

6



The North

IN THE NORTH WE FOUND A PARADOX. On one hand, the North is the part of Canada in which Aboriginal peoples have achieved the most in terms of political influence and institutions appropriate to their cultures and needs. On the other, the North itself is a region with little influence over its own destiny. Most of the levers of political and economic power continue to be held outside the North and, in some cases, outside Canada.¹

Within this northern paradox, however, there have been great opportunities. In some parts of the North, a unique process of democratic reform of public institutions has been under way for some years. During the life of this Commission, the efforts of many came to fruition. In 1991, Inuit of the eastern Northwest Territories (N.w.T.) concluded a comprehensive claims agreement with the federal government and, simultaneously, began the process of establishing a new territory in their homeland.² Through a variety of means, Inuit and government representatives are now planning the shape and structure of Nunavut, which will be created by division of the N.w.T. in 1999. As Nunavut was being planned and negotiated, residents of the western N.w.T. were also engaged in a process of public discussion and research to define future political arrangements in that region. (A new name has not been chosen for the new territory that will be created in the west, but the region is commonly referred to as Denendeh, which in the Dene languages means 'land of the people'.) Inuvialuit and Dene, Métis and non-Aboriginal, the peoples of the west are culturally much more diverse than their eastern neighbours, but in Denendeh as well, residents are approaching consensus on key constitutional issues.³

In the Yukon, the First Nations communities represented by the Council for Yukon Indians have negotiated a new form of highly decentralized comprehensive claims agreement. Labrador Inuit have been pioneers in securing transfer of the administration of social expenditures from the province, while continuing claims negotiations. In northern Quebec, Inuit and Crees negotiated the first modern comprehensive claims agreement in Canada and have now completed nearly 20 years of innovation, research and political development. Other nations — the Innu people of Labrador and the Aboriginal peoples of the northern parts of many provinces — have not yet achieved new regional or provincial political arrangements. In many places, though, detailed work has been under way on these matters and in the areas of social and economic development.

The political development achieved in the last 20 years in parts of northern Canada is striking. A framework for the future is beginning to emerge. As far as the economic and

social future of northern communities is concerned, however, complacency would be ill-advised.

As discussed in Volume 2, Chapter 5, self-government in the absence of economic viability is hollow. Economic development and self-government without social well-being in Aboriginal communities are equally unacceptable. Northerners explained these connections to us repeatedly, and we accept their views. We recognize the work being undertaken by Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal northerners in co-operative constitutional development and the resolution of outstanding disputes. With them, we understand economic development and environmental stewardship to be essential complements to political development.

The most enduring economic base in northern Canada is the mixed economy — also called the traditional economy, the traditional-mixed economy, the domestic economy and the informal economy. In the mixed economy, households combine cash income from a variety of sources (wages, social transfers, arts and crafts production) with income in kind from the land, shifting their efforts from one sector to another as conditions dictate. Cash income is sometimes shared; food is shared often.⁴ The mixed economy is the dominant economic form of most Aboriginal communities, and it is by far the most stable. The stability of the mixed economy is evident in its persistence since the earliest days of cash economy opportunities in the North, beginning with the fur trade. The central reason for this stability is its flexibility and adaptability, allowing producers to take advantage of a variety of economic opportunities. (See Volume 2, Chapter 5 on economic development and later sections of this chapter.) We believe that support of the traditional-mixed economy is the most effective way to promote the economic vitality of northern communities.

Cash income, and therefore wage employment, is essential to the operation of the mixed economy. Wage employment in the North is provided, generally, by three sectors: (1) federal/territorial/local public administrations; (2) the small business (mainly service) sector, including tourism; and (3) mining.⁵ For the mixed economy to continue to flourish, it is imperative that Aboriginal people find wage employment in all of these sectors and that these wage-earning activities continue in a way that does not interfere with harvesting and other land-based activities. An important aspect of realizing this is a comprehensive and international approach to environmental stewardship in the North that ensures that the mixed economy will continue to be viable for generations to come.

Finally, we want to emphasize the importance of sustained attention to human resources development. Unemployment rates for northern Aboriginal people are much higher than those of their non-Aboriginal neighbours. The northern Aboriginal population is young, and so the number of Aboriginal people in the North who are unemployed or under-employed can be expected to grow. Economic development strategies based on the traditional-mixed economy provide the most likely basis for improved employment prospects for young people in the North. To ensure that those who will run the new governments, participate in economic development, and take care of the environment are prepared for what lies ahead, we recommend a number of measures designed to create

maximum opportunities for individual human development while these major processes are under way.

1. Living in the North

The North is the homeland of many peoples, among them Inuit, Inuvialuit, and the Northern and Southern Tutchone, Han, Kaska, Tlingit, Tagish, Gwich'in, Cree and Innu peoples, as well as the Sahtu Dene, Deh Cho Dene, Tli Cho Dene (Dogrib), Sayisi Dene and Métis peoples. About 36 per cent of all Aboriginal people in Canada live in the territorial North and the northern parts of the provinces (Table 6.1). In many regions, Aboriginal people outnumber non-Aboriginal people, and almost everywhere in the North, Aboriginal people are numerous enough to influence the way of life of people who migrate to the North and to form an influential plurality of voters. As Table 6.2 shows, Aboriginal people form the majority in the N.w.T. — including and excluding Nunavut — and northern Saskatchewan. They form significant pluralities of voters in the northern regions of Quebec, Manitoba, Labrador, the Yukon and Alberta.

TABLE 6.1
Aboriginal Identity Population by Region, 1991

	Aboriginal Identity Population	
	#	%
Canada	720,600	100.0
Total North	260,400	36.1
Far North	70,100	9.7
Mid-North	190,300	26.4
South	460,200	63.9

Note: Aboriginal identity population is adjusted for undercoverage in the 1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey (aps).

Source: M.J. Norris, D. Kerr and F. Nault, "Projections of the Aboriginal Identity Population in Canada, 1991-2016", research study prepared by Statistics Canada for RCAP (February 1995).

TABLE 6.2
Aboriginal Identity Population as a Percentage of the Total Population, 1991

	Total Population	Aboriginal Identity Population¹ as a % of Total Population
Total North	1,691,120	13.4
Far North	152,130	39.9
Yukon	27,800	16.3
n.w.t. ²	57,650	60.0

Quebec	36,310	41.1
Labrador	30,375	22.1
Mid-North	1,538,990	10.7
Quebec	557,635	3.3
Ontario	461,740	9.1
Manitoba	64,165	44.9
Saskatchewan	26,735	93.8
Alberta	173,305	16.1
British Columbia	255,410	9.1

Notes:

Far North = Yukon, n.w.t., northern Quebec and Labrador. Mid-North = roughly the northern half of the western provinces, northern Ontario, and that portion of Quebec north of southern urban Quebec and south of the part of Quebec defined as Far North in Quebec (see Figure 6.1).

1. For comparison purposes, population data for the Aboriginal identity population are unadjusted for undercoverage in the aps because adjustments to the total population from the 1991 census have not been made. The percentages would not change significantly if adjustments were made to both populations.

2. Includes Nunavut: total population, 21,245; total Aboriginal identity population, 17,795 (83.8 per cent).

Source: Statistics Canada, 1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey, custom tabulations; and 1991 Census, catalogue no. 93-304.

Most northern communities are small. Of the 928 communities in northern Canada, 584 have fewer than 1,000 people and 288 have under 300 (see Tables 6.3, 6.4 and 6.5). As a general rule, the smaller the community, the greater the proportion of Aboriginal residents.

TABLE 6.3
Total Population: Number of Communities by Population Size and Geographic Region, 1991

	Number of Communities by Population Size Group				
	Exclusions*	1-299	300-999	1000+	Total
Far North					
Labrador	0	6	16	4	26
Quebec	9	7	11	11	38
Yukon	2	26	7	1	36
Northwest Territories	2	29	27	13	71
Total Far North (%)	13 (7.6)	68 (39.8)	61 (35.7)	29 (17.0)	171 (100)
Mid-North					
Quebec	15	49	102	88	254

Ontario	27	52	49	56	184
Manitoba	5	13	16	18	52
Saskatchewan	10	21	22	7	60
Alberta	4	27	17	28	76
British Columbia	14	58	29	30	131
Total Mid-North (%)	75 (9.9)	220 (29.1)	235 (31.0)	227 (30.0)	757 (100)
Total North (%)	88 (9.5)	288 (31.0)	296 (31.9)	256 (27.6)	928 (100)

Note: * Community population sizes of zero or 'not applicable' and incompletely enumerated reserves in Ontario (18), Alberta (3), and the Yukon (1).

Source: Statistics Canada, 1991 Census, catalogue no. 93-304.

TABLE 6.4
Aboriginal Origin Population: Number of Communities, by Population Size and Geographic Region, 1991

	Number of Communities by Population Size Group*			
	40-299	300-999	1000+	Total
Far North				
Labrador	11	4	1	16
Quebec	10	15	3	28
Yukon	18	1	1	20
Northwest Territories	22	28	10	60
Total Far North (%)	61 (49.2)	48 (38.7)	15 (12.1)	124 (100)
Mid-North				
Quebec	54	23	4	81
Ontario	71	31	8	110
Manitoba	12	11	11	44
Saskatchewan	21	18	4	43
Alberta	33	17	5	55
British Columbia	49	33	6	88
Total Mid-North (%)	240 (58.4)	133 (32.4)	38 (9.2)	411 (100)
Total North (%)	301 (56.3)	181 (33.8)	53 (9.9)	535 (100)

Note: * Excludes incompletely enumerated Indian reserves and settlements, as well as census subdivisions with fewer than 40 persons with Aboriginal origins and/or Indian status.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1991 Census, catalogue no. 94-326.

TABLE 6.5
Census Subdivisions¹ with a Majority Aboriginal Origin Population, 1991

	Aboriginal Majority Communities	Number of Communities	Communities With Aboriginal Majority
	#	%	
Far North ²			
Labrador	7	25	28
Territoire nordique			
(Census Division 99, Quebec)	21	28	75
Yukon ³	11	23	47.8
Northwest Territories	57	63	90.5
Total Far North	96	139	69.1
Mid-North ²			
Quebec	19	227	8.4
Ontario ³	46	149	30.9
Manitoba	36	45	80
Saskatchewan	38	48	79.2
Alberta	26	66	39.4
British Columbia	51	94	54.3
Total Mid-North	216	629	34.3
Total North	312	768	40.6

Notes:

1. Census subdivision is the general term applying to municipalities (as determined by provincial legislation) or their equivalent, e.g., Indian reserves, settlements and unorganized territories.

2. The 1991 census population by Aboriginal origin was used to obtain community-level data for all communities in the Far and Mid-North zones. The 1991 cps data were not used because they did not survey all communities in sufficient numbers to produce community-level data for each.

3. The Mid-North zone in Ontario excludes 18 Indian reserves that were incompletely enumerated in the 1991 Census; one such community in the Yukon is also excluded. Assuming they have majority Aboriginal populations, the percentage of communities with an Aboriginal majority would rise to 38.3% in Ontario and 50% in the Yukon.

Source: Statistics Canada, Canada's Aboriginal Population by Census Subdivisions and Census Metropolitan Areas, catalogue no. 94-326; and Census Divisions and Census Subdivisions: Population and Dwelling Counts, catalogue no. 93-304.

Even in the larger centres, there are distinctively Aboriginal features to almost every aspect of life. Many of the non-Aboriginal people who have moved to the North have been strongly influenced by Aboriginal realities. Some have chosen to live in predominantly Aboriginal communities, often becoming part of Aboriginal families. Even newcomers living in larger centres are in a position analogous to that of immigrants who come to Canada and adapt to local customs. There are many outward signs of a 'blended' northern identity: in clothing; in the characteristically friendly and frank demeanour of northerners toward each other and toward strangers; and in the conventions

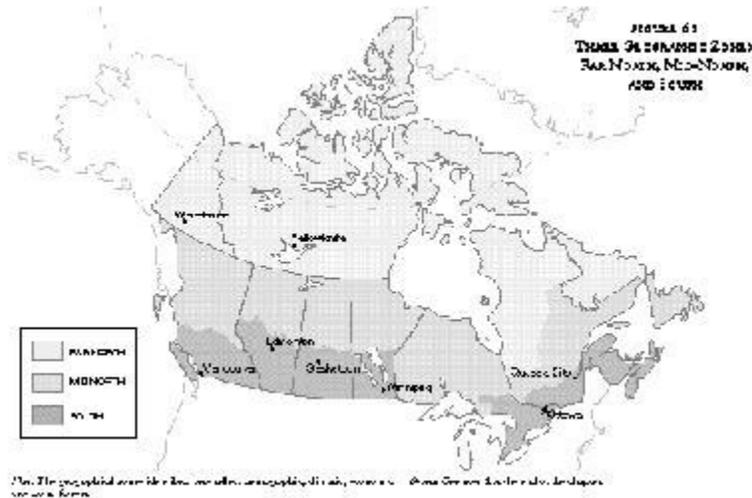
and more formal rules of political life, which emphasize accessibility and accountability of leaders. The ability of northerners to negotiate political compromises and to work on constitutional principles has been demonstrated many times in the last decade. Certainly, there are varied interests and political conflict in the North, but in their negotiations with the federal government and in their relations with the rest of Canada, northerners have increasingly presented a common face. This in turn has begun to be reflected in federal northern policy.⁶

One source of the distinctive northern perspective is simply demographic: the most striking aspects of northern life draw upon the indigenous cultures of the North. These have been reinforced by other factors. Although there are still major differences between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal northerners in income and access to senior level jobs, they share a common economic base and, increasingly, common economic interests. Outside a few larger centres, the mixed economy of occasional wage employment and land-based food and fur production, complemented by high public expenditures, forms the backbone of the economy. Wage employment is found most commonly in the public sector, with occasional pockets of tourism, mining and mineral development. Healthy development in all sectors requires a high degree of co-operation, which is reflected in joint venture corporations and various environmental management boards.

Many Aboriginal languages still flourish in the North, particularly compared to southern Canada. In 1991, in the far north, 70.2 per cent of Aboriginal adults (aged 15 and over) and 63.7 per cent of children (aged 5 to 14) were reported to speak an Aboriginal language. In the mid-north, 54.9 per cent of adults and 35.9 per cent of children were speakers of an Aboriginal language. In the south in 1991, 23.1 per cent of Aboriginal adults and only 8.6 per cent of children spoke an Aboriginal language.⁷ (See Figure 6.1 for the locations of the far north, the mid-north and the south. For a further look at the situation concerning Aboriginal languages, see Volume 3, Chapters 5 and 6.) A similar situation prevails with Aboriginal traditions and science and technology. The strength of the mixed economy, with its hunting, fishing and gathering components, is probably a major reason for the survival of indigenous knowledge in the North. The technology for on-the-land production has changed: people use rifles, motorboats, snowmobiles and radios instead of harpoons, bows, kayaks, canoes, and inuksuit and other markers. Bone and ivory needles and stone cutting tools have been replaced by metal needles and steel knives. But hunters and fishers still need detailed knowledge of the habits of the wildlife upon which they depend, a detailed understanding of the weather and the seasons, and specialized techniques for observing and catching animals and fish. The assembly of clothing and footwear still relies on techniques refined over centuries.

While the fruits of the land are bountiful, northern Aboriginal people face severe economic hardships: there are the very high costs of travel, transportation and consumer goods and scant and very constrained wage-economy opportunities.⁸ Aboriginal people live in communities still reeling from several decades of massive change. Over the last century and a half, most northern Aboriginal peoples have experienced the devastation wrought by epidemics of influenza, tuberculosis and other diseases. Almost all were disrupted by centralization and relocation programs and subsequently by federal social

welfare programs. The move to analyze systematically what are generally acknowledged to be the substantial, far-reaching and cumulative effects of such changes has barely begun.⁹ (The disruption of families and communities caused by resettlement is discussed in Volume 1, Chapter 11.) Despite all that has happened, many northern Aboriginal communities remain good places to live and raise families.



2. The Commission’s Approach to the North

While all aspects of the Commission’s mandate are relevant to northern Aboriginal people, the mandate also mentions the North specifically:

The Commission may investigate the difficulties and cost of communications and transport, issues of environmental protection, sustainable economic and social development, access to natural resources, and any differential treatment of northern Aboriginal people by the Canadian and Territorial Governments.

The special difficulties of living in the North do affect Aboriginal people’s economic, political, social and cultural prospects. The North is sparsely populated and far from markets and manufacturing centres. For several decades, political and economic control have been held outside the North. Legally and constitutionally, the Yukon and Northwest Territories are under federal administration, although in practice they are approaching quasi-provincial status. The northern area of each province has a different history, but in no case is there much local control over the regional political economy or much regional retention of capital.

Aside from these special difficulties, northern Aboriginal peoples can count some achievements and innovations that may be of interest to all Canadians. Northern Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people have devised new forms of political negotiation and new constitutional frameworks that promise to meet some of their goals. Although the process is incomplete and by no means entirely satisfactory, in many places

northerners have come a significant distance toward defining a new relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people.

From 1992 to 1994, the Commission visited 50 communities in the North. In developing our approach, we considered social and economic information about how people actually live. Political boundaries are certainly important for policy development and political innovation, and our discussion of these matters takes this into account. But we have drawn no conclusions and offer no suggestions about where northern political boundaries should lie. Our North is primarily a social and economic reality.

In the next section of this chapter, we offer our understanding of what northerners — Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal — told us during the hearings, in other discussions we attended, and in briefs and letters. Building on that understanding, we then discuss the source of the current problems experienced by Aboriginal people in the North. In this we were assisted greatly by the testimony of elders and by the work of historians and other scholars. We want to explain the past in order to expose the practices, traditions, assumptions and material conditions that create the present, for it is action in the present and future that concerns us most.

This chapter also offers a brief overview of the political jurisdictions and regions that constitute the far north. For reasons of space, we have included the Northwest Territories and the Yukon in this discussion, as well as the Labrador and Nunavik (northern Quebec) jurisdictions inhabited by Inuit. This section provides a brief introduction to the varieties of northern life and circumstances, and it shows why local development of many policies and programs is essential. General principles must apply equally to all, but specific measures will work best when they are designed and shaped by the

people of each nation or region. Although space prevents detailed discussion here, the northern parts of Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia share many of the political, cultural and economic circumstances that we describe for Labrador, Nunavik, the Yukon and the Northwest Territories.

In the final sections of this chapter, we analyze several important issues and propose solutions. Environmental stewardship is an essential element of all future northern policies and programs, whether these be the policies of Aboriginal governments, other governments or private corporations. Healthy northern communities depend directly and indirectly on a healthy environment. The health of the northern economy depends on a viable environmental strategy and practical policies based on the real long-term northern economy. In economic development and in the rapid political development that many northern regions have faced, there is enormous potential for contributions to individual and family well-being. The ways this opportunity can be realized are explored at the end of the chapter.

3. What Northerners Told the Commission

One of our most difficult tasks in preparing this report was to report to the government and to Canadians in language faithful to both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal ways of seeing the world. From the beginning we were acutely aware of the difficulties inherent in interpretation and understanding. We designed our public hearings to permit people to speak in their own languages and to allow us to hear people's views and confirm our interpretation of what they said. We were also assisted by our experience and knowledge as Commissioners: of the four Aboriginal Commissioners, two are from the North. As well, we relied on an extensive research program that involved several northern communities and some of the best scholars in this field.

We followed the advice of northerners who offered to share their experiences with us. Aboriginal people said that they did not want to be studied again but to be listened to and to have their words taken seriously. They emphasized the enduring strength of Aboriginal traditions and the importance of these traditions for communities seeking to find their way back to a healthy way of life. Continuity with the past and opportunities for cultural development are essential. Aboriginal people urged the Commission to remember the connections between all areas of life. Martha Flaherty, president of Pauktuutit, the Inuit Women's Association of Canada, explained:

The overall health and well-being of our people are intrinsically tied to the social, political and economic development of our communities. We can no longer afford to pay the price of dividing issues into manageable portfolios, programs and services. A holistic, integrated approach is necessary at every level and in relation to every issue or problem.

Martha Flaherty
President, Pauktuutit
Ottawa, Ontario, 2 November 1993*

This chapter was inspired in part by these words.

3.1 The Four Themes: Land, Community, Making a Living, Governance

Northern Aboriginal people spoke to the Commission on a wide range of issues. Some had very specific concerns, and where possible we have tried to respond. It has not been possible, however, to investigate and propose solutions for every matter raised.

As we thought about and discussed the testimony from the 50 northern communities we visited, we found a fair degree of consensus about what is important. Four related themes emerged: the importance of the land; the centrality of 'community' for individual well-being; the need for viable ways for individuals to make a living; and the changing face of governance, the political forms and traditions through which social and public decisions are made. These themes are helpful in organizing our discussion of northern Aboriginal peoples' concerns.

Land

Dene Chief Gabe Hardisty spoke for many northern Aboriginal people when he told us about his people's goals:

I don't have anything written down. The way I was taught is to take your memories and speak your mind and speak from your heart, and that is how I was taught. Up until today, I am still living the way I was taught....Being Dene, we learn from our past and this is how we got this far....

We live by the lakes and the rivers. We learn when to fish. At certain times of the season, we learned how to fish, and we used willows to make fish nets. This is how we fished for fish. These are the people we are from....

We had our own government in the past. If we didn't have our own government, we wouldn't be here today....Since the coming of the white people, a lot of things have changed. When the Europeans came here, we had done a lot of hunting to help them supplement food that was brought in from down south. At the time, if we had abandoned a lot of the European people here, they would have probably frozen....The way the European culture thinks is that they figure the Dene were too stupid to have a government. They figure we are too stupid to do things on our own. I don't think so. If we were stupid, we would probably not have survived. We had Dene government before the coming. That is why we are still here. Since the European government was started, there is nothing that has gone right for us. That is why we want our own government....

We want to do better for our land. This is what we were talking about. There have been a lot of meetings since the beginning. Twenty years ago, if we brought everything that we wanted to the government, if they looked at it, when Dene people say something, they don't think we are telling the truth. [translation]

Chief Gabe Hardisty
Fort Simpson, Northwest Territories
26 May 1992

Chief Hardisty's assertion that one of his people's goals is "to do better for our land" is a statement of profound importance. It is also one of the most difficult to translate into Commission recommendations, for it is grounded in an ethical system of closely linked personal and collective responsibilities in which responsibility to Creation, including the other beings that are part of Creation, is central. On several occasions, Aboriginal people explained the importance of 'land' and 'place' to their current well-being and to their plans for the future. For other Canadians, who may lack intimate experience with the land, the deep sense of responsibility that northern gathering and hunting peoples have to the land requires considerable effort to understand.¹⁰

Decisions about land rights and land management regimes will affect every aspect of the North's future, from cultural health to economic development, from the distribution of resources to people's ability to participate in Canada's political institutions. What is at stake is far more than legal title, jurisdiction or authority, but these are the instruments Aboriginal peoples have come to recognize as important to achieving their goals. In this

regard there are still many open questions, some of which we address in this chapter but others that will be resolved only in practice.¹¹

Community

The Aboriginal people are, by tradition, a people of the land. Their very nature is tied strongly to the land, and any answer to the economic problems must include their remaining on the land. We have many today that do not live in Old Crow because they have been faced with a need to make a living, but if we were to ask them, they would tell you that they would come back if it was possible to live.

Rae Stephensen
Old Crow, Yukon 17 November 1992

In the North, most Indigenous people still live in small communities among relatives and long-term friends for at least part of their lives. While some wage centres in the North are growing as people move there searching for employment and other opportunities, there are many viable small communities. Most northern Aboriginal people still call such places home, wherever they might live.

Their languages, histories and experiences may be different, but the small, predominantly Aboriginal communities of the North share a number of features. Typically, there are few permanent wage-earning opportunities, except in the public service and a few small service businesses. There is extensive use of the surrounding lands and resources and a high degree of dependence on the fruits of the land. Most individuals know a great deal about the strengths, weaknesses, talents and foibles of their neighbours, and they share a common history and heritage stretching back through generations.

Thus, the northern Aboriginal community is not just a collection of buildings. It extends beyond dwelling places to include land for fishing, gathering, visiting, trapping and hunting, and memorable places where important events occurred. Northern Aboriginal peoples' tenure in the settled communities of today is relatively recent; they have lived in more mobile, family-centred communities for centuries. In modern times, the attachment to the land and the strong sense of collectivity remains.

It is primarily in Aboriginal communities that their languages are preserved and language-specific knowledge is retained and transmitted. What is sometimes referred to generically as 'culture' is sustained and developed in these communities — flourishing Aboriginal communities where there is a strong commitment to cultural continuity and a co-operative spirit to build toward the future, bringing strength to the relatives, friends and other Aboriginal communities in their orbit. The presence of lively, diverse human settlements is also a treasure for all humanity.

Making a living

I want to give you an idea of the confusion that exists in our communities. A recent survey conducted in one of our communities was asking a question and the question was,

“What is most important to you in your lives right now in this community?” The response that was most important to the majority of the people who responded to that questionnaire was that, number one, employment was the most important thing in our communities because the fact is in our communities, at this time, we have upwards of 85 to 95 per cent unemployment and the welfare rate is high.

Herb George
Gitksan-Wet'suwet'en Government
Commission on Social Development
Kispiox, British Columbia, 16 June 1992

Probably the most important challenge for the future of northern Aboriginal peoples is economic. Some northern communities today enjoy an adequate standard of living, with relatively good housing and other services and reasonable, if not ample, means for people to make a living. Other communities are in deep distress, suffering from poor infrastructure, inadequate cash flow and a general shortage of opportunity. Still other northern communities, and probably the largest group, are poised somewhere between these extremes. They have a deep appreciation for the many positive aspects of community life and a keen awareness that population and other pressures might lead to a deterioration in community health in the near future.

Aboriginal peoples are generally ‘young’ peoples; they are experiencing a more rapid increase in the proportion of young adults than is occurring in the general population. At the same time, through television and other media, northern communities are becoming less isolated, and northern youth are being drawn into ways of life more appropriate to wage-earning societies than to societies living primarily off the land. The most important issue for the growing population of young Aboriginal adults in the North is how they will make a living.

[T]he expertise of Inuit women in dealing with social issues is being recognized, but how can social issues be separated from economic issues? Where is unemployment, poverty and dependence separate from physical and emotional well-being or from the problems of youth suicide, alcohol and drug abuse, and ill-nourished children? Economic development cannot be isolated in a category of its own; all policies and programs must be designed, or redesigned, to include a more holistic perspective.

Simona Barnes
Pauktuutit
Ottawa, Ontario, 2 November 1993

New and forceful measures are necessary. Large, non-renewable resource-based projects and heavy infrastructure investment have failed to create a dynamic regional wage economy. Given the importance of public sector employment and the likelihood that this sector will not continue to grow at previous rates, and considering the huge number of young people about to enter adulthood, it is clear that a new era is beginning. Responsibility to the land and sustaining vital communities will be important considerations in creating new opportunities for the current generation to earn a living. Taking these factors into account will help develop realistic strategies for northern economic development.

Our approach to northern economic development is based on a recognition that local knowledge and community innovations hold the key to developing northern economies, which are now cash-poor and high-cost. Later in this chapter we discuss economic policies based on the entire economic base, drawing the best from sectors such as mining, mineral exploration, transportation, renewable resources development and tourism, as well as from the more stable public sector and the long-standing hunting and fishing economies. The policies must also take into account the relationship between healthy social and family relationships and a viable economy.

Governance in the North

Today we are in a time of healing for our children, our families, our communities and Mother Earth. While we struggled to reach a just and fair settlement for our land claims, our elders have held on to the past and have kept our languages, stories, histories and songs alive. They have been patiently waiting for the day when our people would reclaim what is rightfully ours. That day is upon us. We are putting into practice our own forms of self-government using our own regimes that have been passed down from generation to generation, as well as creating new structures to move us into the future.

Judy Gingell
Teslin, Yukon
27 May 1992

Northern Aboriginal people stress that economic and social development are not separable from political progress; each requires and complements the other. People in many parts of the North have been engaged in a process of rejecting and then rechanneling the frequently intrusive hand of federal, territorial and provincial administrations, particularly since the 1960s. The territorial North and the northern parts of most provinces still do not exercise control over most aspects of life. Control is exercised elsewhere by non-residents, and resources and capital tend to be exported, with little benefit remaining in the region. For the Aboriginal people in the North, there is the additional difficulty that these patterns were set by an alien culture to which they have few points of entry.

Some progress has been made in reversing these patterns, but as yet few of the changes are fully entrenched in institutions and practices. There are three areas of central concern:

- securing sufficient control over lands and resources so that the new governing institutions can take action to benefit the people they serve, which includes ensuring that governments have sufficient revenue to continue to provide existing services and to undertake new ventures;
- developing governing structures that are recognizably democratic and efficient, while at the same time reflecting indigenous traditions; and

- affirming and updating treaties so that the original agreements between northern Aboriginal people and newcomers can be respected. This includes new negotiations by nations and peoples that have not yet negotiated treaties or similar agreements.

These matters are discussed at length in Volume 2. In this chapter, we outline aspects of each question that are specific to the North.

3.2 How the Four Themes are Related

The four themes — land, community well-being, making a living and governance — are intimately related. Individual well-being depends upon community well-being, particularly for northern Aboriginal people. Community well-being relies on an adequate regime for sharing the use of the land and mediating among competing and potentially conflicting forms of resource development. An adequate land regime, in turn, depends on practical and effective arrangements for self-government, especially with respect to relations with other governments and authorities.

Turned another way, self-government requires adequate resources to finance administration, regulation and services. In the North, access to resources requires access to land. Adequate stewardship depends upon informal social controls and training systems that teach people the proper way to use the land. These customs and systems are developed, preserved and elaborated in healthy communities.

In light of the diversity of Aboriginal peoples, solutions are more likely to be regional, nation-based or local than pan-northern. Yet the root and ultimate objectives of many First Peoples are the same, and the impediments they encounter in their political, economic and cultural development are broadly similar. For this reason, the experience of northern Aboriginal people in negotiating future arrangements may well be useful to other Aboriginal people living in quite different climatic and demographic circumstances.

For example, Crees and Inuit in northern Quebec have nearly 20 years' experience of "negotiating a way of life" by way of a comprehensive claims agreement.¹² Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal residents of the Northwest Territories are specialists in developing processes for effective public discussion of constitutional development. Over the last 15 years, several initiatives have permitted wide-ranging, community-based, regionally defined discussion of the most fundamental issues; in some areas, consensus has been achieved. As Aboriginal self-government is implemented across Canada, these experiences are bound to be useful to those making plans for other areas.

Beyond specific cases, there is the matter of coping with rapid, fundamental change in general. There will be a prolonged period of negotiation and discussion in many parts of the country. Northerners have experienced more recent change than most people. To anticipate what it might mean to implement the inherent right of self-government in a thorough manner across Canada, it is useful to study the northern transition.

4. The Source of Current Problems

Many Aboriginal people who spoke to the Commission offered explanations of the great transformations their societies have experienced as a way of highlighting the source of their current concerns. Many of these concerns arise from the impact of colonization. Very few people who spoke to us of these matters merely laid blame; rather, they sought acknowledgement of what had occurred and a better relationship in the future.

The Commission published a detailed study of one sad episode in Canadian history, when Inuit from Inukjuak, northern Quebec, and Pond Inlet, Baffin Island, were relocated to Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord in the high Arctic.¹³ In special hearings and later examinations, we had an opportunity to understand the impact of this relocation in great detail. We recognize the similarities between the high Arctic relocation and so many other cases of relocation — and other kinds of outside intervention — in Aboriginal communities across Canada (see Volume 1, Chapter 11). We recommended that the government acknowledge the wrongs done to the relocated Inuit, apologize to them, compensate them for the relocation, and acknowledge the Inuit contribution to maintenance of Canadian sovereignty in the high Arctic.

In Kangiqsujaq, Quebec, on 29 March 1995, federal Indian affairs minister, Ronald A. Irwin, declared:

No matter what the reasons for mounting a major undertaking like the relocation, no matter how well intentioned, such a major undertaking involving the movement of people would not be done in the same way today. Also, there may be differences in opinion as to the motivation behind the relocation, recognition has to be given to the significant contribution made by the residents of Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay to the establishment and maintenance of a Canadian presence in the high Arctic. It is my intention to discuss the matter in full with my government colleagues very soon. As you know, before any decision can be made it must have the support of the cabinet and government as a whole.¹⁴

Inuit who were relocated from Quebec and Baffin Island to the high Arctic islands share with many other Aboriginal people across Canada the need to understand and reshape their relations with the newcomers to their land. Aboriginal northerners offered us their analysis of the history of contact between non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal societies and of the changes that contact brought.

