

IGLUTAQ (in my room)

THE IMPLICATIONS OF HOMELESSNESS FOR INUIT

A Case Study of Housing and Homelessness
in Kinngait, Nunavut Territory

A Report Prepared by
Frank James Tester
for
The Harvest Society, Kinngait, Nunavut Territory

April, 2006

© **Frank James Tester & The Harvest Society, Kinngait, Nunavut Territory**
April, 2006

ISBN 0-88865-649-1

Photos: Frank James Tester (unless otherwise indicated)

Cover: Kinngait. Frank James Tester

The contents of this document, opinions expressed, and conclusions reached, are those of the author and the Harvest Society of Kinngait and are not necessarily those of the National Homelessness Initiative or any agency of the Federal Government of Canada.

This research was funded by the Government of Canada, National Homelessness Initiative, and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, 2005.

Copies of this report are available from the author, School of Social Work and Family Studies, University of British Columbia, 2080 West Mall, Vancouver, British Columbia, V6T 1Z2.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This project was undertaken in the Inuit community of Kinngait (Cape Dorset), Baffin Island, in the summer of 2005. Kinngait is a predominantly Inuit community of about 1150 residents, located on the southwest side of Baffin Island. It has an international reputation for Inuit carving and print-making. The research was co-coordinated by Frank Tester, professor of social work, University of British Columbia. He was assisted by students Anna Cavouras, Marnie Stickley and Liz Overton. Inuit Elders, Mangitak Kellypalik and Makituk Pingwartuk acted as project advisors with the assistance of Simega Suvega. The research was the initiative of the Harvest Society of Kinngait. Inuit youth helped develop and administer the questionnaire: Matta Parr, Makitjuk Salamonie, Serge Lampron, Ola Pootoogoo, Lao Jaw and Olivira Tapaugai. Simeonie Qummuattug also participated in the design workshop.

The research was conducted using a participatory action research model. Seven Inuit youth from Kinngait participated in a two week design and training workshop during which they practiced the skills necessary to administer a questionnaire to residents of the community. In the course of the workshop, they also helped develop and refine the questionnaire. The research was conducted by six of the students in the weeks following the workshop. The research was predominantly phenomenological, with objective measures of overcrowding being compared to resident's perceptions. Inuit were asked about their perception of the impacts and implications of the housing situation for their daily lives, as well as physical and mental health.

The sample consists of 91 individuals, resident in 91 different homes in the community. Sampling was done using house numbers and lists. The sample was stratified with attention given to age and status; single Inuit, couples and those on the housing waiting list.

Kinngait is a community with a high proportion of young people in the population. The age structure of the community is comparable to what one finds in the most extreme situations of 'third world' countries. Young people under 15 years are 38% of the population (compared to 43.1% in Mozambique). The demographics of the community make it clear that unless drastic measures are taken, a very serious housing crisis will rapidly become much worse.

As background, the economic status of respondents was examined. Poverty and a lack of opportunities for earning a living were found to be significant factors affecting life in this community and are clearly related to the high number of residents living in socially assisted housing. Fifty eight percent of respondents (Inuit over 15 years of age) indicated that they had no wage employment. Twelve individuals were between 15 and 19 years of age (13.2% of the sample). Another 7.7% were over 65 years of age. Allowing for this, and recognizing that about 12% of the population derives some – in a very few cases, substantial – income from carving and other arts and crafts, the unemployment rate in Kinngait is about 25%. Poverty, combined with extremely high prices for food and the unavailability of country foods for many – in fact, most – residents, contributes to a

significant problem of food security. This is only partially offset by social assistance rates significantly higher than in the rest of the country. Residents indicated that they sometimes sold household furniture and appliances in order to get money to buy food. Furthermore, in a culture known for self-help and sharing among extended family and community residents, “not having enough food of their own” was given as one of the more important reasons why relatives are unable to help when help is needed.

While education levels in the community are low compared with Canadian averages, they are rising. Rising levels of education, combined with exposure to the material circumstances of many other Canadians, set against unemployment and less than satisfactory living conditions, are most likely contributing factors to the depression and frustration experienced by many youth. Inuit youth, 13 – 25 years of age – particularly males – have one of the highest suicide rates in the world. The crime statistics for Nunavut as a whole make it clear that forms of violence – including domestic violence – are serious problems. Respondents recognize that addressing the housing situation will not ‘solve’ these problems, but they are very clearly of the opinion that the housing situation is a significant contributing factor.

Approximately 47% of the homes in Kinngait are overcrowded. This compares with a national figure of 7%. A common situation is one where parents have, living with them, children who are coupled and who also have children. The homes surveyed had an average of 5.07 residents per unit. It is somewhat surprising that the overcrowding rate is not higher. This suggests that the provision of larger homes in recent years has prevented a bad situation from being even worse. The presence in a home of children under 5 years of age is a good predictor of overcrowding.

The material circumstances of housing – size, condition, location, having water delivered and sewage pumped out, the presence and condition of appliances – have implications for the mental well-being of residents. Overcrowding is a contributor to anger, depression and domestic violence. Residents believe that these and other social problems would be alleviated to some extent if the problem of overcrowding was to be addressed. Lack of access to the land, as a result of not having the necessary equipment, is also a contributing factor to mental health problems in the community. Overcrowding also contributes to problems residents have at school and in the workplace. Respondents gave inadequate design, the age of the dwelling and overcrowding as significant reasons why they felt they needed a different or better home.

Respondents indicated that overcrowding was a contributing factor to physical ailments from which they suffer, including: colds and coughs, flu, poor sleep and stress. Five of the 91 people we interviewed reported having tuberculosis.

This report is a product of the Harvest Society of Kinngait. Much thanks goes to members of the Society and to Michel Petit, at the time, the tireless Director of Social Work in Kinngait, for support, initiative and commitment.

Acknowledgements

Credit for this report and the research that informs it goes to the Inuit of Kinngait, Nunavut Territory. They initiated it and participated in many essential ways. I acknowledge the Elders of Kinngait, and especially Mangitak Kellypalik and Makituk Pingwartuk, both members of the Harvest Society. They served as advisors to the project. They participated, counselled us, supported us and deserve a great deal of credit for doing well, what Inuit Elders do: lending their strength and wisdom to the work that was done.

I want to highlight the importance and wisdom of Elders as someone from a culture where the Elderly (we do not often dignify them with the designation ‘Elder’) are often seen as old people whose ideas are ‘out of date’, whose usefulness to their community (and especially, the all-important economy) is considerably diminished, and whose guidance on contemporary social problems is seldom sought. Historically, the wisdom and teaching of Elders was essential to Inuit culture; simply put, to keeping Inuit alive. In contemporary Inuit culture, maintaining an important and essential role for Elders has been challenging, as young people and what they need to know to ‘make it in the world’ often defies the historical experience of many Inuit Elders. But some things are timeless: the importance of caring, of kindness, of thoughtfulness, of knowing how to deal with difficult feelings and decisions. These are the timeless strengths of Elders and their commitment to this project, their knowledge of Inuit culture, history and circumstances was, therefore, among the most valuable of contributions to this initiative.

The youth involved in this project, supported by their parents, partners and relatives, were fantastic. There is no other all-encompassing word to describe them. The information conveyed in this report was collected through in-depth interviews conducted by youth with residents in their community. Furthermore, the instrument – the questionnaire – used to collect this information, was developed in a two-week workshop through their active participation. The result was a comprehensive survey that is culturally, and in terms of the context in which it was used, highly appropriate and informative.

None of this would have been possible without the participation of Inuit youth: Matta Parr, Makitjuk Salamonie, Serge Lampron, Ola Pootoogoo, Lao Jaw and Olivira Tapaugai. Their efforts were tireless; the personal and community contexts within which they worked, not always – or even often – the easiest to deal with. Although he decided not to participate in the community survey, Simeonie Qummuattuq did complete the training workshops and deserves recognition for his quiet and insightful contribution to what we were doing. Four of our six assistants who went on to do the community survey were under 20 years of age, the youngest being 17. The oldest participant was 24. The results speak for themselves. This project is a testament to the remarkable, and often under-appreciated, ability, energy, creativity and commitment of Inuit youth.

I thank Simega Suvega, our community liaison for his time, patience and interest. Simega took care of logistics and was an active participant in many of the workshop sessions. He

brought Elders to our workshops and drove them home. He provided assistance and advice wherever needed.

The workshops were designed and delivered by Frank Tester and two *Qallunaat* assistants; a graduate student at the University of British Columbia (UBC) School of Social Work and Family Studies, Marnie Stickley, and a recent graduate, Anna Cavouras. Anna stayed on after the workshops to work with the students in conducting the research. She was later joined by Liz Overton, a UBC student who wanted the northern experience as part of her programme of studies at UBC. Anna's considerable talents in working with youth and her commitment to them after the workshop deserve special recognition. This research would not otherwise have been possible.

And finally, a very special thanks to Z e Jackson. Z e is a student in the Faculty of Law, UBC and has been my research assistant on different projects for many years. Her handling of the data and assistance in generating charts and graphs was invaluable and, as always, her insight and skill at mastering things with lightening speed, recognized and much appreciated.

I owe a special thanks to my friend and colleague, Paule McNicoll, who provided us with direction in processing the data and in answering the many questions I had about the variables, calculations and ideas for presenting the results. To my friends Peter Irniq, Peter Kulchyski, Jean-Maire Beaulieu of the Canadian Polar Commission, Pierre Karlik – and Elizabeth Karlik, recently deceased - and a very long list of Inuit Elders I have had the pleasure of working with for many years, much thanks. If I have any accumulated wisdom, the credit is theirs.

I want to give special acknowledgment to Michel Petit, the former Director of Social Services in the community of Kinngait. I have known Michel for many years as he was my graduate student in the social work programme at the University of British Columbia. Quite sincerely, I have never worked with a graduate student so grounded in the lived reality of people who do not enjoy the privileges afforded many in Canadian society. His graduate work on homelessness in the suburbs of Vancouver was outstanding. It was immediately obvious to me that he applied the same energy, commitment, common sense and caring to his work in Kinngait. I cannot help but notice that his staff published a tribute to his work in the 'Letters to the Editor' section of *Nunatsiak News* when he left the community to work in Churchill Manitoba at the end of September, 2005. I could not have asked to work with a more dedicated and competent colleague.

Our thanks to the Mayor and Council of Kinngait for supporting our work and undertaking responsibility for much of the project accounting. Thanks to the National Homelessness Initiative of the Federal Government and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada for their financial support.

Finally, I want to acknowledge some degree of discomfort in conducting this research and in presenting the results. I am not easily given to positivistic approaches to understanding social problems, particularly in cross-cultural settings. Once this report

was written, there was something about the presentation of material that I found jarring. I will be the first to admit that the data found in this report presents realities in a form that may serve well the communicative interests of my own culture. I recognize that the 'pictures' – the bar and pie charts found in this report – are not an Inuit form of communication. The Harvest Society of Kinngait wanted to have an impact on the problems of Inuit housing and overcrowding. To do this, they were prepared to not only communicate directly and in anecdotal form with those responsible, as Inuit have always done – but to accept that the *Qallunnat* sometimes best understands when addressed in his or her own language. And since responsibility for funding housing ultimately rests with the federal government of Canada, this was a worthy idea. Wise indeed!

So here it is. Inuit of Kinngait have a message for southern Canadians – and others – in a language they – academics, politicians, federal administrators, public servants and others – will hopefully understand: a statistical assessment of the problems Kinngait Inuit, committed to their culture, their practices and their language, are confronting; the result of the persistent neglect of their needs by those charged ethically, morally and constitutionally, with helping them find solutions.

Frank James Tester
April 10, 2006

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Executive Summary	i
Acknowledgements	iii
List of Figures, Tables, Photographs and Appendices	vii
Introduction	1
The Research: Approach and Method	2
Objectives	4
A Brief History and Context for Understanding Inuit Housing	5
The Sample	10
The Material Aspects of Kinngait Housing	15
Housing	15
Water Supply and Sewage Pump-Outs	16
Appliances	18
The Effects of Cold	19
The Number of People in Households and the Extent of Overcrowding .	21
Children, Youth and Household Structure	21
Measures of Overcrowding	27
The Socio-economic Status of Respondents	33
Relationship Status	33
Education	34
Children	36
Income and Economic Considerations	37
Access to the Land	39

Implications for Social Relations	42
Housing, Health and Social Relations	44
Social and Personal Problems and Overcrowding	44
Health-related Problems and Overcrowding	51
Mobility and Safety Issues in Relation to Housing	54
Mobility	54
Safety Concerns	56
Conclusions	59
The Extent of Overcrowding	59
Anger and Domestic Violence	59
Depression	62
Children and Safety Concerns	63
Health Problems	64
Food Security	64
A Serious Problem About to get Much Worse	65
Recommendations	67

FIGURES, TABLES, PHOTOGRAPHS AND APPENDICES

FIGURES

Figure 1: Ages Of Inuit Who Completed The Survey	11
Figure 2: Number and Age of Inuit in the Sample	12
Figure 3: Number and Age of Inuit in Sample as a Percent of the Total	12
Figure 4: A Comparison of the Kinngait Population by Age Categories with the Age of the Population sampled for the Community Survey	13
Figure 5: Number of Homes in the Sample with X Number of Bedrooms	15
Figure 6: Number Of Houses Lived In	16
Figure 7: How Respondent Feels If The Household Runs Out Of Water Or Has Problems With Sewage Pump-Out	17
Figure 8: What Happens In Respondent's Household When There Are Problems With Water Or Sewage	18
Figure 9: Appliances In Respondent's House That Do Not Work	19
Figure 10: For Those Inuit Whose House Is Cold Or Very Cold During The Winter, The Effects Are:	20
Figure 11: Number Of Children (Aged 0-15 Years) Living In Respondent's House	21
Figure 12: Percent of Homes With Children Under 5 Years of Age	22
Figure 13: Percent of Homes With Children 5 to 10 Years of Age	23
Figure 14: Percent of Homes With Children 11 to 15 Years of Age	23
Figure 15: Percent of Homes With Youth 16 to 20 Years of Age	24
Figure 16: Percent of Homes With Youth 21 to 25 Years of Age	25
Figure 17: Percent of Homes With Youth 26 to 30 Years of Age	25
Figure 18: Percent of Homes With Adults 41 and 50 Years of Age	26

