009/902/90206/news/features/90206\\_1887.html](http://www.nunatsiaq.com/test/archives/2009/902/90206/news/features/90206_1887.html) (accessed February 6, 2009).
103. Government of Nunavut, 1999: 5–6.
104. Clinton and Vail, 2008: 53.
105. Clinton and Vail, 2005: 27–29

106. Ibid.
107. The *Nunavut Act* prohibits a total accumulated debt of more than \$200 million. Once Nunavut reaches that amount it will have to cut down on its budget. This will likely affect its delivery of programs and services.
108. Royalties and taxation are land lease payments and income taxes coming from companies who extract minerals or energy from public Crown lands. The amount paid varies according to the value of the extraction. In the year 2007-2008, Canada earned an estimated \$33 million in royalties and income taxes from Nunavut resource development largely because of the operation of the Jericho diamond mine. See Lisa Gregoire, "Territory of unrequited dreams." *Canadian Geographic* (Jan/Feb 2009): 41.
109. N. Illauq, "GN controlled by Ottawa's white men in suits," *Nunatsiaq News*, July 30, 2004, <http://www.nunatsiaq.com/archives/40730/opinionEditorial/letters.html> (accessed July 14, 2007).
110. Mayer, 2007.
111. Ibid., 47.
112. In 2006, the public sector employed 6187 individuals. See, John Curran, "Inuit hold 1414 GN jobs," *News/North, Opportunities North 2007*, June 2007: B34.
113. Clinton and Vail, 2005: ii.
114. For an overview of Inuit-owned activities and businesses in Nunavut see André Légaré, "The Nunavut Tunngavik Inc.: An Examination of Its Mode of Operation and Its Activities," in Anderson, B., and R.M. Bone (eds.), *Natural Resources and Aboriginal People in Canada* (Concord, Ont.: Captus Press, 2003): 117-138.
115. 46 percent of households in Nunavut are involved in the creation of traditional crafts and 59 percent rely largely on hunting and fishing for their food. See Pool, 2000: D6.
116. For an account on Inuit traditional economy in Nunavut, see A. Légaré, 2003: 117-138.
117. There are about 1000 Inuit full time hunters and trappers in Nunavut. See *ibid.*, 133.
118. The price of seal pelts has dropped from its most recent high of \$105 in 2006 to just \$33 in 2008. See Clinton and Vail, 2008: 45.
119. Worth an estimated \$30 million annually, tourism is looked upon as a promising future industry. See Pool, 2000: D6.
120. In 2006, Nunavut commercial fishing reached \$38.1 million. Most of the catches came from turbot harvests (\$35.2 million) with shrimp accounting for the remaining \$2.9 million. See Erika Sherk, "Nunavut turbot worth 35.2 million," *New/North, Opportunities North 2007*, June 2007: B33.
121. Those individuals who regularly hunt in order to help support their families do not count as "unemployed."

122. Statistics Canada, *Canada's Changing Labour Force, 2006 Census* (Ottawa, Statistics Canada, catalogue 97-559, 2008b).
123. This high rate of unemployment affects mainly young Inuit male who are often frustrated and angry at the lack of employment, feel devalued, and search relief in alcohol and drugs. This in turn often leads to crime and violence. See Marybelle Mitchell and Pat Tobin, "Nunavut: The Newest Member of Confederation," *Focus* 14 (2) (1999): 23.
124. The traditional economy in Nunavut contributes to soften the impact of the high cost of living.
125. Berger, 2006: 11.
126. Clinton and Vail, 2008: 48
127. *Ibid.*, 39
128. Clinton and Vail, 2005: 41.
129. There are two other mines located in the same region on the NWT side of the border. In 2007, Canada was ranked as the third diamond producer in the world.
130. It is estimated that, even fully developed, those mines would not be able to bring more than \$200 million per year to government in royalties and income taxes.
131. It is estimated that Nunavut holds about 35 percent of Canada's oil and gas reserves. Those reserves are located in the High Arctic Islands. See Clinton and Vail, 2005: 44.
132. In traditional Inuit societies the basic social unit was the family and the camps, which usually consisted of several families (twenty to fifty people). Each camp had a "leader," who had superior hunting abilities and who led the decision making process of the camp. Camp governance was a flexible system based on consensus. Led by their leader, Inuit took decisions affecting camp life by proposing a point of view and then modifying it through discussions until general agreement (i.e., consensus) was achieved. See Ian Creery, "The Inuit (Eskimo) of Canada," in Minority Rights Group (ed.), *Polar Peoples: Self-Determination and Development* (London: Minority Rights Group, 1993): 108.
133. *Nunatsiaq News*, Editorial, "Was Nunavut worth It?" *Nunatsiaq News*, July 8, 2005, <http://www.nunatsiaq.com/archives/50729/opinionEditorial/editorial.html> (accessed July 14, 2007).
134. Government of Nunavut, 2004a: 15.
135. In the mid-1950s, the Canadian government built two residential schools in the North (Churchill, Chesterfield Inlet). These schools were strict. Inuit children spent the winters in schools and the summer out on the land with their parents. They lived in two worlds. These students acquired a good understanding of Euro-Canadian culture while maintaining a strong Inuit traditional education on the land. Many became the future leaders who took the cause of Nunavut

forward. In the 1960s, the residential education system was replaced with a community-based education system.