Kenneth Spence spoke to us about the effects of the flooding of his people's traditional land in northern Manitoba:

We, the people, formerly of South Indian Lake are very frustrated and hurt by the ignorance of Manitoba Hydro. We are also victims of the flood that destroyed our beautiful community. We have been affected in a lot of different ways. We once had a very quiet, peaceful, pretty and prosperous community. We lived, like our forefathers, surviving on fishing and trapping which was plentiful before the flood. You would hardly ever find anybody living on welfare. The flood changed it all. [translation]

Kenneth Spence
Leaf Rapids Relocation Group
The Pas, Manitoba, 20 May 1992

Clara Schinkel, a member of the Tagish Governance Society, told us:

Over the last century a number of events occurred which began to undermine the Tagish people as a distinct nation. The gold rush and the building of the railway and the residential school at Carcross had a devastating effect on the Tagish culture. Many moved to Carcross and other places to obtain work. The Tagish people were fractionalized. The missionaries taught only English in the schools and this, together with inter-marriage between Tagish and Tlingit, almost annihilated the Tagish language. The Tagish language has survived many centuries; however, it has become closer to extinction in the last century.

Clara Schinkel
Tagish Aboriginal Governance Society
Whitehorse, Yukon, 18 November 1992

In another context, an Inuit elder, Annie Okalik, outlined the changes in work and family relations that occurred when the old way of life was left behind. She explained the sources of many of the problems facing Aboriginal communities today:

My way of living is very different now than the way it used to be. And though we are provided with some comforts from modern culture, it isn't the same kind of comfort and peace that we had. While we still lived our traditional life I bore some children, and after we moved to the settlement of Pangnirtung, I bore more. My two sets of children were raised in completely different ways. My eldest ones lived like I did; my younger children were born having to enter school. So my younger children are inclined more to modern living and my older ones to the traditional Inuit way of life.

In those days, there was no other place but our homes and parents. We honoured our parents then, and no one else. If we were told to do something, we did not refuse or talk back, nor were we to be lazy...My grandmother was really in charge of the children then, compared with today. She would tell me stories about her life when she was growing up and she'd tell me that our life now is so easy because there are no shamans to govern the lives of Inuit. But looking back, it really wasn't any easier, though our lives were made easier then by heeding the traditional laws....

Our life seems to have been completely turned over. An example of how life has changed for Inuit is that most of the young men do not know anything about hunting. Because I was the eldest child in our family, I would accompany my father during his hunting trips. We'd hunt by dog-team during the winter and on foot in the summertime; we'd also trap for fox. My father was a very quiet man; he never scolded me....What helped was the fact that I knew my limits and respected the rules. We would share all the tasks at hand. I remember I would get so sleepy after everything we needed was inside our little igloo and our qulliq [oil lamp stove] was turned on. He would say his prayers both at bedtime and morning. I have benefitted by the way my father lived his life....

Compared with our life now, we did not use drugs or alcohol, and I have seen how much these things have wrecked the lives of Inuit, especially the young people. I remember that when the supply ship came during the summer months, two of the Inuit employees of the Hudson's Bay Company store would consume alcohol, but they were moderate in their intake. Today, along with new things being introduced to the North, it seems that people will drink too much, with no limits at all.

I am not trying to say that all of the old ways of life were better, but in regard to alcohol intake now, it does seem that life was a lot better than it is today.¹⁵

Many of the older generation of northern Aboriginal people grew up on the land. The seasonal rhythm of the land and the cycles of game and fish shaped their existence. They lived in relationship with the birds, the mammals, the plant life, in harmony with the land, sea and air, and attuned to the movements of the moon, sun and stars. They moved from camp to camp to where the animals, fish and plant life were plentiful. Men and women each had roles and responsibilities; one was not more important than the other. Elders and children received most of the attention.

The generation following that older generation — people now between 30 and 50 — were caught in a massive transition. Many of this generation were born and raised on the land but spent their young adulthood living in a settlement or town. Their children in turn experienced a similar change: few young people were born in the outpost camps; many have only brief summertime experience of the land. Schooling in English has led to the loss of Aboriginal languages and alienation from Aboriginal culture. Like many other Canadian young people, northern Aboriginal youth prefer fashionable clothing and popular music and culture.

Thus, during the last two or three generations, there have been fundamental changes in the way northern Aboriginal people live. They have moved from living freely on the land to living in houses in settlements or towns.¹⁶ Where they once had independence and control over their own lives, many now depend on wage employment, subsidized housing, social assistance or unemployment insurance. In various ways, government structures many aspects of their lives.¹⁷

Annie Okalik and many others trace the extensive abuse of alcohol and drugs to these changes. Okalik emphasizes the disintegration of the traditional laws that supported proper social behaviour and the stresses on individuals arising from the transformation of Aboriginal society in the last several decades. Although Aboriginal people have lived with non-Aboriginal people, sometimes closely, for the last 200 years, it has been mainly since the creation of year-round communities that traditional authority has been undermined.

Apphia Awa shares this view. Awa was born in 1931 in Ammitturmiut (Igloodik) on north Baffin Island, Northwest Territories. She was brought up on the land, married and had children, moved from camp to trading post to camp on north Baffin Island, and finally left the land to live in the community of Pond Inlet in 1972. She lived the

traditional life, but her children are living a modern life. Several went away to residential school in Churchill, Manitoba, and now have successful southern-style careers. Others stayed closer to home. Awa describes the loss of authority in her life:

When I was growing up, the elders were treated with a lot of respect. They would sit around and we would serve them. We would prepare their tea for them, we would do what they told us to do. At that time, our only jobs were serving the elders. The elders organized all the important work. They organized the skin preparations. They distributed the meat and told us how to prepare it. The younger children were always serving them with tea, bringing them things, getting the ice for water, doing all the menial tasks....

I'm not treated like an elder today. I'm not treated the way that we treated elders when we were growing up. Inuit now have to go to work all the time. The children, they are always in school. Elders today, we know that the younger generation have full-time jobs. We know that when they get home they have even more work to do, taking care of their children, their houses. The elders today realize this situation, that is why we don't ask to be waited on. That is why we tend to do things ourselves.

Also, things are different because of the alcohol. The elders today are just as knowledgeable but we don't talk or instruct the young people as much any more. If an elder tells a young person not to do something, when that person gets drunk he might get mad at the elder for having said that. He might go over to the elder's house and start yelling. He might scream at the elder when he is drunk, tell him what to do and say things like "I won't take it any more". The alcohol, that is why the elders don't want to talk any more. It is because when young people get drunk, they can get abusive towards the elders.¹⁸

The effect of this undermining of traditional authority has been to splinter Aboriginal society even further.¹⁹ Young people have tended to break away from the traditional way of obeying their parents and grandparents and other authorities. They have been drawn increasingly into the wage economy, which rewards individual effort and pays no heed to the use that wage earners make of their incomes. Where there is no employment, people must rely on social assistance and other transfers; these can have a similarly individualizing effect. In a study prepared for the Commission, Peter Kulchyski found that state funding (in the form of social assistance and unemployment insurance, for example) "strongly encourages people to think and act as individuals, to marshal their resources for themselves, to define their interests separately from other members of the community".²⁰ These changes have weakened the bonds that previously held families together and are creating new norms that are still in flux.

As Okalik and Awa noted, traditionally young people went to the elders for guidance and advice. The advice was often in the form of a directive, the meaning and effect of which were rooted in tradition. Although today there are still elders who give advice and young people who require advice, to some the elders' directives seem ineffective or irrelevant (see Chapter 3 in this volume).

The drift away from traditional values and the imposition non-Aboriginal institutions and policies have produced many ill effects: alcoholism, crime, sexual abuse of children, spousal assault and elder abuse. Young people confront these problems and a central dilemma: they must succeed in the wage economy for their society to remain viable, but their psychological well-being rests on a reconnection with traditional values.

Lyla Andrew, who lives in Sheshatshiu, Labrador, offered her views about how these difficulties might be approached:

I think country living needs to be given a high priority. The impediments to country life, such as low-level flying and wildlife regulations, have to be eliminated. I'm not talking about the Innu going backwards. I'm talking about trying to find a way to promote today the need for Innu to live in the country, to educate their children in the country, to practise their spirituality in the country. Euro-Canadians treat the country experience as a holiday. They say the Innu are just going off on expensive camping trips. What this tells me is that there is an incredible lack of knowledge that Euro-Canadians have about the Innu. There are only a handful of non-Innu who have ever lived with Innu in the country. The Innu's most vocal critics, certainly locally, have never lived with Innu in the country, and they have no idea what country life is.... [translation]

Lyla Andrew
Sheshatshiu, Newfoundland and Labrador 18 June 1992

Mary Andrew, an Innu from the same community, agreed:

The country is more home to us than here, because that is where we are more traditional, that's where we have more control over our lives. [translation]

Mary Andrew
Sheshatshiu, Newfoundland and Labrador 18 June 1992

The psychological gap between old and young and the tensions experienced by almost everyone are made worse by problems related to education and language. According to many Aboriginal people, one of the strongest forces breaking Aboriginal societies apart has been the education system. It did so literally, by removing some children from their families to attend school (see Volume 1, Chapter 10). As schools were built in newly established communities, the education system affected the lives of all Aboriginal people. School attendance became compulsory. Teachers recruited in southern Canada taught an unmodified curriculum imported from the south. Children learned foreign words, foreign ways, foreign values.

Rhoda Katsak was one of those children. She was born at her family's winter camp near Amitturmiut (Igloolik), Northwest Territories, and spent her first few years living the traditional Inuit hunting life. She left the land to go to school when she was eight years old:

That first day of school in Igloolik, when I was eight, I started doing everything in English. English was all around us. It wasn't so much that we were punished when we

spoke our Native language. It might have been that way in earlier years but there didn't seem to be that pressure for us. It was just that all there was at school was English so we were more or less forced to learn it. The teachers were brand new in town, they were all from the south and they didn't know any Inuktitut. We had to communicate with them. Also, all of the material was in English — “Fun with Dick and Jane”, “Dick, Jane and Spot the Dog”, those books were what we were learning from so we had to learn English pretty quick.

We had to learn to act according to Qallunaat [non-Aboriginal] standards and code of ethics too, “thank-you, excuse me, pardon me”, that sort of thing. You say a sentence and then you say “please”. I could never remember “please”....

We grew up thinking that we should try to be Qallunaat and that is why we had Qallunaat idols, idols like the Supremes, like Elvis, like Frobisher. That was the whole idea when we went to school. We didn't have Inuit idols, people like the woman Atagutaluk who almost starved to death in this area. The woman they named the new school in Igloolik after. Our heroes were all Qallunaat. It is even difficult today to change that mentality, even to change to a point where you think “I am an Inuk, I am a good enough person as I am”. When we were growing up the Qallunaat were the better people. They were the people who had the authority, we were supposed to look up to them.²¹

Marius Tungilik of Repulse Bay, Northwest Territories, was one of the children taken away to a mission school in Chesterfield Inlet:

Obviously, my parents did not know what lay in store for us in school, or they did not have a say. While our command of the English language would develop, we were not taught anything about our language, our heritage, our culture, our governing systems, our spiritual background, our strengths. Any lessons pertaining to our people taught us that we were Eskimos, that we lived in igloos, that we rubbed noses, that Indians called us “Eaters of Raw Meat”. Would our parents have consented to that sort of treatment if they knew? No, they could not have known, nor could they have had any say on the matter....

I am presently a regional director with the government of the Northwest Territories, a position I would never have dreamed of filling when I was younger. Not exactly, anyways. I had often taken long walks out into the tundra back home when I was about four or five and sang hymns out loud and daydreamed of helping people by leading others. I practised making speeches that the winds of changes were coming and of our need to be prepared.

Equipped with these dreams, coupled with the top-notch English education that I received in Chesterfield Inlet, I was able to grow into who I am today. Everyone has a dream. We should all learn to tap into them and strive to realize those dreams.

This top-notch education had a price. I had neglected my heritage for a very long period of time. It was not until I met my lovely wife, Johanne, in 1977 that my appreciation for the land and our culture developed and blossomed. The land was always there, it was

always beautiful. The distaste that I had developed for my own culture and my own people in school had a very profound impact. It had taken me a very long time to become free of the brainwashing notion that our traditional ways were undesirable and obsolete. I was also blinded by work, ambition and the need to explore the world.

Marius Tungilik
Rankin Inlet, Northwest Territories
19 November 1992

Not every Aboriginal person has had the same experience as Marius Tungilik, but there are similarities in Aboriginal people's experiences in the education system. When elementary schools were built in every community, the teachings did not change. Children were still taught in English or French. What they were taught came from the south. They were taught nothing about being Aboriginal, nothing about the importance of the language or heritage; and no pride in being an Aboriginal person was instilled. They did not learn about the history of Aboriginal people or the history of contact with non-Aboriginal people:

I was taught by the white society, by understanding the white people. I was taught how great Joey Smallwood is, and how great John Macdonald is. I was taught how to sing "O Canada" and "Ode to Newfoundland". One thing I was never taught is the history, the rich history that we have, the people here in Utshimasits [Davis Inlet]. I wasn't taught how great my people were, how great my ancestors were, how far the distances were they travelled from the Quebec border to everywhere in Nitassinan. I wasn't taught that there are other Native people in Canada. As I was growing up, I was learning things in my own way. My father showed me how to fish, hunt, and do things that they had been doing for generations.

George Rich
Vice-President, Innu Nation
Utshimasits, Newfoundland and Labrador
1 December 1992

Since Rhoda Katsak, Marius Tungilik and George Rich were in school, there have been some important changes. The drift away from Aboriginal values and culture has continued, but not without resistance. Across the North, parents, teachers and education officials have been working to change the system to reflect the ways of life and values of Aboriginal peoples. In the 1970s, educators started revising southern curricula to include more northern material. Teacher education programs were created to train Aboriginal teachers. By the early 1990s, many schools in predominantly Aboriginal communities were able to teach children in their own language for at least the early primary grades (see Volume 3, Chapter 5).

The current problems in Aboriginal communities are not only the result of bad practices in the past. Sharon Venne explained how oil exploration on Lubicon lands during the 1980s destroyed the economy of the Lubicon Cree by driving away the moose and other game on which the Lubicon depended:

In 1978-1979, the Lubicon Cree had a traditional economy based upon the produce of their lands. Within a four-year period, the Lubicon went from sustaining themselves to the welfare rolls.

Sharon Venne
Lubicon Cree First Nation
Fort Chipewyan, Alberta, 18 June 1992

At the heart of this situation is an unresolved conflict over land and unfulfilled treaty obligations. Improvement will require, at minimum, that these two problems be addressed with energy and dispatch.²²

In summary, many people who testified concerning the sources of current problems identified a lack of adequate control over their own political, cultural and economic lives — the inability to exercise self-determination. Aboriginal communities were relocated, traditional economic activities were disturbed, and systems for educating the young were changed — all without the informed consent of the people most affected. The legacy of these changes is found in disorganized and damaged communities.

None of these effects occurred in a few years. On the contrary, the transformation of northern Aboriginal societies has a long history. Only recently has dialogue between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people begun about the meaning and consequences of their shared history. To put the present in context, it is helpful to know something of the history of northern administration, discussed in the next section.

4.1 Early Northern Administration

Responsibility for much of northwestern Canada passed from the Hudson's Bay Company to the government of Canada in 1870; in 1880, Great Britain transferred the jurisdiction it had exercised over the Arctic Islands. The Aboriginal landholders, whose land was the object of these distant transactions, knew nothing at the time of the European disposition of their territories. The northern Aboriginal societies were not consulted; if they had been, the European transfers of vast lands would likely have appeared strangely ineffectual. None of the northern Aboriginal nations had a concept of commercial value in land or private property, and few had yet experienced the hierarchical and abstract power embodied in trading companies or monarchies. Except for the flurry of activity that attended the formation of the Yukon Territory in response to the gold rush, and the dispatch of the Royal North-West Mounted Police to the Yukon and other locations, there was scant indication in the North that changes of much importance had transpired.²³ Most of the contact between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people continued to be commercial or economic, through whaling, the fur trade and fishing.²⁴

For decades after assuming jurisdiction over the North, the federal government was preoccupied with national consolidation and economic development in southern Canada. Relations with Aboriginal people and other northerners were conducted almost absent-mindedly, when mineral discoveries and sudden migrations of non-Aboriginal people threatened sovereignty or international peace. Such threats prompted the signing of

Treaty 8 (in 1898) and Treaty 11 (1921), when gold seekers, in the first case, and oil developers, in the second, suddenly flooded into Aboriginal peoples' territories.

Provincial boundaries were altered and extended in stages through the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The sixtieth parallel became the northern boundary of the four western provinces, dividing the Sayisi Dene, Slavey, Kaska, Tagish and Inland Tlingit peoples. South of the parallel, Crown lands and natural resources were assigned to provincial control, while the federal government retained jurisdiction in the territorial North.

4.2 Wartime and After: A Problem of Development?

The relative isolation of the North was broken permanently during the Second World War. The war in Europe created a need for aircraft staging and resupply. After Japan's attack on Pearl Harbour, the northwest (including Alaska, the Yukon and coastal British Columbia) became a potential battleground.

During most of the war, American military personnel in the North outnumbered the Canadian population (Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal) three to one.²⁵ They rapidly built the Alaska Highway, a winter road from the Mackenzie Valley to Alberta, the Canol pipeline (running from Norman Wells to Whitehorse), and an oil refinery in Whitehorse, all in anticipation of the need to defend against an invasion from the Pacific. Air fields were constructed and maintained across the Canadian North, from Goose Bay, Labrador, to Whitehorse, Yukon. Late in the war, a mine was reopened at Port Radium on Great Bear Lake, Northwest Territories, to provide uranium for weapons research.

These events had a dramatic impact on the Aboriginal peoples whose lands were suddenly invaded, especially in the Yukon, where the military presence was both large and sustained.²⁶ Large numbers of military personnel, enormous quantities of materiel, and rapid construction all had a major and lasting impact on neighbouring communities.

The development of the Cold War after the Second World War prolonged northern military activity. Some military personnel remained stationed in the Arctic, and during the 1950s, a weather, radar and communications network was constructed.²⁷

Both wartime and post-war military activity in the Canadian North was initiated and controlled largely by the United States, creating concern among federal government leaders. As one team of observers noted:

Canadian interest in the North grew greatly after the Second World War, and the stimulus for this, it must be confessed, was not only fear of what the Russians might do, but concern at what the Americans were already doing.²⁸

If the American presence in the Canadian North drew federal attention, it was the expanding post-war welfare state that led to intervention. In the new post-war terms, it was impossible to ignore northern Aboriginal people's living conditions, which in most

places were difficult: diseases introduced by European visitors, a relative decline in fur prices, and the high cost of basic commodities had created hardships.

In very short order, northern Aboriginal people received the full array of programs and services being provided to Canadians in the south, including low-rent housing, schooling, medical care and social services. By the early 1960s, all northerners were receiving the full panoply of social welfare payments. Between 1949 and 1953, individual and group trapline registration was introduced in both territories to regulate game harvesting, and programs were begun to induce northern Aboriginal people to take up agriculture (where possible), home and handicraft industries, and wage labour.

Underlying all these measures was a new federal interpretation of the situation of Aboriginal people. Hardships became understood as a consequence of ‘disadvantage’ rather than, as in the past, an unremarkable feature of Aboriginal peoples’ chosen way of life. Rather than being poor, they were seen as unemployed — or likely to be unemployed, as the old hunting way of life inevitably died out. The remedy for this was the introduction of programs to draw northern Aboriginal people into the new wage economy being created by opening the North to non-renewable resource development. A more or less similar shift in the attitudes of provincial administrations also occurred, although in most cases the changes were felt more gradually.²⁹

In retrospect, there were two striking features of the new federal approach. First, it was developed with very little consultation with the people to whom it was directed. Second, it virtually ignored the terms of the numbered treaties, save for the payment of treaty annuities. Later, when other forms of funding began to flow to the band administrations of treaty nations in the North, the funds were channelled to the territorial governments. This controversial system, while convenient, created an asymmetry between federal treatment of treaty rights in northern and southern Canada.

Unlike provinces, territorial governments are established by acts of Parliament that define the governments’ powers and areas of jurisdiction. This division of powers does not have constitutional protection.³⁰ Typically, ministers of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development have retained responsibility for the territories.³¹ Today the political balance is such that the territories are, in practice, treated much like provinces, although they lack control over Crown lands and natural resources and they are funded not through equalization but a system of transfers known as formula funding.³² As the territories behave more and more like provinces, the system of diverting treaty entitlements to the territorial governments grows more questionable.³³

4.3 The Changing Balance of Power in the 1970s

During the 1970s, all over the North and indeed all over Canada, Aboriginal peoples found the means to express their views on the development and aid initiatives directed to them. Between 1969 and 1973, northern Aboriginal peoples formed several organizations to represent their collective interests. The Council for Yukon Indians (CYI) was created by status and non-status Indians in the Yukon Territory.³⁴ The Committee for Original

Peoples' Entitlement (COPE), the Indian Brotherhood of the Northwest Territories (later the Dene Nation), and the Métis Association of the N.w.T. (later the Metis Nation of the N.w.T.) represented Aboriginal peoples in the western Northwest Territories. Inuit Tapirisat of Canada was established in 1971 to provide a national voice for Inuit from Labrador, northern Quebec and the Northwest Territories. The 1970s were a period of dramatic confrontation and radical realignment of the balance of political forces in the North. Aboriginal peoples found a permanent place at the centre of political life.

Federal policy on northern development has been stated infrequently. In 1972, in response to the growing effectiveness and importance of northern Aboriginal peoples and increased sensitivity concerning federal actions in the North, the federal government published Canada's North 1970-1980: Statement of the Government of Canada on Northern Development in the '70s. The government listed its first objective as to "provide a higher standard of living, quality of life and equality of opportunity for northern residents by methods which are compatible with their own preferences and aspirations".³⁵ A new policy statement was not issued until 16 years later, in 1988. By this time, federal aspirations were led by a desire to "transfer all remaining provincial-type programs to the territorial governments, including responsibility for managing the North's natural resources".³⁶

The new objectives implicitly recognized the impossibility of continuing quasi-colonial administration but offered little in the way of guidance for overcoming what were recognized explicitly as the greatest problems for the future: a growing population with little formal education and little education in land-based production; and the absence of a viable strategy for expanding the number of jobs available in the North. There has been no response to the persistent objections of treaty nations concerning the manner in which federal funds for education and health programs are disbursed.

The territorial governments are being redefined. In some provinces, such as Quebec, quite rapid development of regional governing institutions is under way. Proposals for new regional governing institutions are under active discussion in virtually all the other provinces. Some proposals are based on the development of institutions to be shared with non-Aboriginal residents, while others envision a base in an Aboriginal nation (see Volume 2, Chapter 3). It seems likely that the next round of institutional change and political development in Canada will be led by northerners, both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, working together to develop local, regional and nation-based governments that reflect the demographic reality of the North. We explore the implications of some of these political developments below.

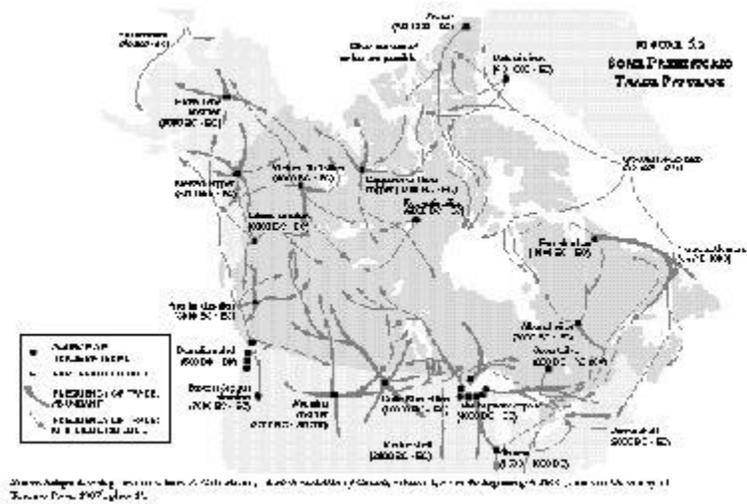
5. Regional Dimensions of Political Development

Most of this chapter focuses on issues common to most northern Aboriginal people. In this section, we review briefly some of the different situations of the nations and peoples living in the North.³⁷ Our attention here is on the key matters of land tenure and political jurisdiction. Our general conclusions and recommendations about such matters as treaties

and land redistribution can be acted upon only in the specific circumstances of particular regions by the people most affected by them.

Regional differences were always a feature of northern Aboriginal societies. There are several Aboriginal nations and peoples in the North today, and many more local groups and communities. Each has a particular history, stretching far back before contact with Europeans.³⁸ In the pre-contact period, the northern Aboriginal peoples hunted, gathered and fished over large territories. They lived in relatively small family groups, which in turn were part of a larger association of people who spoke a common language and who would assemble in larger numbers, at least annually. Although the overall northern population was quite small and the areas they shared were vast, there was considerable contact between peoples of different language groups. We know from Aboriginal peoples' oral traditions that travel, trade and diplomacy were common among the independent Aboriginal peoples and nations. Archaeologists have documented a wide trade in such valuable items as obsidian, copper, silica, marine shells, amber and meteoric iron across the northern part of North America and into the south, and further afield with the peoples of Siberia, Greenland and perhaps beyond (see Figure 6.2).

Today, the language groups, regional identifications and specific oral histories still exist, but for many purposes the internal political boundaries of Canada shape the political organization and activities of northern Aboriginal people.



5.1 Yukon First Nations

The Aboriginal people of the Yukon speak seven distinct languages (Gwich'in, Northern Tutchone, Southern Tutchone, Tagish, Kaska, Han and Tlingit). Some members of these language groups also live in Alaska, northern British Columbia and the Northwest Territories. There are 17 First Nations communities in the Yukon, and together they will negotiate 14 comprehensive claims agreements under a single umbrella final agreement.³⁹ In 1991 an estimated 5,100 people reported Aboriginal identity, about 18 per cent of a

total Yukon population of approximately 27,800.⁴⁰ Aboriginal people are the majority in smaller communities such as Pelly Crossing and Old Crow, but non-Aboriginal people are the majority in towns such as Haines Junction, Dawson and Watson Lake and in the capital, Whitehorse.

Probably the pivotal contact events for Yukon First Nations were the 1898 Klondike gold rush and the construction of the Alaska Highway during the Second World War. The Gold Rush brought thousands of outsiders to the region over a very short period. Many of the migrants came from the United States. For the distant federal government in Ottawa, the gold rush presented an immediate problem of sovereignty and a secondary problem of preserving local order. To establish a federal presence in this remote area, the Yukon Territory was quickly formed and a legislature established, and police were dispatched to the area.

By the early 1900s the gold rush was ebbing, and many non-Aboriginal migrants left the area. Those newcomers who chose to make the Yukon their home changed the demographic balance in the territory, but the territory was large and resources were plentiful.⁴¹ Aboriginal people continued to hunt, trap and fish, moving across the land as was their custom. While gold mining had been environmentally destructive, the damage was confined to a few river valleys in the Klondike region. The gold rush nevertheless began the process of land alienation, which was exacerbated by the fact that while a territorial administration was being created, no treaties were negotiated.

The construction of the Alaska Highway in 1942 brought even greater and far-reaching changes to the lives of the Aboriginal people living in the regions through which the highway passed. During the construction phase, 34,000 construction workers and military personnel came to the Yukon, bringing with them opportunities for wage employment but also alcohol, infectious diseases, and social disruption. The highway itself became a major instrument for social change. It brought tourists and some small business development and facilitated the introduction of education, health and social programs.

All of these changes occurred without reference to the land rights of Yukon First Nations, despite residents' persistent objections. Nearly a century of frustration was articulated in 1968 by a Whitehorse chief, Elijah Smith, speaking to the Indian affairs minister of the day, Jean Chrétien:

We, the Indians of the Yukon, object to the treatment of being treated like squatters in our own country. We accepted the white man in this country, fed him, looked after him when he was sick, showed him the way of the North, helped him to find the gold; helped him build and respected him in his own rights. For this we have received very little in return. We feel the people of the North owe us a great deal and we would like the Government of Canada to see that we get a fair settlement for the use of the land. There was no treaty signed in this Country and they tell me the land still belongs to the Indians. There were no battles fought between the white and the Indians for this land.⁴²

Land claims

The Council for Yukon Indians (CYI) was formed in 1973 to represent everyone with “Indian ancestry” in the Yukon, irrespective of status under the Indian Act.⁴³ CYI advanced its claim on the basis of Aboriginal rights to lands that had never been surrendered.⁴⁴ Aboriginal people saw their claim as a means to close economic, social and communication gaps between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people in the Yukon.

Initially, the federal government refused to admit the existence of Aboriginal rights and would consider only claims to land and financial compensation.⁴⁵ Limited federal recognition of the dimensions of the problem created long delays. While the CYI claim was certainly about land, much of the public debate concerned self-government. As the debate unfolded in the Yukon, it posed alternative arrangements: under a proposed one-government system, First Nations communities would share most institutions, services and programs with non-Aboriginal people; by contrast, a two-government system would involve some co-operation and shared institutions, but First Nations communities would establish their own school boards, health systems and local self-government institutions. This choice was particularly important in the Yukon, where many favoured independent institutions but where Aboriginal people constituted only about one-fifth of a small population and where Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people lived in close proximity in many places.

These alternatives remained on the table for over a decade while — with some interruptions — negotiations proceeded. Finally, in 1988, an agreement in principle was reached that led to the signing of the Umbrella Final Agreement (UFA) in 1993.⁴⁶ The UFA broke new ground, providing constitutional protection for wildlife, creating a constitutional obligation to negotiate self-government agreements, and finding language for the agreement that avoided complete extinguishment of Aboriginal title.

Among its other provisions are title to 44,000 square kilometres of land, compensation of \$260 million to be divided among the First Nations communities, the creation of a Yukon-wide land-use planning council and regional planning commissions and joint wildlife management boards. Under the terms of the UFA, First Nations communities will negotiate their own final agreements. Enabling legislation for these as well as for the Umbrella Final Agreement and Model Self-Government Agreement (which provide a framework for individual self-government agreements) was passed by Parliament in 1994.⁴⁷

Issues for the future

The land and self-government agreements launch a new stage in the political and constitutional development of the Yukon. While the Yukon government’s jurisdiction and authority are expanding through a process of devolution from the federal government,⁴⁸ the comprehensive claims agreements ensure that Aboriginal people will have a major influence on the political evolution of the territory. Under the terms of the agreements, Yukon Aboriginal peoples are guaranteed participation in public bodies dealing with everything from land use and development assessment to the management of wildlife and other resources. They also control significant pools of capital.

The UFA ensures that the developing government systems will incorporate, to varying degrees, traditional elements of leadership and decision making. For example, the preamble of the Champagne and Aishihik First Nations Self-Government Agreement asserts that “the Champagne and Aishihik First Nations have traditional decision-making structures based on a moiety system and are desirous of maintaining these structures...”. The Teslin Tlingit have already developed a form of government based on their five clans.⁴⁹

To date, the development of political institutions in the Yukon has followed conventional lines. Although some policies and programs such as heritage programming, community justice and health care delivery draw somewhat on traditional Yukon Aboriginal knowledge, the way the Yukon government operates would be familiar to any Canadian. Decision-making and policy-development processes owe very little to Aboriginal political traditions.⁵⁰

The creation of First Nations governments will have a major effect on the way the Yukon territorial government carries out its responsibilities, and there might be an opportunity for institutional change to harmonize public decision making with Aboriginal traditions. There is also a significant risk of inefficiency and policy gridlock, however. Under the self-government agreements, First Nations communities will be able to choose which programs and services they will run on their own. In other cases, there may be agreements for service delivery between a First Nation community (or several communities) and the territorial government. There may ultimately be as many as 15 separate governments sharing jurisdiction: the Yukon territorial government and the governments developed on the basis of the 14 final agreements being negotiated by First Nations communities. Considering the small size of the population and the limited revenue base, co-operation and simplification of the mechanisms for joint undertakings are urgent:

The effectiveness of the territorial-First Nations relationship will be critical in minimizing these inefficiencies [resulting from the ability of First Nation communities to negotiate separate and different arrangements]. In managing this relationship and in relating to the agreement-based boards with their guaranteed Aboriginal participation, the territorial government will be highly motivated to respond to Aboriginal concerns rather than risk the high costs of difficult relations. The territorial government will particularly want to avoid relations becoming so difficult that frustrated First Nations decide to turn their backs on the usually more cost-effective joint activities and develop their own programs.⁵¹

Once the resources are transferred, First Nations communities will have a greater degree of administrative control over activities in the territory than ever before.⁵² But there will continue to be a role, albeit a changed one, for the territorial government. A conventional political system is having to make room for Aboriginal governments.⁵³

There are some outstanding and pressing issues. The long period of uncertainty over land claims and self-government negotiations has been replaced by another period of

uncertainty as the agreements are implemented. Some of the problems the CYI representatives see themselves facing in the near future include the continuing inequality of bargaining power between the federal government and First Nations communities; the continuing need to secure constitutional protection for Yukon First Nation community self-government agreements; a demand by the federal government that the CYI repay a loan that funded its participation in land claims negotiations; and ensuring that the money is there to plan implementation of the claim.

Repayment of loans issued for purposes of claims negotiations is an irritant for most of the Aboriginal groups that have concluded final agreements or are now in negotiations. Federal policy still states that

Aboriginal groups that wish to prepare a comprehensive claims submission can apply to the Research Funding Division for a research grant. Such requests are evaluated and a decision is made on the merits of each individual case. Once a comprehensive claim is accepted and active negotiations begin, the Aboriginal party is provided with loan funding to support the negotiation process. The loans are repaid after settlement through deductions from the Aboriginal party's financial compensation payments.