Figure 19: Percent of Homes With Adults Over 50 Years of Age	26
Figure 20: The Percentage of Homes in Sample with X Number of Residents	28
Figure 21: Number Of Bedrooms In Respondent’s House	28
Figure 22: Respondents’ Perceptions Of The Severity Of Overcrowding In Their House	32
Figure 23: Relationship Status Of Inuit Who Completed The Survey	33
Figure 24: Years Of Schooling Of Respondents	34
Figure 25: Training Received Beyond Or In Addition To Public School	35
Figure 26: Children of Respondents	36
Figure 27: Sources of Earned Income: Wage Employment	37
Figure 28: Sources Of Earned Income Other Than Full-Time Employment	38
Figure 29: Non-Earned Sources of Government Income	39
Figure 30: Impact of Not Having the Equipment Necessary to Get Out Onto the Land – Males	40
Figure 31: Impact of Not Having the Equipment Necessary to Get out Onto the Land – Females	41
Figure 32: When Relatives Can’t Offer Help, It Is For The Following Reasons	42
Figure 33: Personal Problems Faced By Inuit In Kinngait	45
Figure 34: The Following Problems Were Attributed to Overcrowding By Inuit Who Reported That Their House Was Sometimes Or Always Overcrowded	46
Figure 35: The Following Problems Experienced By Others In the Respondent’s Household Were Attributed To Housing:	47
Figure 36: Of Those Inuit Reporting They Needed A Different House, The Following Reasons Were Given:	48

Figure 38: Of Those Inuit Reporting That Someone In Their Home Might Need Their Own House, The Following Reasons Were Given:	49
Figure 39: Number Of Inuit Who Think That Having Fewer People In Their House Would Help With Personal Problems	50
Figure 40: Health Problems Experienced by Respondents	51
Figure 41: Whether Respondents Think Their Health Problems Occur Because of Their Housing Situation	52
Figure 42: Inuit Who Do Not Sleep At Their Own House Sleep At The Following Places	54
Figure 43: Reasons For Sleeping Somewhere Other Than The Respondent’s Own House	55
Figure 44: Where Respondent Goes When There Are Problems At Home	56
Figure 45: Relationship Between Age and Whether or Not Individual Goes to a Friend’s Home When There are Problems at Home	57
Figure 46: Respondent’s Children Go To The Following Places When There Are Problems At Home:	58

TABLES

Table 1: The Sample	11
Table 2: Age Configuration and Number of Bedrooms in Households with 8 or more Residents	30
Table 3: Other Residences Not Conforming to NOS Standards	31
Table 4: Crime Statistics, Nunavut and Canada	44

PHOTOGRAPHS

Kinngait Youth Discussing Revisions to the Community Survey	3
Pangnirtung, 1955: few buildings and a few tents	6

‘512’ Housing, Apex, Frobisher Bay, Mid-1950s	7
Inuit Shack Housing, Frobisher Bay, 1955	8
Matta Parr: Popular education techniques were used for both training and to develop the questionnaire	14
Access to the Land is an Essential Consideration related to Mental Health concerns in Situations of Overcrowding	43

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: Workshop Outline	74
APPENDIX II: Youth Questionnaire: Before and After Surveys	81
APPENDIX III: Kinngait Community Survey Instrument	98
APPENDIX IV: Ethical Situations	121
APPENDIX V: Assent and Consent Forms	123
APPENDIX VI: Literature Review and Bibliography	134
APPENDIX VII: Design Recommendations	142



Introduction

The Research: Approach and Method

There is a pressing need to address a critical shortage of housing in Nunavut Territory. This is well known. One might ask: “Why more research on a problem that has previously been noted and recognized?” Recognizing a problem is one thing. Doing something about it is another matter, particularly in a jurisdiction characterized by complicated – some might say ‘tangled’ – relationships between Inuit as Aboriginal people and the Canadian State.

The results are an intimate picture of the personal and social implications of homelessness for Inuit of Kinngait (Cape Dorset), Baffin Island, Nunavut Territory. The research surveyed the opinions and asked for the insights of 91 Inuit living in 91 different homes in the community. The approach taken was a phenomenological one. While it is well known that there is a housing problem in Nunavut – a shortage resulting in overcrowding - details of the living situation of Inuit and of the social and personal implications are not well known to, or understood by, most Canadians. To the best of our knowledge, they have not previously been documented in other than anecdotal form.

This study details the nature and impacts of this situation on the residents of one Inuit community – Kinngait (Cape Dorset) – located on the southwest coast of Baffin Island. Our reasons for undertaking the study were straight-forward. While it is a known fact that Inuit suffer from overcrowding, the impact of this overcrowding on everyday life is not as well appreciated. Making a connection between conditions of overcrowding and social and personal problems is not easy to do. One can examine social indicators for a community and reasonably deduce that at least some of the problems recorded, or some portion of the troubles documented, are likely attributable to the housing situation.

The housing needs of Inuit are, in 2006, acute. This is related to overcrowding and the condition of much of the housing stock, subject to the wear and tear of both overcrowding and climatic extremes. Affordability, as a measure of need is not a significant consideration in Nunavut as most Inuit live in subsidized or social housing. Responsibility for housing rests with the Nunavut Housing Corporation with a budget that is contained within the overall transfer of funds from the federal government to the Government of Nunavut; an administration dependent for over 90% of its budget on direct federal transfers. The budget for fiscal year 2005 was \$972.4 million, of which \$181.2 million was committed to housing. Within this budget allocations were made, in 2005, for 80 new units of housing in Nunavut Territory.

It is not the intent of this research or this report to review the financial limitations and the history of policies within which the Nunavut Housing Corporation and its predecessors operate, although such a detailed review is badly needed. The problem is that Inuit, despite being Aboriginal people and, subsequently, having need of affirmative action programmes that recognize their unique and difficult history within the Canadian federation, and the social as well as material implications of this history, are, in effect,

treated not much differently than other Canadians when it comes to housing. Social housing is the responsibility of the Nunavut Territorial Government, which must budget for housing from the funds allocated by the federal government for general purposes. Inuit are not eligible for special housing programmes made available to First Nations in the rest of Canada. Inuit, in many respects, are regarded by the federal government as no longer a direct federal responsibility. Whatever affirmative action is directed their way to address special needs they have by virtue of being Aboriginal people is entirely dependent, as is true for First Nations in the rest of the country, on the inclinations, values and sensibilities of the federal government. However, unlike First Nations in southern Canada, where the federal government retains direct responsibility for the well-being of First Nations living on reserve, Inuit of Nunavut can be seen to be hidden behind the veil of territorial responsibility.

Nunavut is currently experiencing a serious housing crisis that links 'homelessness' to a housing shortage. 'Homelessness' takes the form of serious overcrowding. The latest census data (2001) fails to tell the entire story but suggests that the problem is among the most serious of housing problems in Canada. The occupancy rate per dwelling is 3.27; the highest in the country. As our research results suggest, this underestimates the problem among Inuit as the data is skewed by the spacious living conditions of 15% of the population that is *Qallunaat* (non-Inuit). Of significance to an emerging problem is the 46.5% of the population under 20 years of age, (compared, for example to 26.3% in Ontario). Nunavut has the highest birth rate in the country and one of the highest in the world. The territory experienced an 8.1% increase in population between the census of 1996 and that of 2001, compared with an average of 4.0% for the country. However, the variation among communities is considerable. The population of Arviat grew 21.8% in this period. By comparison, the population of Arctic Bay grew by only 1.1%. Iqaluit, which became the capital of Nunavut in 1998, grew by 24.1%. Kinngait's population grew by 2.7%. The current housing crisis is therefore worsening rapidly. Forty-five percent of Nunavut's housing stock is public housing, accommodating about 14,000 residents, 98% of whom are Inuit. Half this stock is more than 25 years old. In our sample, 50% of those interviewed lived in homes that were more than 15 years old.

How bad is it? The statistics are straight-forward and speak a simple truth. The rate of overcrowding in Canada as a whole is about 7% using standard and acceptable criteria for determining what constitutes a situation of overcrowding. In other words, 7% of the units in which Canadians are living are overcrowded. Of course in southern Canada, many people are also homeless and manage to survive living on the streets or in emergency and temporary shelter. No such option is possible in Nunavut, for obvious reasons. The rate of overcrowding in Nunavut, by comparison, has been estimated at slightly in excess of 50%. This accords with the findings of this study where we estimate the rate of overcrowding in Kinngait, the community under study, to be at least 45%, more than 6 times the Canadian rate.

Much about the housing situation of Inuit is significantly different from the rest of the country. Families are large and the need for larger homes is evident. At the same time, the cost of providing larger homes at northern latitudes is considerable. Because of large

families and overcrowding, the wear and tear on Inuit homes is considerable and as shown by our research, this shows up in data revealing that kitchen cupboards – along with essential appliances - are broken and not functioning as they should. When asked what appliances and contents of their homes were broken or did not work, kitchen cupboards were the most frequently mentioned item.

Inuit incomes are low – about 18% below the national average. However, affordability issues are not so acute in Nunavut because many Inuit live in social or subsidized housing. Inuit are predominantly renters of housing. Seventy seven percent of our sample was renters. A 1998 study done for the Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation (*Core Housing Need Among Off-Reserve Inuit, Métis, Status and Non-Status Indians in Canada*) reported that 74% of Inuit were renters.



Kinngait Youth Discussing Revisions to the Community Survey

We were committed to doing more than research. As will become obvious, Inuit communities suffer from high rates of unemployment and frustrated opportunities for young people. This examination of homelessness (overcrowding) in Kinngait was, therefore, designed as a participatory action research project. Six young people – 17 to 24 years of age – participated. We were interested in involving young people, not only in doing the research, but in acquiring an interest and concern in social conditions – in this case, housing conditions – in their communities. We are interested in social change, not

merely another study of the problem and generating a consciousness and awareness in youth was an important aspect of the research.

A phenomenological approach was taken. We surveyed the community using a questionnaire designed in and with the community, the result of an exchange between the researchers and youth in the community, employed as trainees and as researchers. An outline of the workshop is found in **Appendix I**. They took observations and questions that arose in the course of the design process home with them at lunch and in the evenings, over a two-week period, and brought back to the process, ideas and suggestions for change. It was an ongoing, iterative process. Participants evaluated their experience before and after the research was completed (**Appendix II**). The results of this evaluation will be reported elsewhere. The instrument was refined, revised and then revised again as we all gained more insight into what was happening with housing in the community and what constituted reasonable and important questions to ask. All of this had to be accommodated with practical concerns related to technical problems: the length of the instrument and the ability to translate concepts and ideas into Inuktitut. The six students who participated played an invaluable role. The instrument, appended to this report, (**Appendix III**) is the product of this process.

The youth participants acquired interviewing skills and insights into designing, revising and finalizing a questionnaire. They considered sampling options and problems, ethical dilemmas (**Appendix IV**) and practiced using cameras – video and still shots – to produce images useful to complimenting the research. Consent and/or assent was obtained from all Inuit we interviewed (**Appendix V**).

Objectives

The research was initiated and supported by the Harvest Society of Kinngait. Two Elders acted as advisors to the research programme. The results, presented in this report, are only the beginning of an ongoing process to use the results in publicizing the problems faced by this, and other Inuit communities, and the relationship of these to a serious problem of overcrowding that affects everyone. The project had four objectives.

We set out to:

- (a) Document the extent of the problem statistically;
- (b) Document the social and personal implications of the problem phenomenologically through interviews with youth, parents, adults and public officials in the community;
- (c) Train and actively involve a number of Kinngait youth in learning about, doing and using the research in addressing the problem of overcrowding;

- (d) Through the use of film, document the stories of households, the material circumstances of housing in the community, and a series of interviews with public officials and professionals on current circumstances.

The first two objectives have been met, as demonstrated by completion of this report. The third objective was clearly met and the matter of using the research is ongoing and will continue after consideration of this report by the Harvest Society. Due to time constraints, the fourth objective was only partially achieved. However, enough insight was acquired to warrant pursuing this objective further. The material circumstances of housing in the community were well documented through the questions asked and answers received. The film footage and photographs taken, while limited, provide the basis for future exploration of the problem using this medium.

A Brief History and Context for Understanding Inuit Housing

Few Canadians fully appreciate the status of Inuit within Canadian society. They can hardly be blamed for this. Inuit status is, to this day, not entirely clear. This affects the provision of housing (and other necessities and services) in peculiar ways.