136. Today all twenty-eight Nunavut communities are equipped with modern primary and secondary schools.
137. Although there was an increase of high school graduates from 134 (in 1999/2000) to 173 (in 2004/5), the dropout rate did not change because of an increase in school-age children. See, J.Thompson, "Nunavut sees big jump in graduates, dropouts," *Nunatsiaq News*, September 21, 2007, [http://www.nunatsiaq.com/test/archives/2007/709/70921/news/nunavut/70921\\_532.html](http://www.nunatsiaq.com/test/archives/2007/709/70921/news/nunavut/70921_532.html) (accessed September 21, 2007).
138. The drop out rate is highest after grade nine, once students are not obligated to go to school at the age of 16, and once students encounter the more difficult senior high school curriculum.
139. C. Windeyer, "Premier pushes for infracstructures, education funds," *Nunatsiaq News*, January 23, 2009, [http://www.nunatsiaq.com/test/archives/2009/901/90123/news/nunavut/90123\\_1849.html](http://www.nunatsiaq.com/test/archives/2009/901/90123/news/nunavut/90123_1849.html) (accessed January 23, 2009).
140. Only 30 percent of adult Inuit possess an education higher than grade ten; 1 percent of Inuit hold university degrees. See Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, *Inuit Social Trends Series—Gains made by Inuit in Formal Education and School Attendance, 1981–2001*, 2006, [http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/pr/ra/gmif/index\\_e.html](http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/pr/ra/gmif/index_e.html) (accessed August 15, 2007, page now discontinued).
141. Cf., Paul Berger, Juanita Ross Epp, Helle Moller, "The Predictable Influences of Culture Clash, Current Practice, and Colonialism on Punctuality, Attendance, and Achievement in Nunavut Schools." *Canadian Journal of Native Education* 29, no. 2 (2006): 182–203.
142. *Ibid.*, 188.
143. Only 38 percent of the 573 teachers in Nunavut are Inuit. There are no Inuit teachers beyond grade ten. Southern teachers usually do not stay in Nunavut more than two years because of the high cost of living and geographic isolation: in 2005, about 100 teachers left Nunavut. See Jack Hicks, "Education in the Canadian Arctic: What has the Nunavut Government Made?" *Indigenous Affairs* 2 (2005): 8–15.
144. During the 2005-2006 school year, there were 9129 students enrolled in Nunavut schools. Nearly 96 percent of them (8762) were Inuit. See Erika Sherk, "Education budget increases in Nunavut," *News/North Opportunities North* 2007, June 2007: A33.
145. Berger, Ross-Epp, Moller, 2006: 201.
146. See Berger, 2006: v–vi
147. See *ibid.*, 190.
148. Even among graduates, 88 percent cannot read or write in Inuktitut or English well enough to work in government. See J. Thompson, "Education strategy



- calls for overhauls," *Nunatsiaq News*, December 15, 2006, [http://www.nunatsiaq.com/archives/61215/news/nunavut/61215\\_04.html](http://www.nunatsiaq.com/archives/61215/news/nunavut/61215_04.html), (accessed July 12, 2007).
149. Hicks, 2005: 15.
  150. Cf., Berger, 2006: 1–67.
  151. *Ibid.*, vi.
  152. *Ibid.*, 59.
  153. In 2000, only 25 percent of teachers in Nunavut could speak Inuktitut fluently. See Nunavut Tunngavik Inc., 2004: 14.
  154. See Government of Nunavut, Chapter 15, Education Act (Iqaluit: Nunavut Legislative Assembly, Statutes of Nunavut, 2008).
  155. Half of the classes would be taught in Inuktitut and half in English.
  156. Under the Nunavut Teachers Education Program, the Nunavut Arctic College currently provides a five-year Bachelor of Education degree. However, the program focuses only on training elementary teachers.
  157. In 2006-07, the Government of Nunavut spent \$120 million on education. It is predicted that they will need to spend an additional 10 percent a year until 2019 in order to meet the expectations of the new Education Act. See J. Thompson, "Schools bill needs boost in resources to be workable," *Nunatsiaq News*, November 16, 2007, [http://www.nunatsiaq.com/test/archives/2007/711/71116/news/nunavut/71116\\_692.html](http://www.nunatsiaq.com/test/archives/2007/711/71116/news/nunavut/71116_692.html) (accessed November 16, 2007).
  158. Recent attempts to boost school attendance through increased physical activity courses and pre-trades programs have met with mixed results. See J. George, "Dropping out to world of booze, crime," *Nunatsiaq News*, May 25, 2007, [http://www.nunatsiaq.com/test/archives/2007/705/70525/news/nunavut/70525\\_150.html](http://www.nunatsiaq.com/test/archives/2007/705/70525/news/nunavut/70525_150.html) (accessed May 25, 2007).
  159. Editorial, *Nunatsiaq News*, July 8, 2005.
  160. M. Inuktaluk, "Nunavummiut better off in NWT?," *Nunatsiaq News*, November 19, 2004, <http://www.nunatsiaq.com/archives/41119/news/nunavut/briefs.html> (accessed February 8, 2007).
  161. Peter Irniq, "Zero tolerance for violence in Nunavut?" *Nunatsiaq News*, November 10, 2006, <http://www.nunatsiaq.com/archives/61124/opinionEditorial/letters.html> (accessed May 26, 2007).
  162. Opinions, *Nunatsiaq News*, "Excerpts from Eva Aariak's remark to MLAs," November 22, 2008, <http://www.nunatsiaq.com/test/archives/2008/811/81128/opinionEditorial/opinions.html> (accessed November 22, 2008).
  163. Hicks, Bjerregaard, Berman, 2007: 45–48.
  164. Billson, 2001: 294–295.
  165. In February 2009, Premier Aariak indicated that the Nunavut cabinet would develop a new twenty year vision plan aimed at reaching some of the goals already expressed in the Bathurst Mandate by 2030, thus further delaying the prediction of a healthy and prosperous society by ten years. See CBC News,

"Back from retreat, Nunavut cabinet aims to work on report card," CBC News North, February 17, 2009, <http://www.cbc.ca/canada/north/story/2009/02/16/aariak-retreat.html> (accessed February 17, 2009).