Only in the Quebec agreements, which were negotiated in the 1970s, were costs incurred by Aboriginal claimant groups paid by the federal government. In the case of the CYI, the federal government requires First Nations communities to repay \$63 million in loans spent on the negotiations. Yukon First Nations told us of their opposition to this demand:

We believe Canada's policy requiring the loan repayment should be reconsidered for the following reasons:

One, the fiduciary that is in breach of his obligation should not penalize the beneficiary for the required funding to correct that same breach. The current policy would seem to be in direct conflict with the trust responsibility as set out in the Sparrow decision of the Supreme Court of Canada.

Two, the decision to repay the funding for negotiations is the current policy of the government of Canada and may be challenged by the Yukon First Nation.

Three, the delays in the negotiation process are due to changes within government, including ministers, negotiators and policy. Each delay has a time factor for re-educating the players about the issues. These delays have been very costly to CYI and the First Nations.

Four, we recommend the loan payment be converted into a grant and not be repaid. As such, the loan should not be part of the land claims settlement and does not require constitutional protection.

We strongly believe the loan funding issue may be dealt with through a contractual relationship between Canada and the First Nation.

5.2 Dene

Dene occupy a vast portion of north central Canada and parts of the United States. Their homeland includes the Mackenzie Valley south of the Inuvialuit homeland and west of Nunavut. These lands are shared by the Gwich'in, Sahtu Dene, Deh Cho Dene, Tli Cho Dene (Dogrib), Sayisi Dene, Métis people and a growing number of non-Aboriginal residents. Dene also live in parts of the western Yukon, northern British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Alaska and the lower United States. As with many traditional territories, there are sizeable areas of joint or overlapping historical and contemporary use of the lands of Dene, Inuvialuit and Inuit. Dene are part of a large Athapaskan family of nations whose roots extend as far south as the Navajo territories in the southern United States.

Although there had been sporadic contact with explorers, missionaries and traders since at least the late eighteenth century, more intense contact with outsiders began in Denendeh, as it did in the Yukon, with the Klondike Gold Rush.⁵⁴ Of the several routes to the gold fields, one began in Edmonton and took would-be prospectors down the Mackenzie River and then overland into the Yukon. This influx had a great impact on Dene of the region and led to treaty negotiations. Charles Mair, who was a member of the Half-Breed Commission of 1899, stated that rampages by miners led the government to recognize "the native's title" in the negotiation of Treaty 8.⁵⁵

The protection and welfare of Dene were not the only reason for sending treaty commissions into the region, as is clear in an official statement by the deputy minister of Indian affairs:

While under ordinary circumstances the prospect of any considerable influx might have remained indefinitely remote, the discovery of gold in the Klondike region quickly changed the aspect of the situation. Parties of white men in quest of a road to the gold fields began to traverse the country, and there was not only the possibility ahead of such travel being greatly increased, but that the district itself would soon become the field of prospectors who might at any time make some discovery which would be followed by a rush of miners to the spot. In any case the knowledge of the country obtained and diffused, if only by people passing through it, could hardly fail to attract attention to it as a field for settlement.

For the successful pursuance of that humane and generous policy which has always characterized the Dominion in its dealings with the aboriginal inhabitants, it is of vital importance to gain their confidence at the outset, for the Indian character is such that, if suspicion or distrust once be aroused, the task of eradication is extremely difficult.

For these reasons it was considered that the time was ripe for entering into treaty relations with the Indians of the district, and so setting at rest the feeling of uneasiness which was

beginning to take hold of them, and laying the foundation for permanent friendly and profitable relations between the races.⁵⁶

As René Fumoleau explains, there was good reason for this measured and understated approach:

In addition to extinguishing Indian title to the land, the Government was looking for tighter control over both Indians and whites, to insure peaceful settlement and development of the land, and to promote the harmonious co-existence of Indians and whites. In the North, as everywhere else, economic considerations far out-weighed all others in the formulation of Indian policy.⁵⁷

For Dene, Treaty 8 was the means to a political relationship with non-Dene authorities and a way to encourage them to control their migrating citizens. Treaty 8 covered a relatively small portion of Dene lands; periodically, Dene sought an extension of the boundaries of Treaty 8, but their proposal was not to be accepted by federal negotiators.⁵⁸

Economic considerations prompted the federal government to seek a treaty covering the rest of Denendeh some 20 years later. Non-Aboriginal people learned of quantities of producible oil at Norman Wells in 1920. Announced at a time when an expanding economy made the opening of the rich northwestern hinterland of Canada an attractive prospect, the news was greeted with great enthusiasm by the government, media and industry. Treaty 11 was signed in 1921.

The subsequent development of the oil production facility at Norman Wells, followed by the opening of mines at Yellowknife (1935) and in a few other isolated areas, reinforced the emerging pattern of enclave development that was to shape territorial development for the rest of the twentieth century. While most of the vast area of Denendeh remained occupied almost exclusively by Aboriginal people, there were a few trading centres, usually home to missionaries as well, and very few small centres of wage employment. The Mackenzie River and attendant lake and river systems formed the major transportation corridors for goods and territorial residents.

Restrictions on hunting and trapping started in 1917 with the closing of seasons on moose, caribou and other animals. In 1918, the Migratory Birds Convention Act further reduced hunting. Dene with treaties considered these regulations to be “breaches of the promise [in the treaties] that they would be free to hunt, fish and trap...”.⁵⁹ (Dene without treaty believed they governed their traditional territories and objected to others making laws for them.) With the exception of this and other policing functions, the federal presence in the Northwest Territories was to remain relatively light until the Second World War and the subsequent Cold War, when large numbers of military personnel were stationed in the North. In the immediate post-war period, education, health and other social programs were introduced, bringing a few public servants into the territories. Finally, in 1967, the seat of territorial government was moved to Yellowknife, an event that led to the rapid expansion of the N.w.T. public service and a massive influx of staff from the south.

The transfer of administration of the territorial government from Ottawa to the North in 1967 affected matters such as treaty entitlements. For example, in most parts of Canada, funding for health and education for status Indians has been administered by the department of Indian affairs and is now available for devolution to bands that choose to take over this responsibility. In the Northwest Territories, funds for such purposes are administered by the territorial government; funding for treaty Dene education is ‘blended’ with general education funding. This has made it difficult to keep track of the extent to which treaty commitments are being met. It has also made it impossible for Dene bands to gain control over funding in these areas, as bands have in the south. Michael J. Prince and Gary Juniper note that in terms of public finance allocation and reporting at an aggregate level, Aboriginal peoples are dealt with in the same manner as non-natives in territorial expenditures. We should note, however, that Aboriginal people in the N.w.T. have long argued that the government of the N.w.T. (GNwT) is merely acting in the capacity of an ‘agent’ under management agreements for the delivery of the federal obligations to the North’s Aboriginal peoples in such areas as education, health and social welfare. In the context of Aboriginal self-government, a critical public finance question is: what proportion of the territorial government’s budget should be transferred directly to Aboriginal governments from the federal government, thereby bypassing the GNwT’s consolidated revenue fund?⁶⁰

Land claims

The discovery of oil in Prudhoe Bay, Alaska, in 1968 led to another round of negotiations concerning Dene lands. Soon after the Prudhoe Bay discovery, the federal government proposed construction of a pipeline along the Mackenzie Valley to carry oil from Prudhoe Bay to southern markets. Fearing the impact of the transportation corridor on their lands, Dene filed a caveat to stop the development.⁶¹ The Supreme Court of the Northwest Territories agreed with Dene that the project represented “an infringement upon their Treaty rights”.⁶² Justice Morrow ruled:

I am satisfied that those same indigenous people...are prima facie owners of the lands covered by the caveat [filed by Dene to stop pipeline construction] — that they have what is known as Aboriginal rights...[and that] there exists a clear constitutional obligation on the part of the Canadian Government to protect the legal rights of the indigenous peoples in the area covered by the caveat.⁶³

In the Northwest Territories, comprehensive claims negotiations began with the written assurance of the prime minister of Canada that negotiations were to be the modern fulfilment of Treaties 8 and 11. Dene and Métis people first began negotiating a single claim in 1974, following a joint assembly of Dene and Métis at Fort Good Hope, Northwest Territories.⁶⁴ The following year, at the second joint general assembly in Fort Simpson, the Indian Brotherhood of the N.w.T. (now Dene Nation) and the Métis Association of the N.w.T. (now the Metis Nation of the N.w.T.) passed the Dene Declaration.

Separate Dene and Métis comprehensive claims negotiations were conducted for a time, with single negotiations resuming in 1984. A draft final agreement was reached in 1990. This agreement, covering all Dene and Métis in Denendeh, was not in the end accepted by Dene and Métis people. The two groups had reservations about the agreement, including its requirement that outstanding Aboriginal rights be extinguished, its failure to deal adequately with treaty provisions, and its lack of an explicit provision for self-government, among other problems. Dene and Métis people anticipated that these matters would be addressed in subsequent negotiations, but the federal government was unwilling to continue Denendeh-wide negotiations.

Since 1990 two regional claims agreements have been concluded in Denendeh: one between the federal government and the Gwich'in of the Mackenzie Delta, the other between the federal government and the Sahtu Dene and Métis.⁶⁵ The Gwich'in negotiated title to 22,332 square kilometres of land, subsurface rights to 93 square kilometres, compensation of \$75 million, and a share of resource royalties. The Sahtu Dene and Métis secured title to 41,437 square kilometres of land, subsurface rights to 1,813 square kilometres, compensation of \$75 million, and a share of resource royalties. Provision was also made for joint management of wildlife and land-use planning. Dogrib are currently negotiating their own regional claim. Dene in the rest of Denendeh want to pursue land and government issues in relation to implementation of the treaties.

Issues for the future

The negotiation of regional claims revived old concerns about the best way to secure recognition of land rights and about the contemporary role of Treaties 8 and 11.⁶⁶

In the western Northwest Territories, there continue to be simultaneous debates concerning implementation of Treaties 8 and 11 and the new form of public government that should be established after the division of the territory in 1999.

Some Dene communities have chosen treaty implementation as their path to self-government. For example, the Deh Cho Dene have declined to negotiate a regional claims agreement because they have concluded that they have no right to agree to extinguishment of title to the land. They explain, "Our laws from the Creator do not allow us to cede, release, surrender or extinguish our inherent rights."⁶⁷ Deh Cho Dene seek recognition of their version of Treaty 11 as the original accord between the Dene Nation and the Crown. They hold that the treaty is the primary document governing their relations with Canada, and — interpreted in the spirit in which it was negotiated — Treaty 11 is the document that will form the basis of all future interactions. (For further discussion, see Volume 2, Chapter 2.)

Deh Cho Dene have encountered significant difficulties in negotiating with the federal and territorial governments on this basis. The federal response has been, in the view of Deh Cho Dene, prohibitively narrow, allowing only segmented and incomplete consideration of important questions of land and jurisdiction.

Signatories of Treaties 8 and 11 that are not involved in regional claims expect to deal with the full range of their relations with the Crown in a coherent fashion; to date, they have lacked a process through which to do this. As 1999 and the formation of a new territorial government for the western Northwest Territories approach, the issue grows ever more urgent.

Full implementation of Treaties 8 and 11 will have consequences for such varied areas as territorial wildlife management, health and education spending, land use regulation and governmental arrangements. Implementation of the Gwich'in and Sahtu regional claims will have similar effects. These changes create a need for all northerners to work together to develop forms of territorial government that respect the various political choices of the northern Aboriginal nations.

We recognize the achievements to date of the residents of the western part of the Northwest Territories in finding consensus among many differing perspectives and interests and in working to create government institutions for the future territory that combine public government with the wishes of those who seek a nation form of self-government.

Recommendations

The Commission recommends that

4.6.1

Dene of Denendeh (Northwest Territories) be given the opportunity to come to future negotiations on new political arrangements in Denendeh as a nation.

4.6.2

A treaty commission be established at the request of Dene communities seeking a treaty process.

4.6.3

The treaty commission's deliberations be the means by which the governing authorities for Dene are determined within the new western territory in addition to the framework of public government for that territory as a whole.

4.6.4

Those charged with developing institutions for Denendeh recognize the leading role Aboriginal nation government will play across the territory and design a form of territorial government that exercises lead responsibility in relatively few areas and plays a co-ordinating role with other governments' activities where appropriate.

4.6.5

Communities that want to participate in a treaty implementation process rather than regional land claims be given the same range of flexibility in terms of subject matter and quantity of land as if they were participating in a land claims process.

5.3 Métis People of the Northwest Territories

Most of the events in Dene history just reviewed are part of Métis history as well. But it is important to note at least some of the distinctive circumstances facing Métis people in the Northwest Territories who, for historical reasons, find themselves in a somewhat unusual position and whose fate is inextricably linked to Dene, who are their relatives and neighbours. (For a discussion of issues pertinent to Métis in each part of Canada, see Chapter 5 of this volume.)

Métis people are not signatories of Treaties 8 and 11, although at the time the treaties were signed, as today, Dene and Métis people lived together, often as members of the same extended families. The ‘halfbreed commissions’ offered scrip — either cash or small land allotments — to Métis people of the N.w.T. as a means of clarifying federal jurisdiction over the northern territories. By accepting scrip, Métis people opted out of the treaties.

In 1899, the federal cabinet stated: “It is obvious that while differing in degree, Indian and Halfbreed rights in an unceded territory must be co-existent, and should properly be extinguished at the same time”.⁶⁸ As 1999 approaches, bringing division of the Northwest Territories, Métis people who live in Denendeh seek to restore and protect their rights, in a similarly ‘co-existent’ process of constitutional development and land claims.

In 1972 the Métis Association of the Northwest Territories was formed. During the following two decades, sometimes in concert with Dene political organizations and sometimes separately, Métis people sought control of a land base and political self-determination. Gary Bohnet, president of the Métis Nation of the N.w.T., told us about what Métis people see as their most fundamental right:

There has to be a land and resource base for Métis. It’s fundamental. We have to be able to have control. We have to be able to work in partnership with co-management agreements with different jurisdictions.

There is this myth out there that when you talk land and resources that the Métis may have less rights than some other Aboriginal people in this country. Well, that is [not true]. Our rights coexist along with the other Aboriginal peoples’ in this country.

Gary Bohnet
President, Metis Nation of the Northwest Territories
Ottawa, Ontario, 4 November 1993

After the draft comprehensive claims agreement negotiated by Dene and Métis people was rejected by the Aboriginal parties in 1990, federal policy changed to promote negotiation of so-called 'regional claims' with groups in the western N.w.T. formerly represented by the territory-wide organizations. The first regional claims agreement was concluded between the federal government and the Gwich'in of the Mackenzie Delta. Métis people were included in the agreement as 'Gwich'in'. The second regional claim was negotiated in 1993 by Dene and Métis people of the Sahtu region, an area immediately to the south of the Gwich'in lands. The Sahtu agreement refers explicitly to Dene and Métis people. In addition, separate management bodies have been established to manage money and investments for Dene and Métis people, giving both groups decision-making autonomy. Dene and Métis people in the area have established a joint Dene-Métis tribal council to co-ordinate their affairs in the settlement region.

In two regions, Métis people have opted to be part of federal negotiations with First Nations (the Gwich'in and the Sahtu Dene) under federal comprehensive claims policy. Furthermore, the government of Canada has recognized a responsibility to negotiate with Métis people in areas where Dene have decided to rely entirely on treaties. In areas where Métis people are not signatories to comprehensive claims agreements, exploratory discussions between Métis people and federal representatives have begun.

One of the main issues facing Métis people is how to structure self-government provisions so that they accord with the path of constitutional development in the Northwest Territories. In addition, complex problems of structure and implementation will come up in the dovetailing of Métis and Dene agreements, which will inevitably overlap in many areas and will need to be co-ordinated with territorial government arrangements.

5.4 Inuit

Inuit have lived in the Arctic north of the tree line for thousands of years. Their homeland encompasses the western and central Arctic, the Keewatin region of the barren lands, and the coasts of Hudson Bay, northern Quebec and Labrador, Baffin Island, and the high Arctic as far north as Ellesmere Island. Inuit are part of a circumpolar people who live in parts of Alaska, Greenland and Siberia. Today there are between 115,000 and 128,000 Inuit in the circumpolar North, of whom about 38,000 live in Canada.⁶⁹

For two decades Inuit have been negotiating land claims agreements and self-government with Canadian governments. In most of the Inuit territories, Inuit are the large majority of the population. This has meant that dialects of Inuktitut, the common language of the Inuit, are still relatively strong, and that Inuit have considerable confidence in their ability to maintain cultural coherence as they work with and through the institutions of the larger Canadian society. Nevertheless, like other Aboriginal peoples in Canada, they have sought constitutional protection and legal guarantees of self-governing institutions. As the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada explained to us:

[O]ur existence as a people also requires legal protection and guarantees. After all, it is our identity as a people that makes us “Inuit”. Our concept of human rights recognizes the inseverable connection between the rights of peoples and the rights of individuals and recognizes the inseverable connection between Inuit and the land.⁷⁰

This philosophy underlies both international and domestic initiatives of Inuit. Internationally, they have developed models of public government (with differing forms in Alaska, Greenland and Canada) and sought through various means to protect their way of life. For example, through the Inuit Circumpolar Conference (a federation of Inuit living in the circumpolar countries), they have developed the Arctic Policy, which makes recommendations to the nation-states in which Inuit live concerning virtually all aspects of social life.⁷¹

Within Canada, Inuit have exercised their right of self-determination by choosing various public government forms of self-government. As noted in Volume 2, Chapter 3, in the public government model, eligibility to participate as a citizen in governing institutions is based on long-term residency rather than membership or Aboriginal ancestry. Reflecting on the reasons for this choice, Wendy Moss explains the genesis of the public government model:

Non-ethnic forms of government are attractive for their potential to ensure control and management over Crown lands in Inuit traditional territory as well as Inuit settlement lands. Inuit control through non-ethnic forms of government is premised upon the existence of an Inuit majority in the territories concerned (for example, Nunavut) or alternatively, structures of government that will ensure a strong Inuit voice even in a minority situation (proposals for a Western Arctic Regional Government have addressed this situation). [Nevertheless] there is a desire to leave open the option for so-called ethnic forms of self-government.⁷²

Public government has certain definite advantages. It permits Inuit (in concert with other residents of the jurisdiction) to control land use and wildlife management over large land areas. For example, Nunavut, the new territory to be established in what is now the eastern Northwest Territories, covers about one-sixth the land area of Canada — far more land than a comprehensive claims settlement would place under the beneficiaries’ direct control. Because Inuit form the large majority of voters in Nunavut, as a collectivity they will likely exercise the dominant influence in territorial politics for the foreseeable future.

But public government forms also carry certain risks. By choosing a form of public government now, Inuit have not ceded the right to choose a different form of self-government (on the nation-based model) at some time in the future. As Rosemarie Kuptana, president of the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada pointed out, her organization’s goal remains to exercise self-determination within Canada and to adjust the essence of the relationship between Inuit and Canada [which] is an unequal power relationship in which Inuit rights have often been ignored and Inuit powers have been usurped by governments not of our making. The Inuit self-government and land claims agenda hopes to correct

this by negotiating new government bodies in our territories, and asserting our rightful status as a people while respecting the human rights of other people.

Rosemarie Kuptana
President, Inuit Tapirisat of Canada
Ottawa, Ontario, 3 November 1993

In all the Inuit territories with land claim settlements — Nunavik, the lands of Inuvialuit and Nunavut — comprehensive claims agreements complement plans for self-government. We turn now to a brief look at how the land claims process unfolded in these three Inuit homelands and to the situation of the Labrador Inuit.

Inuit of Nunavik and the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement

The Inuit experience with land claims and self-government began with plans to build the James Bay hydroelectric complex. Announced in 1971, the project was one of the largest of its kind in the world; plans called for the creation of a series of dams and reservoirs and the flooding of large tracts of land.

The Northern Quebec Inuit Association (later to become Makivik Corporation) promptly began negotiations with the Quebec government, the federal government, and the three companies involved in the project (the James Bay Energy Corporation, the James Bay Development Corporation and the Quebec Hydro-Electric Commission). In 1975, the parties signed the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement (JBNQA), which recognized Inuit title to 8,400 square kilometres of land and gave them \$90 million in compensation for loss of the use of certain traditional lands.⁷³ It also included some provisions for regional government, a school board, and regimes for environmental protection and wildlife management. The agreement created a hunter income support program, which supports country food production by purchasing harvested wildlife and distributing it in Inuit communities and in the south.⁷⁴

JBNQA was ratified by Quebec Inuit in a referendum in February 1976, after considerable internal debate.⁷⁵ Following ratification, the Northern Quebec Inuit Association was reorganized and renamed Makivik Corporation. Makivik was given responsibility for managing the compensation fund and fostering economic, social, political and cultural development of Inuit in Nunavik.⁷⁶

There were many issues, but among the most important was the question of the form and philosophy of the political and administrative institutions that JBNQA would bring and the extent to which these were appropriate to the continued development of Inuit traditions.

Two decades after JBNQA was signed, major developments have occurred in Inuit institutions and in their relations with the governments of Quebec and Canada.⁷⁷ Negotiations between the provincial government and Makivik on implementation of some aspects of the agreement have been virtually continuous throughout the last 20 years. The form of self-government most suitable to Inuit circumstances has been a

source of vigorous debate among Inuit and between Inuit and the government of Quebec. Recently, negotiations for a Nunavik government in the northern part of the province appear to be approaching a conclusion.

JBNQA provides for a regional administration under the auspices of the Kativik regional government (KRG) and also for a Kativik school board, both of which have been established. KRG has an elected council made up of members from the 14 Inuit communities and has powers over various matters of local administration.⁷⁸ Inuit have continued to work toward a greater degree of self-government in negotiations with the province of Quebec.

In 1991, the Nunavik constitutional committee presented the Quebec government with a draft constitution.⁷⁹ Negotiations were suspended during the Charlottetown constitutional reform discussions. Inuit tabled a draft political accord to provide Nunavik self-government in February 1993. In July 1994, a framework agreement was reached between the Quebec government and Inuit.⁸⁰ The parties agreed to negotiate a form of self-government for the residents of Nunavik, including the establishment of a legislative assembly and administration.

The next step will be an agreement in principle on Nunavik government, envisioned by Inuit as a non-ethnic public government with jurisdiction over a variety of subjects exercised over the entire territory in Quebec north of the 55th parallel. There is agreement from Quebec and Inuit negotiators that the Nunavik government would receive block funding from the province, as well as a share of taxes collected within its boundaries. There is a possibility of sharing revenue from development of non-renewable resources as well.

Besides engendering and shaping self-government negotiations between the province of Quebec and Inuit of Nunavik, JBNQA also made possible a number of Inuit-initiated economic development ventures.⁸¹ Investment revenue from the agreement's original pool of compensation capital has funded considerable applied research into economic development prospects and the creation of strategically positioned, Inuit-owned companies. For example, most recently Nunavik Arctic Foods (NAF) was incorporated as a subsidiary of Makivik Corporation. NAF harvests, processes and sells northern meat products, creating jobs in at least four communities and providing cash income to harvesters.

JBNQA was the first comprehensive claims agreement. Not only was it negotiated rather speedily, compared to other agreements,⁸² but it was negotiated by individuals who had no experience with agreements of this type. Thus, it is not surprising that various matters of interpretation and implementation have emerged in the 20 years since the parties reached initial agreement.

Those implementing JBNQA have gained considerable experience in organizational development and training. As Makivik has worked to fulfil its mandate, means have been sought to involve the people living in the communities of Nunavik in the business of the

corporation. As the Nunavik government is established, questions about even greater challenges arise: How will the government maintain meaningful contact with citizens, at a reasonable cost? What fiscal arrangements with the government of Quebec will ensure real autonomy? Will there be a financial or policy relationship between Makivik and the new government institutions?

Inuvialuit and self-government in the western Arctic

In 1984, Inuvialuit became the first Aboriginal people in the territorial North to sign a comprehensive land claims agreement.⁸³ The Inuvialuit Final Agreement recognized Inuvialuit title to 91,000 square kilometres of land in the western Arctic and provided compensation of \$152 million for the surrender of other land and \$17.5 million for economic development and social programs. There was also provision for a joint wildlife management regime. Although the 1984 agreement included a clause extinguishing the Aboriginal land rights of Inuvialuit in the territory,⁸⁴ Inuvialuit were successful in negotiating one provision related to self-government. This provision of the Inuvialuit Final Agreement (IFA) guarantees that Inuvialuit will not be treated less favourably than any other Aboriginal group with respect to governmental powers and authority. Section 4(3) of IFA states that “Canada agrees that where restructuring of the public institutions of government is considered for the Western Arctic Region, the Inuvialuit shall not be treated less favourably than any other native groups or native people with respect to the governmental powers and authority conferred on them.”⁸⁵

To complement the provisions of IFA, Inuvialuit have proposed a form of regional public government to be created by devolution of authority from the Northwest Territories government. The proposed western Arctic regional government would include all people living in the Inuvialuit settlement region (Inuvialuit, Dene, Métis people and non-Aboriginal people), and perhaps those of the neighbouring Gwich’in settlement area as well.⁸⁶

Experience with implementation of IFA has been mixed. The economic institutions have generally functioned well, with the Inuvialuit Development Corporation playing a key part in the regional economy through investment of land claim compensation funds and developing various subsidiaries to market Inuvialuit products.

An area of critical concern to Inuvialuit has been implementation of land, resource and wildlife management regimes. These IFA provisions are being implemented at present, and Inuvialuit hunters have been able to control hunting and harvesting activities in a way that was not possible before the agreement. However, according to a review of these regimes, success in implementation depends somewhat precariously on government goodwill and co-operation, which have not always been forthcoming:

The commitment of government to IFA implementation has been uneven at best, hollow at worst. Achieving a coherent level of corporate commitment to claim implementation

across government remains a significant challenge for all government, notwithstanding the dedicated support that has been shown by some agencies.⁸⁷

Governments have not enacted all the appropriate enabling legislation or made many necessary policy changes to ensure the full effect of IFA. A research study prepared for the Commission suggests that future claims should contain a list of enabling legislation that must be passed by a certain date following the agreement.⁸⁸

Inuit of Nunavut

The creation of Nunavut will change the face of the North. Given the publicity it has received nationally and internationally, it will be watched closely as an example of Aboriginal self-government through public government — the first such model to be instituted since the establishment of Greenlandic Home Rule in 1979.

A number of features will mark the development of Nunavut:

- The government of Nunavut will have province-type powers that are important to the social, cultural and economic well-being of Inuit.
- The government will be able to manage wildlife and resources effectively because it will have jurisdiction over a large territory. Inuit will have strong and usually dominant representation on the relevant boards.
- Representatives will be elected by and accountable to a predominantly Aboriginal electorate.
- It is likely that Aboriginal people will continue to form a majority of the population for the foreseeable future and so will continue to have a major influence in economic, political and cultural life, whatever institutional changes are made.
- Fiscal relations with the federal government will take into account the cost of providing existing levels of government services.⁸⁹

Nunavut was first proposed in 1976.⁹⁰ Since then, in response to federal unwillingness to negotiate self-government arrangements as part of the comprehensive claims process, Inuit have pursued a two-track strategy. They have negotiated comprehensive claims agreements with an eye to realizing all possible progress toward self-government, including securing an adequate resource base. At the same time, they have participated in available political forums, including the process to patriate and amend the Canadian constitution and the legislative assembly of the Northwest Territories.

In the N.w.T. legislative assembly, elected Inuit representatives worked co-operatively with other members to create the conditions under which Nunavut could be brought into being. In April 1982, a plebiscite asked voters in the N.w.T. whether they favoured the creation of a new territory in the eastern N.w.T., and 57 per cent of voters agreed to

division. Fifty-three per cent of eligible voters cast a ballot. Voter turnout and affirmative votes were much higher in the eastern Northwest Territories than in the west although support for division tended to be stronger in predominantly Aboriginal communities (whether Dene, Métis or Inuit) than in the larger centres where more non-Aboriginal people — and more public servants — lived.⁹¹

The federal government accepted the verdict of the plebiscite but placed a number of conditions on federal action to divide the territory: that the outstanding land claims in the affected area be settled first; that there be continued support for division from residents of the N.w.T.; that all parties affected by division be required to agree on a new boundary; and that there be agreement on the division of powers among local, regional and territorial governments.⁹²

In the end, the conditions were met. In 1990, the government of the Northwest Territories signed an agreement in principle with Tungavik Federation of Nunavut (now Nunavut Tungavik Inc.), entrenching their joint commitment to division of the Northwest Territories. Agreement on a boundary was achieved after a special commission proposal was accepted by the minister of Indian affairs in 1991, and the proposed division line was supported in a second plebiscite, held on 4 May 1992.

Through the 1980s, while these political events unfolded, comprehensive claims negotiations continued, ultimately producing an agreement that made direct reference to the creation of Nunavut. In November 1992, Inuit of Nunavut ratified the land claims agreement. With 69 per cent of eligible voters participating, 85 per cent approved the agreement. The Nunavut Agreement was signed by both parties in Iqaluit on 25 May 1993.

In June 1993, Parliament passed the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement Act and the Nunavut Act.⁹³ These two laws provide the framework for establishing Nunavut by dividing the Northwest Territories in 1999 and for the development of governing institutions, beginning immediately.

The land claims agreement recognizes Inuit title to 350,000 square kilometres of land and provides compensation of \$580 million and a \$13 million training trust fund; it also includes provisions for joint management and resource revenue sharing.⁹⁴ New agencies include the Nunavut Wildlife Management Board, the Nunavut Planning Commission, the Nunavut Impact Review Board and the Nunavut Water Board. These agencies will be composed of an equal number of federal, territorial and Inuit representatives. Since these bodies were created through the comprehensive claims agreement, they will have constitutional protection.

The composition of the boards and the planning commission has the potential to place a great deal of control in Inuit hands. With one-third representation from Inuit organizations and one-third from the Inuit-dominated territorial government, Inuit will have two-thirds representation on these crucial agencies.

Pursuant to the Nunavut Act, the Nunavut Implementation Commission (NIC) was established in December 1993. NIC includes representatives of the federal and territorial governments and of Nunavut Tungavik Inc., the body that represents Inuit of Nunavut and is responsible for implementing the land claims agreement. The mandate of NIC is to advise the three parties (federal, territorial and Inuit) on implementation questions, and it is likely the forum in which the stickier issues of implementation will be decided.

The immediate task is to plan for a new government and bureaucracy that will reflect the aspirations of the majority of Nunavut citizens and respond to their needs. In this respect, there are at least two important aspects of bureaucratic development: staff training and administrative development.

Staff training

An important goal is to ensure that the majority population of Inuit can staff their own governing institutions. The importance of education and training to self-determination cannot be overestimated. As a Commission research study noted:

The most obvious, but nevertheless critical, role was for the systems to educate and train Inuit in such a way that would permit their full participation in the policy making, management and operation of the administrative, cultural, economic, and other institutions developed as a result of agreements negotiated on land claims and self-government....

[T]he education and training system is seen as having a key role to play in producing a society of self-empowered individuals who have the skills necessary to participate fully in both the wage and/or traditional economy as they so choose. Such individuals must, in addition, attain the skills necessary to meet their civic responsibilities as well as those skills necessary to lead a satisfactory cultural, economic and social life.⁹⁵

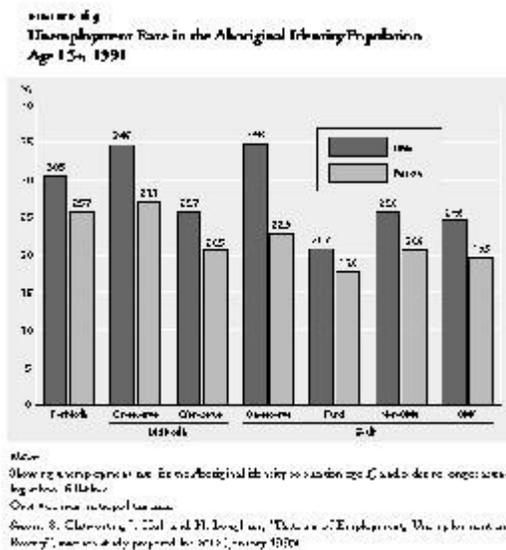
Estimates vary widely on the amount of money required for training, depending on assumptions about the duration and type of training required.⁹⁶ Given the current levels of education and training in the resident population, a major and sustained effort will be required. Aboriginal people in the North have lower levels of formal education than other Aboriginal people in Canada and than the general population. In 1991, 37 per cent of Aboriginal adults in the North had reached only Grade 8 or less, while fewer than 20 per cent had ever attended a post-secondary institution, and only 11 per cent had received a degree or other certification.⁹⁷ The situation is even worse in the far north (which includes the territories of the Yukon and the future Denendeh and Nunavut, as well as northern Quebec and Labrador; see Figure 6.1). In 1991, nearly half (45 per cent) of Aboriginal adults in the far north had achieved Grade 8 or less; just nine per cent had graduated from high school; and less than one per cent had a university degree (for an overview, see Figures 6.3, 6.4 and 6.5).