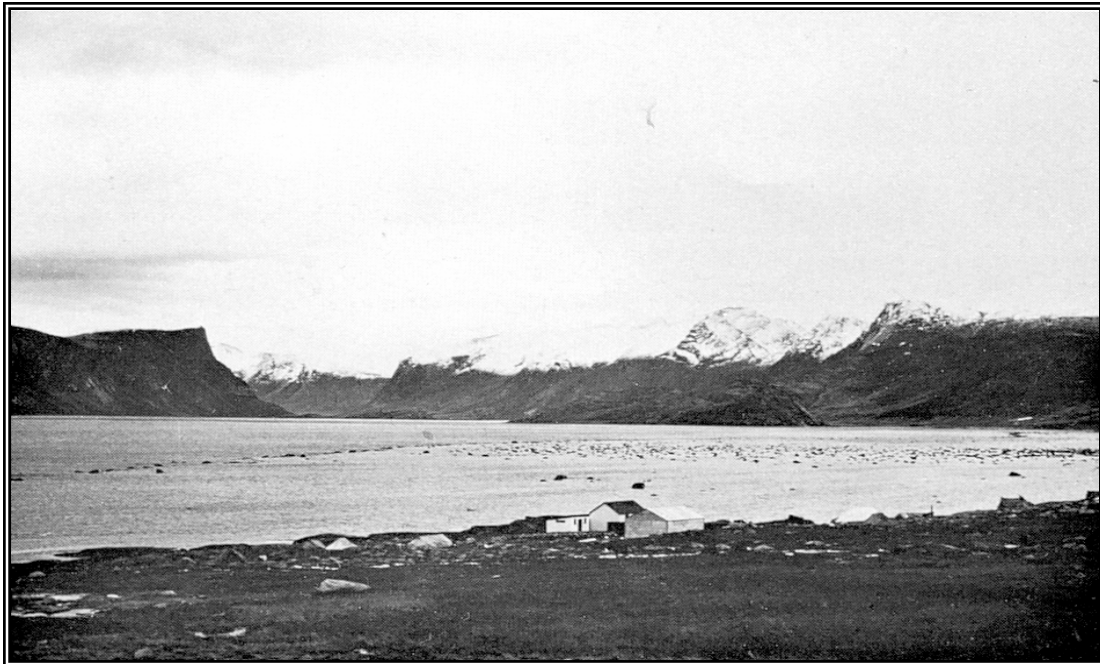
Nunavut is a territory, and the Government of Nunavut is a territorial government; what might be described as a 'provincial government in waiting'. Many Canadians fail to realize that the Nunavut Government is a public, and not an Aboriginal government. Eighty-five percent of the population of Nunavut is Inuit. Inuit are obviously Aboriginal people just as the Métis and First Nations populations elsewhere in the country, yet they have no *Indian Act* by which they are governed and their status within the country has not always been clear.

It was, in fact, not until a Supreme Court decision in 1939, that jurisdictional responsibility for Inuit was established. This came about as a result of the Province of Québec challenging the federal claim that Inuit were not mentioned in the Constitution and, therefore, not a federal responsibility where they lived within provincial boundaries. Elsewhere, they argued that they had the same status as "ordinary" Canadians, while clearly relating to and treating Inuit as Aboriginal people. The Supreme Court, in the 1939 case, 'Re: Eskimos', ruled against the federal government, making it responsible for the costs of relief to Inuit in Arctic Québec, borne by the provincial government in the 1920s and 30s. It was a responsibility reluctantly assumed.

Attempts were made, particularly after the Second World War, to assimilate Inuit to the rest of Canadian society. Education programmes and federal day schools were introduced commencing in 1949. Previously, some church schools had operated as part of missionary activity in some settlements. Settlements consisted of little more than a Hudson's Bay Company post, a residence for the manager, an Anglican or Catholic mission and, in a few locations, an RCMP post. Otherwise, until the 1950s, Inuit lived in tents, igloos and qamaqs (often sod or stone-walled homes with whale bone rafters and skin roofs) in locations occupied in relation to seasonal hunting practices.

With the collapse of the fur trade following the Second World War, the economic situation of most Inuit in the eastern Arctic became particularly desperate. The federal response was to look to relocating Inuit from areas where they believed game populations had been depleted and where the local Inuit population could not find adequate country foods. They were sent to other areas of the Arctic where government officials believed the resources were unexploited. The relocation of Inuit from Arctic Québec to the present day communities of Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord in the high Arctic is illustrative of this policy of trying to avoid Inuit becoming “dependent” on the State. Nevertheless, without access to family allowances and a meager welfare system, many Inuit would likely have starved. This in fact happened at Garry Lake and at Henik Lake in the Kivilliq region, in the winter of 1957-58.

At the same time, a large number of considerations were increasingly drawing Inuit into settlements. Children were ‘forced’ to attend school and in some cases, RCMP and other government agents used the threat of removing the right to social assistance and family allowances as inducements to get Inuit parents to send their children to schools, often located hundreds of miles from traditional camps. Inuit parents often followed their children, locating themselves around settlements. Catholic and Anglican churches further encouraged this relocation, wanting Inuit to be ‘in town’ at special times of the year – Christmas and Easter celebrations among them. The cold war further contributed to these



Pangnirtung, 1955: few buildings and a few tents

Photo: *Eskimo Mortality and Housing*, National Health and Welfare, 1959

migrations. The U.S. military located at Frobisher Bay (now Iqaluit), Fort Chimo in Arctic Québec, on Southampton Island and at Resolute Bay and Cambridge Bay on the Arctic Islands. Wage employment was an alternative to a floundering fur trade and the

federal government changed its policy. Rather than preventing Inuit from becoming dependent on the State through the promotion of a lifestyle based on hunting and trapping, they sent many Inuit to training programmes so that they could drive graders, bulldozers, and trucks and learn to be carpenters, plumbers and electricians. The construction of the DEW (distant early warning) line in 1956-57 – a string of radar stations spread across the Arctic - provided further employment opportunities and introduced many Inuit to *Qallunaat* housing and accommodation for the first time.

The first official (government) introduction of housing for Inuit came with the founding of Frobisher Bay in 1953. Within a few years, a number of ‘512’ design homes had been provided in the new settlement for both *Qallunaat* and Inuit residents. However, the homes were deemed to be too expensive for Inuit who did not, in most cases, have adequate income to cover the costs of providing this level of accommodation. As a

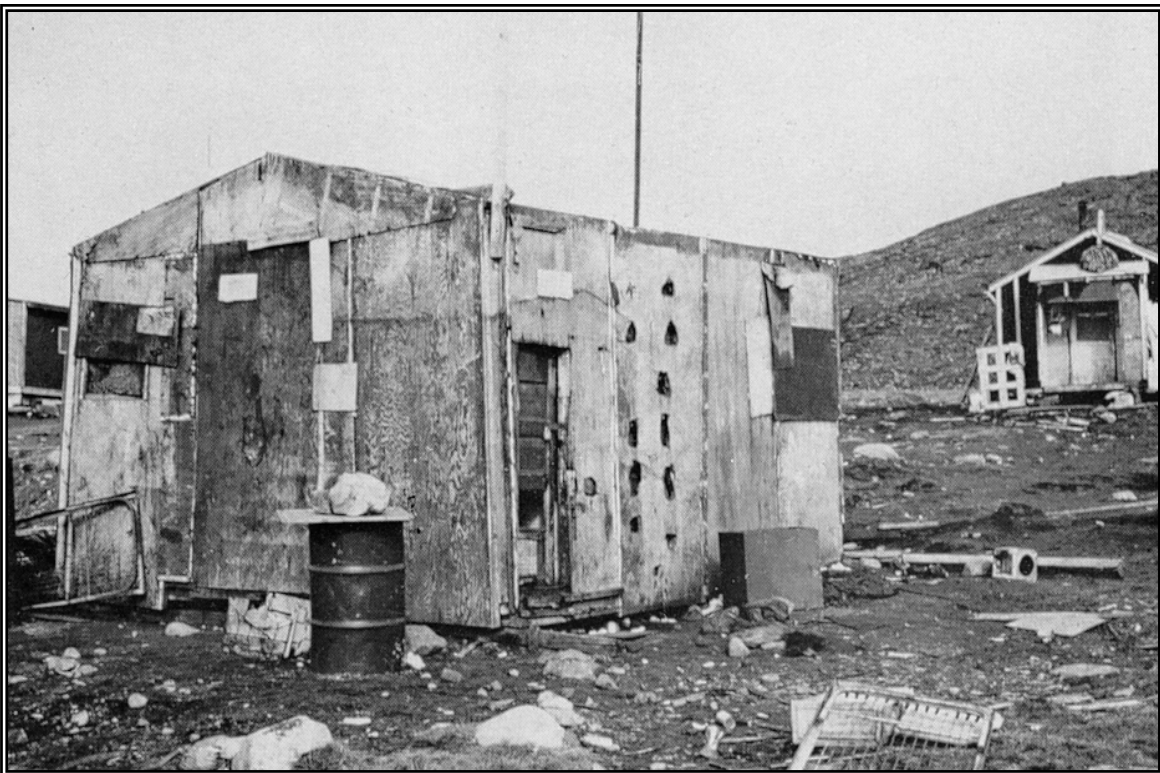


‘512’ Housing, Apex, Frobisher Bay, Mid-1950s
Photo: *Eskimo Mortality and Housing*, National Health and Welfare, 1959

solution to the emerging housing problem across the Arctic, this was not seen as an option. In the meantime, the housing situation of Inuit deteriorated to the point where some observers were moved to compare it to the worst slums present in Third World countries. Igloos never functioned as permanent dwellings, and as a semi-nomadic people relying on country foods, Inuit had few problems, given their traditional living arrangements, with waste and public health. Located around facilities in tiny Arctic settlements, these problems grew exponentially. Inuit scrounged anything they could around settlements, and from dumps in communities with military installations. They build shacks of tin, wood, cardboard and skins. In the case of Resolute Bay, where there was a substantial military operation, they built substantial and well-crafted homes.

It was a public health disaster in the making. The tuberculosis epidemic of the 1950s and early 1960s that sent thousands of Inuit to southern sanatoria for treatment was, in no small measure, related to the appalling state of Inuit accommodation, as were epidemic outbreaks in almost every settlement of other contagious diseases – measles, chicken pox, diphtheria, influenza, etc. This research shows that influenza and tuberculosis are serious contemporary problems that Kinngait residents associate with their current living conditions.

Within Canadian society the tension between housing as a basic need - and right - and housing as a market commodity subject to market forces and logic has been an issue since before the First World War. Following the Second World War and some flirtation with housing as a social good, the federal government's enthusiasm for involvement in the housing market waned. By the late 1950s, in the face of growing affluence, the enthusiasm of the federal government for the provision of public housing had reached a low – something that was not to be rekindled until the late 1960s when the housing needs



Eskimo Shack Housing, Frobisher Bay, 1955.

Photo: *Eskimo Mortality and Housing*. Department of National Health and Welfare, 1959

of a new generation of Canadians born since the Second World War and problems of rapid urban development could not be ignored.

In the Canadian Arctic, the federal response to the housing and health crisis among Inuit was pathetic. In 1959, the first housing programme for Inuit was introduced. It was a 'rent to own' scheme that sent what amounted to plywood boxes, known as 'matchboxes'

north, to be purchased by Inuit on a time payment plan. These units, which cost \$1200 - \$2000 on site, often consisted of little more than 200 - 350 square feet of floor space and one or two rooms.

They were heated with oil-fuelled space heaters, had several tiny windows and were vented by small holes covered with a circle of plywood up along the eaves. Toilets consisted of a pail lined with a plastic garbage bag (the 'honey bucket') which, when full, was placed outside – often in the freezing snow – in hopes that it would be collected and put out on the sea ice to be carried away in spring. More likely it broke open, spilling its contents, which, when the spring thaw arrived, amounted to a public health disaster in the making. This was a practice that continued well into the 1970s and early 1980s in some settlements.

The result was indeed a disaster. The new plywood frame homes made a bad situation worse, apart from the fact that Inuit, lacking reliable wage employment, could not afford them. They created slums comparable to the make-shift shacks they were supposed to replace. Predictably, further outbreaks of tuberculosis and infectious disease accompanied them. Some changes were made to this policy in 1961-62. Larger prefabricated one room models were made available. But the emphasis – completely inappropriate to the times and the realities facing Inuit communities – was still on home purchase. A subsidy of \$1000 was given and a loan of \$6000 at 5% interest was also available through the Eskimo Loan Fund. The larger homes were expensive to heat. Inuit, at the time, had little and highly unstable sources of cash income. By 1963 it was recognized that the programme, designed principally by the administrator of the Arctic, Ben Sivertz, and given enthusiastic support by his then Deputy Minister, Gordon Robertson, was a disaster. Sivertz and Robertson moved on. The department went about designing something they called the Northern Rental Housing Programme. The first houses were sent north under this programme in 1966.

This initiative made a limited number of standard designs available and no Inuit family paid more than 20% of income for rent and essential services (heat, water, light). Compared to what preceded it, the programme was a considerable success. This was complimented by a Northern Rental Purchase Programme in 1967. Units, formerly rented, could now be purchased. Rehabilitating these units was far more expensive, in many cases, than the original construction costs. Administration of these programmes was then passed to the Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT) with financial responsibility being split between the federal and territorial governments. Administration and management of housing programmes was eventually turned over to local authorities. Non-profit and employee housing programmes were subsequently introduced, the latter for GNWT employees in 1969. The NWT Housing Corporation was created in 1972 and since then, a considerable number of initiatives have been undertaken to deliver housing to the north. The mandate of the NWT Housing Corporation was assumed by the Nunavut Housing Corporation with the creation of Nunavut in 1998.

The Sample

The sample for the community survey was set at 100 interviews. The population of Kinngait (2001 Census) was 1,148. Between 1996 and 2001, according to Statistics Canada data, the community grew by 2.7%, an average growth per year of 0.54%. In 2005, it can be assumed that the population is about 1,179.

In 2001, the number of young people less than 15 years of age in the community was 440. Young people less than 15 years of age are 38% of the population. Young people under 20 years of age are almost 50% of the population. This compares with 43.1% of the population under 15 years of age in Mozambique, 26.1% in Brazil, 19.6% in Cuba and for Canada, a national figure of 17.9% (CIA World Factbook). In other words, if Kinngait is representative, the Inuit population is among the youngest in the world, rivaling many so-called 'third world' countries. The future implications for the provision of housing are significant.

Our target sample size was 100. The youth were able to complete 91 in-depth interviews. This was an impressive accomplishment. As we had originally intended it, the sample was to be a stratified random one, using house lists, lists of Elders and lists of those on the waiting list for housing as sources to identify who would be interviewed. We stratified our sample as follows.