This situation is particularly alarming in light of the fact that most of the new jobs to be created as self-government is implemented will require some form of post-secondary

training, in such areas as accounting, financial management, organizational development, planning and business development. The challenge for all new public governments of the North will be to undertake human development and training in a way that makes it possible for northern Aboriginal people to staff their own institutions.

It will be important for the new bureaucracies to emphasize skills and the capacity to acquire skills in their hiring practices, rather than relying entirely upon formal credentials to select employees. For employees hired on the basis of their potential to acquire skills, it will be essential to develop on-the-job training systems that permit learning while work is performed. Fortunately, Inuit have considerable experience with this form of training, developed over the years through the Arctic co-operatives system and the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation.⁹⁸

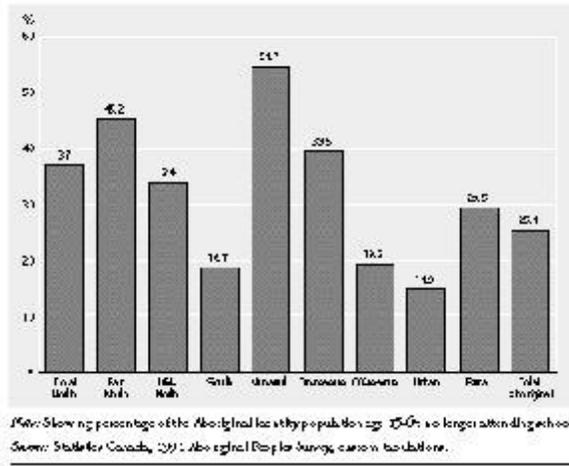
Consideration might also be given to the development of an extensive high school and college co-operative learning system, similar to that of universities in southern Canada, in fields as diverse as engineering and public administration. Under the co-op system, students interrupt their classroom studies to work for wages in settings similar to those for which they are being trained.



Administrative training

Creating a trained administration is only part of the equation. How that administration operates is another important question. In the formation of Nunavut, there is an opportunity for the institutions of government to be shaped by the culture of territorial residents. The challenge is to see how the majority culture of Nunavut can be knit together with the culture of the minority population, whose traditions currently pervade the structure of territorial administration.

FIGURE 6.4
Percentage of Aboriginal Identity Population Age 15-64 Whose Highest Level of Education Was Grade 8 or Less, 1991

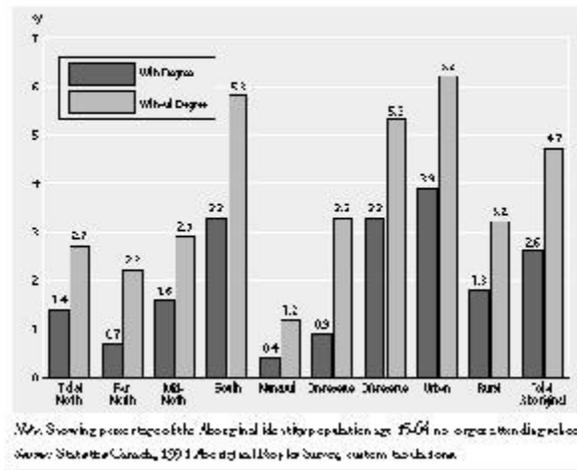


R.G. Williamson has written about the roots of authority in Inuit society, where “good intellect and wisdom are paramount human qualities”.⁹⁹ He says the quality of intelligence derives not from the rational ordering and understanding of the universe but from a deeper understanding of one’s place in the world and one’s connection to the natural environment and to kin. In a similar vein, Gurston Dacks comments on the distinctive Aboriginal approach to social problem solving:

Among Aboriginal peoples, the value attributed to the community and its unity and the faith in laws of nature provided by the Creator have defined the task of traditional Native politics as working together to understand how the laws of nature apply to a particular question. It is assumed that an answer to a question already exists and can be found if all participants in the decision to be taken work collectively to discern that correct answer.¹⁰⁰

This leads to a key question about what is needed to ensure that these new political entities evolve in a direction responsive to the needs of their constituents and at the same time operate within the context of the Canadian federation.¹⁰¹ Regimes of financing, styles of negotiation, the requirements for strategic planning, and the imperatives of probity, accountability and fiscal responsibility — all must be present in a form that fits well with general Canadian practice. Making these arrangements in a manner that permits the culture of the original peoples of the region to grow and flourish is not a unique challenge but is common to all Aboriginal peoples who seek self-determination within Canada. We return to this matter in our later discussion of human development.

FIGURE 6.5
Percentage of Aboriginal Identity Population Age 15-64 Whose Highest Level of Education was University 1991



Finally, as is the case for all governments in Canada, Nunavut will be created in the shadow of fiscal restraint and the desire of governments to cut public spending. While the governments of Canada and the Northwest Territories have “committed themselves unequivocally to the creation of Nunavut”,¹⁰² fulfilment of this commitment is likely to require some additional expenditure, as well as artful planning, imagination and ingenuity.

The Labrador Inuit

The Labrador Inuit Association (LIA), founded in 1971, represents Inuit and Kablunangajuit in the northern Labrador communities of Nain, Hopedale, Makkovik, Postville and Rigolet.¹⁰³ Several of the Kablunangajuit descend from the European and Newfoundland men who came to settle on the north coast of Labrador during the nineteenth century. They came to fish, trap and trade. Some brought their wives from Europe or Newfoundland, and some married Inuit women. They settled in the wooded inlets on the coast and made their livelihood from trade, agriculture, trapping, fishing and hunting. They adopted many Inuit ways and skills, such as skin-boot making, seal hunting methods, and knowledge of the land, sea, and environment. Because they lived with Inuit, many of these settlers and their descendants eventually learned to speak Inuktitut.

Labrador is the only Inuit region without a completed land claims settlement. In part, this is because Labrador Inuit were the last Inuit region to submit a comprehensive claim proposal (in 1977), and in part it is because a willingness to negotiate on the part of both the federal and the Newfoundland government was required.¹⁰⁴ Federal acceptance of the claims proposal came in 1978, but the province did not join the process until 1980.

For various reasons, formal negotiations were not opened until January 1988. A framework agreement was reached in March 1990, with the condition that an

intergovernmental memorandum of understanding be signed by the end of May 1992. The minister of Indian affairs was supposed to have reached an agreement with the province on cost-sharing arrangements. When a memorandum of understanding was not reached before the deadline, negotiations were suspended.

Today, Labrador Inuit are in the same constitutional position as all other Aboriginal peoples in Canada, but the history of relations between Inuit and non-Inuit is distinctive. The colonial history of Newfoundland and Labrador underlies some differences in contemporary attitudes and institutional circumstances.

The Labrador coast, where most Labrador Inuit have always lived, had been visited by Europeans for at least 700 years when European sovereigns began claiming the right to determine its governance. In 1713, the Treaty of Utrecht assigned the island of Newfoundland to Britain, while most of Labrador was assigned to France. In 1763, by virtue of the Treaty of Paris, France ceded to Great Britain almost all possessions and rights in North America, including Labrador. King George III immediately placed Labrador under the authority of the governor of Newfoundland. The Ungava Peninsula (containing what are now northern Quebec and Labrador) was divided into three parts. The east coast of Labrador and the north shore of the St. Lawrence were considered part of Newfoundland. The west coast and all the lands draining into Hudson Bay were part of Rupert's Land. The lands in between were considered 'Indian' territory, part of an enormous north-south corridor of unceded lands stretching from the north Atlantic coast almost to the Gulf of Mexico.

In 1765, the governor of Newfoundland issued an "Order for Establishing Communication and Trade with the Esquimaux Savages on the coast of Labrador", requiring in part that the Inuit population be treated "in the most civil and friendly manner".¹⁰⁵ He also offered land in Labrador to Moravian missionaries, who were already established in Greenland, believing that the missionaries would maintain the European presence while limiting destructive contact between Inuit and Europeans.

There followed a period of extraordinary jurisdictional fluidity, most of which was not apparent to the Aboriginal residents of the area.¹⁰⁶ The borders of Quebec were extended to include Labrador by the Quebec Act, 1774. Labrador was returned to Newfoundland in 1809, and then a portion of Labrador was transferred back to Quebec in 1825. The boundary was moved again in 1898.

A final dispute between Canada and Newfoundland over the location of the boundary was eventually decided by the judicial committee of the privy council in 1927.¹⁰⁷ The boundary of Labrador has not changed since then.¹⁰⁸ These changes made relatively little difference on the Labrador coast, where economic regulation and social services were managed by the Moravian church.¹⁰⁹ However, since 1927, Quebec has claimed that the privy council decision did not reflect Quebec's claims to Labrador. As part of its mandate, the Commission d'étude sur l'intégrité du territoire du Québec (the Dorion Commission) analyzed the validity of the decision and identified several alternative boundaries that would have been more favourable to Quebec while keeping with the

historical and juridical interpretation available to the privy council. Nevertheless, the commission's general conclusion was that, contrary to what many in Quebec felt, no gross legal error had been made by the privy council in its decision and thus no legal option was available to reverse the decision, particularly when successive governments effectively accepted the boundary as the border between the two provinces.¹¹⁰

In discussions between Canada and Newfoundland leading to Confederation in 1949, the matter of governmental responsibility for Inuit (and the Innu people) was considered by the negotiators. It is some indication of the state of local politics that neither Inuit nor the Innu were consulted about their disposition. A joint Canada-Newfoundland special committee concluded that both Aboriginal peoples should become a direct federal responsibility, as in the rest of Canada. The special committee identified 11 conditions that would apply to Aboriginal people if union occurred.¹¹¹ In the end, however, the 1949 Terms of Union with Canada contained no reference to Aboriginal people.¹¹²

After some discussion of the legal dimensions of this arrangement, a 1954 agreement, outside the Terms of Union, provided for federal funding to be transferred to the Newfoundland government for administration of programs for the Aboriginal peoples of Newfoundland and Labrador. Under the agreement, the federal government would assume 66 ²/₃% of costs in respect of Eskimos and 100% of costs in respect of Indians relating to "agreed capital expenditures...in the fields of welfare, health and education" and would assume the full costs of hospital treatment for Indians and Eskimos of northern Labrador during a 10-year period and "to undertake an aggressive anti-tuberculosis program" during the same period. For its part, the government of Newfoundland was to assume all other "financial and administrative responsibilities for the Indian and Eskimo population of Labrador" excluding such federal benefits as family allowances and old-age pensions.¹¹³

In practice, funding provided under the federal-provincial agreements has not been directed specifically to Aboriginal people but to 'designated communities': the agreements fund persons according to where they live, not on the basis of whether they are Aboriginal or non-Aboriginal. This arrangement avoids the necessity of deciding who is an Aboriginal person and who is not.¹¹⁴

The government of Newfoundland and Labrador found this system of federal funding inadequate for communities' needs and periodically through the last three decades sought more funding and even more direct involvement of the federal government in providing services to Inuit and Innu communities. Successive federal governments declined to do this, although after the 1974 report of the Royal Commission on Labrador noted that the level of funding in these agreements was much lower than that received by Aboriginal peoples in similar regions of northern Canada, funding levels increased significantly.¹¹⁵

In 1984 the federal cabinet agreed to direct funding contribution agreements between the federal department of health and Aboriginal organizations of Newfoundland and Labrador:

The Non-Insured Health Benefits (NIHBs) operates from our head office in Northwest River with the help of the CHRs and the Health Liaison Team. LIHC is extremely proud of this program as we are one of only two Aboriginal groups in the country to administer a comprehensive program ourselves rather than having MSB do it. MSB has recently commissioned a report on our program and that of Conne River with positive results.¹¹⁶

The province has also reached agreement with the Labrador Inuit Association (LIA), which administers some educational funding:

[Y]ou have to realize that we've only been administering the program for five years, so it takes a while for us to change the program where we can to make it fit our needs or to fit the students' needs. When we were starting to administer this program, there was just between 15 and 20 students, and the program, by the way, was under the Canada and Newfoundland Inuit agreement. And the budget was about \$150,000....Now we have up to as high as 180 students and we have a budget of \$1.6 million, so obviously we have been doing something right.

Tim McNeill
Education (Regional), Labrador Inuit Association
Makkovik, Newfoundland and Labrador, 15 June 1992

Since federal funding is provided under agreements that have to be renewed periodically, there has been regular conflict over levels of funding and concern on the part of the provincial government that the federal government will try to offload its responsibilities. This circumstance has complicated the negotiation of a comprehensive claims agreement, as there have always been three parties to this discussion, with varying interests. The province has tended to view Inuit as provincial residents like any others and to see self-government as a sort of extension of municipal government.¹¹⁷

It is possible, nevertheless, to see the shape Inuit public government could take in Labrador. Institutions such as the OkalaKatiget Communications Society, the Labrador Inuit Development Corporation, and LIA already fulfil some of the functions of governments. As in Quebec, it may be that a regional government within the provincial framework will be developed.

One important area to be resolved concerns the legal system. LIA has consistently argued for the importance of recognizing Inuit customary law as part of any land settlement in northern Labrador:

Labrador Inuit customary law was the underpinning of Labrador society and even today Labrador Inuit customs and traditions are fundamental to the identity and self-esteem of Labrador Inuit, and a primary means through which the Inuit have traditionally exercised their rights of self-government.¹¹⁸

Within the context of self-government LIA is examining a range of questions about how customary law should be applied and through what institutions or authorities.¹¹⁹

Negotiation and implementation of the land claim will occupy the resources of the Labrador Inuit for the coming years. As negotiations proceed, they are overshadowed by the difficult problems of who is entitled to participate in the claim and whether benefits obtained under that claim might create dangerous political tensions in Newfoundland and Labrador society.

LIA has allowed Kablunangajuit to become members in the association. This has raised the expectations of those outside the settlement area, who maintain that they share a culture, lifestyle and ethnicity with claim members. As benefits negotiated outside the land claim (for example, non-insured health benefits and post-secondary student support) accrued to Inuit, members joined from outside the land claims area to receive the benefits. LIA now has to decide whether those members outside the land claim area should participate in the claim and, if not, how to remove them from the lists.¹²⁰

The question of funding continues to plague progress in Labrador, just as it does in other Inuit regions. The Newfoundland government has also been cutting spending. This attempt to control budget deficits could have a direct impact on Inuit, since the federal government gives the province what is essentially block funding for Aboriginal services (in education and health), and the province determines how to spend it. There is nothing to guarantee that this money will not be diverted to other priorities. Both LIA and ITC have called for direct negotiations between the federal government and Aboriginal organizations, followed by a bilateral funding agreement between the two parties, as a means of resolving this concern. Armed with these tools, northerners may well break new ground in coping with some of the common problems of industrialized countries today: increased pressure on public expenditures, global competition that is having a general levelling effect on incomes, and the reduced capacity of states to regulate or borrow to create full employment.¹²¹

5.5 Conclusion

The pace of political and institutional change in the territories and in the northern parts of some provinces is remarkable. Inevitably, unresolved disputes and outstanding issues remain. We hope that northerners will continue their progress toward new institutions that reflect the demographic and cultural balance in the northlands. We support co-operative political development and innovation along the lines now being pursued by northerners, and we urge the federal, provincial and territorial governments to act decisively to resolve outstanding disputes. We urge that every effort be made by all parties to achieve consensus.

Recommendation

The Commission recommends that

4.6.6

In Nunavut and in the remaining part of the Northwest Territories, future arrangements allocate clear responsibilities between Aboriginal nation governments and territorial institutions and be kept simple and focused, given the high cost of government across a widely dispersed population.

Individuals at the community level should understand the institutional and political changes taking place. A continuing public education campaign is needed to ensure that people in these communities are fully aware of the new developments and their effects. Care must be taken to explain as simply and transparently as possible the eventual division of powers among the various governments in each of the new territories, whether they be at the level of the community, nation or territory. Public education initiatives could use print and broadcast media (including community radio stations), as well as public education kits for workshops with community organizations (community councils, school boards, etc.).

Recommendation

The Commission recommends that

4.6.7

Public education materials be developed in co-operation with Aboriginal communications groups to explain the institutional changes taking place in Nunavut and the remaining part of the Northwest Territories.

6. Environmental Stewardship

Culture is not only hunting, fishing and trapping. Even white people do that. The Chinese people do that. People all over the world do that. There is more than that. There is the spiritual side of culture. The mental side. The physical side. The social side. The economical side.

Randall Tetlich
Old Crow, Yukon 17 November 1992

We want to do better for our land. This is what we were talking about. [translation]

Chief Gabe Hardisty
Fort Simpson, Northwest Territories
26 May 1992

6.1 Background

Environmental stewardship is an essential element of all future northern policies and programs, whether these are developed by Aboriginal, territorial, provincial or federal governments. Stewardship goes beyond establishing sustainable harvesting practices, mediating land-use conflicts, protecting the environment, stopping or cleaning up pollution — although it includes all of these. Stewardship also means a revival and

entrenchment of certain older ways of seeing the relationship between human beings and the environment. It consistently recognizes the utter dependence of humanity on the natural world. It involves the recognition that all resources, exploited past a certain point, are non-renewable. Central to stewardship is the realistic appreciation that all natural processes and systems are interrelated, that they know no domestic or international boundaries, and that responsible development requires co-operation among human beings and between human beings and the natural world.

After Skookum Jim found gold, everything changed.
White people came to this country.
White people learned everything from Indians. Now they want the whole thing, the land!
I've got sixty-four grandchildren in this Yukon. I worry about them, what's going to happen?
White people, where's their grandpa? their grandma?
Indians should have their own land.

Source: Annie Ned, interviewed and quoted in Julie Cruikshank, *Life Lived Like a Story* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1990), p. 338.

Protecting the northern environment is essential for the physical, emotional and spiritual health of individuals and communities. It is also a matter of economic rationality.

Elsewhere in this chapter we recommend that economic development planning in the North be built on the mixed economy model. Most families in the North (except those living in a very few wage centres) draw their income from a combination of wage employment, the sale of handmade commodities, and hunting, gathering and fishing. Individuals, or more commonly families, may engage in all of these activities, making the best use of all the opportunities available to them. Virtually no one lives by traditional pursuits alone; likewise, few Aboriginal people in the North live entirely by wages, and there is little prospect that everyone will be able to do so in the future. The vitality of the mixed economy depends on both wage employment and the harvest of renewable resources.

Conflict over land use and over control and regulation of land use has been at the centre of the political relationship between northern Aboriginal nations and non-Aboriginal institutions and governments for many decades. Treaties 8 and 11 were in large measure attempts to regulate joint land use and occupancy in the face of disorderly and unpredictable incursions of gold-seekers and oil developers. The treaties were somewhat successful in this original purpose, but less so in stopping or slowing the erosion of Aboriginal access to the land in later years. Where no treaties existed, there was essentially no regulation of joint land use at all until very recently.

When non-Aboriginal Canadians use categories such as 'wilderness' and 'natural resources' to refer to the land and the 'wealth' that it contains, they are not employing categories that transcend cultural boundaries. Rather, as they are used to describe

Canadian landscapes, they embody a whole series of inferences concerning human relationships to this 'undeveloped' land that have historically been the cultural domain of Euro-Canadians. By now this should go without saying. In fact, however, it has done little to alert the tendency of the relevant state institutions to assume that the Euro-Canadian technical paradigm of resource management possesses a superior intrinsic rationality and predictive capacity. Such power is assumed to endow this paradigm with a universal applicability that should transcend cultural boundaries.

Source: Andrew Chapeskie, "Land, Landscape, Culturescape: Aboriginal Relationship to Land and the Co-Management of Natural Resources", research study prepared RCAP (1995).

In retrospect, it is clear that the Second World War and the years immediately following were particularly important ones for northern land use and for what has come to be called environmental impact. The wartime arrival of thousands of military personnel and their equipment, followed by construction of the DEw line and the establishment of a military presence at various northern locations, left many permanent legacies, including localized pollution caused by industrial waste that was not safely discarded. The most troubling of these have been polychlorinated biphenols (PCBs).

Forty-two DEw line stations were built in the Canadian North during the 1950s; by 1963, half the stations were no longer needed. In the 1980s, the active DEw line sites were converted for use in the North Warning System. PCBs were used at all locations,¹²² and discarded PCBs were stored in barrels and left at the sites. A clean-up plan has been developed, and removal of the PCBs began in the summer of 1995.

The post-war period also saw the opening of mines and the development of hydroelectric projects, especially in the mid-north. In the 1950s and '60s, there were relatively few checks on any environmental effects these projects might have. There was also scant attention to local consultation, so most of the projects were implemented before the Aboriginal peoples using the land had a chance to appreciate their impact. For example, the construction of the Nonacho Dam on the Taltson River in the Northwest Territories was completed with no consultation with Dene Sonline living in the area. Dene Sonline came upon blasting and construction crews when they went out on the land for late winter trapping. The Nonacho Dam flooded an area Dene Sonline call Nánúlá Kúé. The flooding damaged the land, trees, animals, fish, birds and their habitat. It flooded gravesites, cabins and traplines. It altered caribou crossing routes and affected the quality of the water. All the knowledge that had been passed on from generation to generation about Nánúlá Kúé was lost when the land was flooded. Dene Sonline saw it as a "breaking of trust between the people and the land and water". This had a profound psychological effect on Dene Sonline that is still felt today.¹²³

Similar situations have occurred in other parts of northern Canada as well. Partly as a result of such experiences, Aboriginal peoples began to organize politically to halt potentially dangerous developments and, in the longer term, to influence land-use decisions and mitigate environmental damage. The large project proposals of the 1970s, such as the James Bay hydroelectric power development and the Mackenzie Valley

pipeline, galvanized Aboriginal peoples across the North. They organized to pressure governments to halt or regulate the projects. One result of this activity was the establishment of the comprehensive claims negotiation process, which was intended to achieve in modern times what the treaties had achieved (at least in part) in the past: secure and peaceful access to northern resources by those interested in developing them, and the regulation of land and water use so that Aboriginal hunters, trappers and fishers, and industrial developers, could coexist. A second result of land-use conflicts in the 1970s was the introduction of regulatory and review processes, such as the Federal Environmental Assessment Review Process.¹²⁴

Through the 1980s, the range of environmental issues being addressed in open political debate expanded to include land, sea and air pollution and the impacts of military tests and exercises.¹²⁵ The focus of government policy shifted from understanding environmental issues at the local or regional level to seeing the environmental consequences of development from a transboundary (international and circumpolar) perspective.¹²⁶

Besides efforts to halt developments that directly affected the viability of the hunting, trapping and fishing economies, Aboriginal people and their allies across the North also tried to influence the scale and rate of industrial economic development. Recognizing that this form of development has benefitted Aboriginal communities only marginally,¹²⁷ Aboriginal people in the North pressed for better-paid jobs, effective training programs and local benefits in the form of small business opportunities. There has been some success in this regard, so that it is now unlikely that any major project would be developed in the North without such measures to benefit the local population. The challenge remains finding ways to limit negative impacts on the renewable resources in the North and extending training and employment benefits past the peak phase of projects.¹²⁸

The evolution of environmental policies and programs since the 1970s has involved the creation of a complex set of organizations and legislative provisions designed to assess and monitor environmental impacts of development projects, minimize negative consequences and, more generally, shift the focus of development from the approach of the 1960s — development for development's sake — to the approach of the '90s — creating sustainable forms of development.¹²⁹

If oil and gas exploration or forestry disrupt hunting and trapping areas, if mines pollute streams and rivers, and if offshore petroleum production and transportation drive away marine mammals, the mixed economy of the North cannot survive. Northern Aboriginal peoples, moreover, will be forced away from the life that sustains them and ensures the survival of their cultures. This reality has long been recognized by northern Aboriginal people. In many parts of the North, they have been working to develop regimes of environmental stewardship appropriate to their areas. We consulted people about their experience in developing these regimes, and we offer some recommendations concerning the difficulties that are now becoming apparent. In this area, however, it is obvious that

the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people who live in the North are taking the lead in finding solutions.

Three particularly important matters were raised in our public hearings:

- pollution control, prevention and clean-up;
- co-ordination and enhancement of existing regulatory regimes; and
- more thorough and effective integration of traditional knowledge in the regimes established to ensure sustainable use.

6.2 Pollution Control

Mercury contamination, radiation, PCBs, airborne particulates and other substances may have a severe long-term impact on the health of all northern residents. There is not the space here to address the effects of all these pollutants, but we can provide some sense of the potential problems. (See also Volume 3, Chapter 3.)

Although a comprehensive overview of pollution in northern Canada has not yet been developed, research indicates some serious problems on the horizon.¹³⁰ From 1985 to 1987, Health and Welfare Canada supported studies at Broughton Island, N.w.T., to assess the risks to the health of Arctic residents of consuming country foods containing PCBs. Seal, caribou, narwhal, fish and walrus accounted for 90 per cent or more of the country foods consumed. Human blood, breast milk and various foods were measured for concentrations of PCBs. The study found that 15.4 per cent of males and 8.8 per cent of females ingested more than the tolerable daily intake of PCBs set by Health and Welfare Canada. PCB concentrations in blood samples exceeded tolerable amounts in 63 per cent of children under 15 years of age, 39 per cent of females aged 15 to 44, six per cent of males 15 years and older, and 29 per cent of women 45 years and older. All samples of the breast milk contained PCBs, and one-quarter exceeded the established tolerable PCB level. Santé Québec reports similar findings in northern Quebec.¹³¹

While these studies give cause for concern, it is important to recognize that there is no general conclusion yet that country foods are unsafe. Rather, the findings are a warning that the people who consume country foods should monitor contaminant levels where they live, through information provided by the health and environment departments of the federal, provincial or territorial government.¹³²

6.3 Environmental Management Regimes

Federal, provincial and territorial governments share responsibility for administering environmental regimes in the North. The Federal Environmental Assessment Review Office (FEARO) is responsible for conducting environmental impact assessments of development projects. On 19 January 1995 the Canadian Environmental Assessment Act was proclaimed. Among other provisions, the act enshrines the right to intervenor funding

and gives FEARO the power to subpoena witnesses and to assess the cumulative impact of development projects.¹³³ At provincial and territorial levels, responsibility for environmental management rests with various departments, such as the Ministère des Ressources naturelles (Quebec), the Ministry of Natural Resources (Ontario and Manitoba), the Ministry of Parks and Natural Resources (Saskatchewan), and the Department of Renewable Resources (Northwest Territories).¹³⁴ These ministries (and in some provinces, rural municipalities) manage the day-to-day regulatory process, including land-use permits, local development planning and water-use regulation.

Environmental management structures and policies differ throughout the North. Structures and policies depend on the situation of the Aboriginal people who live in a particular region, whether the group is subject to the Indian Act, and whether the group has entered into a comprehensive claims agreement. Where a group remains subject to the act, environmental management remains in the control of the federal government. Environmental management agreements with band councils are usually classified as 'interim' agreements; that is, they are of a temporary nature and subject to periodic re-evaluation.¹³⁵ These agreements exist as a result of policy, not legislation, and so are less stable than cases where Aboriginal groups have ratified comprehensive claims agreements, which make provision for similar functions.

Since the inception of the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement (JBNQA) in 1975 and the Northeastern Quebec Agreement in 1978, federal and provincial authorities have shared responsibility for environmental management with Aboriginal organizations created by comprehensive land claims agreements. This has involved the creation of co-management boards and councils, typically with 50 per cent Aboriginal membership and 50 per cent federal and provincial/territorial appointees.¹³⁶

Assessments of the effectiveness of these co-management boards have revealed mixed results. In the JBNQA case, Alan Penn concludes that in the administration of public lands and natural resources...it has become apparent that the mechanisms in the Agreement have done very little to expand the economic and social prospects for the Cree communities. To many...the consultative mechanisms are impractical as a means of influencing government policy; instead, they can serve too readily as a pretext for inaction or containment.¹³⁷

The problems experienced by co-management boards established through the JBNQA stem from the fact that the Aboriginal groups (Crees and Inuit) and the government continue to have very different understandings and expectations about what environmental assessment regimes are intended to achieve. In the James Bay case, these differences originate in the positions taken by Aboriginal groups and the Quebec government during and since negotiation of JBNQA.¹³⁸ The major failure of the regimes is that they provide insufficient direction regarding standards and criteria for approving or rejecting proposed development projects. In particular, the Kativik environmental quality commission, together with the Kativik regional government, lacks clear authority to act on environmental issues.¹³⁹ This is because of several problems, including lack of baseline

data on environmental impact, the absence of independent data (from Aboriginal and government sources), and the lack of intervenor funding.¹⁴⁰

The Inuvialuit Final Agreement (1984) resulted in the elaboration of five management principles:

- the protection and preservation of Arctic wildlife, environment and biological productivity through the application of conservation principles and practices;
- the integration of wildlife and land management regimes and the co-ordination of legislative authorities;
- the application of special protective measures to lands determined to be important for wildlife, research or harvesting;
- the effective integration of the Inuvialuit into all bodies, functions and decisions pertaining to wildlife management and land management in the Inuvialuit Settlement Region; and
- the application of the relevant knowledge and experience of both the Inuvialuit and the scientific communities.

Under the agreement, the Inuvialuit Land Administration (ILA) is responsible for environmental management and will be directly accountable to the future Inuvialuit regional government. Co-management boards established through ILA have achieved some measure of effectiveness, mainly because of the flexibility of management options and processes set up in the agreement. However, Lindsay Staples criticizes governments for their lack of commitment to the IFA implementation process and points to the inconsistency between government departments in co-ordinating policies and interpreting IFA legislation.¹⁴¹

According to provisions in the Nunavut Agreement (1993), environmental management regimes will be introduced with the creation of the Nunavut government in 1999. Article 5, part 2 of the agreement creates the Nunavut Wildlife Management Board (NwMB), composed of equal numbers of nominees from government and Inuit organizations.¹⁴² The board's jurisdiction includes participation in research, establishment of levels of total allowable harvest, assessment of basic-needs levels for communities, establishment or removal of non-quota limitations, and identification of wildlife management zones. NwMB held its first meeting in Iqaluit, N.w.T., in January 1994.

The co-management boards established by comprehensive claims agreements benefit from their association with these constitutionally entrenched agreements. They still face the task of establishing themselves early as effective organizations with the capacity to develop relationships with other institutions, such as provincial and territorial departments.

While there are still limitations on the effectiveness of environmental co-management boards, there is consensus that they represent an important improvement over the one-sided situation that existed before the signing of JBNQA. Aboriginal organizations may still be subject ultimately to government control in environmental management, but co-management boards increasingly allow Aboriginal groups to participate in and influence policy making.

One of the more successful examples of co-management in the North is the Beverly and Qamanirjuaq Caribou Management Board (BQCMB). (For details, see Volume 2, Chapter 4, Appendix 4B.) Established in 1982 as part of a 10-year intergovernmental agreement, BQCMB was created in response to a widely perceived crisis in the management of the Beverly and Qamanirjuaq barren-ground caribou herds, whose migratory routes cross jurisdictional and harvester-group boundaries in the north-west of Canada (see Figure 6.6).¹⁴³ A basic problem in the management of these herds involved a disagreement between caribou harvesters and government biologists over the number of animals that constituted the herds. This conflict, in a context where hunters and trappers were accustomed to exercising some authority and considerable discretion in collective harvesting decisions,¹⁴⁴ led to the development of the management board.

The board's mandate is to advise the federal government and the ministries of renewable resources of the Northwest Territories, Saskatchewan and Manitoba on the management of the two herds. A secondary function involves promoting conservation through education and communication.¹⁴⁵

BQCMB consists of 13 members, of which eight are caribou users and five are government representatives appointed by DIAND, the Manitoba ministry of natural resources, the Saskatchewan ministry of parks and renewable resources, and the N.w.T. department of renewable resources. The government of the Northwest Territories appoints four of the user members, while Manitoba and Saskatchewan each appoint two.¹⁴⁶

A recent review of its operations acknowledges that management effectiveness is limited by the board's advisory status. Nonetheless, BQCMB is considered a positive example of co-management, particularly in comparison to the situation before it was set up. It has provided a forum for resolution of disputes and for the development of consensus on key questions of herd size and quotas.¹⁴⁷ In 1992, the board's mandate was extended by a further 10 years.

BQCMB and other co-management boards face difficulties arising from language and cultural differences. The language of work is English, a provision that systematically restricts who can be appointed a user representative; that is, appointees must come from the bilingual Aboriginal population. This means that older unilingual hunters, who generally have the most extensive traditional environmental knowledge, are effectively prevented from being appointed to the board.

Furthermore, terminology such as ‘wildlife management’, ‘census’ and ‘population’ are central concepts that guide decision making. It is questionable whether all co-management board members share the same understanding of these basic concepts. For example, the term ‘wildlife’ reflects a perspective on the relationship between people and animals that is rooted in agrarian and urban ways of life. The term cannot be translated directly into Aboriginal languages.¹⁴⁸ Hence, there is a need to negotiate the meanings of these concepts so that harvesters and the scientific community can communicate and manage more effectively.¹⁴⁹ The integration of scientific knowledge and traditional environmental knowledge should be at the core of co-management. Negotiation and integration are beginning to occur only now, however.



6.4 Traditional Knowledge

By traditional knowledge we mean a cumulative body of knowledge and beliefs, handed down through generations by cultural transmission, about the relationship of living beings (including humans) with one another and with their environment. ...[It] is an attribute of societies with historical continuity in resource use practices; by and large, these are non-industrial or less technologically advanced societies, many of them indigenous or tribal.¹⁵⁰

The traditional knowledge of Indigenous peoples encompasses vast and diverse elements in the common human heritage of understanding. Traditional knowledge was threatened by colonization and has been made less accessible because — in North America at least — it is preserved almost entirely by oral means. While a great deal has no doubt been lost, traditional knowledge is now being recovered and recorded. Researchers are documenting bodies of knowledge in virtually every aspect of human life, including knowledge about physical, mental and spiritual health, science and technology, navigation, and all forms of production from the land and waters. A particularly rich vein of knowledge is available on matters of environmental stewardship.

The traditional knowledge of Aboriginal people in northern Canada about environmental matters comprises observations about all the interacting aspects of the local environment.

These observations are based on experience and experimentation. They guide a set of protocols and a system of self-management that governs resource use.¹⁵¹ The observations are classified, interpreted and understood through spiritual (that is, non-empirical) belief systems.¹⁵² The spiritual aspect of traditional knowledge acts as a moral code that governs human-animal-environmental relations and is expressed through customary rules and laws rooted in the values and norms of the community to which it belongs.

Traditional knowledge can be seen to have two aspects. The spiritual aspect is integral to the cosmological and ethical beliefs of indigenous societies. While the validity or truth value of the spiritual aspects of traditional knowledge cannot be assessed scientifically, its social existence and transmission can be measured, as can effects on the environment (in, for example, the conservation of resources). The second feature of traditional knowledge is its practical base: traditional explanations of environmental phenomena are based on cumulative, collective experience, tested over centuries by people who required a sophisticated and practical knowledge of the land on which they depended for every aspect of life.

As with other components of culture, traditional knowledge is reproduced, validated and revised daily and seasonally through the annual cycle of social activities. It is elaborated and transmitted in Aboriginal languages and passed from elders to youth in each generation.¹⁵³

Traditional knowledge is generally recorded and transmitted through an oral tradition, often in the form of stories, and it is learned through observation and experience on the land in the company of those who are knowledgeable. A general characteristic of traditional knowledge is the understanding that all parts of the environment — animal, vegetable and mineral — have a life force. Human life is not superior to other parts of creation. For example, Inuit traditionally believe that animals have souls and that certain places are considered sacred by virtue of having spirits. A fundamental consequence of traditional knowledge is the belief that human beings can use — but do not have the right to control or exploit — other animate or inanimate elements of the environment.

There is increasing interest in integrating traditional knowledge with the knowledge of biologists, botanists, climatologists and others in deliberations about environmental regulation. There is growing legitimacy for these ideas.¹⁵⁴ Just what is involved in integrating the two forms of knowledge is still a matter of some uncertainty, although various attempts have been made. Milton Freeman, for example, notes that the Berger inquiry (1977) was the first environmental and social impact assessment that took into consideration the views and knowledge of the Inuvialuit, Dene and Métis peoples of the northwest corner of Canada. Freeman emphasizes that, over the last two decades, “the credibility of native hunters as accurate interpreters of nature has become more widely accepted”.¹⁵⁵

Traditional ecological knowledge, along with scientific data, is used in the Hudson Bay Research Program. This program examines the various approaches to assessing cumulative effects in the Hudson Bay bio-region. The program is a three-year

collaborative research initiative involving the Canadian Arctic Resources Committee, the Environmental Committee of Sanikiluaq, and the Rawson Academy of Aquatic Science.

John Sallenave has identified three barriers to the integration of traditional ecological knowledge:

- **Different perspectives:** Sallenave observes that there is frequently a distinct difference between what Aboriginal people think are significant impacts and what policy makers and those in favour of development projects think are significant impacts. These differences are probably rooted in both the habits of mind and the practical priorities of each group.
- **Scientific scepticism:** Scientists are sceptical about the credibility or reliability of Aboriginal information gathered through interviews, preferring ‘hard’ data such as biophysical data. Some may dismiss Aboriginal knowledge as subjective, anecdotal and unscientific.
- **Politics:** Policy makers may resist altering established decision-making processes to accommodate the use of traditional ecological knowledge, for reasons having to do with an interest in controlling the process.¹⁵⁶

While these barriers are real, there is growing interest in overcoming them among scientists and policy makers, as well as Aboriginal people engaged in economic development planning, environmental protection and wildlife management. Work to integrate traditional environmental knowledge is probably most advanced in the Northwest Territories, where the government has adopted a traditional knowledge policy with far-reaching implications for the entire public service and regulatory process. The policy recognizes that Aboriginal traditional knowledge is a valid and essential source of information about the natural environment and its resources, the use of natural resources, and the relationship of people to the land and to each other...[The Government of the Northwest Territories] will incorporate traditional knowledge into Government decisions and actions where appropriate.¹⁵⁷

Among other measures, the policy obliges public servants to administer all programs and services “in a manner consistent with the beliefs, customs, knowledge, values and languages of the people being served”.

6.5 The International Agenda on the Environment

Northern Aboriginal peoples and their non-Aboriginal neighbours have recognized the dangers inherent in the current jurisdictional division of the circumpolar Arctic basin, which is a single ecological and cultural area. For this reason and others, they have undertaken policy and organizational initiatives in the international arena.¹⁵⁸

One of the earliest initiatives was launched in 1984 by the Inuit Circumpolar Conference (ICC), an organization representing Inuit from Greenland, Canada, the United States and

Russia. ICC has developed an Arctic policy that covers virtually all aspects of circumpolar life and applies to all nation-states in the circumpolar basin. ICC invites these nation-states to adopt and implement the Arctic policy, whose main provisions are as follows:

- affirmation and protection of Inuit rights at the national and international level. This includes the right to self-government, as well as issues of global security, peace and development in the Arctic and circumpolar co-operation;
- protection of the circumpolar environment. Included here are provisions for the protection and management of Arctic resources, as well as Arctic marine transportation and transboundary nuclear pollution;
- social development, including health and social well-being, equality between women and men, and the role of Inuit youth and elders;
- cultural development, such as Inuit culture and language, communications, archaeological and cultural property and religious freedom;
- economic development, including employment and training, air transportation and international trade; and
- educational issues and northern scientific research.¹⁵⁹

These principles are designed to influence and guide the decisions of policy makers in each of the eight nation-states with a presence in the Arctic. Political self-determination of each Arctic Aboriginal people is vulnerable to the economic, environmental and social change brought about by developments in the south.¹⁶⁰ By working together across international boundaries, Inuit hope to exercise more influence. Thus, the ICC Arctic policy states:

Public policies and programs of government, and international agreements, must reflect the ICC principles. Formal mechanisms should be devised to ensure timely and effective Inuit input into policy and decision-making. Governments must devolve responsibilities and authorities, with the necessary financial assistance, upon Inuit regional and community groups to develop and implement programs that affect Inuit.¹⁶¹

There have been other circumpolar environmental initiatives; Aboriginal peoples from Canada have been involved in the development of each of them. The Finnish government proposed an international co-operative body to monitor the quality of Arctic waters, in response to concern about contaminants in the Arctic food chain, suspected to come from pollutants in Arctic waters but originating outside the Arctic.

The Arctic Environmental Protection Strategy (AEPS) is another important model. In June 1991, representatives of the governments of Canada, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden, the former USSR and the United States signed an accord in Rovaniemi,

Finland, committing themselves to a multi-phase strategy to protect the circumpolar environment. The AEPS commits these nations to taking specific steps to protect the Arctic environment and establishes an Arctic monitoring and assessment program. The strategy is important because “it represents a collective, circumpolar approach toward environmental issues, many of which do not respect political boundaries”.¹⁶²

Another case is the Porcupine Caribou Management Board. The caribou migrate from calving grounds on the north slope of Alaska, through the northern Yukon, into the delta of the Mackenzie River, providing a vital source of food for Inuvialuit, Gwich'in and Inupiat people of 13 communities (see Figure 6.6). They are also hunted by non-Aboriginal people. The Inuvialuit Final Agreement created an opportunity for international agreements involving the governments of Canada and the United States, as well as Alaska, the Yukon and the Northwest Territories, to protect the herd's habitat and ensure the continuation of subsistence hunting on both sides of the international border.

A second step was the establishment of the Alaska and Inuvialuit Beluga Whale Committee in 1988 “to facilitate and promote the wise conservation [and] management of beluga whales in Alaska and the western Canadian Arctic”.¹⁶³ The committee, which operates on a consensus basis, is working to establish an international agreement.

6.6 Conclusion

For Aboriginal people, environmental stewardship is more than a question of politics, it is a matter of cultural and economic survival. The long-term effects of global pollution on the residents of the entire circumpolar region present a challenge for the affected nation-states, as well as the communities and people who live within their borders. Concerted multilateral efforts will be required. Environmental management regimes offer a different kind of challenge, and the promise — just beginning to be realized — of effective systems that make the best use of the knowledge and skills of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal science.

Recommendations

The Commission recommends that

4.6.8

The government of Canada recognize the contribution of Aboriginal traditional knowledge to environmental stewardship and support its development.

4.6.9

The government of Canada make provisions for the participation of Aboriginal governments and organizations in future international agreements concerning environmental stewardship.

4.6.10

The federal department of health continue the close monitoring of contamination of northern country food by atmospheric and other pollution and, given the importance of these foods to northern people, communicate the results of this work quickly and effectively to users of these renewable northern resources.

4.6.11

All governments in Canada support the development of co-management regimes along the lines of those already established in the North.

7. Support for the Northern Economy

If Toronto had 80 per cent unemployment, as is the case in most of our reserves, would you address the social or economic problems first? I think if you had 80 per cent unemployment in Toronto, you would have rioting in the streets.

Chief Frank Beardy
Muskrat Dam First Nation
Big Trout Lake, Ontario, 3 December 1992

The economic circumstances in which LIA [Labrador Inuit Association] operates are best characterized as extreme poverty and heavy dependence on government support programs. The short, ten-week, commercial fishery is seen as the economic mainstay of the Labrador Inuit economy. This fishery has declined steadily and more rapidly over the years. Catches of all the traditional and principal commercial species, cod, salmon and char, keep getting smaller and smaller. The only “fish” which are plentiful are seals but there is no market for pelts as a result of the successes of the animal rights movement. The resulting decline in income is devastating the Labrador Inuit economy. They no longer have the income necessary to qualify for unemployment insurance benefits or to finance subsistence activities on the land.¹⁶⁴

We turn now to a question we heard everywhere during our hearings in the North: How are the Aboriginal people who choose to remain in the North going to make a living in the future?

Over the next decade or so, the adult population of Aboriginal people in the North will continue to grow significantly (Table 6.6).¹⁶⁵ Nothing close to a sufficient number of jobs is likely to be created, especially in the smaller communities and more remote areas. Compared to southern Canada, per capita public expenditures in the North (particularly the territorial North) have been high, primarily a result of the climate, the sparse population distribution, and the need to subsidize virtually every form of economic activity.¹⁶⁶ As the population grows, the absolute amount of public expenditures is expected to grow. Yet public funds are expected to remain tight and probably to get much tighter, at least in the short term. The effects of federal and provincial fiscal restraint are not likely to be sufficiently offset by northern-generated

revenues.¹⁶⁷ Taken together, these factors point to the need for careful rethinking in the area of economic and social spending. In a time of restraint, how are positive programs to be put in place to give young people reasonable choices for earning a living in the future?

TABLE 6.6
Projections of Aboriginal Identity Population by Age Groups, 1991, 2001 and 2016

	Both Sexes				Males				Females			
	0- 14	15- 54	55+	Total	0- 14	15- 54	55+	Total	0- 14	15- 54	55+	Total
	(thousands)											
Total Aboriginal												
Far North 1991	26.3	38.1	5.6	70.1	13.5	19.5	2.9	35.9	12.8	18.6	2.8	34.2
2001	27.5	49.8	8.8	86.1	14.1	25.8	4.2	44.1	13.4	23.9	4.6	41.9
2016	26.7	60.6	18.7	106	13.8	31.7	8.8	54.4	12.9	28.9	9.9	51.6
Mid- North 1991	71.4	103.6	15.3	190.3	35.9	51.5	7.5	95	35.5	52.1	7.7	95.3
2001	74.7	136.1	23.7	234.5	37.6	68.5	10.9	117	37.1	67.6	12.8	117.5
2016	72.5	166.6	50.2	289.2	36.8	84.6	22.7	144.2	35.7	81.9	27.5	145.1
South 1991	165.1	263.5	31.7	460.2	84	123.6	14.7	222.4	81.1	139.8	17	237.9
2001	173.1	347	49.8	569.9	88.2	164.6	21.6	274.5	84.9	182.4	28.2	295.4
2016	167.7	424.2	106.3	698.2	86.2	203.8	45.7	335.6	81.5	220.4	60.6	362.5
Total 1991	262.8	405.2	52.6	720.6	133.4	194.6	25.2	353.2	129.4	210.6	27.5	367.4
2001	275.3	532.8	82.4	890.5	140	258.9	36.8	435.6	135.4	273.9	45.6	454.9
2016	266.8	651.4	175.1	1,093.40	136.8	320.2	77.2	534.2	130.1	331.3	97.9	559.3
	Both Sexes				Males				Females			
	0- 14	15- 54	55+	Total	0- 14	15- 54	55+	Total	0- 14	15- 54	55+	Total
	(thousands)											
Status Indians												
Far North 1991	8.8	14.7	2.5	26	4.5	7.6	1.3	13.3	4.4	7.1	1.2	12.7
2001	9.6	20	3.9	33.4	4.9	10.4	1.8	17.1	4.7	9.6	2.1	16.4
2016	8.3	24	8	40.2	4.2	12.6	3.8	20.6	4	11.4	4.2	19.7
Mid- North 1991	51.4	77.8	11.9	141.1	26	38.8	5.8	70.7	25.3	39	6.1	70.4
2001	55.8	105.8	18.4	180.1	28.4	53.2	8.3	89.9	27.4	52.6	10.2	90.2
2016	48.2	127	38.1	213.2	24.7	64.4	17.2	106.3	23.5	62.5	20.9	106.9
South 1991	90.9	159.1	21	271	46.1	75.1	9.5	130.8	44.8	84	11.4	140.2
2001	98.8	216.4	32.6	347.8	50.3	103	13.6	166.9	48.5	113.3	19.1	180.9
2016	85.3	259.4	67.4	412.1	43.7	124.7	28.2	196.7	41.6	134.6	39.2	215.4
Total 1991	151.1	251.6	35.4	438	76.6	121.5	16.6	214.8	74.4	130.1	18.7	223.2
2001	164.2	342.2	54.9	561.4	83.6	166.7	23.7	273.9	80.7	175.5	31.3	287.4
2016	141.8	410.3	113.5	665.6	72.6	201.8	49.2	323.5	69.2	208.5	64.3	342
	Both Sexes				Males				Females			
	0- 14	15- 54	55+	Total	0- 14	15- 54	55+	Total	0- 14	15- 54	55+	Total
	(thousands)											
Non-status Indians												
Far North 1991	1.1	0.9	—	2.1	0.6	0.4	0	1	0.5	0.5	—	1.1
2001	1.1	1.1	0.1	2.3	0.6	0.5	0	1.1	0.5	0.6	0.1	1.2
2016	1.5	1.4	0.2	3.1	0.8	0.7	0	1.5	0.7	0.7	0.2	1.6
Mid- North 1991	8.8	9.8	1.2	19.7	4.4	4.8	0.7	9.9	4.3	5	0.5	9.8

2001	8.6	11.6	1.9	22	4.4	5.8	1	11.2	4.2	5.7	0.9	10.8
2016	11.8	15.1	4.5	31.5	6.1	7.8	2.3	16.2	5.7	7.3	2.2	15.2
South 1991	36.9	49.2	4.7	90.8	18.5	22.7	2.2	43.5	18.4	26.5	2.5	47.3
2001	36.1	58.2	7.5	101.8	18.3	27.7	3.3	49.3	17.8	30.6	4.2	52.5
2016	49.7	75.9	18.2	143.8	25.5	37.2	7.7	70.4	24.2	38.7	10.5	73.4
1991	46.8	59.9	6	112.6	23.5	28	2.9	54.4	23.3	31.9	3	58.2
2001	45.7	70.9	9.4	126.1	23.2	34	4.3	61.5	22.5	36.9	5.1	64.5
2016	63	92.5	22.9	178.4	32.4	45.8	10	88.1	30.7	46.7	12.9	90.2

TABLE 6.6 (Continued)
Projections of Aboriginal Identity Population by Age Groups, 1991, 2001 and 2016

	Both Sexes				Males				Females				
	0- 14	15- 54	55+	Total	0- 14	15- 54	55+	Total	0- 14	15- 54	55+	Total	
	(thousands)												
Métis													
Far North 1991	2.1	3.7	0.3	6.2	1.1	1.9	0.2	3.2	1	1.9	0.1	3	
2001	2.1	4.7	0.5	7.3	1.1	2.4	0.3	3.7	1	2.4	0.2	3.6	
2016	1.9	5.7	1.1	8.7	1	2.9	0.6	4.5	0.9	2.8	0.5	4.2	
Mid- North 1991	13.2	18.7	2.5	34.3	6.2	9.6	1.3	17.1	6.9	9.1	1.2	17.2	
2001	12.8	23.7	4.1	40.6	6.1	12.2	2.2	20.4	6.7	11.6	2	20.2	
2016	11.6	28.5	9.1	49.3	5.6	14.8	4.6	25	6	13.7	4.5	24.3	
South	1991	36.7	55.6	6.6	98.9	18.8	26.1	3.1	48	17.9	29.5	3.5	35
2001	35.6	70.6	10.9	117	18.4	33.1	5.3	56.7	17.2	37.5	5.6	60.3	
2016	32.5	84.8	24.1	141.4	17	40.2	11.1	68.3	15.5	44.6	13.1	73.2	
Total 1991	52	78	9.4	139.4	26.2	37.5	4.6	68.3	25.8	40.5	4.9	71.1	
2001	50.4	99	15.5	165.00	25.6	47.6	7.7	80.9	24.8	51.4	7.8	84	
2016	46.1	119	34.3	199.4	23.6	57.9	16.2	97.8	22.4	61.1	18.1	101.7	
	Both Sexes				Males				Females				
	0- 14	15- 54	55+	Total	0- 14	15- 54	55+	Total	0- 14	15- 54	55+	Total	
	(thousands)												
Inuit													
Far North 1991	13.8	17.8	2.3	34	7.5	8.9	1.3	17.6	6.4	8.9	1.1	16.4	
2001	15.3	23.5	3.2	42	7.8	12.2	1.5	21.5	7.5	11.3	1.7	20.5	
2016	16	32.6	6.1	54.7	8.2	16.7	2.6	27.5	7.8	15.9	3.5	27.2	
Mid- North 1991	0.1	0.1	0	0.2	0	0	0	0	0.1	0.1	0	0.2	
2001	0.1	0.1	0	0.2	0	0	0	0	0.1	0.1	0	0.2	
2016	0.1	0.1	0	0.2	0	0	0	0	0.1	0.1	0	0.2	
South 1991	1.9	1.7	0	3.7	1.1	0.6	0	1.7	0.9	1.1	0	2	
2001	2.1	2.2	0	4.4	1.1	0.8	0	1.9	1	1.4	0	2.5	
2016	2.2	3.1	0	5.4	1.2	1.1	0	2.3	1.1	2	0	3.1	
Total 1991	15.9	19.6	2.3	37.8	8.5	9.5	1.3	19.3	7.3	10.1	1.1	18.5	
2001	17.5	25.8	3.2	46.6	8.9	13	1.5	23.4	8.6	12.8	1.7	23.2	
2016	18.3	35.8	6.1	60.3	9.3	17.7	2.6	29.7	9	18.1	3.5	30.6	

Note: — non-zero values of less than 50.

Because of multiple identities reported in the individual Aboriginal groups, the sum of the four groups is greater than the count for the total Aboriginal population.

Source: Statistics Canada, Demography Division, Population Projections Section.

We believe that the policies for northern economic development that are most likely to succeed are those that complement and build on the strengths of the traditional-mixed economy. The Berger inquiry into the construction of the Mackenzie Valley pipeline concluded nearly 20 years ago:

In the North today, the lives of many native families are based on an intricate economic mix. At certain times of the year, they hunt and fish; at other times they work for wages.... There are, in reality, four sectors in the northern economy: subsistence, trading of renewable resource produce, local wage employment, and industrial wage employment. We can trace the history of the native economy along a spectrum that has subsistence activities at one end and industrial wage labour at the other. But we must bear in mind that overlapping or mixed economic forms are now integral to the native economy.¹⁶⁸

The four sectors identified by Berger are still important in the North: subsistence hunting, fishing and gathering, the sale of renewable resources products, local (or small business) wage employment, and industrial wage employment. However, we would add to the “intricate economic mix” some other sources of income — public service employment, subsidies to the harvesting sector, and social welfare transfers.¹⁶⁹ It is by combining income from these sources that most northern Aboriginal people have made a living for several decades and that they still make a living today.

The traditional-mixed economy has been given many names. At one time, analysts referred to ‘traditional pursuits’; later they identified the traditional, mixed, domestic, informal or renewable resources economies. We have chosen the term ‘traditional-mixed’ because it captures two of the most important features of this economic sphere. The reference to tradition recognizes that hunting, gathering and fishing are how northern Aboriginal peoples have traditionally made their living; the term also honours the fact that traditional knowledge and skills are important to success on the land and the reality that traditional spiritual values — a way of seeing the world — influence the activities of the land. This point was explained to us repeatedly at our public hearings. One of the plainest statements was made by Mark Wedge:

What drove the economy prior to the contact with the European culture, the European people? Some of the stories that some of the elders had brought out was that prior to the contact it was spiritual values that drove this economy.

Mark Wedge
Whitehorse, Yukon 18 November 1992

The economy is mixed because it blends what were once considered incompatible practices: wage employment, transfer payments, and traditional participation in fishing,

hunting and gathering.¹⁷⁰

Extended families share income in kind (from hunting, fishing and gathering) and cash income (from wage employment, the sale of arts and crafts, and social welfare transfers). Sharing occurs within households and between them. Frequently, cash income from various sources is used to support land-based production. For example, wages from short-term employment or social assistance payments may be used to purchase the supplies necessary for a hunting trip; the food harvested on such trips will be shared and used to sustain families and other community members. In addition, by-products of the hunting trip — fur and hides — are often used along with imported materials such as cloth and wool in fine-craft items such as hats, mittens, slippers and coats. Bone, antlers or soapstone (depending on the region of the North) are used for art carvings and other items made for sale.

Far from being incompatible with wage employment, the traditional-mixed economy is healthier when there are opportunities for people to earn cash wages. Wages can be used to buy the necessary items for going out on the land; in turn, the land provides food and other necessities of a much higher quality than could ever be purchased in the North by cash alone. In this sense, land-based production in the typical northern economy ‘subsidizes’ both the wage economy and the social welfare system.

What is essential is that the enterprises that generate wage employment be conducted in a manner that does not damage the environment (and thus the basis of the traditional-mixed economy) and that the jobs provided by enterprises be structured in a way that permits hunting, fishing and trapping to continue.

Part of the reason for our support of the traditional-mixed economy lies in our assessment of previous approaches to northern economic development. Development approaches based on very high levels of infrastructure construction and other forms of subsidy for major non-renewable and capital-intensive resource projects have not drawn many northern Aboriginal people into full-time wage employment; few such programs will likely be affordable in any case.

Yet we do not dismiss the wage economy. The traditional-mixed economy is not an isolated sphere of activity. Rather, it is the vital core of regional economies that include wage employment, small business development and various forms of investment and public expenditure. For many northern Aboriginal people, therefore, seasonal, part-time or permanent wage employment is an important aspect of their participation in the mixed economy. In light of this, we recognize the continuing importance of public and private sector wage employment. We also endorse a variety of measures, identified by many northern Aboriginal organizations and governments, to enhance opportunities for employment and business development. (See Volume 2, Chapter 5 for a discussion of most of these measures.) There is a high degree of consensus about the merits of such measures and an increasing amount of independent research that demonstrates their relevance.¹⁷¹ They include

- import substitution;
- long-term strategically planned labour force training;
- promotion of internal trade;
- development of the small business sector;
- selective commercialization of the wildlife harvest;
- specialized export development;
- eco-tourism;
- creation of job opportunities in the public service for local Aboriginal people to reduce the expense of importing and training public servants;
- job sharing; and
- flexibility in work schedules.

These solutions are based on the experience of the last several decades with other approaches to economic development. Since that experience is important to understanding the applicability of the measures just listed, we now consider some approaches used in the past.

7.1 Past Approaches to Northern Economic Development

During this century, two broad approaches to public spending for northern development have been tried: *laissez-faire* (where government abstains from involvement) and infrastructure development.

From Confederation to the Second World War, the federal purse was mainly closed to northern Aboriginal peoples. Some small amounts were paid to northern residents as a result of treaty obligations, policing was provided, and very occasionally, charitable expenditures were made. This *laissez-faire* period is captured in the phrase ‘best left as Indians’ — Ottawa’s earlier belief that northern Aboriginal peoples should make their own living, as they had always done. To some extent the federal government’s attitude applied to all citizens across Canada, Aboriginal or non-Aboriginal, until the changes that came with and followed the Second World War. However, a minority viewpoint, even during the Depression, was that the state had a responsibility to mitigate the effects of the major changes Aboriginal societies were experiencing.¹⁷²

Laissez-faire disappeared as a new spirit of interventionism began to inform federal economic development policy and practice during the 1950s and early 1960s. In the immediate post-war period, the general view in Ottawa was that publicly funded

infrastructure development would stimulate the development of regional economies by providing mainly construction jobs in the short run and by creating an attractive environment for private developers in the longer term. This view underlay regional development policy generally and the northern development approaches of prime ministers Louis St. Laurent and John Diefenbaker in particular and embraced this vision of economic development: build a railway or a road to a mine, subsidize the establishment of the mine, and in the natural course of things, Aboriginal people will be drawn into the new jobs created. However, despite federally sponsored training programs for northern Aboriginal people, relatively few of them have found permanent employment in these industries.¹⁷³

The culmination of the northern development policy was a wave of major non-renewable resource development projects in the 1970s. These included, for example, the Syncrude oil sands development, hydroelectric development in northern Quebec, the lead-zinc mine at Nanisivik, Northwest Territories, and the Nelson River hydroelectric projects in Manitoba. Governments were typically involved not only in the provision of infrastructure support but also in various types of direct subsidies. These included tax incentives, informal regulatory sponsorship by certain government agencies, research and development assistance, direct subsidies to encourage local employment and training, and some regulatory measures designed to ensure that socio-economic benefits such as training and small business development would accrue to the region.

Neither the 1950s nor the 1970s version of development contributed greatly to Aboriginal community development. Creation of wage employment opportunities benefitted only a few Aboriginal individuals. Furthermore, despite some small business stimulation, large projects have had almost exclusively negative short-term effects in neighbouring communities. There are various reasons for this, including the necessarily rapid pace of such large projects; the finite duration of the projects; and the extent to which it is feasible for corporations to operate 'contained' operations in the North, using centralized purchasing and a fly-in labour force. Regulation can mitigate the last factor but would consume some of the leverage local people and their governments have. It is difficult to get much of lasting local value out of megaprojects.¹⁷⁴ The cost in public funds of each job created (whether the person who finds employment is Aboriginal or non-Aboriginal) is very high. Many of the new positions tend to be filled by workers from elsewhere, as even under regulatory constraints companies have found it cheaper to fly in trained workers than to recruit, train and retain local employees. Furthermore, and most decisively, considering the current emphasis on deficit reduction and public spending restraint, it is difficult to imagine support in the 1990s for massive public subsidies of private industry on the scale of the 1970s and 1980s, when drilling for dollars under the old National Energy Program was routine. The range of options has narrowed dramatically.

7.2 The Contemporary Northern Economy

We believe that the 1990s are the beginning of a more realistic and more creative phase in planning economic development in the North. Both territorial governments, for

example, have recently studied the problems of their economies and have reached broadly similar conclusions.¹⁷⁵

The 1990s witnessed the convergence of a number of factors in the North that pose tremendous challenges to Aboriginal people and to Canada as a whole. These challenges include

- unemployment and underemployment in certain key areas of the North, particularly in small, predominantly Aboriginal communities;
- continued limited prospects for non-renewable resource-based economic development and employment;
- government fiscal restraint, resulting in declines in direct expenditures and investment as well as reduced employment opportunities by the largest employer — the government;
- per capita costs for delivering public programs in housing, health, education and social services that are the highest in Canada;
- a young and rapidly growing population and its need to be engaged in productive activity;
- recognition of environmental issues in the North and the need for sustainable development based on both scientific and indigenous knowledge;
- recognition of the under-utilized renewable resources potential in some parts of the traditional economy;
- a gradual shift of political power to northern regions and the development of new public institutions based in the North; and
- with political development and Aboriginal self-government, stabilization of the regime for resource regulation.

We favour a policy response rooted in sustaining viable communities and promoting a diversified economy that encompasses both wage employment and harvesting renewable resources. Through comprehensive land claims settlements and emerging systems of self-government, Aboriginal peoples in the North have an opportunity to re-establish the traditional-mixed economy in a land where direct use of natural resources is a vital dimension of making a living.

Northerners may well break new ground in coping with common problems of industrialized countries today: increased pressure on public expenditures, global competition creating downward pressures on incomes, and the reduced capacity of states to regulate or borrow to create full employment.

7.3 The Value of Country Food

To interpret the value of hunting solely as a means of subsistence and to give it a cash value would be objectionable to most Cree, as hunting is a way of life. It involves a religious sense of being in harmony with the forest and the animals....Hunting also provided employment and a sense of dignity and independence to the hunter. Nonetheless a cash income can be imputed....¹⁷⁶

There are several fundamental reasons for the deep commitment of Aboriginal people in the North to country food and to the domestic system that underlies its production and consumption, and these extend beyond traditional eating habits and preferences. The first has to do with the nutritional value of country food (see Volume 3, Chapter 3).

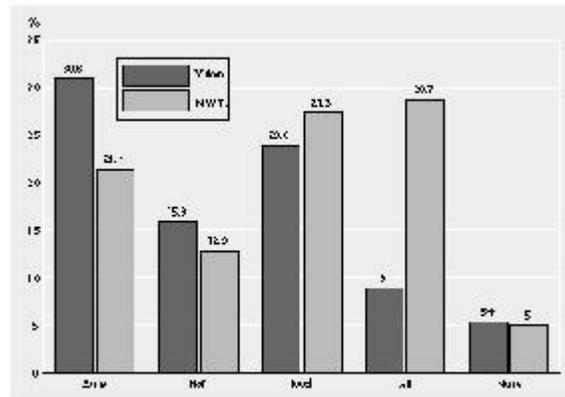
In general, country food is much richer in protein than the meats imported from southern Canada and has a lower fat content. For example, seal meat consists of 32 per cent protein and two per cent fat, and caribou is 27 per cent protein and one per cent fat. In contrast, beef is 17 per cent protein and as much as 23 per cent fat. Also, country foods tend to contain less saturated fat than beef and other southern meats. This applies not only to sea mammals and fish but also to beaver, muskrat, polar bear and caribou. Country foods are also much higher in iron and calcium, as well as other essential nutrients such as vitamin A, vitamin C, thiamine and riboflavin. Changes in the diets of Inuit, Métis and First Nations people to include more southern foods have significantly increased the incidence of tooth decay, obesity, iron deficiency, vitamin A deficiency and diabetes.¹⁷⁷

Harvested country food is usually the more economical alternative to store-bought imported foods, especially if nutritional value is taken into account.¹⁷⁸ Country food and its harvesting also have a very high cultural value. The social relations underlying the production of food in the traditional economy are critical to the functioning of that economy, and the sharing of food within the household and through the extended family and community are the primary means of reinforcing those social relations.

Finally, there is a growing body of evidence to show the importance of food gathered by hunting, gathering and fishing to household income. In the Northwest Territories, for example, more than half the Aboriginal population reported that all or most of its food came from this source (see Figure 6.7).

As noted earlier, Aboriginal harvesters require a relatively small but steady source of cash income to continue to harvest. This has been true for decades, although the situation has become more acute as fur prices decline (or vacillate wildly) and as the equipment and supplies necessary for harvesting increase in cost. In this area, some positive policy steps need to be taken, with additional public expenditures (or reallocation) and careful attention to program development.

FIGURE 6.7
Amount of Food Obtained Through Hunting and Fishing, 1991



NOTE: Showing percentage of the Aboriginal population aged 15+ living in the territories that obtain food from fish and game through hunting and fishing.
 Source: Statistics Canada, 1991. Aboriginal Income Survey, catalogue no. 89-28 (1993).

7.4 Supporting the Traditional-Mixed Economy

Some portion of the cash needed in a mixed economy is available from wages and small business income, but there is also a need for subsidy from governments. In our discussion of Aboriginal economies (Volume 2, Chapter 5), we argue that income support funds such as social assistance and unemployment insurance can be used more actively and constructively in contributing to the economic development of Aboriginal communities. We recommend a new holistic approach to the development of innovative uses of social assistance, which must be controlled by Aboriginal communities.