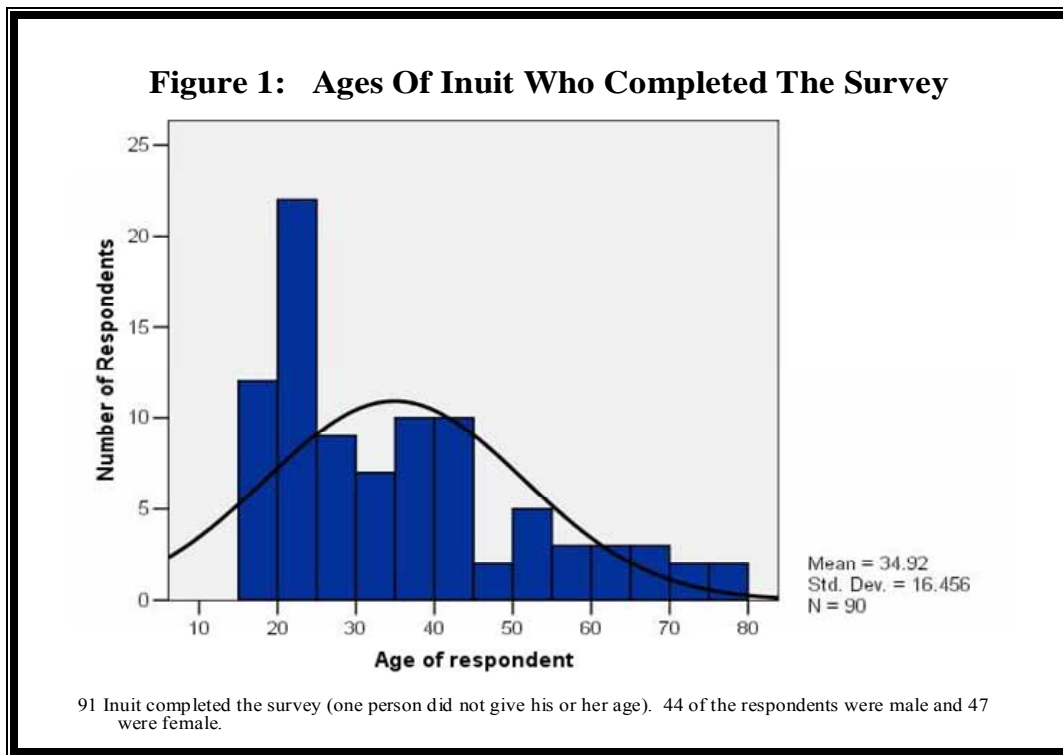
Our concern was that young people be well represented in our sample for the reason that young couples with and without children are having a particularly difficult time being housed. With 38% of the population being under 15 years of age, it is obvious that the experience of young people - and we are talking primarily of young couples with a young child or young children - comprise, and will increasingly comprise, a significant number of those Inuit of Kinngait in need of housing. Our sample is thus somewhat more weighted to young people than might otherwise be expected from a random survey of the population. This was not accomplished by over-sampling young people and the homes in which they lived, as we had no prior knowledge of which homes were accommodating young people in this category. Rather, the effect was achieved by sampling the list of people waiting for accommodation. Not surprisingly, the list is heavily populated by young couples who are currently living with parents while waiting for a home.

We sampled without replacement: that is, we did not want to interview more than one person in any of the categories identified, per home. As we did not know which homes had young people (15-24), we relied on the knowledge of the youth who went through the housing list at random until a home was identified in which someone who fit the category in question was found. This unit, once chosen, was then removed from the sample. The process was easy to accomplish as all homes are numbered and the numbers can therefore be placed in a box and drawn at random. Units that did not meet the criteria were replaced and could then be selected for other categories. We sampled at random as follows. As a random sample, we expected to achieve a gender balance that reflected the balance in the community.

Table 1: The Sample

Number of Subjects to be Interviewed	Actual Number In Sample	Category and Definition by Age	Status	Gender
5	6	Elders (55 +)	single	female
		Elders (55 +)	single	male
10	8	Elders (55 +)	coupled	female
		Elders (55 +)	coupled	male
20	20	Parental generation (25-54)	coupled	female
		Parental generation (25-54)	coupled	male
10	11	Parental generation (25-54)	single	female
		Parental generation (25-54)	single	male
20	19	Young couple (17-24)	coupled	female
		Young couple (17-24)	coupled	male
10	14	Youth (15-24)	single	female
		Youth (15-24)	single	male
25	14	Housing waiting list -all ages	coupled	male
		Housing waiting list -all ages	or single	female

The result is displayed in **Figure 1**, using age categories that were used in the survey. While 92 people were interviewed, one person subsequently asked not to be included.



This same data has been re-worked to conform to age categories used by Statistics Canada (**Figure 2**). This same data is presented with the number in each age category as a percentage of the total (**Figure 3**).

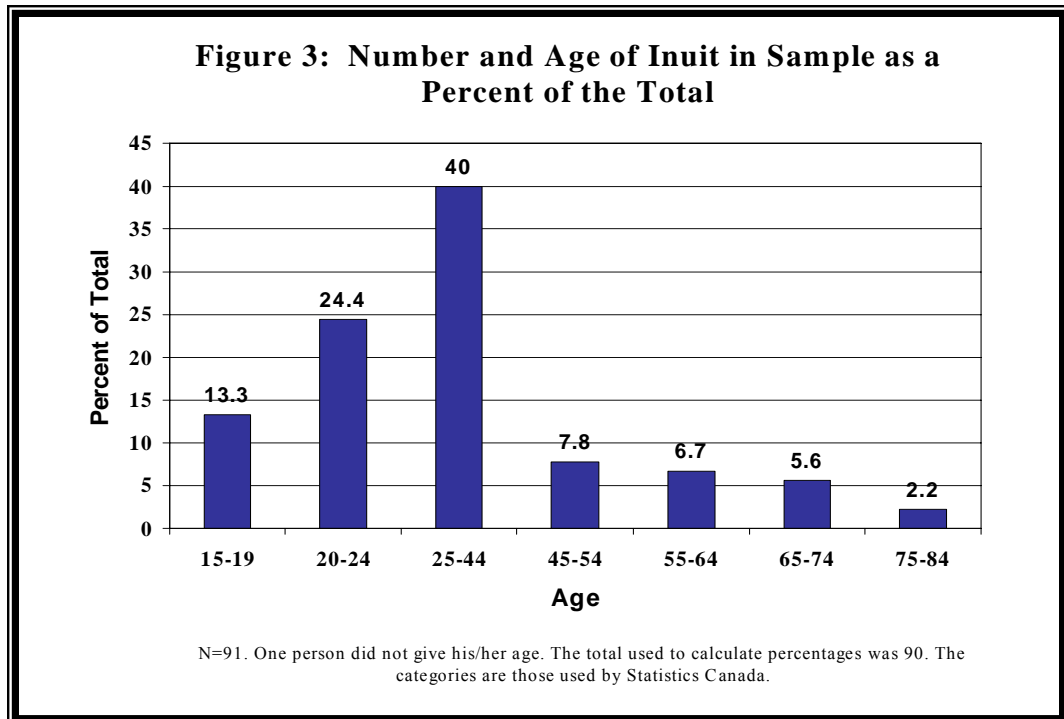
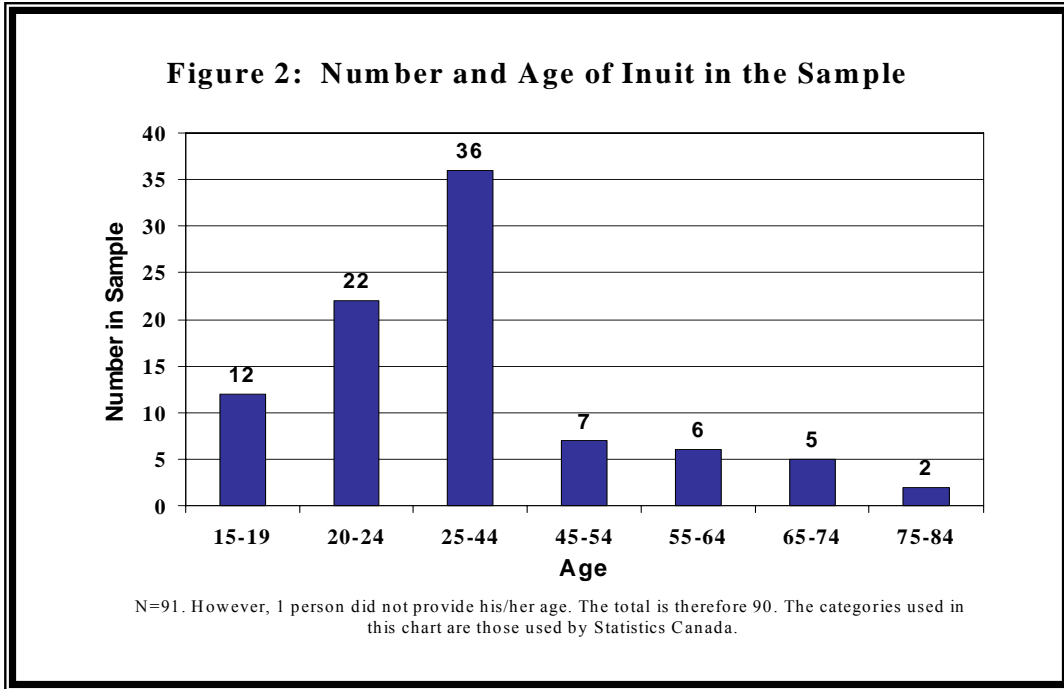
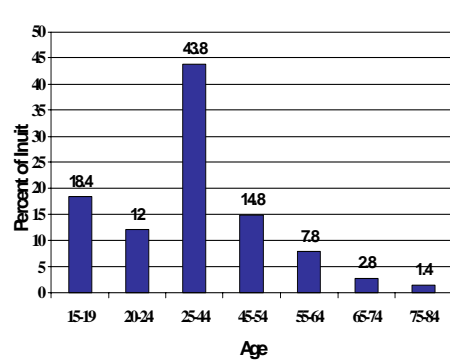
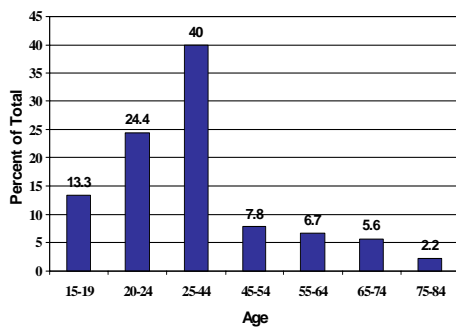


Figure 4: A Comparison of the Kinngait Population by Age Categories with the Age of the Population sampled for the Community Survey



The bar chart to the left shows the percentage of Inuit in the Kinngait population 15 years of age and older as of the last census (2001) taken from Statistics Canada data. The categories are those used by Statistics Canada.



The bar chart to the right shows the percentage of Inuit in the sample used for the community survey. The age categories used are the same as those used by Statistics Canada, for comparative purposes.

Figure 4 compares the Kinngait population by age categories, as recorded by 2002 census data, with the age structure of the population sampled for the community survey.

Some discrepancies noted above are evident. We had aimed for 15 Elders (55 years of age and older). The sample contains 14 people who are in this category. There is a greater percentage of youth in the sample in the 20 – 24 years of age category than found in the population. In sampling, we were willing to deviate from the age structure of the community to some extent, recognizing that young people will be the future consumers of housing and that their experiences and opinions are relevant to addressing a developing situation. There are also fewer older adults (7.8% compared to 14.8%) than for the population as a whole. We had more young singles in our sample than originally intended and were not able to arrange interviews with as many people on the waiting list for housing as we had anticipated. Many on the list were hesitant about being interviewed; perhaps feeling that being interviewed might have some bearing on their eligibility.

Finally, our sample came close to reflecting the male/female ratio of the population. We interviewed 44 males and 47 female residents of Kinngait. In the 2001 census, the

population of Kinngait was balanced at 575 male and 575 females for a total population of 1,150.



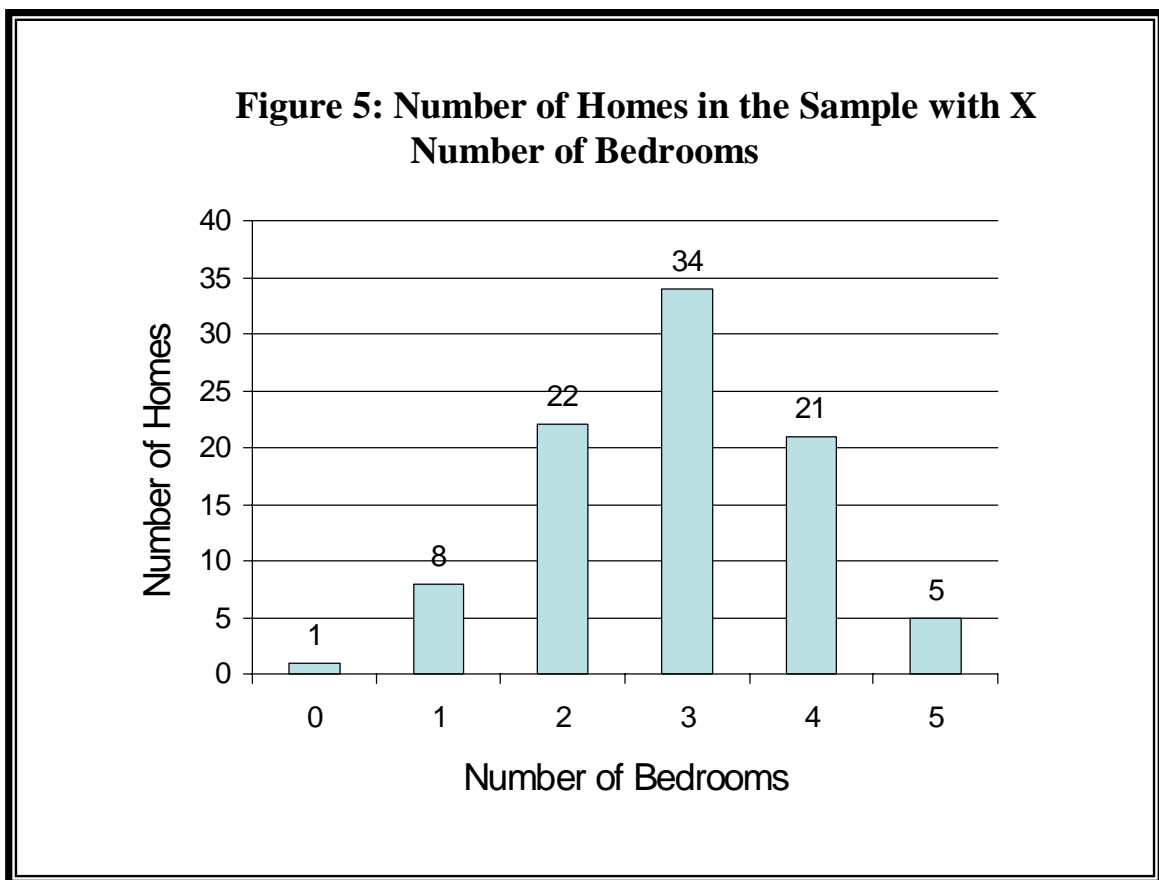
Matta Parr: Popular education techniques were used for both training and to develop the questionnaire

The Material Aspects of Kinngait Housing

Housing

In this section we present data on the physical aspects of the homes of respondents. The sample consisted of 44 homes (48.4% of the sample) that were more than 15 years old. 44% of the homes sampled (40 homes) were between 5 and 15 years old and only 4 units (4.4%) were less than 5 years old.

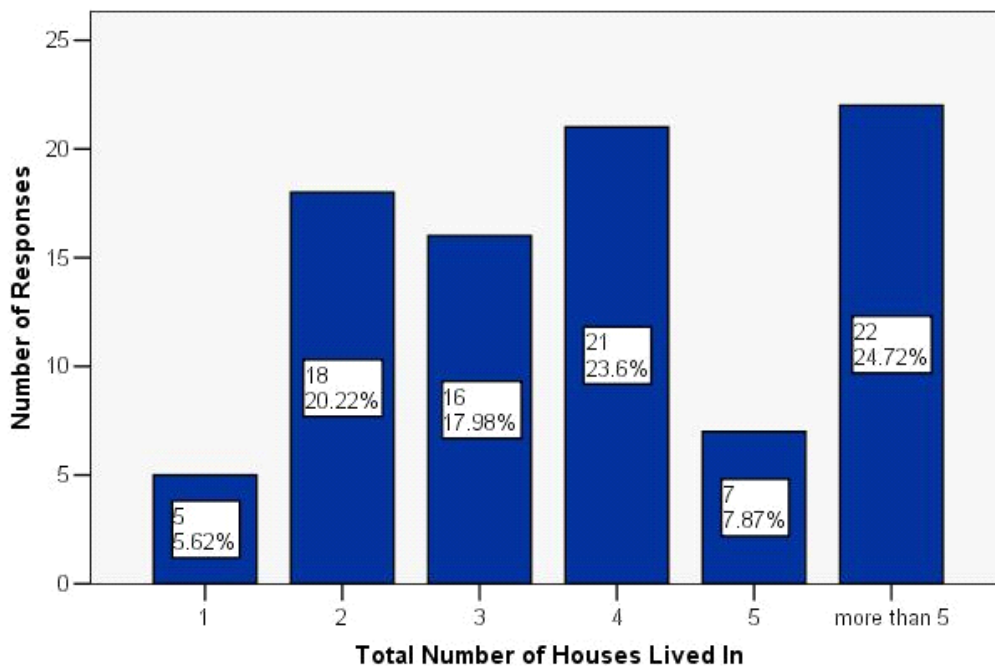
The size of these units is best captured by noting the number of bedrooms (**Figure 5**). The result is an almost perfect bell curve. The average home in Kinngait has 3 bedrooms. One unit in the sample had no bedrooms; it being a shack – an older ‘matchbox’ type



dwelling with one occupant. Five units in the sample had 5 bedrooms. Nearly 53% of the sample had lived in their current residence for more than 5 years, with almost 30% having had the same address for between 1 and 5 years. 17.6 % of the sample had occupied their current residence for less than one year.

The population seems to be quite mobile internally, given the isolation of the community. **Figure 6** shows the total number of houses in which respondents have lived. As

Figure 6: Number Of Houses Lived In



N=91.

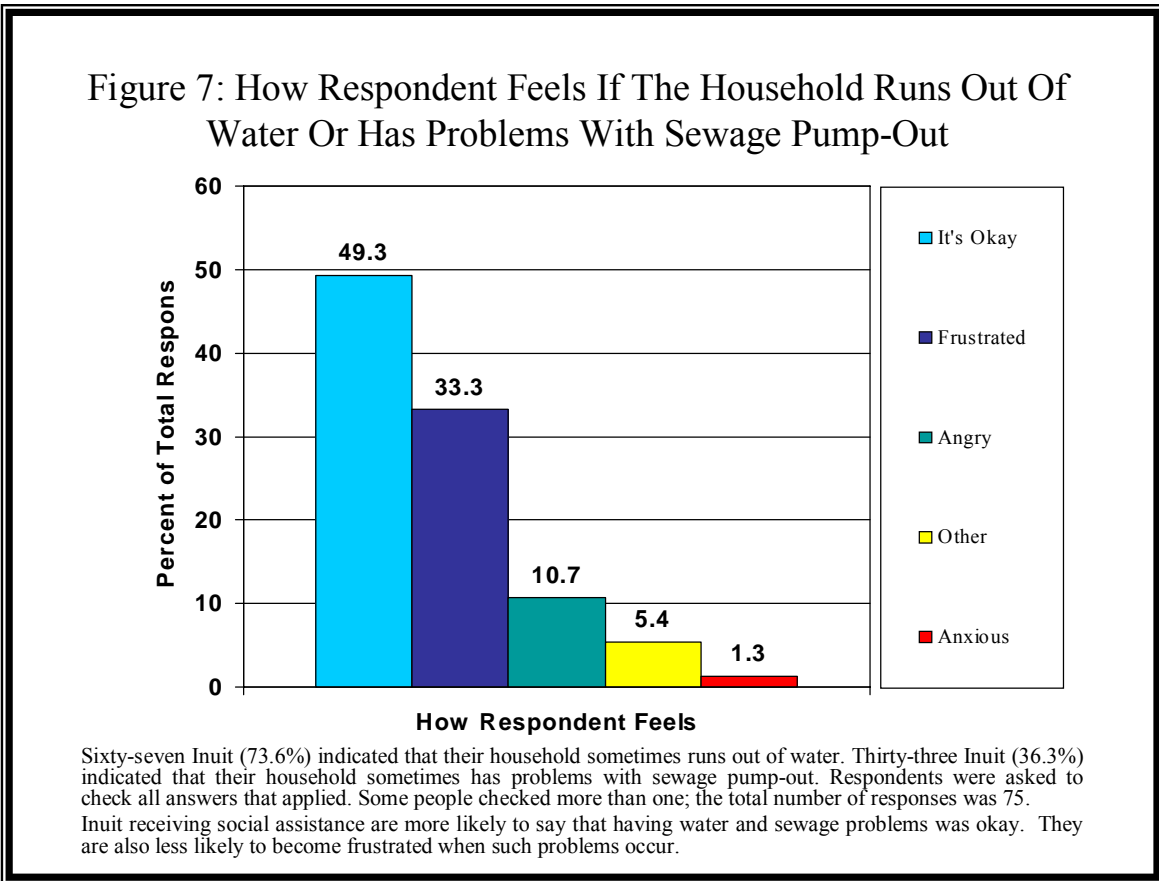
noted, the population has a large proportion of young people. It is highly likely that the housing shortage (which often necessitates that young people living together in relationships, live with parents) results in young couples moving about within the community, living for a time at one person's parents and perhaps at a later date, at the home of the other person's parents. Furthermore, the number of common law relationships, combined with the number of young people living together, suggests that these relationships are not as stable as relationships among older people. The extent to which overcrowding contributes to the instability of relationships among young couples is an interesting question and it seems likely, given that they often have no choice but to live with parents, that the housing shortage and overcrowding in Kinngait is a contributing factor to the instability of the relationships of young couples. Finally, mobility must be understood in terms of an isolated, fly-in community.

Water Supply and Sewage Pump-outs

One of the enduring features of Inuit communities – with the exception of a few situations where multiple units have connecting sewer and water lines – is the fact that all water to Inuit homes is delivered by truck and stored within the building in a water tank. Similarly, all units have a sewage pump-out tank. Both of these must be serviced. When the sewage tank is full, the water supply is automatically shut down so that the sewage

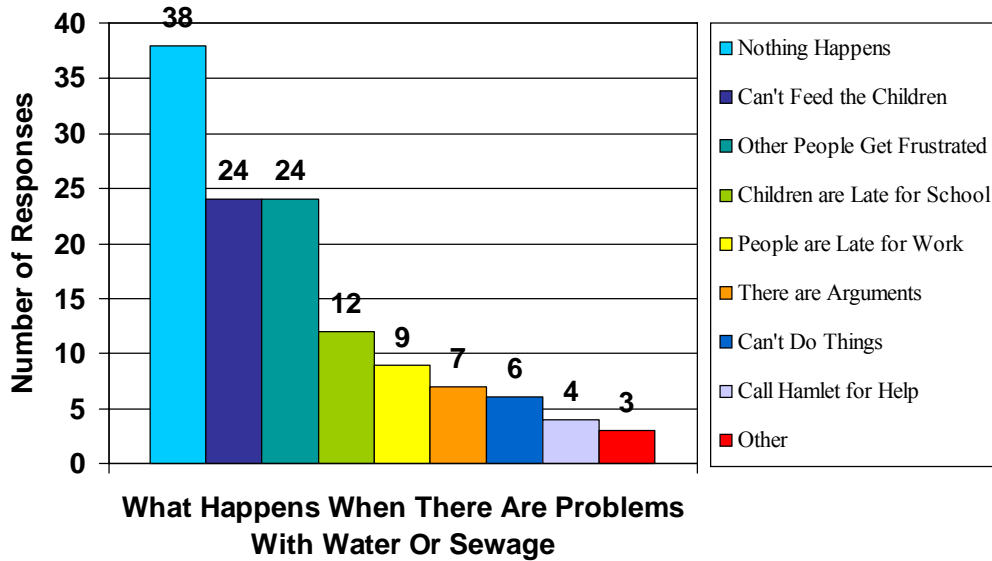
tank does not overflow. When these units are not serviced adequately, homes go without water. We asked respondents if they ever had problems with the water or sewage units (**Figure 7**).

In 67 cases (N=91) or 73.6% of the homes surveyed, respondents indicated that they sometimes run out of water. Of those who do run out of water, 49.3% of respondents indicated that this doesn't really cause problems for them. A third (33.3%) of respondents who do run out of water indicated that they found the situation frustrating and 10.7% indicated that they got angry as a result.



We then asked respondents about the impact on their household; we got a variety of responses (**Figure 8**). The disruption this causes is fairly evident. Sixty-seven respondents (73.6%) indicated that they sometimes run out of water. Water seems to be a bigger problem than sewage pump-out, as only 33 respondents (36.3%) reported having problems getting their sewage tanks emptied. Thirty eight respondents indicated that having this happen from time to time was not a problem. However, the problem was more serious for a significant number of respondents. The most common responses were that as a result, children could not be fed (26.4% of respondents giving this as a consequence) and that other people in the home got frustrated. These were followed by children being late for school and people being late for work as significant consequences. Seven respondents indicated that the situation led to arguments.

Figure 8: What Happens In Respondent's Household When There Are Problems With Water Or Sewage



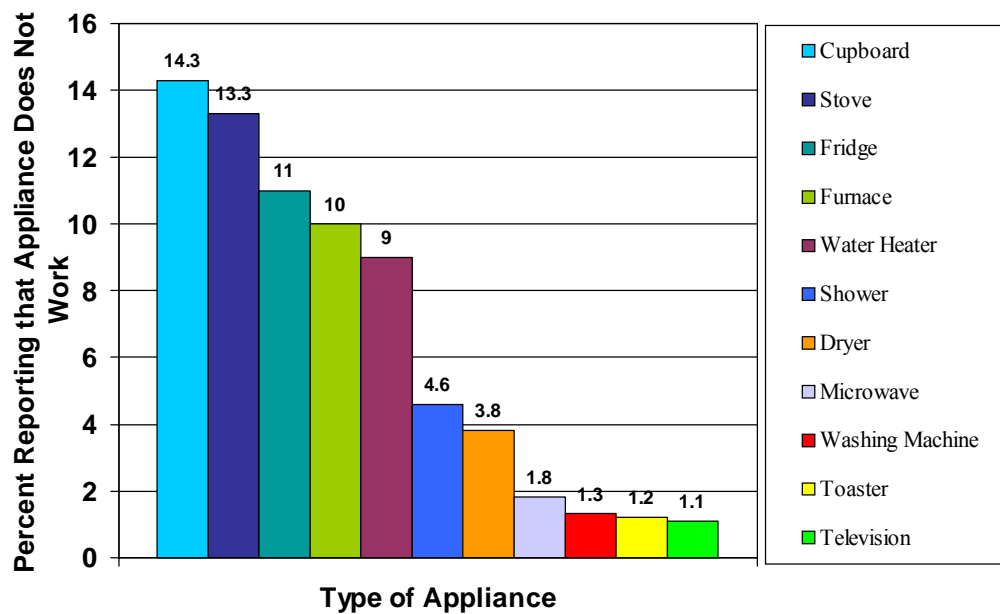
Sixty-seven Inuit reported they sometimes run out of water. Thirty three reported that they sometimes did not get their sewage tanks pumped out. Some respondents indicated more than one answer to this question.

Appliances

Harmony in a household is often a function of the contents: whether or not the appliances and furnishings are adequate and meet the needs of the occupants. We therefore created a list of basic and essential appliances and asked respondents to indicate if they owned the appliance and, if so, did the appliance work. The results were somewhat surprising as the percentage of respondents indicating that the most basic of appliances were not working, was quite high (**Figure 9**).