One approach we suggest is to incorporate social assistance with income support programs for harvesting activities. An essential focus of social security reform in the North is to enable Aboriginal people to hunt for food, process it, transform it and export it to create jobs for Aboriginal people. This point is especially relevant to communities where, in the Northwest Territories for example, harvesters continue to make up a large portion of the social assistance caseload.¹⁷⁹

Some northern regions are more advanced in this area than others — in northern Quebec, hunter and trapper income support programs are well-established — but in all parts of the North there are many ways to improve support for the traditional-mixed economy. Northerners explained to us that this issue has several dimensions.

High costs exacerbated by regressive taxation

The price of goods and services in the North ranges from 25 to 100 per cent higher than the Canadian average. The figure varies with geographical location and transportation costs, with the lower number referring to centres accessible by roads, such as Whitehorse and Yellowknife, and the higher applying to fly-in communities farther north. Northerners in some communities do not receive the basic dietary requirements of life. In

such cases, it is strong ties to the land and access to country food that supply low-income families with essential dietary staples.

However, flat taxes, such as the federal goods and services tax, do not take the variation in consumer prices into account at the point of purchase. This situation applies not only to immediate supplies such as fuel and ammunition but also to the price of capital equipment used for harvesting, such as snowmobiles and outboard motors.

Low-income taxpayers may eventually apply for and receive a rebate on taxes paid, but this is generally only a fraction of the actual tax paid and is not adjusted for the tax difference based on the real cost of goods. Provincial sales taxes are not subject to such a rebate. Northerners' higher cost of living is thus increased again by point-of-purchase taxes. As a result of this situation, Makivik Corporation identifies taxation as one of the most serious development problems Inuit in Quebec face...[Makivik argues that, taking] into account high costs and real purchasing power, the real tax rate can exceed 30 per cent.

Makivik Corporation
Montreal, Quebec 29 November 1993

Innovative uses of social assistance

In many northern communities, social assistance payments and unemployment insurance are an important source of cash in the traditional-mixed economy, particularly in the rural North. Social assistance supplements the value of country food and also in many cases subsidizes the gathering of food from the land. In fact, people who can harvest traditional foods tend to require less social assistance.¹⁸⁰ Because of the positive effects associated with harvesting, there is a need for programming that encourages a greater measure of self-reliance rather than continuing dependency.

Social assistance programs are poorly suited to the needs of wildlife harvesting because they are designed as a support for consumption rather than for investment in production.¹⁸¹ For example, in Fort Resolution, N.w.T., social assistance does not provide sufficient income to support extended periods out on the land, and hunters state that increasingly they must limit their expeditions to day trips and weekend trips.¹⁸² Hence, a lack of cash-paying jobs combined with subsistence levels of social assistance have limited the ability of many northern Aboriginal families to participate fully in traditional harvesting pursuits.

The James Bay Crees of northern Quebec noted during the development of their income support program, that an incentive is needed to promote the maintenance of subsistence production. Fur production and sales, which are a by-product of subsistence activity, provided a strong incentive in the past when the fur market was viable.¹⁸³

Since the European ban on seal furs and the sharp decline in fur sales generally, this income source has shrunk to the point of insignificance. Disincentives to harvesting, inherent in the current welfare system, include regulation against earning income from

the products of the harvest, and the monthly payment system that works against spending prolonged periods in the bush.

Members of the Omushkegowuk First Nation, located on the Ontario side of James Bay, have responded to the serious threats to their harvesting economy by proposing a detailed modification of the social assistance system.¹⁸⁴ Unlike the Crees in Quebec, the northern Ontario Cree do not have a land claims agreement through which a self-supported hunter and trapper income support program could be funded. Hence, the Omushkegowuk Harvesters' Association aims to achieve similar goals by reversing the current negative relationship between welfare and harvesting. Their harvesters income security program proposes using social assistance funds to provide supplementary income to families and individuals engaged in full-time harvesting (a minimum of 120 days a year). These funds would be disbursed in the form of grants to enable the capitalization of the harvesting process and seasonal payments in recognition of extended periods spent in the bush. The Omushkegowuk Harvesters' Association suggests that this program be integrated with other programs involving product marketing, resource management, transportation support, and bush schooling for the children of the harvesters. (The Hunter and Trapper Income Support Program of James Bay and Northern Quebec and the Nunavut Wildlife Harvesters Income Support Program are discussed in greater detail later in this chapter.)

In the Arctic, the Baffin Region Inuit Association (BRIA) has developed a different, more comprehensive approach.¹⁸⁵ BRIA has devised an economic development plan and strategy leading up to 1999, when Nunavut will come into being. Working closely with governments and other Inuit organizations to redirect and restructure available programming, including social assistance, BRIA proposes an arrangement whereby these funds are used as seed money to leverage self-help projects that will in turn lead to increased self-sufficiency. This plan addresses the many social ills that arise from the decline of the self-sufficient hunting society. It is based on goals of self-sufficiency in the basic needs of life and relies on hunting and the production of country food to generate at least 20 per cent of the region's economic activity.

BRIA's objective is to achieve 80 per cent participation in the labour force, including both the wage economy and traditional activities. The five-year plan proposes to replace the current 60 per cent social assistance dependency rate with a 60 per cent participation rate, through creation of a private sector consisting mainly of Inuit family-owned micro- and small businesses, together with activities derived from the traditional harvesting sector (hunting, country food processing, a seal fur garment industry, sewing and handicraft production, carving and various art forms). Combined with the use of the compensation fund under the Nunavut Final Agreement, these public funds should be accessible in ways that give Inuit a chance to build a strong, modern, but culturally vibrant society.

We support the suggestion made by several Aboriginal organizations that such innovative uses of social assistance funds be explored vigorously.¹⁸⁶ We offer a number of recommendations in this area in the chapter on economic development (Volume 2, Chapter 5). The potential of such programs would be to increase the number of

Aboriginal northerners able to hunt, fish and trap while they actively contribute to the economic (and nutritional) well-being of the community.

Alternative approaches to unemployment insurance

Unemployment insurance is also an important element in the traditional-mixed economy. For instance, to a limited extent, unemployment insurance has been used to sustain the ocean fisheries. In the fishery, people who have been able to work for the required time can receive unemployment insurance.¹⁸⁷ However, for a significant number of northern Aboriginal people engaged in the fishery, this has not been possible. Toby Andersen, chief land claims negotiator for the Labrador Inuit Association, explained the situation in this way:

You look out through the window and why are our fishermen not fishing? It's ice, right? They can't put out nets. All our fishermen here in Makkovik, their unemployment insurance benefits expired the 15th day of May. Every year that happens. Why? Because you're supposed to be fishing. We're tied to an unemployment insurance policy that's standard or mandatory right across Canada. And there's no exception for a unique area known as northern Labrador where there is an Aboriginal society.

Past experience is when the ice travels up the coast and hits the extreme southern Labrador and the northern part of the island in Newfoundland and fishermen can't put their gear in the water because the ice is into the bays and the boats, Ottawa extends the unemployment insurance benefits to those fishermen because they can't fish because of ice conditions. Our fishermen can't get it. Now, isn't that discrimination?

Toby Andersen
Chief Negotiator, Labrador Inuit Association
Makkovik, Newfoundland and Labrador, 15 June 1992

With unemployment rates as high as 70 per cent in some communities, many northerners never had the opportunity to work enough weeks to become eligible. There is widespread support among Aboriginal representatives for proposals to extend unemployment insurance to non-standard employment, including self-employed Aboriginal trappers and resource harvesters. For example, Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, the Labrador Inuit Association, the Métis National Council, the Native Women's Association of Canada, and the Congress of Aboriginal Peoples have come out in public support of proposals to include Aboriginally defined non-standard employment in the UI scheme.

Parliament recently enacted legislation amending the unemployment insurance system.¹⁸⁸ The new Employment Insurance (EI) program benefits Aboriginal northerners in some ways but falls short in others. Recipients will be allowed to earn up to \$50 weekly without reducing their benefits otherwise payable. The eligibility period will be measured in hours rather than weeks. Northern seasonal workers, multiple-job holders and part-time workers will therefore become eligible more quickly than before.

Flexible measures such as these are relevant to Aboriginal communities in the North that depend to a large extent on cottage industries, short intermittent work periods, and resource-based seasonal work that, for geographic and climatic reasons, often has not extended to the previously required 12-week eligibility period. Indeed, seasonal work is seen by many Aboriginal northerners as an invaluable contribution to their local and regional economies, providing the potential for expanded economic activity in the future (tourism, for example).

However, benefits have been reduced under the new legislation. Consideration has not been given to higher northern living costs. The requirement that new entrants to the labour force work longer hours to qualify will hinder young northerners. We believe the uniquely high cost of living in the North needs to be factored into EI benefits. The North is an area of high unemployment, and people should not be doubly penalized by the region's high living costs. The Commission believes that the Employment Insurance Commission should consider recommending appropriate cost-of-living allowances in its report to Parliament (due by December 1998) on the phased implementation of the reforms.

We believe there is also scope to integrate the federal government's planned job creation partnerships — enabling groups of EI claimants to work in concert with community organizations — and its three-year, \$300-million transitional jobs fund for high unemployment regions with our recommendations on innovative community uses of social assistance funds. Both approaches favour strong local input, including private organizations. We note as well that the jobs fund could be used to support the federal economic development initiative in northern Ontario and strategic sectors such as tourism. (See Volume 2, Chapter 5, particularly the discussion of income support alternatives.)

Many people spoke to us of the apparent unfairness of federal and provincial practices with respect to various industries. While agriculture, for example, is heavily subsidized with a sensitive array of measures, little has been done to support the traditional-mixed economy when it has been threatened.

Inuit noted that when the sealing industry collapsed as a result of international reaction to the Newfoundland seal pup harvest, seal hunters received no compensation for their losses. Inuit had used the money made from selling pelts to purchase equipment to go out onto the land for all kinds of hunting. When they could no longer earn cash from the sale of pelts, they could no longer afford to buy equipment to go out onto the land as often as they wished.¹⁸⁹

Another problem arose in the implementation of the cod moratorium package, a program instituted in 1993 to compensate fishers affected by the ban on cod fishing. The Commission was told that Inuit of Nain, Newfoundland and Labrador, felt the impact of the depletion of cod stocks before anyone else in the province but that they were excluded from the compensation package.

Aboriginal peoples in northern Quebec, where claims agreements have established hunter income support programs, are in the most stable position. Those in the Northwest Territories have had access for many years to various measures in support of the traditional-mixed economy, including fur-purchasing programs and public subsidies for hunting and trapping distributed through community-level associations of hunters and trappers. But there are no programs comparable to those in Quebec anywhere in Canada.

The moment has arrived to deal constructively with the disparate problems facing northern Aboriginal peoples trying to earn a living in the traditional sector. Unemployment insurance has been used for many years throughout Canada as a flexible subsidy for workers in industries with seasonal variations in labour force demand. This role for the unemployment insurance system has come into question. However, unemployment insurance must be examined along with social assistance to design ways to support increased self-reliance in areas of the country where income supplements of some kind will be a permanent fixture of the economy for a significant portion of the workforce. Such a restructuring will have a far better economic and social impact than continuation of social assistance.

Hunter and trapper income support programs

At present, there are two hunter and trapper income support programs operating in northern Canada and another in the planning phase.

The James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement, negotiated by the Crees and Inuit, created the first programs designed to support harvesting in a direct and systematic fashion. The Crees and Inuit have developed somewhat different programs; both appear to be operating to the benefit of the claims agreements beneficiaries.¹⁹⁰

Such programs provide a better solution to the shortage of cash than social assistance, which can erode individual self-esteem. Hunter and trapper income support programs provide a strong income multiplier through the production of food, are a spur to economic development of communities by placing money directly in the hands of those in the community who are in need and are in turn most likely to spend it in the community, and are likely to be cheaper than alternative programs when all are taken into account.¹⁹¹

[The traditional economy] has the capacity to absorb relatively large amounts of labour at relatively high wage levels, provided that the long-term carrying capacity of the environment is not exceeded. Moreover, no other sector of the economy appears to hold the potential to expand employment over the next decade at the rate necessary to provide jobs for the rapidly increasing population....

Source: N.C. Quigley and N.J. McBride, "The Structure of an Arctic Microeconomy: The Traditional Sector in Community Economic Development", *Arctic* 40/3 (September 1987), p. 209.

The Cree Income Security Program

The income support program of the Crees of northern Quebec is a production support program for hunters and trappers that funds individuals according to the time they spend out on the land.¹⁹² This program forms part of the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement. It recognizes the importance of the mixed economy and attempts to offer financial support through a structure similar to a negative income tax, guaranteeing a minimum level of income based on family needs. In addition, cash income is provided to harvesters depending on the number of days spent harvesting, in the form of a per diem rate. To be eligible for the program the harvester must work no fewer than 120 days harvesting, spend more time harvesting than working for a wage income, and earn less from harvesting than from wage labour.¹⁹³

In 1992-1993, the guaranteed income was \$3,240 for the head of the 'beneficiary unit' (family, defined in broad terms) and an additional \$3,240 for the 'consort' (partner). There is also a per diem portion that can be collected to a maximum of 240 days, at \$38.27 per day. Any wage earnings over the guaranteed annual income reduce the guaranteed income by 40 per cent of the wages earned. For example, a harvester earning \$5,000 in the wage economy would receive a reduction in guaranteed annual income of \$2,000 (40 per cent of \$5,000). Payments are made in advance to allow harvesters to prepare and purchase the equipment needed to harvest. Program costs in 1992 were \$14.8 million, according to the Cree Hunters and Trappers Income Security Board. There were 1,214 beneficiary units, representing 3,018 individuals, in 1992. The benefit per unit in 1991-1992 was \$11,719.¹⁹⁴

The basic income levels, per diem rates and offset percentages can all be adjusted for different situations. Important attributes of the Cree Income Security Program are that the program involves the Crees directly in program design, recognizes and supports economic activity that provides meaningful work, and contributes to a diversified economy that is in harmony with the land, the seasons and the people who live and work in these communities.

The Northern Quebec Hunter Income Support Program

This program was developed by Inuit and is administered by the Kativik regional government and participating Inuit communities and funded by the Quebec environment and wildlife ministry. It provides for the purchase of harvested food that is then distributed, free of charge, to Inuit living in the North who cannot hunt and to those living in the south. The Inuit-designed program also invests in capital equipment for harvesting, such as boats for communal use. The 1992 annual report showed a budget of \$3 million. Clearly more limited than the program established by the Crees, the program for Inuit "affects relatively few people in the eligible communities", but it does benefit "those who are most in need and those who have surplus produce to sell".¹⁹⁵

The contrast between the programs designed by the Crees and Inuit is interesting. Essentially, the Cree program compensates people for going out on the land, regardless of what they do with the products of their efforts, while the Inuit program encourages

hunters to bring food into the communities and ensures that it is shared with those who want it. One commentator noted:

The two...models described above are very different from one another, reflecting differences in culture and heritage of the two Aboriginal peoples. One programme is no better than the other, for they each serve a purpose particularly suited to the group for which they were developed.¹⁹⁶

The Nunavut Hunter Support Program

Compared with the northern Quebec programs, the Nunavut Hunter Support Program is recent. It is just beginning operations and hence is in an experimental phase. The Nunavut program was not included in the comprehensive claims agreement and so has a much less secure future than the Cree and northern Quebec Inuit programs. Paul Okalik, director of implementation of Nunavut Tungavik Incorporated (NTI), told us at our public hearings that in [NTI's] initial negotiations on the land claim, we were trying to get a program similar to the Cree of James Bay, but we weren't able to convince the government on that. However, we decided to spend our own money and set up our own program....The federal government committed absolutely nothing.

Paul Okalik
Director, Nunavut Tungavik Incorporated
Montreal, Quebec, 29 November 1993

The Nunavut program is cost-shared by Nunavut Tungavik Incorporated and the government of the Northwest Territories in the first five years of operation. It provides annual lump-sum payments (up to \$15,000) to a limited number of full-time hunters to help cover costs of equipment, fuel and supplies. To distribute the funds as broadly as possible, a hunter is eligible for support only once during this initial five-year period. At present, the program has little leeway to develop into more than a capital and operating fund for full-time hunters and as such does not have the long-term features of income support programs for Cree and Inuit in Northern Quebec.¹⁹⁷ The Nunavut Harvesting Program will replace the various programs now administered by the territorial government.

We should emphasize that while Canada appears to lead the world in developing effective hunter and trapper support programs,¹⁹⁸ there is still much to be learned about the best approaches for particular situations. Particular peoples, nations and residents of specific regions must have a say in the design of programs to ensure that they are suited to local economic conditions; although all programs may involve some combination of income support, incentive and regulation, many variations are possible.

Given the realities of living and working in the North, we conclude that it is time to review the structure, fit and fundamental goals of social assistance and income supplement programs in the North. Our discussion of economic development (Volume 2, Chapter 5) includes an examination of the linkages between social assistance and community and individual entitlements.

Recommendations

The Commission recommends that

4.6.12

Federal and territorial governments establish a task force with strong Aboriginal representation to review all social assistance and income supplement programs across the territorial North with the goal of restructuring these programs to make them effective instruments in promoting a mixed economy and sustain viable, largely self-reliant communities.

4.6.13

Based on the work of the task force recommended in 4.6.12 and recognizing the fundamental changes under way in the structure and administration of social assistance programs across Canada, territorial governments take the initiative, in consultation with federal and provincial governments, to create a northern social policy framework with sufficient flexibility to allow existing levels of social assistance spending to be used to fund community work creation and provide income supplements related to community employment or traditional production and harvesting.

4.6.14

Employment insurance and social assistance legislation be amended to take into account the specific differences in employment patterns, the high cost of living, the administrative delays that result from great distances between communities, and other factors unique to the northern economy.

The importance of the wage sector

There is a tendency to overestimate the importance of the wage sector in a traditional-mixed economy, because economic activity in the wage sector is more directly and routinely quantifiable than traditional activity is.¹⁹⁹ But there is no doubt that the provision of adequate wage employment opportunities must proceed with as much vigour as the development of programs to support Aboriginal people who go out on the land. The traditional-mixed economy flourishes when participants have opportunities for wage employment that are compatible with going out on the land.

In most parts of the North today, the major sources of employment are the public service sector, small (generally service) businesses, mining, and jobs arising from the development of renewable resources. Following is a discussion of opportunities and challenges in the mining and renewable resource-based sectors. Later in the chapter, we discuss public service employment. We discussed small business in Volume 2, Chapter 5.

Mining

After public service employment, the most important source of wage employment for northerners is mining. (We discussed ways to improve Aboriginal participation in this sector in Volume 2, Chapter 5.) Mining is also the single largest private sector, goods-producing, export dollar activity in the North.²⁰⁰ Mining has not been, however, a major source of employment for northern Aboriginal people. For example, in the Northwest Territories, the Royal Oak Giant mine, near Yellowknife and the Dene village of Dettah (which has a steady rate of 90 per cent unemployment), has just three per cent Aboriginal labour force participation; Ptarmigan gold mine, operated by Treminco Resources, has a four per cent Aboriginal participation rate; and Nerco Con, near Yellowknife, has never exceeded six per cent Aboriginal participation.²⁰¹

Aboriginal people in the North have been extracting minerals for centuries. Inuit, for example, collected, traded and used soapstone, which was made into cooking pots, lamps and beads; and copper, which was hammered into knives, ornaments and other implements.²⁰² Europeans became interested in northern mineral wealth as they moved through the region over the centuries.

Often their ‘discoveries’ were already well known and used by Aboriginal people. In this century, interest in northern mineral wealth has increased, but production in the North has remained vulnerable to international market forces, high operating costs and competition from more accessible sources.

Despite its vulnerability, mining is a vital source of revenue in the territories and is also important to the northern provincial economies. The territories produce nearly six per cent of the country’s metallic minerals. The Yukon, where mining has been the main industry since the discovery of gold in 1896, accounts for a little over three per cent of national production.

Aboriginal workers have participated in all sectors of the mining industry — from working on exploration crews to working underground — yet they are not represented in the workforce in proportion to the overall Aboriginal population. While a number of efforts have been made to increase Aboriginal involvement in the industry (through joint ventures, for example), there remain a number of impediments.

A survey conducted by the sub-committee of the Intergovernmental Working Group on the Mineral Industry found — and mining companies and Aboriginal people agree — that the barriers to increased Aboriginal participation are “lack of experience, education and training, and the lack of desire to work in a mine”.²⁰³ While the latter factor is a personal choice, public policy could address the first three factors.

The low levels of formal education of Aboriginal people in the North and the increased mechanization of mining operations combine to form a major obstacle. The development of partnerships between the companies and Aboriginal communities is seen by many community members as a means to learn more about the industry, develop dialogue on managing the environment, and gain income and equity positions in operations.

Aboriginal peoples' attempts in the last several decades to develop employment opportunities in the mining industry are reflected in the arrangements negotiated by Makivik Corporation on behalf of Inuit in northern Quebec and the Raglan Mining Company, a wholly owned subsidiary of Falconbridge.²⁰⁴ Under the terms of the agreement, a nickel mine to be located near Katinniq, 100 kilometres southeast of the community of Salluit, in northern Quebec, will produce nickel concentrate, which will be processed in Sudbury, Ontario, and Nikkelverk, Norway. Inuit will have preference for employment at the mine, and their participation will be aided by special training programs to be delivered locally. An Inuit employment and training officer will be hired. In addition, measures will be instituted to promote the development of local businesses in the sectors supporting the new mine.

Evidence that the mining sector will continue to offer some opportunities in specific areas of the North comes with the recent discovery of important quantities of base metal mineralization containing nickel, copper and cobalt at Voisey's Bay, 35 kilometres southwest of Nain, Labrador. This area is claimed by both the Labrador Inuit Association (LIA) and the Innu Nation. The Voisey's Bay deposit may become one of the largest nickel mines in Canada.

There are a number of ways Aboriginal people could benefit from mining developments, provided appropriate arrangements are made and environmental protection standards are maintained. In no situation has mining been a panacea, but it may be that enough has been learned so that regulated mineral development can be undertaken in a manner that does not damage and perhaps even enhances the traditional-mixed economy.²⁰⁵ Some possible benefits are:

1. Aboriginal people can participate and benefit as direct employees of mining operations. In this case, short-term rotational schemes seem to be the most attractive and successful. Both the volatility of the mineral sector, and the reality that not all available Aboriginal workers will choose to work underground or on oil well derricks, temper optimism about the potential benefits of this sector.
2. Aboriginal people can participate through the service industry. An enhanced local service industry has the additional benefit of improving services to local communities. Opportunities exist in the service sector for both employment and ownership. For example, there are a growing number of expediting, catering and accommodation companies servicing exploration and development activity.
3. Entering into joint ventures with mining companies to explore and/or develop mineral properties. The investment arms of Aboriginal organizations are now being funded through federal economic development assistance and, where possible, by funds coming from the settlement of land claims.
4. Aboriginal people can benefit through the implementation of socio-economic agreements with mining companies. For example, the Nunavut land claim agreement

includes provisions requiring the negotiation of Inuit impact and benefit agreements for most mining developments on Inuit-owned land.

5. In some areas, Aboriginal people can participate as owners of the resource, receiving royalties and other benefits from development of their land. For example, some of the land received by Inuit of Nunavut in their settlement agreement includes title to subsurface mineral rights. The land with subsurface rights was selected by the Inuit with the object of maximizing mineral potential. Nunavut Tungavik is now developing policies in consultation with the mining industry as to how these lands should be explored and developed.²⁰⁶

The World Bank and the natural resources committee of the United Nations Economic and Social Council have begun to examine the international potential of small-scale mining. In 1993, the UN established international guidelines for the development of small- and medium-scale mining, attesting to the growing level of interest from the international community in the sector.²⁰⁷

These guidelines are the product of hard lessons learned internationally and may also provide an option for Aboriginal northerners:

Failure to realize real social and economic welfare gains, coupled with the depressed state of many mineral markets, the lack of investment in exploration and new development, as well as structural adjustment programmes, have resulted in a radical re-think of both macro-investment policies and the role of the mineral sector in national development....This re-evaluation of options has included formal recognition of the positive potential of local autonomous mineral development at a smaller scale, and a number of countries have begun to take concrete steps towards establishing a more viable commercial basis for small-scale entrepreneurship in mining and mineral processing. In Canada, Aboriginal communities are increasingly being put in the position of having to consider the prospect of major mineral developments within their traditional territories.²⁰⁸

From a policy and management perspective, a rational framework for both small- and large-scale mining opportunities has the potential to offer Aboriginal communities substantial advantages, including creating jobs; stabilizing revenue streams; developing managerial, technical and trade skills at the community level; improving integration with the existing economy; and increasing participation in decision making and in managing and controlling potentially adverse environmental and social repercussions.²⁰⁹

Employment in renewable resource-based industries

Many see a significant opportunity for growth in the number of jobs created by expansion of industries based on renewable resources in many parts of the North.²¹⁰

Business opportunities include specialized uses of renewable resources, such as northern-grown wood to build distinctive northern-designed furniture; leather and fur from seals and other species that are hunted for food; and certain northern foods for a southern or

international market. Except where such items are by-products of current subsistence activities (seal leather, for example), there are clear limits on how much development the northern environment will sustain.²¹¹

Eco-tourism represents a relatively low-impact use of what is perhaps the North's greatest resource, its natural beauty. Guiding for big-game hunting has long been established in most parts of the North as a source of income to some northern residents. Eco-tourist businesses are joining these traditional establishments. The newer businesses cater to photographers, sightseers, wilderness adventure travellers (those who enjoy activities such as whitewater rafting and mountaineering) and people seeking the natural beauty and tranquility of the North.

Aboriginal art from the North is recognized and valued internationally. Sculptures, paintings and wall-hangings, distinctive clothing and jewellery, using a mix of renewable and non-renewable resources, provide many families and some communities with an important cash income. Many of these activities involve single artists. Those in the eastern Arctic market their output through the Arctic co-operatives and obtain immediate cash payment for their products as well as ready access to supplies and tools. Others, such as the weaving centre in Pangnirtung, have organized on a community basis. The centre helps local artists with design and technical assistance, training, supplies and marketing expertise. Many, particularly in Denendeh, operate as individual artists who sell their products on the open market or through private dealers.

Commercial harvesting of fish and wildlife has also assumed significant importance in some areas of the North. A fishery based on harvesting through the ice near Pangnirtung has provided fresh turbot in the winter months for Montreal and New York markets at premium prices for Inuit fishers. The Inuit in Nunavik have operated a highly successful shrimp fishery in Ungava Bay and along the northern Labrador coast for a number of years. They are now sharing their expertise with developing countries through the Canadian International Development Agency. The Inuit in Labrador operate a commercial caribou hunt using a modern packing plant in Nain. They marketed meat in Europe when the reindeer herds there were affected by the Chernobyl nuclear accident. Inuvialuit in the western Arctic operate a commercial muskox harvest in the winter months and sell their products in Japanese markets.

A common challenge facing many of these activities is access to management and business skills to turn a subsistence activity that supports a few families into a larger undertaking that could provide cash incomes and create a mixed economy that can support many families. Often, an operation such as a local fishery or a handicraft operation would benefit greatly from professional management but cannot, at its current level of activity, support the salary and related costs of a manager. The operation is then caught in a no-growth situation, unable to take advantage of the skills or resources at hand and often unaware of its own growth potential.

Aboriginal, provincial and territorial governments must find innovative ways of bringing skilled management to small operations, perhaps employing individuals with excellent

professional skills who can provide timely management assistance to several enterprises in a specific area at the same time. Such professionals could use communications and computer technology to supplement their presence.

Economic activity is highly rationed in the North, and those opportunities that are available need innovative and skilled support measures to maximize their potential. It is no longer justified to fill development roles with generalists whose main activities have been to advise clients on government programs or hand out program funding. Resources would be better spent attracting highly skilled manager-consultants who combine management experience with the ability to relate to local entrepreneurs. These people can develop a pool of trained local managers within the communities. All the economic development challenges that face Aboriginal people elsewhere in Canada are accentuated in the North, and the analysis and recommendations in our chapter on economic development (Volume 2, Chapter 5) are directly relevant, but the question of access to management expertise has particular importance.

Recommendation

The Commission recommends that

4.6.15

Aboriginal, federal, provincial and territorial governments encourage innovative means of delivering skilled management support — including operations, financial and marketing expertise — to small enterprises through Aboriginal economic development corporations.

All these forms of economic activity based on renewable resources appear to be compatible with support for the mixed economy and are likely to appeal to Aboriginal people who have chosen to make part of their living on the land. What is not yet clear is the extent to which these newer vehicles of economic development are mutually compatible and sustainable over the longer term. One study noted examples of potential conflict:

There is potential for a conflict between the development of wildlife as a tourism resource and its development as a marketable food or fur product...[T]here may also be potential for conflict between [Aboriginal] non-renewable resource harvesters and renewable resource harvesters. [I]t is time...to recognize that the economy cannot develop without impacting the environment. The challenge for the future is the creation of sustainable development — development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.²¹²

7.5 Conclusion

Demographic and economic realities highlight the need for concerted efforts to expand the number and kind of opportunities available to Aboriginal young people and adults to

earn a living. It is clear that an important tool of northern economic development will continue to be public expenditures, whether through direct employment or promoting the development of other sectors. We believe that the safest and most promising direction for such expenditures, as well as for regulation of land use, is one that strengthens the traditional-mixed economy of areas of the North where Aboriginal people predominate. There is scope to support both the older, more traditional sources of cash and employment and new ventures in areas as yet not fully exploited. In all cases, development must be undertaken in the context of environmental stewardship.

Recommendation

The Commission recommends that

4.6.16

Faculties of agriculture, forestry and business administration in Canadian universities, in collaboration with the proposed Aboriginal Peoples International University, develop a northern research program focused on the creation of employment and business opportunities through the use of the renewable resources sector, the exportation of traditional foods and food products, and the development of expertise to manage these resources at sustainable levels.

8. Investing in People

Promoting the well-being of people and their communities should be at the heart of any program of economic or political development. Having explored political change, environmental stewardship and economic development, we turn now to consider some opportunities for investing in people — making it possible for the Aboriginal people of the North to benefit from the economic and political changes occurring around them.

We begin with the principle that the goal of political and economic development is to create the maximum security and potential for individual human development. In the North, this will require continued efforts to ensure the full participation of Aboriginal people — as well as their non-Aboriginal neighbours — in the institutions of economic and political development. A great deal of political progress has occurred in the last decade or two, and there are many vibrant communities and healthy people in the North, but there are also significant problems. It is important to recognize these in developing plans for the future.

8.1 The Need to Heal

Many of the people who spoke to us in northern communities emphasized the deep social problems facing their communities.²¹³ They saw little point in hurrying economic or political development in the absence of complementary measures to deal with personal trauma, addictions, the scars of abuse, family breakdown, and the very common experiences of violence and death. We agree.

Commissioner Starts Healing Circle in his Community

Juusipi Kakutuk, community worker and Commissioner* from Akulivik, urged the people in his community to start talking about their problems, to begin healing the pain that was causing trouble within peoples' homes and was spreading to the community at large. When Juusipi first tried to begin these healing circles, he was met with resistance. Nobody wanted to talk about their personal pain. Juusipi proceeded slowly, talking first with women's groups, and then with drug and alcohol abuse committees and health committees. Now he meets regularly with parents, teenagers and younger children.

Juusipi used the video on healing sessions that was produced in Inukjuak to sensitize people on the concept and the positive power of these sessions. He has found parents to be the most receptive group. They get together once a week to talk about their problems and in the process, they help one another. Teenagers have also begun meeting weekly, and sometimes they meet together with the parents group. Juusipi has also started talking regularly with younger students, discussing such issues as substance abuse, sexual abuse and suicide prevention. Juusipi says, "now everybody's talking...Elders, teens, children...everybody!"

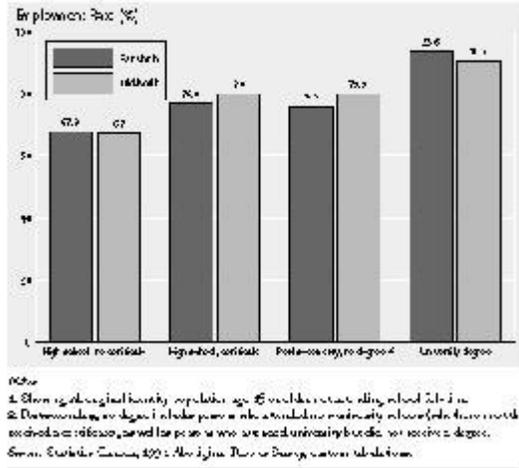
Juusipi knows that it's very difficult to start the process of talking about one's deep-rooted pain. But it's only when the talking starts that the healing can begin. Juusipi feels that these healing sessions should be encouraged in all the communities. He stresses that the people must take the initiative locally to deal with their problems, and not wait for outside agencies to step in to try to solve their problems.

* Commissioner in this context refers to members of the Council of Commissioners of the Kativik School Board.

Source: Anngutivik [Kativik School Board periodical] 8/2 (Spring 1993), p. 91.