Fourteen point three percent of respondents indicated that their cupboards did not work – a reference to the fact that the doors were broken and that kids could easily get inside of them. 13.3% of respondents indicated that their stoves did not work, 11% indicated that the fridge did not work, 10% had furnaces that did not work and 9% had water heaters that did not work. These are all basic appliances, essential to the proper functioning of a household, and it is likely that their absence is a contributing factor to tension, anger, frustration and disagreements in homes that, as we have noted, are already seriously overcrowded and where the proportion of young people – including many infants under 5 years of age – is considerable.

Figure 9: Appliances In Respondent's House That Do Not Work



Note: Inuit who own a freezer, dishwasher, stereo and computer reported that all of those appliances worked, so they are not included in the above table. The figures should be interpreted as follows: of those people owning a stove, 13.3 percent reported that it did not work, etc.

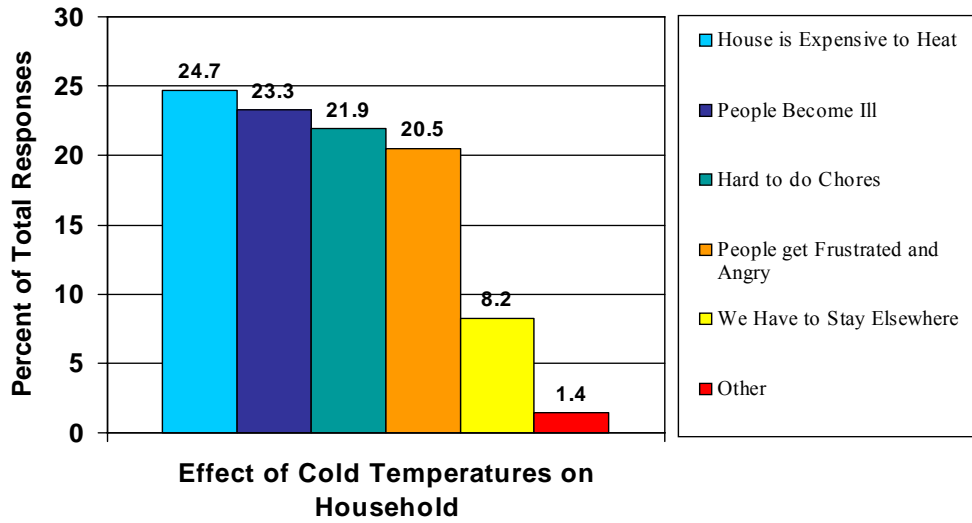
The Nunavut Power Corporation sometimes cuts off the electricity supply to homes during summer months if power bills have not been paid and it is quite possible that hot water tanks, stoves and fridges were not working in some cases, for this reason.

The Effects of Cold

Given that 50% of the housing stock of those surveyed was more than 15 years old and given the climate, it was expected that some houses would be cold and drafty. We asked respondents if their homes were cold or very cold during the winter months. Of the 91 respondents, 45 (nearly 50%) indicated that the temperature of their homes was “just right” and some (11) complained that their homes were warm or too warm during the winter. The problems created by homes that are cold or very cold are noted in **Figure 10**.

There were 73 responses given by 35 people. The most obvious effect of a house that was leaking air was on the cost of heating (24.7% of responses). Respondents also noted that people in their home became ill (23.3% of responses), that chores were hard to do (21.9% of responses) and that people became angry and frustrated (42.8% of those reporting that their homes were cold). A small number indicated that they had to stay elsewhere. While not the most common response in the categories examined, many of the housing circumstances faced by Inuit contributed to some level of anger and frustration.

Figure 10: For Those Inuit Whose House Is Cold Or Very Cold During The Winter (N=35), The Effects Are:



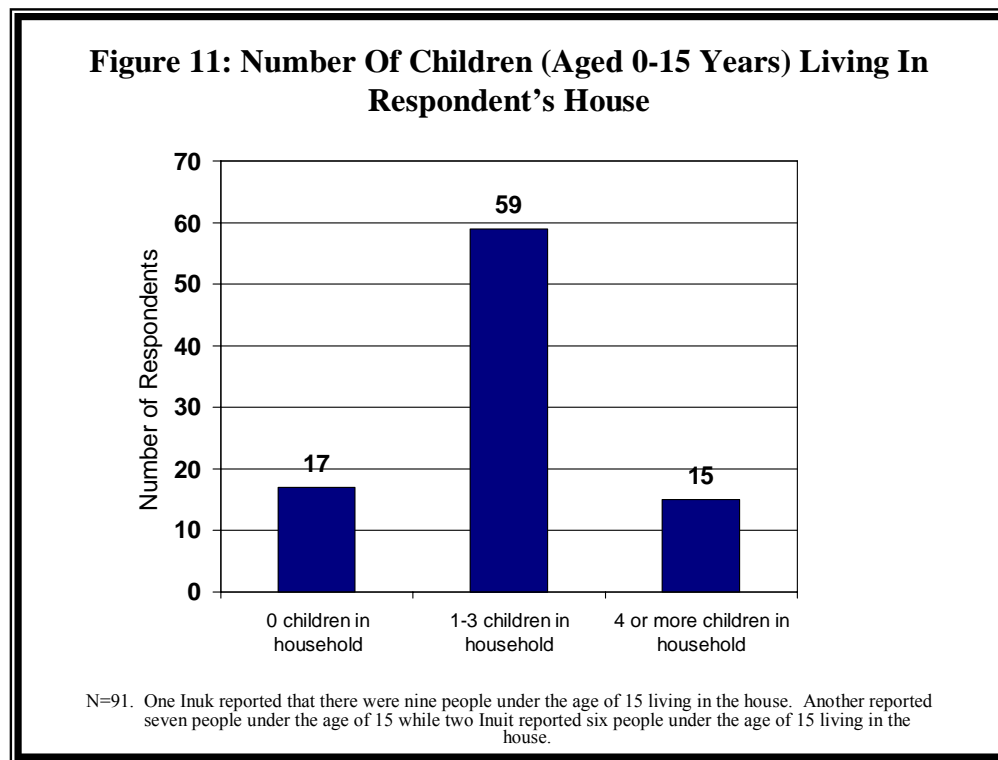
N=35. Some Inuit indicated more than one effect of cold temperatures. The number of total responses was 73.

The Number of People in Households and the Extent of Overcrowding

Children, Youth and Household Structure

In this section the demography of households is examined. The objective is to present a picture, not only of the extent of overcrowding, but a detailed picture that relates overcrowding to that which is demographically characteristic of the Inuit population in general; a population characterized by a large number of young people.

Twenty-five point three percent of those interviewed had no children of their own. This does not mean there were no children in the home. There were only 5 households (5.5% of the sample) with no children present. With one exception, the residents were Elders. 74 Inuit reported having 208 children aged 0-15 living in their homes. 17 Inuit reported no children between these ages living with them. Of those homes having children 0 – 15 years of age, there was an average of 2.8 children in this age category per household. Fifteen households indicated having 4 or more children 0 – 15 years of age (**Figure 11**).¹ Eighty-one point three percent were households with children under 16 years of age.



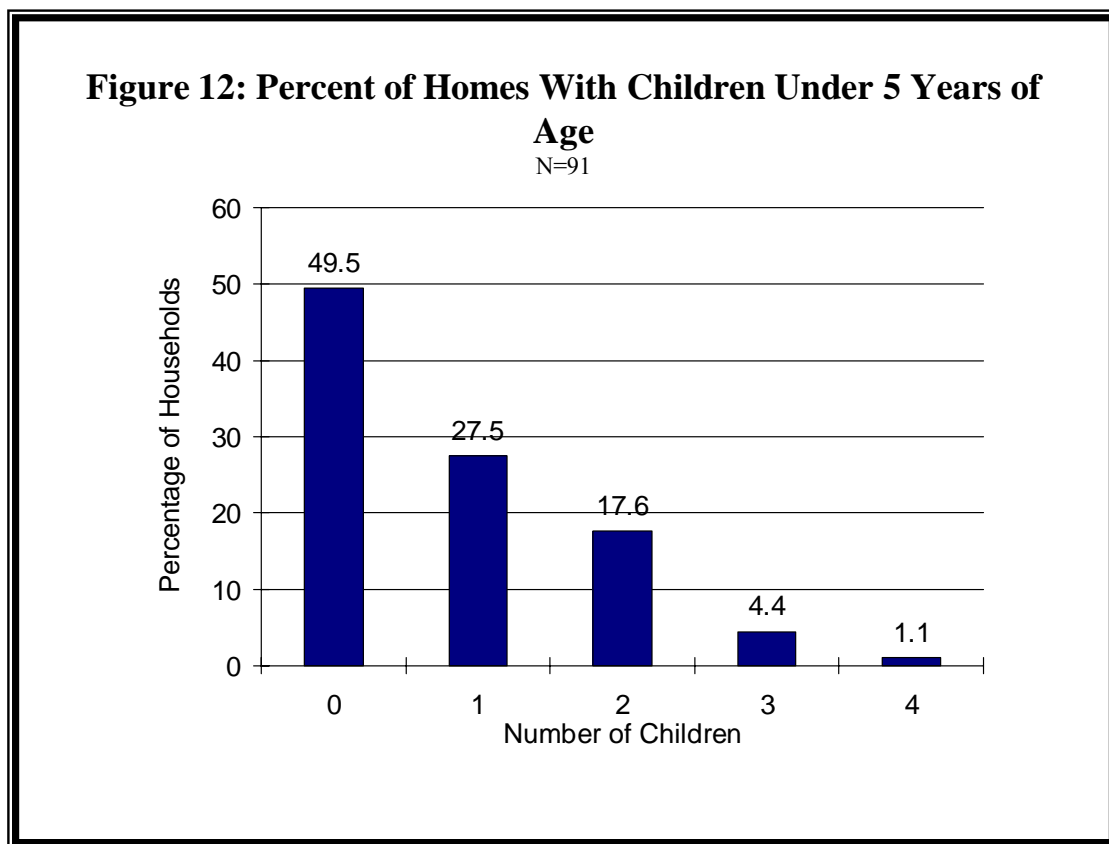
Statistics Canada (2001 Census) reports that in Nunavut, only 13.9% of families (married or common-law couples) have no children at home. This compares, for example, with the Province of Ontario where 34.7% of families have no children living at home.

¹ It is important to remember that sampling was done such that only one person in any given household was interviewed. Therefore each interview produced data on a different household. There is no duplication of statistics by household in the sample.

Furthermore, in Nunavut, 33.6% of these families have 3 or more children at home. In Ontario, only 12% of families have 3 or more children at home.

There were no youth 16 – 30 years of age in 18 of the households in which interviews were held. In 66 cases there were between 1 and 3 youth in this age category. In 7 households there were 4 or more youth between 16 and 30 years of age and in one of these cases, 7 young people between 16 and 30 years of age were present in the home.

A more detailed breakdown reveals the high number of very young people in homes surveyed. Twenty-seven point five percent of homes had one child under 5 years of age, 17.6 had 2 children under 5 years of age and in 4.4% of homes, there were 3 children under 5 (**Figure 12**).



Twenty-seven point five percent of homes also had a child between 5 and 10 years of age, 9.9% of homes had 2 children in this age range and 3.3% had 3 children in this age category (**Figure 13**).

The situation regarding teenagers is comparable. Thirty-three percent of the sample were households with one child 11 - 15 years of age. Thirteen point two percent had 2 children in this age category and 3.3% of households had 3 children 11 - 15 years of age (**Figure 14**).

Figure 13: Percent of Homes With Children 5 to 10 Years of Age
N=91

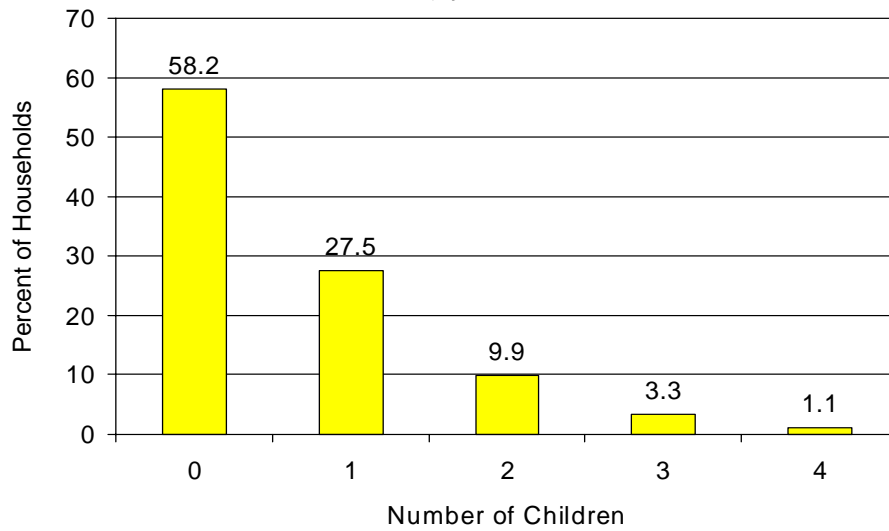
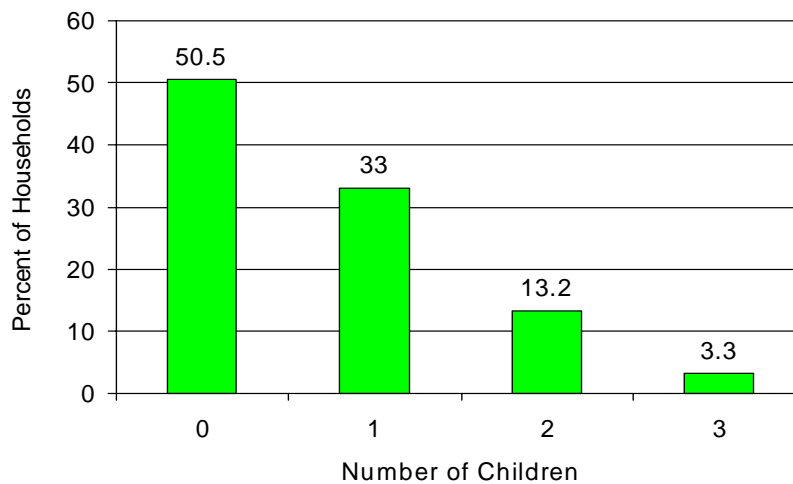


Figure 14: Percent of Homes With Children 11 to 15 Years of Age
N=91



The numbers are roughly the same for teens in the 16-20 year old category, there being more households with one teen in this category (38.5%) while 9.9% of households had two 16-20 year olds. In 4.4% of households there were three teens in this age range (**Figure 15**).