We recognize that the massive changes and major disruptions of the recent past have caused real and deep problems in the present. These problems will not disappear automatically when Aboriginal people achieve political self-determination and economic vitality — although in the long run, these two conditions will contribute a great deal to promoting well-being for future generations.

FIGURE 68
 Employment Rates in the Aboriginal Identity Population, Age 15+,
 by Highest Level of Education, 1991

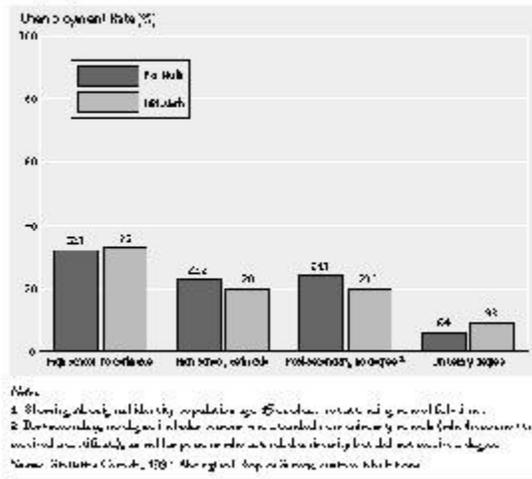


In Volume 3 of this report, we outlined specific measures to address social problems in Aboriginal communities. Our proposals in the present chapter are meant to supplement those measures and to link the process of healing and individual development with political and economic development.

8.2 Opportunities Presented by Political Development

As the regional review presented earlier in this chapter suggests, the North has been home to an unusual number and variety of constitutional and political innovations. In the last decade and a half, northerners have reformed legislative and administrative practices in the Northwest Territories and launched a process that will lead to its division into two territories. In the Yukon, the comprehensive claims process is gradually but inexorably changing the face of local and territorial government, and in Nunavik and the traditional territory of the James Bay Crees, unique public and quasi-public institutions are under constant development.

FIGURE 16.9
Unemployment Rates in the Aboriginal Identity Population Age 15+
by Highest Level of Education, 1991



There is no indication that the rate of innovation will decline. The resolution of the issues underlying existing treaties and comprehensive claims agreements, as well as settlement of the remaining outstanding claims, will lead to the creation of other new governing institutions and special-purpose organizations. These might include community-based organizations for social services and economic development, nation governments, new community-level structures, co-ordinating bodies for regulating land and wildlife use, and innovations in the public government forms being pioneered in Nunavut, Nunavik, the Yukon and the northern parts of provinces. The opportunities are manifold.

Wage employment

One immediate by-product of Aboriginal institutional development has been and will continue to be a sharp increase in the overall number of jobs. For example, one estimate suggests that approximately 2,300 new jobs will be created directly by the establishment of Nunavut and the government of Nunavut; the estimate does not include new employment as a result of federal government restructuring, or any indirect job creation resulting from business development.²¹⁴ Most of the new employees in the new Aboriginal institutions will have to be well educated: for example, about 85 per cent of the new jobs in Nunavut will require between two and four years of post-secondary education.

Our chapters on economic development (Volume 2, Chapter 5) and education (Volume 3, Chapter 5) offer comprehensive recommendations to address the educational needs of Aboriginal peoples. The Commission also recognizes the value of education gained through direct experience. Learning by doing is fundamental to education in many Aboriginal cultures, and Aboriginal institutions grounded in Aboriginal values can reflect this concept.

Recommendation

The Commission recommends that

4.6.17

All governments hiring personnel for northern and remote communities take into account skills acquired through life experience and the demonstrated capacity to develop new skills along with, and at times in place of, formal educational credentials.

We also offer some supplementary suggestions, keeping in mind the needs of the new Aboriginal institutions and the adult labour force.

Culturally appropriate administration

The institutional face of political self-determination for Aboriginal peoples has the potential to yield a new type of Aboriginal-influenced public service. The new northern public service would certainly have some similarities with the traditional public services of federal, territorial and provincial administrations, as well as with existing Aboriginal political and service delivery organizations. The new public services will likely require division of labour, accountability, probity, transparent reporting relationships, and measures to ensure responsiveness to elected officials. Within these parameters, however, the shape and processes of the new bureaucracies could vary considerably from current practices.

The new public services will be Aboriginally controlled, in ways that have not been possible to date. Beyond setting the policy direction, Aboriginal peoples developing their own governing institutions in the North may experiment with different bureaucratic styles. There may be a new approach to the standard bureaucratic division of labour, featuring widely institutionalized job sharing or team approaches to accomplishing tasks. Job sharing in its simplest form involves two individuals sharing equal responsibility for a single job. Time on the job may be divided by day (morning and afternoon), week, or two-week rotations. Labour pools train several more workers than are actually needed for a given number of positions, so that at any one time, some workers from the pool will be employed while others are free to hunt, trap, fish or gather wood.

Recommendation

The Commission recommends that

4.6.18

Government employment policies accommodate the demands of traditional economic activities by increasing opportunities for job sharing, periodic leave and shift work. Different aspects of accountability to the public may be more important in Aboriginal bureaucracies. In the governments of most democratic countries today, political accountability flows through elected representatives; for example, federal and provincial public servants are accountable to Canadians through the minister responsible for the

department in which they work and by way of the department's internal chain of command. Aboriginal governments may choose to alter this system somewhat, for example, by extensive use of elders to guide committees for particular service units. Aboriginal governments may choose 'flattened' or 'de-layered' hierarchies, various forms of decentralized decision-making committees, and variations on the decentralized administrations already tried by the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation and many existing political organizations.²¹⁵

We do not intend to prescribe any particular measures here but only to note that standard bureaucratic operating procedures are far from immutable. They embody practices developed in a particular cultural context and in response to certain economic and sociological needs. While certain basic functions are necessary in any public institution existing today, those functions can be performed in various ways.

The public bureaucracies now established in the North reflect their origins in industrial, fairly densely populated, complex societies in which impersonal relations between public servants and the public have long been seen as desirable. None of these conditions necessarily prevails in the North, and some of the distinctive features of existing northern public institutions reflect attempts to adapt the institutions to northern conditions.

Northern Aboriginal peoples may well choose to reshape the practices they have inherited so that these enhance rather than obstruct the evolution of modern Aboriginal cultures.²¹⁶ They may also conclude that the inherited bureaucratic forms are suitable to their needs. Either way, northern Aboriginal peoples are not likely to be able to choose the form of their new institutions if they lack the educational attainment and entry-level skills for public service employment. It is necessary, then, to create opportunities for individuals who have already left school to gain the necessary skills and to ensure that young people have a reasonable chance of acquiring the type of education they will require to find employment in the new institutions of self-government.

Sustained human resource development planning

Before contemplating any adventurous innovation, it is necessary to ensure that the new organizations are staffed, as much as possible, by the Aboriginal peoples by whom and for whom they are being created. Yet in the new institutions established as a result of public government innovations and the implementation of comprehensive claims, a large proportion of the skilled workforce is still coming from the south.²¹⁷

One feature of the new public institutions being established as a result of political self-determination is helpful in addressing this problem. By and large, the new institutions should have relatively stable funding levels and the capacity for long-range planning. This circumstance will make it possible to develop sophisticated human resource development plans in which institutions make a long-term commitment to individual development.

Recommendation

The Commission recommends that

4.6.19

Governments provide stable multi-year funding to northern educational institutions that have the capacity to deliver the education and training needed for self-government and a diversified economy.

The difficulties with most existing training programs for Aboriginal people are well known, as are the measures most likely to train people successfully for employment opportunities.²¹⁸ These measures include

- individual assessment of candidates, leading to individually tailored training plans;
- a long-standing commitment from the employing organization to provide periodic work experience;
- assignment of a counsellor or mentor to each person in training;
- periodic reassessment of the training plan and adjustment, if necessary; and
- arrangement for training in the candidates' home communities, with adequate provision for child care.

Arctic Co-operatives Limited and the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation, which have developed particularly effective on-the-job training for adults in the 1970s and '80s, followed these guidelines and should be considered program models in this area.

Recommendation

The Commission recommends that

4.6.20

The education and training of Aboriginal adults and young people form an integral part of all plans for institutional development in the North. Considering that the population of people who could be candidates for the new positions is relatively small and concentrated in communities where a great deal is known about each individual, and since the number and types of available jobs are reasonably predictable, there is a good chance of education and training plans succeeding over the long term.

The role of traditional knowledge

The first principle guiding the activities of the Nunavut Planning Commission states that "people are a functional part of a dynamic biophysical environment, and land use cannot be planned and managed without reference to the human community; accordingly, social,

cultural and economic endeavours of the human community must be central to land use planning and implementation”.²¹⁹ Everything we have heard suggests that this principle is widely shared by the Aboriginal nations and peoples of the North. Traditional knowledge is strikingly appropriate to the fulfilment of this purpose, in a way that the fragmented forms of knowledge and understanding typical of modern non-Aboriginal societies are not.

Yet it is not evident how traditional knowledge can be applied to modern problems of individual psychological well-being and of bureaucratic process and decision making.²²⁰ As discussed earlier in the chapter, research on the activities of the new co-management boards suggests that even where experts in Aboriginal traditional knowledge and experts in the traditions of western science meet with a common interest in regulating, for example, the harvest of a single species, communication and co-operation can be difficult.

How might traditional knowledge be brought to bear on other, less concrete problems? There is no single, simple answer to this question. But all over the North, interesting experiments are under way.²²¹ The Dene Cultural Institute is an independent research institute and archive with a growing track record in participatory community-based research on topics of social significance. For example, studies have been completed on the Gwich'in language, traditional justice systems of the Dogrib, and concepts of traditional governance. Working with community elders and language experts, researchers from within and outside the community seek a modern, English-language representation of concepts from each Aboriginal nation's store of traditional knowledge. There are other cultural institutes elsewhere in the North. In Arviat, Northwest Territories, the Inuit Cultural Institute has been operating for 15 years, primarily as a research base, archive and museum, while the Okalakatiget Society, based in Nain, Labrador, maintains a prominent position in local communications, translation and public education.

At all of these institutions, traditional knowledge is gathered, valued, preserved, transmitted and, in subtle ways, developed as the knowledge held by elders is applied to modern problems. The Commission supports this approach.²²²

Recommendations

The Commission recommends that

4.6.21

Governments provide continuing support for the development of institutes that gather and research traditional knowledge and apply it to contemporary issues.

4.6.22

Traditional knowledge be incorporated in all appropriate institutions, including cultural and research institutes, regulatory boards and the education and training system. A related area concerns the development of Aboriginal languages as modern languages. Aboriginal language development is necessarily a community-based process and one that will rely on elders, as they are currently the most fluent speakers. It will also involve inventing new words to express concepts for which there may be no equivalent in some Aboriginal languages.

Work with traditional Aboriginal knowledge goes far beyond research and documentation; it improves the self-esteem and cultural understanding of the people engaged in the process.

8.3 Conclusion

For Aboriginal people to participate fully in the development of their communities, they must have opportunities to contribute to the well-being of their society. For this reason, we have recommended specific measures in this chapter to maximize opportunities for individual human development and ensure the full participation of Aboriginal people in their own economic and political development. There is already considerable experience in the North with employment training and bicultural education. It remains to build on this experience and to make its lessons known throughout the North — and indeed wherever Aboriginal peoples are assuming responsibility for their political and economic institutions.

Notes:

* Transcripts of the Commission's hearings are cited with the speaker's name and affiliation, if any, and the location and date of the hearing. See A Note About Sources at the beginning of this volume for information about transcripts and other Commission publications.

1 While there is no absolute geographical definition of what constitutes the North, a number of authors have developed boundary lines, usually based on such determinants as geography, climate, population density, economic structure and the proportion of the population made up of Aboriginal people. For purposes of the Commission's work, we established a set of boundaries for examining the demographic and socio-economic conditions of the Aboriginal peoples in three major zones across Canada: the far North, the mid-north and the south. These zones, which were not designed or defined with political boundaries in mind, are shown in Figure 6.1. To establish the boundaries, we relied on research by L.-E. Hamelin, *Canada: A Geographical Perspective* (Toronto: Wiley Publishers of Canada Limited, 1973); R.M. Bone, *The Geography of the Canadian North* (Toronto:

Oxford University Press, 1992); and A.M. Maslove and D.C. Hawkes, *Canada's North, A Profile* (Ottawa: Industry, Science and Technology, 1990).

2 The Nunavut Land Claims Agreement Act, S.C. 1993, c. 29; pursuant to the agreement Parliament passed legislation (Nunavut Act, S.C. 1993, c. 28) to establish the new territory of Nunavut in 1999.

3 For example, there is a high degree of support for relatively decentralized territorial public administration and for various measures to promote strong popular influence in politics. See Mark O. Dickerson and Robert Shotton, "Northern Self-Government and Subsidiarity: Centralization versus Community Empowerment", research study prepared for the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples [RCAP] (1993); and Gurston Dacks, "The Adaptation of Public Governing Institutions in the Territorial North", research study prepared for RCAP (1993). For information about research studies prepared for RCAP, see A Note About Sources at the beginning of this volume. See also Dene Nation and Métis Association of the Northwest Territories, *Public Government for the People of the North*, Discussion Paper (Yellowknife: November 9, 1981); Special Representative for Constitutional Development in the Northwest Territories, *Constitutional Development in the Northwest Territories: Report of the Special Representative* (Ottawa: Supply and Services, 1980); and Northwest Territories, *Working Toward a Common Future* (Yellowknife: Commission for Constitutional Development, 1992).

4 See Jill Oakes and Rick Riewe, "Informal Economy: Baffin Regional Profile: Report to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples", brief submitted to RCAP (1994). For information about briefs submitted to RCAP, see A Note About Sources at the beginning of this volume. Lynda Lange, "Fractured Vision: Frustration and Hope in Fort Resolution, N.w.T.", research study prepared for RCAP (1993); and Peter Kulchyski, "Solutions from Fort Simpson", research study prepared for RCAP (1994).

5 Information derived from Statistics Canada, 1991 Census, custom tabulations. While these are the most important sources of employment, Aboriginal people are not represented proportionately in these employment sectors; for example, few are employed in mining. See also Northwest Territories, Bureau of Statistics, *Labour Force Survey, Preliminary Report* (Yellowknife: 1985).

6 We saw some evidence of a similar process in the northern parts of the provinces, although the lack of North-specific political institutions everywhere except Quebec makes the northern perspective difficult to recognize. The territories have an obvious institutional interest in presenting a united front and since the late 1970s have been generally able to do so. Federal northern policy (as in the June 1988 statement, *A Northern Political and Economic Framework*, by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development [Ottawa: Supply and Services]) has begun to reflect northerners' identified priorities in economic and political development.

7 Statistics Canada, 1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey, custom tabulations. All of these statistics refer to people who reported Aboriginal identity.

8 The federal government subsidizes the cost of transporting goods, mainly food, to isolated, northern communities that do not have year-round road access. In 1995-1996, federal support totalled \$17.1 million to operate the Northern Air Stage (food mail) program. Forty-five predominantly Inuit communities and nearly 60 isolated First Nations communities in Northern Quebec, Labrador, Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and N.w.T. benefit from the program.

9 In *Best Left as Indians: Native-White Relations in the Yukon Territory, 1840-1973*, K.S. Coates analyzed the impact of massive changes on Aboriginal peoples living in what is now the Yukon (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991). With reference to Alaska, Yupik Harold Napoleon has drawn a powerful analogy between these effects and post-traumatic stress syndrome, first identified in the aftermath of the war in Vietnam. See Harold Napoleon, *Yuuyaraq: The Way of the Human Being*, ed. Eric Madsen (Fairbanks: Center for Cross-Cultural Studies, University of Alaska, 1991).

10 R.G. Williamson has documented the central importance of place in Inuit history and well-being. As he explains, the land is home: it includes the soil, rocks, water, ice and all the living creatures. R.G. Williamson, "Significant Aspects of Acculturation History in the Canadian Arctic: Analysis of the Forces of Inuit and Southern White Interaction until Mid-Century", research study prepared for RCAP (1994). Similar views are reflected in our report, *Treaty Making in the Spirit of Co-existence: An Alternative to Extinguishment* (Ottawa: Supply and Services, 1995); and Rene Lamothe, "Statement to the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry, Fort Simpson, 9 September 1975", in *Dene Nation: The Colony Within*, ed. Mel Watkins (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977).

11 Thierry Rodon, "Pratiques de cogestion au Nunavut", paper presented at the 67th annual meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association, University of Quebec at Montreal, June 1995. Some of the outstanding issues are discussed later in this chapter, in the section on traditional knowledge, and in Volume 2, Chapters 4 and 5.

12 The phrase is from Ignatius E. La Rusic, "Negotiating a Way of Life: Initial Cree Experience with the Administrative Structure Arising From the James Bay Agreement", paper prepared for Research Division, Policy, Research and Evaluation Group, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (Ottawa: October 1979).

13 RCAP, *The High Arctic Relocation: A Report on the 1953-55 Relocation* (Ottawa: Supply and Services, 1994).

14 DIAND, "Speaking Notes for the Honourable Ronald A. Irwin, Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, to the Makivik Annual General Meeting", Kangiqsujuaq, Quebec, 29 March 1995, p. 3. On 28 March 1996 the minister announced that a reconciliation agreement had been reached with Inuit relocated from northern Quebec and Baffin Island to the High Arctic in the early 1950s.

15 Annie Okalik, "A Good Life", in "Gossip": A Spoken History of Women in the North, ed. Mary Crnkovich (Ottawa: Canadian Arctic Resources Committee, 1990), pp. 3-5.

16 With respect to the Innu of Quebec, see the testimony given by An Antane Kapesh in Anne André, *Je suis une maudite sauvagesse* (Ottawa: Éditions Leméac, 1976).

17 A similar explanation is provided by Charlie Snowshoe, “A Trapper’s Life”, in *Dene Nation: The Colony Within*, ed. Mel Watkins (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977).

18 Interviewed and quoted in Nancy Wachowich, Apphia Awa, Rhoda Katsak and Sandra Katsak, “Unikaavut: Our Lives: Stories from the Lives of Three Generations of North Baffin Inuit Women”, research study prepared for RCAP (1994).

19 Marc G. Stevenson, “Traditional Inuit Decision-Making Structures and the Administration of Nunavut”, research study prepared for RCAP (1993).

20 Kulchyski, “Solutions from Fort Simpson” (cited in note 4).

21 Interviewed and quoted in Wachowich et al., “Unikaavut: Our Lives” (cited in note 18).

22 More information on this case is available in John Goddard, *Last Stand of the Lubicon Cree* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1991). See also E. Davie Fulton, *Lubicon Lake Indian Band Inquiry: Discussion Paper* (Ottawa: Government of Canada, 1986).

23 See K.J. Rea, *The Political Economy of The Canadian North: An Interpretation of the Course of Development in the Northern Territories of Canada to the Early 1960s* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968); and Peter Clancy, “Contours of the Modern State in the Territorial North: Policies, Institutions and Philosophies”, research study prepared for RCAP (1994).

24 See, for example, Philip Goldring, “Inuit Economic Responses to Euro-American Contacts: Southeast Baffin Island, 1824-1940”, in *Historical Papers*, ed. Dana Johnson and Louise Ouellette (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1986), p. 146.

25 David Judd, “Seventy-five Years of Resource Administration in Northern Canada”, *The Polar Record* 14/93 (1969), pp. 791-806; and David Judd, “Canada’s Northern Policy: Retrospect and Prospect”, *The Polar Record* 14/92 (1969), pp. 593-602.

26 Judd, “Canada’s Northern Policy”.

27 The network included the Distant Early Warning (DEW) Line and other stations. See K.J. Rea, *The Political Economy* (cited in note 23).

28 T. Armstrong, G. Rogers and G. Rowley, *The Circumpolar North: A Political and Economic Geography of the Arctic and Sub-Arctic* (London: Methuen & Co., 1978). Part of the federal response to the American presence was the 1944 dispatch of a research survey team to the North. The multidisciplinary Arctic Survey, funded only in part by

Canadian sources, published the results of their research in the *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science* and in C. A. Dawson, ed., *The New North-West* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1947). Prefiguring what was to become the centre of federal northern development policy in the 1950s and 1960s, many of the authors urge state intervention to develop the northern economy and to provide services to the people living there.

29 The analysis of federal northern development policy here draws substantially on Frances Abele, “Canadian Contradictions: Forty Years of Northern Political Development”, *Arctic* 40/4 (December 1987), pp. 310-320; reprinted in K.S. Coates and William R. Morrison, ed., *Interpreting Canada’s North: Selected Readings* (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1989). See also Mark O. Dickerson, *Whose North?: Political Change, Political Development and Self-Government in the Northwest Territories* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press and Arctic Institute of North America, 1992); Gurston Dacks, *A Choice of Futures: Politics in the Canadian North* (Toronto: Methuen, 1981); and Michael S. Whittington, ed., *The North* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press in co-operation with the Royal Commission on the Economic Union and Development Prospects for Canada, 1985). Some of the consequences of the post-war changes are discussed in Volume 1, Chapter 11 on the relocation of Aboriginal communities. Others have studied certain aspects of provincial northern development initiatives: John Loxley, “The ‘Great Northern’ Plan”, *Studies in Political Economy: A Socialist Review* 6 (Autumn 1981); Murray Dobbin, “Prairie Colonialism: The CCF in Northern Saskatchewan, 1944-1964”, *Studies in Political Economy* 16 (Spring 1985); and Carol Brice-Bennett, “Renewable Resource Use and Wage Employment in the Economy of Northern Labrador”, background report prepared for the Royal Commission on Employment and Unemployment, St. John’s, Newfoundland, September 1986.

30 Northwest Territories Act, R.S.C. 1985, c. N-27; and Yukon Act, R.S.C. 1985, c. Y-2.

31 Responsibility for northern administration and Indian affairs was lodged originally in the department of the interior, passing through several administrative arrangements before the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) was established in 1966.

32 See Rebecca Aird, ed., *Running the North: The Getting and Spending of Public Finances by Canada’s Territorial Governments* (Ottawa: Canadian Arctic Resources Committee, 1989); and Michael J. Prince and Gary Juniper, “Public Power and the Public Purse: Governments, Budgets and Aboriginal Peoples in the Canadian North”, research study prepared for RCAP (1995).

33 The 1969 white paper (Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy, 1969) proposed transferring responsibility for many services provided to Indian people to the provinces — an attempt to off-load the federal responsibility that was widely opposed by treaty nations. Today, responsibilities in such areas as education are being transferred from the department of Indian affairs to First Nations governments, along with funding, but such transfers are not available to bands in the territorial North.

34 The CYI amalgamated the Yukon Native Brotherhood (YNB) and the Yukon Association of Non-Status Indians (YANSI), creating a single organization to represent Aboriginal people who had status under the Indian Act and those who did not. Thereafter, no distinction between the two groups was made in negotiations about the territory's political future.

35 DIAND, Canada's North 1970-1980: Statement of the Government of Canada on Northern Development in the '70s (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1972).

36 DIAND, A Northern Political and Economic Framework (Ottawa: Supply and Services, 1988), p. 5.

37 One chapter cannot deal adequately with all the Aboriginal nations present in the vast area of northern Canada. We discuss a representative selection here and refer readers to other chapters of this report where the circumstances of many others are discussed.

38 First contacts between Europeans and Aboriginal peoples took place over a very long period. As Olive Patricia Dickason notes: "In what is now Canada, first meetings for which there is a reasonably acceptable record began with the Norse about 1000 A.D. and continued as late as the second decade of the twentieth century, when members of the Canadian Arctic Expedition met isolated bands of Copper and Netsilik Inuit. Not only that, these people were completely unknown to the Canadian government; these Inuit knew of whites, however, as their ancestors had encounters with them. Three years later, in 1918, Royal North-West Mounted Police, while on a search for Inuit wanted for murder, were still meeting people who had never seen a white. In other words, first meetings with Inuit occurred, off and on, over a period of more than 900 years. The Amerindian time span for such encounters was about 400 years, with some Athapaskans of the far Northwest being among the last to meet the white man early in the twentieth century." O.P. Dickason, *Canada's First Nations: A History of the Founding Peoples from Earliest Times* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1992), p. 86. See also Dorothy Harley Eber, *When the Whalers Were Up North: Inuit Memories from the Eastern Arctic* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989); James R. Gibson, *Otter Skins, Boston Ships, and China Goods: The Maritime Fur Trade of the Northwest Coast, 1785-1841* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992); and Pat Sandiford Grygier, *A Long Way from Home: The Tuberculosis Epidemic Among the Inuit* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994).

39 The 14 nations that are party to the agreement are Carcross/Tagish First Nation, Champagne/Aishihik First Nations, Dawson First Nation, Kluane First Nation, Kwanlin Dunn First Nation, Liard First Nation, Little Salmon/Carmacks First Nation, First Nation of Na-cho Ny'a'k Dun, Ross River Dena Council, Selkirk First Nation, Ta'an Kwach'an Council, Teslin Tlingit Council, Vuntut Gwich'in First Nation, and White River First Nation.

40 Mary Jane Norris, Don Kerr and François Nault, "Projections of the Population with Aboriginal Identity in Canada, 1991-2016", research study prepared for RCAP by the

Demography Division, Statistics Canada (1995). The Aboriginal population is adjusted for undercoverage in the 1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey (APS).

41 In 1901, the total population of the Yukon was 27,219, 3,322 of whom were Aboriginal people (12.2 per cent). A decade later, the declining non-Aboriginal population increased the Aboriginal proportion to 17.5 per cent. The highest recorded Aboriginal proportion was in 1931 (38.7 per cent), when the non-Aboriginal population reached its lowest post-gold-rush numbers. By 1971, the construction of the Alaska Highway and other industrial developments had reversed the trend once again, so that Aboriginal people accounted for 14 per cent of the overall population. Census data from Coates, *Best Left as Indians* (cited in note 7), p. 74. In 1991, the total population of the Yukon was 27,800, 5,100 of whom were Aboriginal (18.3 per cent). Statistics Canada, 1991 Census, Cat. No. 94-327, 1993.

42 Quoted in Jonathan L. Pierce, “Indian Claims in the Yukon, 1968-1984: Aboriginal Rights as Human Rights”, M.A. thesis, Carleton University, Ottawa, 1988, pp. 45-46.

43 Pierce, “Indian Claims in the Yukon”, pp. 56-57.

44 Council for Yukon Indians, “Together Today for Our Children Tomorrow: A Statement of Grievances and an Approach to Settlement by the Yukon Indian People”, report prepared for the Commissioner of Indian Claims and the Government of Canada (Whitehorse: 1973).

45 See RCAP, *Treaty Making* (cited in note 10) and Volume 2, Chapter 4.

46 “Umbrella Final Agreement between the Government of Canada, the Council for Yukon Indians and the Government of the Yukon. Agreement made this 29th day of May, 1993”, in DIAND, *Umbrella Final Agreement* (Ottawa: Supply and Services, 1993).

47 See Tony Penikett, “Land Claims and Self Government Agreements in Yukon”, in *Canadian Parliamentary Review* (Autumn 1993), p. 14. The CYI Umbrella Final Agreement adopted the option of “partial extinguishment” under the 1986 Comprehensive Land Claims Policy. See RCAP, *Treaty Making* (cited in note 10), pp. 43-44. Four Yukon First Nations Final Agreements (1993) and corresponding self-government agreements have been concluded. They are the Vuntut Gwich’in First Nation Final Agreement, First Nation of Na-cho Ny’a’k Dun Final Agreement, Teslin Tlingit Council Final Agreement, and Champagne and Aishihik First Nations Final Agreement, all approved and given effect by the Yukon First Nations Land Claims Settlement Act, S.C. 1994, c. 34 (proclaimed 14 February 1995). Negotiations for five other self-government agreements are in progress.

48 See Gurston Dacks, ed., *Devolution and Constitutional Development in the Canadian North* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1990).

- 49** Dacks, “Adaptation of Public Governing Institutions” (cited in note 3).
- 50** Dacks, “Adaptation of Public Governing Institutions”.
- 51** Dacks, “Adaptation of Public Governing Institutions”.
- 52** K.S. Coates, “First Nations and the Yukon Territorial Government: Toward a New Relationship”, research study prepared for RCAP (1994).
- 53** Dacks, “Adaptation of Public Governing Institutions”.
- 54** See, generally, Kerry Abel, *Drum Songs: Glimpses of Dene History* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1993).
- 55** Charles Mair, member of the Half-Breed Commission of 1899, quoted in René Fumoleau, *As Long As This Land Shall Last: A History of Treaty 8 and Treaty 11, 1870-1939* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974), p. 48.
- 56** Quoted in Fumoleau, *As Long As This Land Shall Last*, pp. 49-50 [note omitted].
- 57** Fumoleau, *As Long As This Land Shall Last*, p. 50. See also Dickerson, *Whose North?* (cited in note 29); and Rea, *The Political Economy* (cited in note 23).
- 58** Fumoleau, *As Long As This Land Shall Last*, Chapter III: *The Years Between The Treaties, 1900-1920*.
- 59** Northern Frontier, *Northern Homeland: The Report of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry: Volume One* (Ottawa: Supply and Services, 1977), p. 167.
- 60** Prince and Juniper, “Public Power” (cited in note 32). See also Andrew Webster, “They are Impossible People, Really: Social Administration and Aboriginal Social Welfare in the Territorial North, 1927-1993”, research study prepared for RCAP (1993).
- 61** The story is told in detail in Edgar J. Dosman, *The National Interest: The Politics of Northern Development, 1968-75* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975).
- 62** Eileen Sasakamoose, Sharon Venne and Rene Lamothe, “Northern Treaty Research for Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples”, research study prepared for RCAP (1994).
- 63** *Re Paulette’s Application* (1973) 6 W.W.R. 97 (N.W.T.S.C.).
- 64** The Dene Declaration is reprinted in Watkins, *Dene Nation* (cited in note 10).
- 65** The Gwich’in Agreement (1992) approved and given effect by the Gwich’in Land Claim Settlement Act, S.C. 1992, c. 53; and the Sahtu Dene and Metis Agreement (1993)

approved and given effect by the Sahtu Dene and Metis Land Claim Settlement Act, S.C. 1994, c. 27.

66 Susan Quirk and Antoine Mountain, “Dene Nation: An Analysis”, research study prepared for RCAP (1993).

67 Deh Cho First Nation, Declaration of Rights, p. 1 (1993).

68 National Archives of Canada, Records of the Privy Council Office, Privy Council Minutes, Record Group (RG) 2, series 1, volume 796 (also available in records of the Department of the Interior, RG15), Order in Council 918, 6 May 1899 [emphasis added].

69 In its 1993-94 Annual Report, Inuit Tapirisat of Canada puts the world Inuit population at 115,000, while the Inuit Circumpolar Conference estimates it at 120,000, divided as follows: Canada, 30,000; Alaska, 35,000; Greenland, 50,000; and Russia, 5,000. According to the 1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey, there are about 38,000 Inuit in Canada (adjusted data).

70 Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, “Submission of the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples” (1994), p. 6. For information on briefs submitted to RCAP, see A Note About Sources at the beginning of this volume.

71 Inuit Circumpolar Conference [hereafter ICC], Principles and Elements for a Comprehensive Arctic Policy (Montreal: McGill University, Centre for Northern Studies and Research, 1992).

72 Wendy Moss, “Inuit Perspectives on Treaty Rights and Governance Issues”, in *Aboriginal Self-Government: Legal and Constitutional Issues* (Ottawa: RCAP, 1995), p. 104.

73 The agreement was enacted by James Bay and Northern Quebec Native Claims Settlement Act, S.C. 1976-77, c. 32; and An Act approving the Agreement concerning James Bay and Northern Quebec, S.Q. 1976, c. 46.

74 Canadian Arctic Resource Committee, “Aboriginal Peoples, Comprehensive Land Claims, and Sustainable Development in the Territorial North”, brief submitted to RCAP (1993), Appendix E, pp. 11-16.

75 Norbert Rouland, *Les Inuit du Nouveau-Québec et la Convention de la Baie James* (Quebec City: Association Inuksiutiit Katimajit and Centre d'études nordiques, Université Laval, 1978), pp. 134-142.

76 Norbert Rouland, “Les Inuit du Nouveau-Québec et l'entrée en vigueur de la Convention de la baie James (avril 1977-octobre 1978)”, *Études Inuit Studies* 3/1 (1979), p. 83.

77 Gérard Duhaime, “Le chasseur et le minotaure: itinéraire de l’autonomie politique au Nunavik”, *Études Inuit Studies* 16/1-2 (1992), pp. 149-178; Paul Bussièrès, “Droits collectifs et pouvoirs chez les Inuit du Nunavik”, *Études Inuit Studies* 16/1-2 (1992), pp. 143-148. For an assessment of many facets of the agreement, see Sylvie Vincent and Gary Bowers, eds., *James Bay and Northern Quebec: Ten Years After* (Montreal: Recherches amérindiennes au Québec, 1988).

78 M. Malone, “Study of Current Practice in Financing Aboriginal Governments: Kativik Regional Government Case Study”, research study prepared for RCAP (1993).

79 See “Document: Constitution du Nunavik”, *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec* 19/4 (Winter 1989), pp. 74-77.

80 Nunavik Assembly and Government: Negotiation Framework Agreement between the Special Negotiator for the Gouvernement du Québec and the Chief Negotiator for the Nunavik Constitutional Committee, signed 21 July 1994.