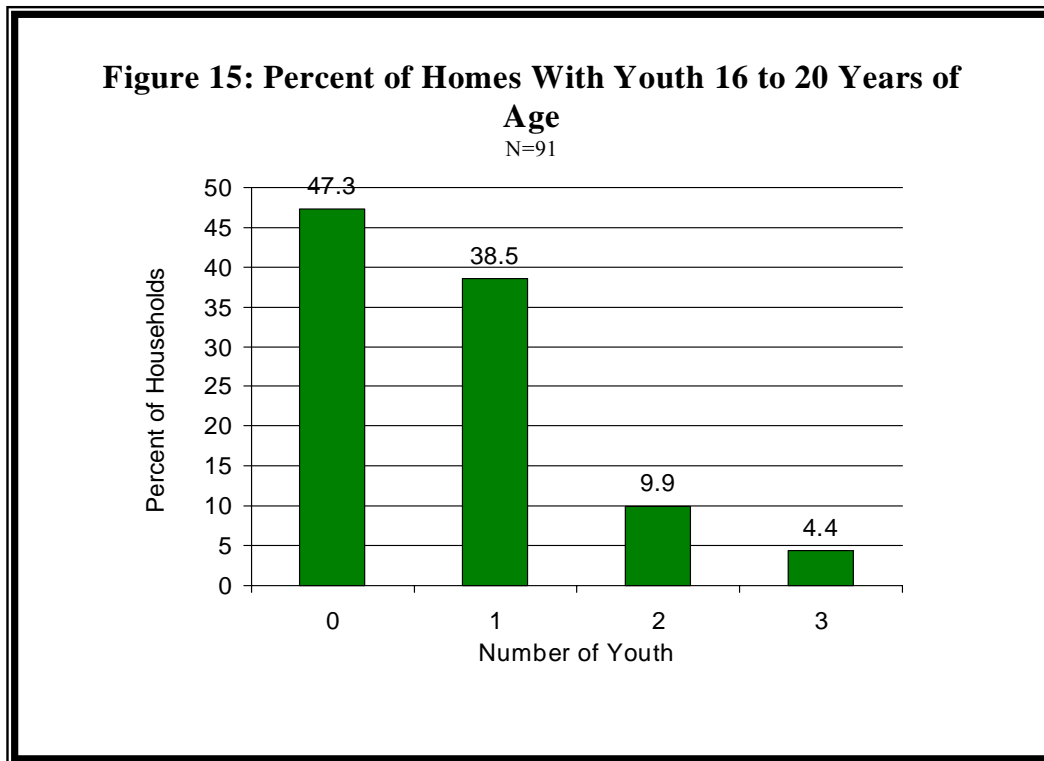


Figure 16 gives a breakdown of the percentage of young adults 21–25 years of age in households included in the sample. Thirty-seven point four percent of homes had one person in this age category, 4.4% of households had 2 people in this age range and 2.2% had 3 people of this age.

In the 26–30 years of age category, 22% of households had one person in this age range, 3.3% had 2 occupants and one home in the sample (1.1%) had 5 people in this age category living in the residence (**Figure 17**).

The data suggests a situation where there are many households that consist of an older parental generation with one or more parent over 40 years of age, living with one or more young person in his or her late teens or twenties who, in turn has one or more children less than 5 years of age. In other words, there are many situations where there are three generations living under the same roof. The percentages of an older parental generation present in the households we surveyed are found in **Figures 18** and **19**.

Figure 16: Percent of Homes With Youth 21 to 25 Years of Age
N=91

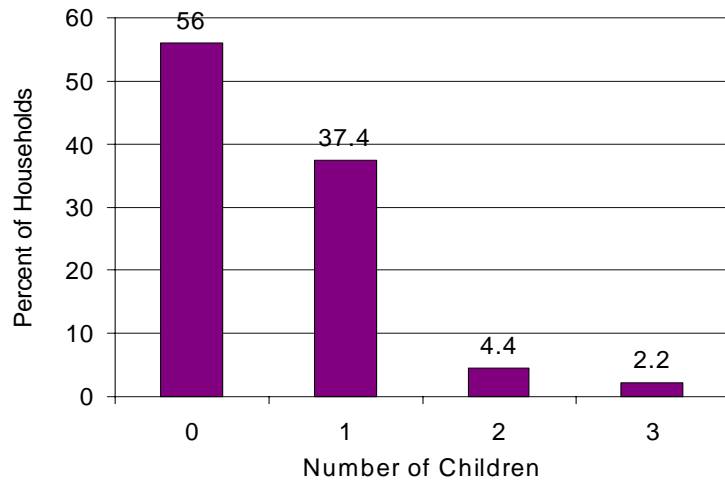


Figure 17: Percent of Homes With Youth 26 to 30 Years of Age
N=91

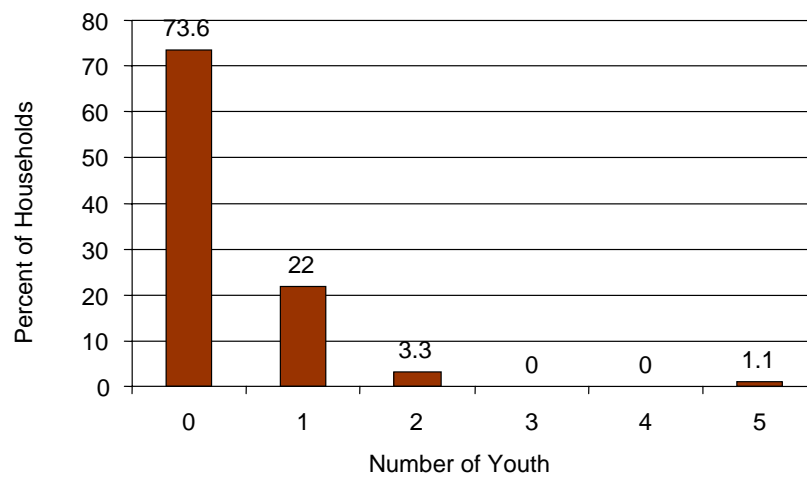


Figure 18: Percent of Homes With Adults 41 and 50 Years of Age
N=91

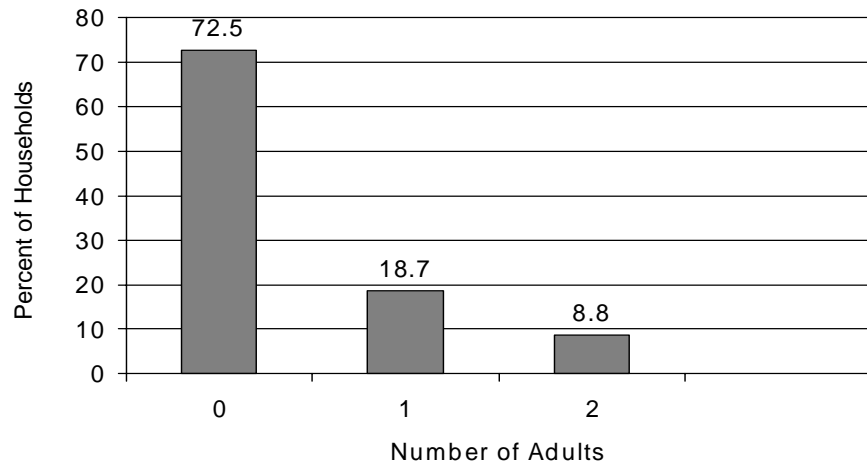
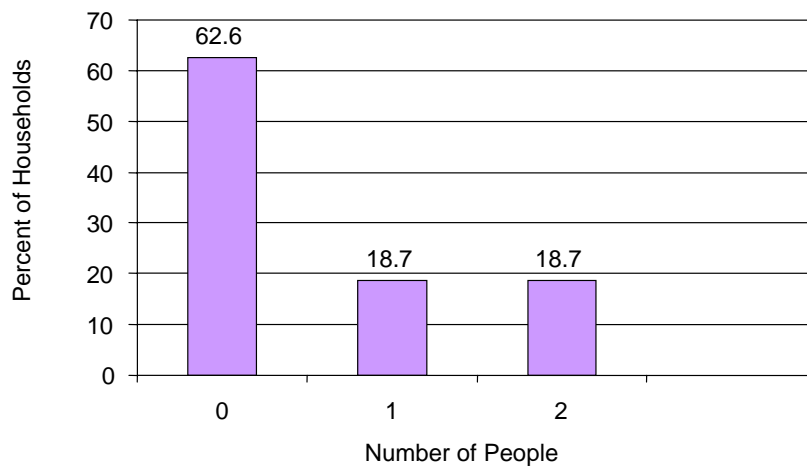


Figure 19: Percent of Homes With Adults Over 50 Years of Age
N=91



The number of young children in a household is a good predictor of the total number of people in a household. The more children under 5 years of age, the more people there are in a home in total. This is revealed by scatter grams plotting the number of children under 5 years of age against the number of people in the home. The relationship between these two variables is highly significant (.000 – Pearson’s R) with the total number of people in the home rising in direct proportion to the number of children under 5. In fact, this relationship holds true for other age categories [5 – 10 years of age (.000 – Pearson’s R)] [11 – 15 years of age (.000 – Pearson’s R)] [16 – 20 years of age (.000 – Pearson’s R)] and only starts to break down in the 21 – 26 years of age category where the relationship is significant at the .05 level (Pearson’s R).

It is interesting to note that the relationship becomes significant again in the 41–50 year old category at the .05 level (Pearson’s R), strongly indicating the household structure previously suggested; an older parental generation living with one or more children who, in turn, have children of their own.

Measures of Overcrowding

There are different ways of measuring overcrowding. The Canadian Council on Social Development uses the following method. It calculates the number of persons in a household (counting adult couples as one) minus the number of bedrooms. If the resulting figure is 2 or more, then the house is considered to be overcrowded.²

Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation uses a different definition where crowding is determined in relation to a National Occupancy Standard (NOS). According to this standard, enough bedrooms means one bedroom for each cohabitating adult couple; unattached household member 18 years of age and over; same sex pair of children under the age of 18; and additional boy or girl in the family, unless there are two opposite sex siblings under five years of age, in which case they are expected to share a bedroom.³

Figure 20 indicates the percentage of homes having x number of residents for the sample with which we were working.

Figure 21 shows the number of bedrooms in the homes of Inuit who were interviewed. One respondent indicated that he/she had no bedroom in the unit in which he/she was living. Due to the lack of housing, some young people and single men live in shacks near the beach and near the old airport, and these consist of a single room. There were 20 homes in which interviews were conducted that had 4 bedrooms (21.7% of the sample). Five of the households in which an interview was held had 5 bedrooms (5.5% of the sample).

² Andrew Jackson and Paul Roberts (2001) *Background Paper on Housing for ‘The Progress of Canada’s Children 2001’*. Ottawa. Canadian Council on Social Development.

³ CMHC/SCHL, Government of Canada. (2004)

Figure 20: The Percentage of Homes in Sample with X Number of Residents

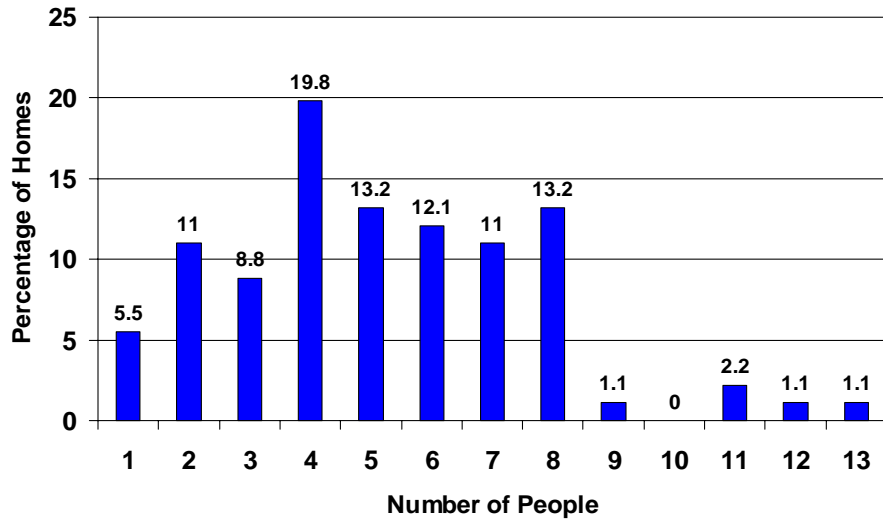
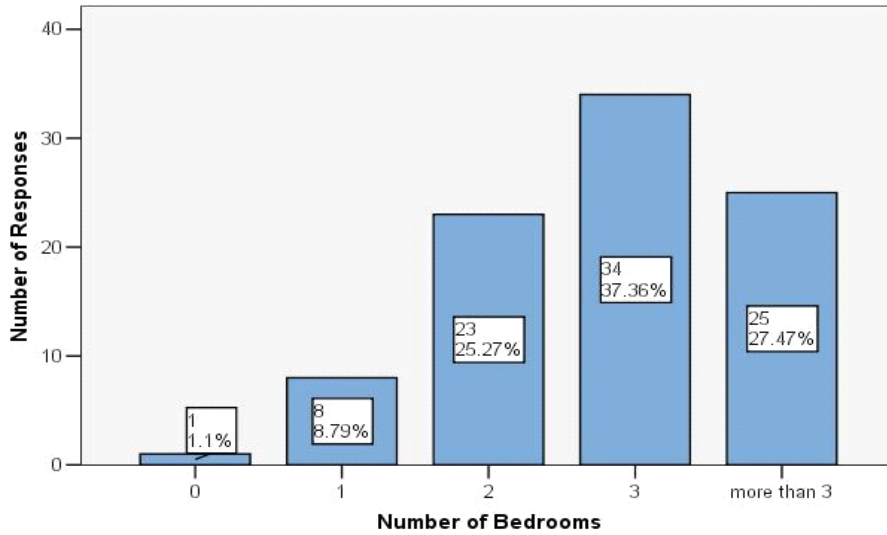


Figure 21: Number Of Bedrooms In Respondent's House



N=91.