81 Stephen Hendrie, “Makivik 1995 AGM: Referendum Year”, in *Makivik News* (Spring 1995), pp. 5-13.

82 Letha J. MacLachlan, “Northern Comprehensive Aboriginal Claims Agreements”, research study prepared for RCAP (1993).

83 Until 1976, Inuvialuit had been negotiating a comprehensive claims agreement in concert with other Inuit of the N.w.T., through the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada. When the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada withdrew its proposed comprehensive claim in 1976, the Committee for Original Peoples’ Entitlement (COPE), representing Inuvialuit, sought and received a mandate from its membership to proceed with the North’s first regional claim negotiations. The Inuvialuit Final Agreement (1984) (IFA) was approved and given effect by the Western Arctic (Inuvialuit) Claims Settlement Act, S.C. 1984, c. 24, as amended by S.C. 1988, c. 16.

84 Inuvialuit Claims Settlement Act, chapter 24, section 3, subsection 3. The IFA Aboriginal claimant groups not only released their Aboriginal title, rights and interests to the land in their territory, they also agreed that legislation giving effect to the Agreement would “extinguish all native claims, rights, title and interests of all [Indians, Inuit and Inuvialuit] in and to the [Traditional Territory]---whatever that may be”. MacLachlan, “Northern Comprehensive Claims Agreements” (cited in note 82).

85 Cited in Janet M. Keeping, *The Inuvialuit Final Agreement* (Calgary: Faculty of Law, University of Calgary, 1989).

86 RCAP transcripts, Montreal, Quebec, 29 November 1993. The proposed arrangements are discussed in Volume 2, Chapter 3.

87 Lindsay Staples, “The Inuvialuit Final Agreement: Implementing its Land, Resource and Environmental Regimes”, research study prepared for RCAP (1994).

88 Staples, “Implementing Land, Resource and Environmental Regimes”.

89 Gurston Dacks, “Nunavut: Aboriginal Self-Determination Through Public Government”, research study prepared for RCAP (1994).

90 For a more detailed discussion, see R. Quinn Duffy, *The Road to Nunavut: The Progress of the Eastern Arctic Inuit Since the Second World War* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1988); and Nunavut Constitutional Forum, *Building Nunavut: Today and Tomorrow* (Ottawa: Nunavut Constitutional Forum, 1983).

91 Frances Abele and M.O. Dickerson, “The 1982 Plebiscite on Division of the Northwest Territories: Regional Government and Federal Policy”, *Canadian Public Policy* 11/1 (March 1985), pp. 1-15; and Government of the Northwest Territories, *Report of the Chief Plebiscite Officer on the Plebiscite on Division of the Northwest Territories* (Yellowknife: 1982). Despite general support among Aboriginal people of the Northwest Territories, there was considerable concern about the location of the boundary, especially in communities near its possible location. The unilateral imposition of the boundary between the Yukon and N.w.T. and between the N.w.T. and neighbouring provinces had separated Dene and Métis people into several jurisdictions. Voters were wary of repeating this experience. It is probable that both turnout and support for division in the west would have been stronger had a boundary acceptable to Dene and Métis people been proposed in the plebiscite question.

92 DIAND, Notes for an Address by the Honourable John Munro, P.C., M.P., Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Legislative Assembly, Yellowknife, N.w.T., 26 November 1982.

93 The Nunavut Land Claims Agreement (1993) approved and given effect by the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement Act, S.C. 1993, c. 29; and Nunavut Act, S.C. 1993, c. 28.

94 Under the terms of the land claims agreement (article 29), Inuit agreed to repay almost \$40 million in loans received from the federal government to cover their negotiating costs.

95 ATII Training Inc., “Northern Education and Training Systems for Inuit: A Strategic Analysis”, research study prepared for RCAP (1993).

96 Estimates range from \$50 million, according to the department of Indian affairs, to \$174 million according to ATII Training Inc., “Northern Education and Training Systems”. The variation is a result of differences in assumptions about the duration of training and types of attendant measures. Also see Dacks, “Nunavut” (cited in note 89). Issues associated with training are discussed later in this chapter.

97 In Canada as a whole, 14 per cent of Aboriginal adults had post-secondary degrees or certificates, 32 per cent had completed high school and 25 per cent had Grade 8 or less. ‘Adult’ here means individuals between 15 and 64 years of age and no longer attending school in 1991. See Statistics Canada, 1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey, custom tabulations.

98 Frances Abele, *Gathering Strength: A Study of Native Employment Training Programs in the Northwest Territories* (Calgary: Arctic Institute of North America, 1989).

99 Williamson, “Significant Aspects” (cited in note 10).

100 Dacks, “Adaptation” (cited in note 3).

101 For a detailed discussion of approaches to ‘appropriate’ decision making, see Stevenson, “Traditional Inuit Decision-Making” (cited in note 19).

102 Dacks, “Nunavut” (cited in note 89).

103 The non-Inuit members of the Labrador Inuit Association (LIA) are Kablunangajuit. They include individuals who have some Inuit ancestry as well as individuals who do not have Inuit ancestry but were born before 30 November 1990, permanently settled in the land claim area before 1940, or are descendants of persons who settled in the land claim area before 1940 (information from the 1995 LIA membership forms).

104 To support the Labrador Inuit claim, a land use and occupancy study was initiated in 1975. In 1977, LIA documentation of their claim was submitted to the federal government. See Carol Brice-Bennett, ed., *Our Footprints are Everywhere: Inuit Land Use and Occupancy in Labrador* (Nain, Newfoundland and Labrador: Labrador Inuit Association, 1977).

105 Adrian Tanner et al., “Aboriginal Peoples and Governance in Newfoundland and Labrador”, research study prepared for RCAP (1994) [note omitted].

106 Most of the information in this section is drawn from W.J. Eccles and Susan L. Laskin, “The Seven Years’ War”, in *Historical Atlas of Canada, Volume 1, From the Beginning to 1800*, R. Cole Harris, ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), plate 42.

107 *Re Labrador Boundary* (1927), 2 D.L.R. 401. See also *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador, Volume 3* (St. John’s: Harry Cuff Publications, 1991), pp. 216-221.

108 In 1924, while Newfoundland and Quebec were preparing their case for review by the judicial committee of the Privy Council, Newfoundland offered to sell Labrador to Quebec for \$30 million. It was put up for sale to Canada in 1931 for \$110 million, but Canada declined. David Lough, “Transition from Traditional to Wage Economy — The

Labrador Experience”, draft paper prepared for the third annual Interprovincial Conference of Ministers with Responsibility for Northern Development, Thompson, Manitoba, 9 to 11 September 1980, p. 3.

109 Occasionally, the Newfoundland government passed legislation in response to serious problems. For example, legislation was passed in 1882 prohibiting Aboriginal persons from possessing alcohol (An Act respecting the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on the Coast of Labrador, S.N. 1882, c. 8). In 1911, legislation prohibited anyone from taking an Aboriginal person out of Labrador. This law came as a result of the transportation of a group of 57 Labrador Inuit to Chicago in 1893, where they were placed on display at the World’s Columbian Exposition and then left stranded (An Act respecting the Esquimaux and Indians resident in Labrador, S.N. 1911, c. 9); see Tanner et al., “Aboriginal Peoples” (cited in note 105).

110 “Il n’est donc pas possible---de souscrire à l’appréciation que d’aucuns ont faite de la décision et du tracé de 1927: une ‘grossière erreur de droit et de fait.’” Rapport de la Commission d’étude sur l’intégrité du territoire du Québec: 3. La Frontière du Labrador, 3.1 Rapport des commissaires, Tome 1 (Quebec City: 1971), p. 417; and “L’argument le plus fort, en 1971, qui fait que la ‘cause’ du Québec dans l’affaire du Labrador est irrémédiablement compromise, c’est le fait, peu connu semble-t-il de ceux qui préconisent le ‘retour du Labrador au Québec’, que les gouvernements successifs du Québec ont, à divers titres et de plusieurs manières, reconnu le tracé de 1927 comme la frontière effective entre les deux provinces.” Rapport de la Commission d’étude, 3.2 Synthèse, p. 14.

111 Tanner et al., “Aboriginal Peoples” (cited in note 105).

112 The reasons for this are not entirely clear. Future Newfoundland premier J.R. Smallwood and at least some public servants apparently were convinced that it would be a retrograde step in terms of political rights for Aboriginal peoples living in Newfoundland and Labrador to fall under the administration of the federal department of Indian affairs. On the federal side, there was some reluctance to assume the additional burden, particularly at a time when the policy was to reduce dependency on the department of Indian affairs. Another concern was that there were too few Aboriginal people to justify creating a separate administration. Also, the Newfoundland government may have feared the political consequences of being unable to provide for its non-Aboriginal citizens the level of services that would have been provided by the federal government in the Aboriginal communities. Tanner et al., “Aboriginal Peoples” (cited in note 105).

113 Donald M. McRae, Report on the Complaints of the Innu of Labrador to the Canadian Human Rights Commission (Ottawa: Canadian Human Rights Commission, 1993), p. 7.

114 Tanner et al., “Aboriginal Peoples” (cited in note 105).

115 See Tanner et al., “Aboriginal Peoples”; McRae, Report on the Complaints of the Innu (cited in note 113); and Newfoundland, Report of the Royal Commission on Labrador (St. John’s: Queen’s Printer, 1974).

116 Iris Allen, Labrador Inuit Health Commission, “Aboriginal People Living in Remote and Northern Areas”, in RCAP, *The Path to Healing*, Report of the National Round Table on Aboriginal Health and Social Issues (Ottawa: Supply and Services, 1993), p. 132.

117 Tanner et al., “Aboriginal Peoples” (cited in note 105).

118 Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, “Submission of the Inuit Tapirisat” (cited in note 70), p. 92.

119 Moss, “Inuit Perspectives” (cited in note 72), p. 111, quoting the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada.

120 Tony Williamson, “Angojokok-AngojukKauKatiget-Labrador-imi Inuit katutjikategenninga: Labrador Inuit Politics from Household to Community to Nation”, research study prepared for RCAP (1994).

121 Some of the international and domestic dimensions of this problem are explored in Benoît Lévesque, André Joyal and Omer Chouinard, eds., *L’autre économie: Une économie alternative?* (Sillery, Quebec: Presses de l’Université du Québec, 1989). See also Volume 2, Chapter 5.

122 Royal Roads Military College, *The Environmental Impact of the DEW Line on the Canadian Arctic* (Victoria: Department of National Defence, 1993).

123 Ellen Bielawski, “The Desecration of Nánúlá Kúé: Impact of the Taltson Hydroelectric Development on Dene Sonline”, research study prepared for RCAP (1994).

124 Other examples in northern Canada included the Lancaster Sound Green Paper exercise and the Land Use Planning Program, run jointly by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, the territorial governments, and Aboriginal organizations. The Federal Environmental Assessment Review Process remains the most frequently used and elaborate mechanism for making decisions in advance of projects that are anticipated to have a significant environmental impact. The three-year Beaufort Sea Environmental Review assessed development of offshore oil production facilities on the western Arctic coast. In Labrador, an Environmental Assessment Panel took six years to decide that military training activities could continue under certain conditions.

125 See A. Saunders, “Banking on the Big Fix: Circumpolar Nations Pool their Expertise to Tackle Pollution”, *Arctic Circle* 1/2 (September/October 1990), pp. 52-53; S. Hazell, “Where the Caribou and the Cruise Missiles Play: When will DND Start Really Listening to the Concerns of Northerners?”, *Arctic Circle* 1/6 (May/June 1991), pp. 34-35; and

Peter Tyson, "Tracking Acid Rain in the Arctic", *Arctic Circle* 2/2 (September/October 1991), pp. 32-34.

126 Peter J. Usher, "The Beverly-Kaminuriak Management Board: An Evaluation of the First Ten Years and Recommendations for the Future", unpublished report prepared for the Beverly and Kaminuriak Caribou Management Board (1991).

127 David DesBrisay, "The Impact of Major Resource Development Projects on Aboriginal Communities: A Review of the Literature", research study prepared for RCAP (1994).

128 George Wenzel, *Animal Rights, Human Rights: Ecology, Economy and Ideology in the Canadian Arctic* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991).

129 Terry Fenge, "Environmental Clean-up and Sustainable Development in the Circumpolar Region", *Northern Perspectives* 21/4 (Winter 1993-94), pp. 1-3.

130 Several overviews and considerations of remedies appear in John M. Lamb, ed., *Proceedings of a Conference on 'A Northern Foreign Policy for Canada'* (Ottawa: Canadian Polar Commission and Canadian Centre for Global Security, 1994).

131 Santé Québec, *Report of the Santé Québec Health Survey Among the Inuit of Nunavik, 1992, Volume I: Health Determining Factors*, ed. Mireille Jetté.

132 Environment Canada, *A State of the Environment Fact Sheet, No. 94-1* (Ottawa: Supply and Services, 1994).

133 Marina Devine, "Panel will Probe BHP Diamond Mine Plans: Ottawa Foots \$250,000 for Review", *Nunatsiaq News* (16 December 1994), p. 10.

134 Andrew Chapeskie, "Land, Landscape, Culturescape: Aboriginal Relationships to Land and the Co-Management of Natural Resources", research study prepared for RCAP (1995).

135 Laurie K. Montour, "Natural Resource Management Agreements in First Nations' Territories", research study prepared for RCAP (1994).

136 MacLachlan, "Northern Comprehensive Aboriginal Claims Agreements" (cited in note 82).

137 Alan Penn, "The James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement: Natural Resources, Public Lands, and the Implementation of a Native Land Claim Settlement", research study prepared for RCAP (1995).

138 Paul F. Wilkinson and Maria Vincelli, “An Evaluation of the Implementation of the Environmental Regimes Established by Comprehensive Claims Settlements in Canada”, research study prepared for RCAP (1995).

139 Lorraine Brooke, “Experiences of the Inuit of Nunavik with Wildlife Management and the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement (1975-1995)”, research study prepared for RCAP (1995).

140 Wilkinson and Vincelli, “An Evaluation” (cited in note 138).

141 Staples, “Inuvialuit Final Agreement” (cited in note 87).

142 MacLachlan, “Northern” (cited in note 82). See also Nunavut Land Claims Agreement Act, S.C. 1993, c. 29, s. 10.

143 Studies conducted by the Government of the Northwest Territories (GNwT) indicated a much lower caribou population than harvesters believed to exist. Based on the data collected by biologists, the GNwT Department of Renewable Resources imposed strict bag-limits on harvesters. Subsequently, it became clear that more caribou were indeed available than the initial government studies had suggested. Peter Usher, “The Beverly-Kaminuriak Management Board: An Experience in Co-Management”, in *Traditional Ecological Knowledge: Concepts and Cases*, ed. Julian T. Inglis (Ottawa: International Program on Traditional Ecological Knowledge and International Development Research Centre, 1993), p. 111.

144 See Peter Clancy, “Political Devolution and Wildlife Management”, in *Devolution and Constitutional Development in the Canadian North*, ed. Gurston Dacks (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1990).

145 Usher, “Beverly-Kaminuriak: An Experience” (cited in note 143); and P. Cizek, “The Beverly-Kaminuriak Caribou Management Board: A Case Study of Aboriginal Participation in Resource Management” (Ottawa: Canadian Arctic Resources Committee, 1990), p. 1.

146 Usher, “Beverly-Kaminuriak: An Experience”, p. 112; and Cizek, “A Case Study”, pp. 4-5.

147 See Usher, “Beverly-Kaminuriak: An Evaluation” (cited in note 126); Usher, “Beverly-Kaminuriak: An Experience”; Cizek, “Beverly-Kaminuriak: A Case Study”; and Gail Osherenko, “Sharing Power with Native Users: Co-Management Regimes for Native Wildlife” (Ottawa: Canadian Arctic Resources Committee, 1988).

148 Peter J. Usher, “Lands, Resources and Environment Regimes Research Project: Summary of Case Study Findings and Recommendations”, research study prepared for RCAP (1994); and Bielawski, “The Desecration of Nánúlá Kúé” (cited in note 123).

149 Phyllis Morrow and Chase Hensel, “Hidden Dissention: Minority-Majority Relationships and the Use of Contested Terminology”, *Arctic Anthropology* 29/1 (1992), pp. 38-53; and Usher, “Beverly-Kaminuriak: An Experience” (cited in note 143).

150 As defined by Fikret Berkes, “Traditional Ecological Knowledge in Perspective”, in *Traditional Ecological Knowledge: Concepts and Cases* (cited in note 143), p. 3; and Milton M.R. Freeman, “Graphs and Gaffs: A Cautionary Tale in the Common-Property Resources Debate”, in *Common Property Resources: Ecology and Community-Based Sustainable Development*, ed. Fikret Berkes (London: Belhaven Press, 1989), pp. 92-109. The ideas in this section are discussed more fully in Volume 3, Chapter 5.

151 Martha Johnson, ed., *Lore: Capturing Traditional Environmental Knowledge* (Ottawa: Dene Cultural Institute and the International Development Research Centre, 1992), p. 4.

152 Wenzel, *Animal Rights, Human Rights* (cited in note 128).

153 Johnson, *Lore* (cited in note 151), p. 8.

154 R.R. de Cotret, letter to the editor, *Arctic Circle* 1/41 (January/February 1991), p. 8, cited in Ellen Bielawski, “Inuit Indigenous Knowledge and Science in the Arctic”, *Northern Perspectives* 20/1 (Summer 1992), pp. 5-8. This and other articles in this issue of *Northern Perspectives* illustrate the growing support for this viewpoint. In fact, the main objective of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference at the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 was to “have the role and value of the traditional knowledge of indigenous peoples clearly recognized in the decisions of UNCED [United Nations Conference on Environment and Development]”. Mary Simon, “Environment, Sustainable Development and Self-Government”, *Études Inuit Studies* 16/1-2 (1992), p. 24.

155 Quoted in *Northern Perspectives* 22/1 (Spring 1994), p. 18.

156 John Sallenave, “Giving Traditional Ecological Knowledge Its Rightful Place in Environmental Impact Assessment”, *Northern Perspectives* (cited in note 155), p. 19.

157 Response by the Government of the Northwest Territories to the Report of the Traditional Knowledge Working Group (Yellowknife: N.w.T. Department of Renewable Resources, 1994), p. 13.

158 Pierre-Gerlier Forest and Thierry Rodon, “Les activités internationales des autochtones du Canada”, *Études internationales* 26/1 (March 1995), pp. 35-57; and Peter Jull, *The Politics of Northern Frontiers in Australia, Canada and Other ‘First World’ Countries* (Darwin: Australian National University, North Australia Research Unit, 1991).

159 ICC, *Principles and Elements* (cited in note 71).

160 Franklyn Griffiths and Justin Peffer, “Turning Point in Canadian Policy Towards the Circumpolar North: Implications for Aboriginal Peoples”, research study prepared for RCAP (1993), p. 4.

161 ICC, Principles and Elements, (cited in note 71) p. 147.

162 Canadian Arctic Resources Committee, “The Arctic Environmental Protection Strategy”, Northern Perspectives 21/4 (Winter 1993-94), p. 4.

163 Staples, “Inuvialuit Final Agreement” (cited in note 87) [note omitted].

164 Veryan Haysom, “The Struggle for Recognition: Labrador Inuit Negotiations for Land Rights and Self-Government”, Études Inuit Studies 16/1-2 (1992), p. 188.

165 Norris, Kerr and Nault, “Projections of the Population” (cited in note 40).

166 Gordon Robertson, Northern Provinces: A Mistaken Goal (Montreal: Institute for Research on Public Policy, 1985); Aird, Running the North (cited in note 32); Prince and Juniper, “Public Power” (cited in note 32); and L. Wade Locke and Peter G.C. Townley, “An Inventory of Provincial Expenditures for the Benefit of the Innu and Inuit of Labrador”, research study prepared for RCAP (1994).

167 Transfers from the federal government made up 83.5 per cent of the total revenues of the government of the Northwest Territories in 1980-81 and an estimated 77.8 per cent in 1990-91. For the Yukon territorial government, federal transfers made up 61.8 per cent of total revenues in 1980-81 and an estimated 77.6 per cent in 1990-91. See Table 5.7 (“Government of the Northwest Territories Revenue 1980/81 to 1990/91”) and Table 6.5 (“Yukon Territorial Government Revenues by Source, 1980-1981 to 1990-1991”) in Prince and Juniper, “Public Power” (cited in note 32). Separate data are not available for the northern parts of the provinces. Inuit have chosen to open some lands in Nunavut for mineral exploration, in anticipation of the looming shortage of public funds. Whether there will be significant long-term income in the form of royalties depends on what is found and on the economics of production. Overall, northern mineral taxation revenues have usually not exceeded the public subsidies necessary to launch mining ventures.

168 Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry (cited in note 59), pp. 121 and 122.

169 Some significant subsidies have been available to develop and support the art and crafts industries; in the Northwest Territories there have also been programs to support hunting, trapping and fishing for many years.

170 For a quantitative analysis of one traditional-mixed economy, see N.C. Quigley and N.J. McBride, “The Structure of an Arctic Microeconomy: The Traditional Sector in Community Economic Development”, Arctic 40/3 (September 1987), p. 204.

171 Heather M. Myers, “An Evaluation of Renewable Resource Development Experience in the Northwest Territories, Canada”, PH.D. dissertation, Cambridge University, Scott Polar Research Institute, 1994; Peter Douglas Elias, *Development of Aboriginal People’s Communities* (Toronto: Centre for Aboriginal Management (CAMET) and Captus Press, 1993); Katherine A. Graham et al., *A Climate for Change: Alternatives for the Central and Eastern Arctic* (Kingston: Queen’s University, Centre for Resource Studies, 1984), p. 157 and Appendices; and Frederick H. Weihs Consulting and Sinaaq Enterprises, “A Review and Assessment of the Economic Utilization and Potential of Country Food in the Northern Economy”, research study prepared for RCAP (1993).

172 Public servants who were inspired by the more protective and social democratic approach in Greenland attempted to mitigate the laissez-faire philosophy, but they were not successful. See Clancy, “Contours of the Modern State” (cited in note 23).

173 Jon Pierce and Robert Hornal, “Aboriginal People and Mining in Nunavut, Nunavik and Northern Labrador”, research study prepared for RCAP (1994); Price Waterhouse, “Aboriginal Participation in the Minerals Industry”, research study prepared for RCAP (1993); and K.J. Rea, *The Political Economy of Northern Development*, Background Paper No. 36 (Ottawa: Science Council of Canada, 1976).

174 Abele, *Gathering Strength* (cited in note 98); Wanda Wuttunee, “On Our Own Terms, Aboriginal Peoples and the Minerals Industry: Yukon and Denendeh”, research study prepared for RCAP (1993); DesBrisay, “The Impact” (cited in note 127).

175 Yukon 2000 was a broadly participatory process of consultation and analysis that informed the Yukon government’s decision to invest strategically in territorially based industries, such as furniture manufacturing and fish farming, as a form of import substitution, and to support the development of service and tourism industries. With the long-term goal of reducing the territory’s reliance on the unpredictable and highly subsidized private mining sector, the strategy requires sustained political commitment and continuing expenditure of public funds. It is not a quick fix. The government of the Northwest Territories also endorsed a strategy of import substitution and proposed means to increase local participation in and control over the direction of economic development. Removing the barriers to internal trade received special attention. See *The SCONE Report: Building Our Economic Future* (Yellowknife: Legislative Assembly of the Northwest Territories, 1989); C.E.S. Franks, “The Public Service in the North”, *Canadian Public Administration* 27/2 (Summer 1984), pp. 210-241; and Myers, “An Evaluation” (cited in note 171).

176 Ignatius E. La Rusic, “Subsidies for Subsistence: The Place of Income Security Programs in Supporting Hunting, Fishing, and Trapping as a Way of Life in Canada’s Aboriginal Communities”, research study prepared for RCAP (1993) [note omitted]. See also Peter Usher and Frederick H. Weihs, *Towards a Strategy for Supporting the Domestic Economy of the Northwest Territories*, prepared for the Legislative Assembly of the Northwest Territories Special Committee on the Northern Economy (Ottawa: P.J. Usher Consulting Services, 1989).

177 Weihs Consulting and Sinaaq Enterprises, “Review and Assessment” (cited in note 171).

178 Wenzel, *Animal Rights, Human Rights* (cited in note 128); La Rusic, “Subsidies for Subsistence” (cited in note 176); and Hugh Brody, *Living Arctic: Hunters of the Canadian North* (Toronto: Douglas & McIntyre, 1987).

179 P. Reichert and M. Spigelman (SP Research Associates), “Time on Assistance: A Study of the Patterns of Welfare Use in the Northwest Territories”, report prepared for the Deputies Steering Committee on Income Support Reform, Government of the Northwest Territories (1991).

180 Research in the Northwest Territories shows that where the primary food economy is strong, social assistance payments are lower. Prince and Juniper, “Public Power” (cited in note 32).

181 Weihs Consulting and Sinaaq Enterprises, “Review and Assessment” (cited in note 171).

182 Lange, “Fractured Vision” (cited in note 4).

183 La Rusic, “Subsidies for Subsistence” (cited in note 176).

184 Ontario, Community and Social Services, First Nations’ Project Team Report: Social Assistance Legislation Review (Toronto: Queen’s Printer for Ontario, 1992).

185 Baffin Region Inuit Association, “Case Study #3 - Inuit Hunters in Nunavut”, in “Inuit and Social Security Review” (cited in note 186).

186 For example, as suggested by the Labrador Inuit Association and the Baffin Region Inuit Association, in “Inuit and Social Security Review: Four Case Studies”, prepared by Inuit Tapirisat of Canada for Human Resources Development Canada (3 February 1995).

187 For example, in Pangnirtung (on Baffin Island) most women working in the fish processing plant felt the seasonal nature of the fishery was positive since it allowed them to qualify for unemployment insurance benefits. Several noted this cycle allowed them to engage in traditional pursuits, with strong social or cultural returns during the rest of the year, despite these activities having small or negative economic returns. Bruce D. Ashley, “Community Economic Impact of Commercial Fisheries Development in Canada’s Eastern Arctic: The Pangnirtung Winter Turbot Fishery”, M.A. thesis, School of Resource and Environmental Management, Simon Fraser University (1993).

188 An Act respecting employment insurance in Canada, S.C. 1996, chapter 23; and Budget Implementation Act 1996, S.C. 1996, chapter 18.

189 Gwen Reimer, “A Case Study of an Inuit Economy: Pangnirtung, Northwest Territories”, research study prepared for RCAP (1993).

190 See An Act respecting income security for Cree hunters and trappers who are beneficiaries under the agreement concerning James Bay and Northern Quebec, R.S.Q. c. S-3.2.; and An Act respecting the support program for Inuit beneficiaries of the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement for their hunting, fishing and trapping activities, R.S.Q. c. P-30.2.

191 Weihs and Sinaaq, “Review and Assessment” (cited in note 171). Also see Jo Ann Gagnon, *Le régime de chasse, de pêche et de trappage et les conventions du Québec nordique*, Nordicana Series, No. 45 (Quebec City: Centre d’études nordiques, Université Laval, 1982).

192 Weihs and Sinaaq “Review and Assessment”; see also Gagnon, *Le régime de chasse*.

193 La Rusic, “Subsidies for Subsistence” (cited in note 176). Also see Lorraine F. Brooke, “The James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement: Experiences of the Nunavik Inuit with Wildlife Management”, research study prepared for RCAP (1995).

194 Canadian Arctic Resources Committee, “Aboriginal Peoples, Comprehensive Land Claims” (cited in note 74).

195 Canadian Arctic Resources Committee, “Aboriginal Peoples, Comprehensive Land Claims”, Appendix E, p. 12.

196 Canadian Arctic Resources Committee, “Aboriginal Peoples, Comprehensive Land Claims”, Appendix E, p. 13.

197 RT and Associates, “Nunavut Harvest Support Program Background Document”, December 1993.

198 La Rusic, “Subsidies for Subsistence” (cited in note 176).

199 For a discussion, see Eugene Swimmer and David Hennis, “Inuit Statistics: An Analysis of the Categories Used in Government Data Collections”, research study prepared for RCAP (1993); and Jack C. Stabler, “Development Planning North of 60: Requirements and Prospects”, William G. Watson, “A Southern Perspective on Northern Economic Development”, and Michael S. Whittington, “Introduction: Northern Studies”, all in Whittington, ed., *The North* (cited in note 29).

200 Wuttunee, “On Our Own Terms” (cited in note 174).

201 GNwT, Department of Energy, Mines and Petroleum Resources, 1992, quoted in Wuttunee, “On Our Own Terms”.

- 202** Pierce and Hornal, “Aboriginal People and Mining” (cited in note 173).
- 203** Pierce and Hornal, “Aboriginal People and Mining”; and DesBrisay, “The Impact” (cited in note 127).
- 204** An agreement was signed on 25 February 1995 between Makivik Corporation and Qarqalik Landholding Corporation of Salluit, Northern Village Corporation of Salluit, Nunaturlik Landholding Corporation of Kangiqsujuaq, Northern Village Corporation of Kangiqsujuaq and Société minière Raglan du Québec.
- 205** Claudia Notzke, *Aboriginal Peoples and Natural Resources in Canada* (North York: Captus Press, 1994); Pierce and Hornal, “Aboriginal People and Mining” (cited in note 173).
- 206** Pierce and Hornal, “Aboriginal People and Mining”.
- 207** United Nations, Seminar Report (United Nations Interregional Seminar on Guidelines for the Development of Small/Medium Scale Mining, 15-19 February 1993 Harare, Zimbabwe (New York: 1993). See also Australia, Report of the Committee of Review of Aboriginal Employment and Training Programs (Canberra: 1985).
- 208** Jeffrey Davidson, “Rethinking Aboriginal Participation in the Minerals Industry: An Exploration of Alternative Modes”, research study prepared for RCAP (1994).
- 209** Davidson, “Rethinking Aboriginal Participation”.
- 210** See for example, Mike Robinson et al., “Coping with the Cash: A Financial Review of Four Northern Land Claims Settlements with a view to Maximizing Economic Opportunities from the Next Generation of Claims Settlements in the Northwest Territories”, study prepared for the N.w.T. Legislative Assembly Special Committee on the Northern Economy (Yellowknife: 1989); The SCONE Report (cited in note 175); and Myers, “An Evaluation” (cited in note 171).
- 211** Weihs and Sinaaq, “A Review” (cited in note 171).
- 212** Robinson et al., “Coping with the Cash” (cited in note 210), p. 131 [note omitted].
- 213** See RCAP, *Choosing Life: Special Report on Suicide Among Aboriginal People* (Ottawa: Supply and Services, 1995); *Focusing the Dialogue, Discussion Paper 2* (Ottawa: Supply and Services, 1993), pp. 51-62; and Volume 3 of this report.
- 214** ATII Training Inc., “Northern Education and Training” (cited in note 95).
- 215** See Dacks, ed., *Devolution and Constitutional Development* (cited in note 48); and D.A. Rondinelli, *Development Projects as Policy Experiments: An Adaptive Approach to Development Administration* (London: Methuen, 1983) and “Government

Decentralization in Comparative Perspective: Theory and Practice in Developing Countries”, *International Review of Administrative Science* 47/2 (1981), pp. 135-136.

216 See Stevenson, “Traditional Inuit Decision-Making Structures” (cited in note 19); Dacks, “Adaptation” (cited in note 3); and Dickerson and Shotton, “Northern Self-Government” (cited in note 3).

217 See ATII Training, “Northern Education and Training” (cited in note 95); and Mary Easterson, “First Nation Education in Yukon and Northwest Territories: A Historical Perspective and Contemporary Perspective”, research study prepared for RCAP (1994).

218 There is a large body of scholarly and applied literature on this topic. See Abele, *Gathering Strength* (cited in note 98); Joseph E. Couture, “Native Training and Political Change: A Personal Reflection”, *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 2/1 (1982), pp. 12-24; A.R. Hoyle, “Evaluation of Training: A Review of the Literature”, *Public Administration and Development* 4 (1984), pp. 275-282; J. Mark Stiles, *Developing the Potential From Within: A Report on Management Training for the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation and Taqramiut Nipingat Inc.* (1983); and R.A. Young and P. McDermott, “Employment Training Programs and Acculturation of Native Peoples in Canada’s Northwest Territories”, *Arctic* 41/3 (1988), pp. 195-202.

219 *Agreement Between the Inuit of the Nunavut Settlement Area and Her Majesty in Right of Canada* (signed in Iqaluit, 25 May 1993), article 11, Part 2 (11.2.1) (Ottawa: DIAND and Tungavik, 1993).

220 Bielawski, “The Desecration” (cited in note 123).

221 José Mailhot, *Traditional Ecological Knowledge: The Diversity of Knowledge Systems and Their Study* (Montreal: Great Whale Public Review Support Office, 1993), pp. 34-36.

222 Details on the application of Aboriginal traditional knowledge in a variety of institutions can be found throughout this report. In particular, see the chapters on lands and resources and economic development (Volume 2, Chapters 4 and 5), much of Volume 3, and the chapter on elders’ perspectives (Chapter 3 in this volume).