Using NOS, a four bedroom home would be adequate for a couple with two children over 5 years of age – a boy and a girl who would each have his/her own room, and two children less than 5 years of age who could share a room; 5 people in all. In the case of 4 children between 5 and 19 years of age, two boys and two girls, in addition to 2 young children less than 5 years of age, a 4 bedroom home could accommodate, using NOS standards, a family of 8, including the parents.

About 55% of the households in the sample (50 homes) have 5 or more people living in them. About 42% (38 of households) have 6 or more residents. Almost 30% (27 households) have 7 or more residents, almost 19% have 8 or more residents. 5.5% (5 households) have nine or more occupants. Four households (4.4% of the total) had 10 or more residents and 2 households (2.2% of the sample) have 11 or 12 residents. In one case, 13 people were living in a three bedroom unit and included 4 children under 5, 3 children between 5 and 10 and 2 between 11 and 15 and 2 between 16 and 20 and two adults, 41-50 years of age.

For most configurations conforming to NOS standards, a family of 6 can be accommodated in a 4 bedroom home. Accommodating 7 or more people in a 4 bedroom unit consistent with NOS standards become more unlikely and the likelihood increases with the number of residents until it become virtually impossible. In fact, the maximum number would be a family of 2 parents, 2 children under 5, and 2 female and 2 male teens, for a total of 8.

In order to examine the situation more closely, we decided to concentrate on the living situation of any household where there were 8 or more residents (**Table 2**). At the other end, we looked at the data for anomalies in situations where there were fewer bedrooms and a combination of age groups and numbers occupying the residence such that occupancy was very highly unlikely to conform to NOS standards (**Table 3**).

A few examples make it clear that these units do not conform to NOS standards. For example, in case # 1 of **Table 2**, by NOS standards, a bedroom should be available for the child under 5 years of age. Assuming that the 5-10 year old and the 11-15 year old are the same gender, this would require another bedroom. The same would be true of the children in the next two age categories and another bedroom would be required for the two remaining Inuit, who are presumably the parents.

In case 5, a room is required for the infant, and possibly one for the 11-15 year old and at least two more bedrooms for 2 children in each of the 16-20 and 21-25 year old categories. At least one more bedroom would be necessary to accommodate the two Inuit over 50 years of age. By any configuration, this household is seriously overcrowded, requiring a minimum of 5 bedrooms and being a house with only 4.

In case 15, 3 bedrooms accommodate 8 Inuit and the configuration requires a minimum of 5 bedrooms; one for an infant, one for two teens 11-15 years of age (assuming the same gender) two more to accommodate 3 teens 16-20 and another for the adults.

Table 3 lists other households having few bedrooms. The same relationships occur. In case 1, 5 people are living in a 2 bedroom house. A room is required for the infant, another for the 5-10 year olds (and this assumes they are the same gender) and another for the adults, assuming they are a couple. This family requires at least 3 bedrooms. In case 7, a room is required for the infant and a minimum of 2 rooms to accommodate the older children as well as a room for the Inuit over 50 years of age. By any configuration, this unit is one bedroom short.

These calculations reveal a minimum of 35 units that do not meet NOS standards to which we can add one unit with no bedroom – a shack in which a single person was living. However, this number is a bare minimum, as it assumes ideal configurations in terms of genders within the household.

Table 2

Age Configuration and Number of Bedrooms in Households with 8 or more Residents

Case No.	# of bedrooms	# of people	Age Category								
			<5	5-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	26-30	31-40	41-50	>50
1	3	8	1	1	1	1	1		1	1	
2	4	11	2	1	1		3	1	2		1
3	4	8	2			3		1		2	
4	4	8	1		2	1	2				2
5	4	8	1		1	2	2				2
6	3	12	3	2	1	2	1	1		1	1
7	3	8	2		1	1	1		1		1
8	3	9	1	1	2	3				2	
9	4	8	2	3	1				2		
10	4	8	1		1	1	1	1	1		
11	3	13	4	3	2	2				2	
12	4	9	2	2	1		1	1		2	
13	3	8	1		3	2			2	2	
14	4	11	2	2	3		1	1			2
15	3	8	1		2	3				1	1
16	4	8				1	1	5	1	1	
17	3	8	1	1	2	2			1	1	

Table 3**Other Residences Not Conforming to NOS Standards**

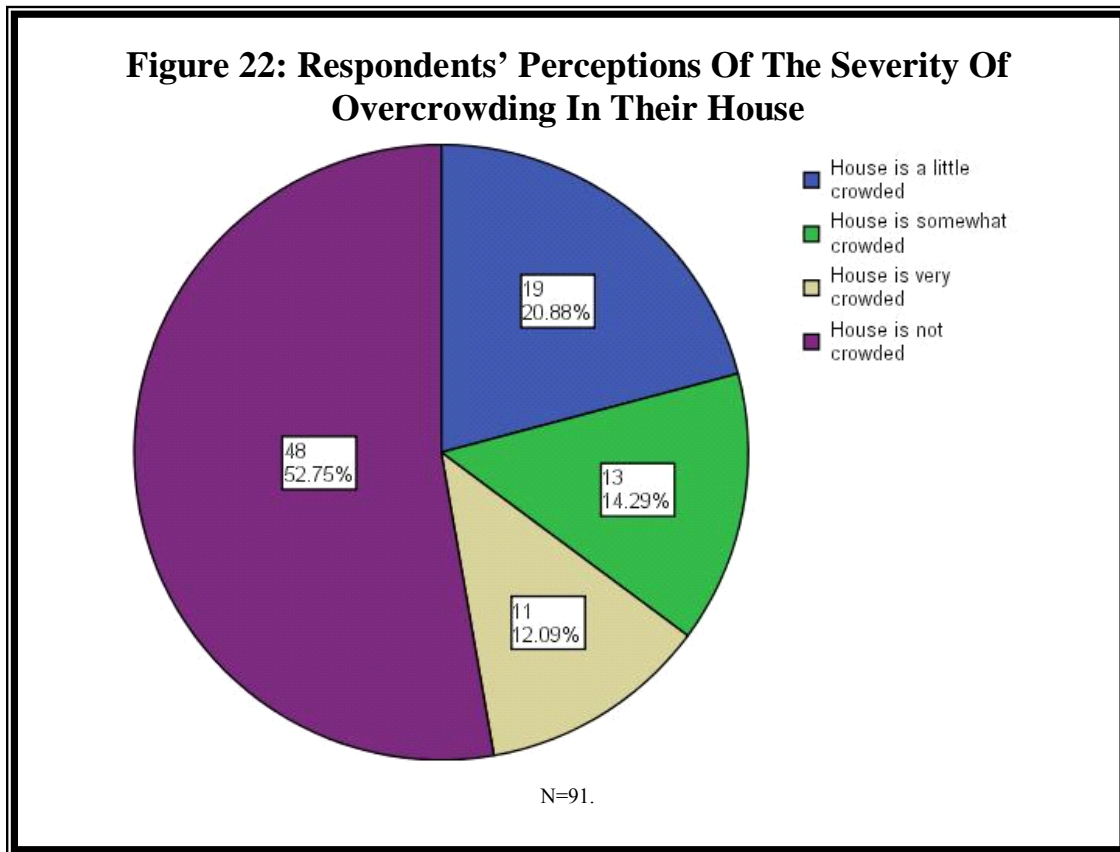
Case No.	# of bedrooms	# of people	Age Category								
			<5	5-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	26-30	31-40	41-50	>50
1	2	5	1	2					1		1
2	3	6	1		1	1	1		1	1	
3	3	5		1	2	1				1	
4	2	3	1		1				1		
5	1	4	1			1	1			1	
6	2	6		2	1	1	1		1		
7	3	7	1	1	1	1	1				2
8	1	4	2				1		1		
9	4	7	2	2	1			1	1		
10	2	6	2	1	1			1	1		
11	4	7	1	1	1	2				1	1
12	3	7	1	1	1	1	1				2
13	3	7	3		2				2		
14	2	4			1					1	2
15	3	6	1	1	1	1			2		
16	2	7		2	1	1			3		
17	1	5	2				1		2		
18	2	5	2	1			1	1			

While we have identified units that clearly cannot meet NOS standards, there are a limited number of other units where, depending on the gender configuration, these will also not meet the NSO standards. The figure of 36 units is therefore an absolute minimum number of overcrowded units in the sample and the figure is likely as high as 45.

Based on these assumptions, the absolute minimum percentage of households that are overcrowded is 36 of 91 units or 39.6 (40%). It is reasonable to assume that there are about 9 more units where the combination of the number of people and the number of rooms, taken together with gender configuration, means that these units are also overcrowded and the figure is therefore, 50%.

Using CCSD calculations (the number of people in the house, counting adult couples as one minus the number of rooms, with a resulting figure of 2 or more indicating overcrowding) the number of overcrowded units is 41 or 45%. On this basis, we estimate the extent of overcrowding in the community between 45 and 50%, the figure, given the assumptions about gender used in relation to NOS standards, likely being about 50%. This compares with figures generated by the Aboriginal People's Survey (2001) that found that 54% of Inuit live in conditions of overcrowding. The comparable figure for Canada as a whole is 7%.

It is interesting to note that these figures compare very favourably with the perceptions that Kinngait residents have of their housing situation. Those interviewed were asked if their home was overcrowded and 47.2% indicated that their homes were crowded. 52.8% of the sample stated that their home was not overcrowded. Eleven residents (12.1%) stated that their house was very crowded, 13 (14.3%) stated that it was somewhat crowded and a further 20.9% (19 interviewees) indicated that their house was a little crowded (**Figure 22**). These figures should be considered in relation to a tendency for people to accommodate to their living conditions. What has become ‘normal’ in this community with respect to overcrowding and the number of people in a residence would probably not be regarded as ‘normal’ in most southern communities.

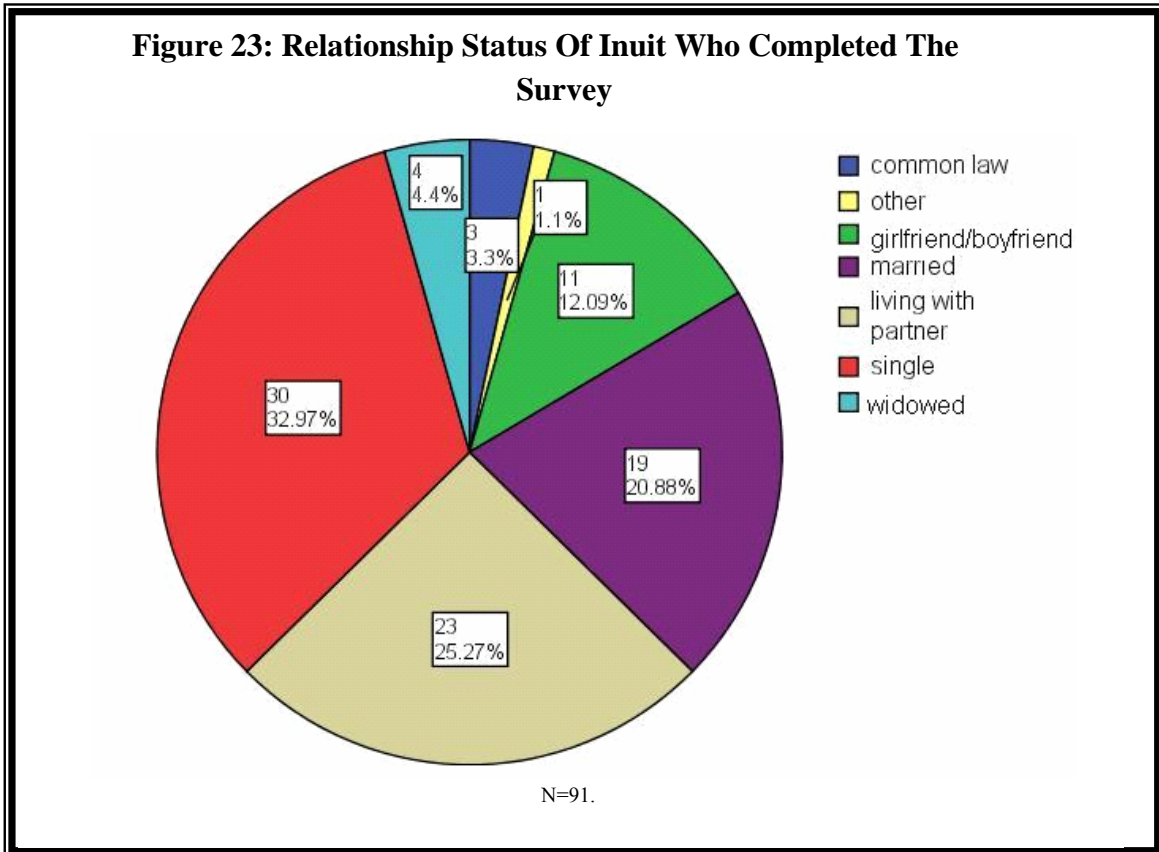


Two other points are worth mentioning. In Kinngait there is an excellent correlation between the number of bedrooms in a unit and the number of occupants (.000 Pearson’s R), despite there being a few anomalies. What is most important and revealed by the data on family structure and the number of infants and youth in the average household, is the extent to which overcrowding is related to the proportion of youth in the population. In other words, a serious situation will very soon get much worse.

The Socio-Economic Status of Respondents

Relationship Status

The sample can be characterized in a number of other ways. **Figure 23** shows the relationship status of respondents. A third of the sample (32.97%) reported being single: that is, they were neither in a relationship nor did they currently have a boyfriend or girlfriend. A further 4.4% indicated that they were widowed.

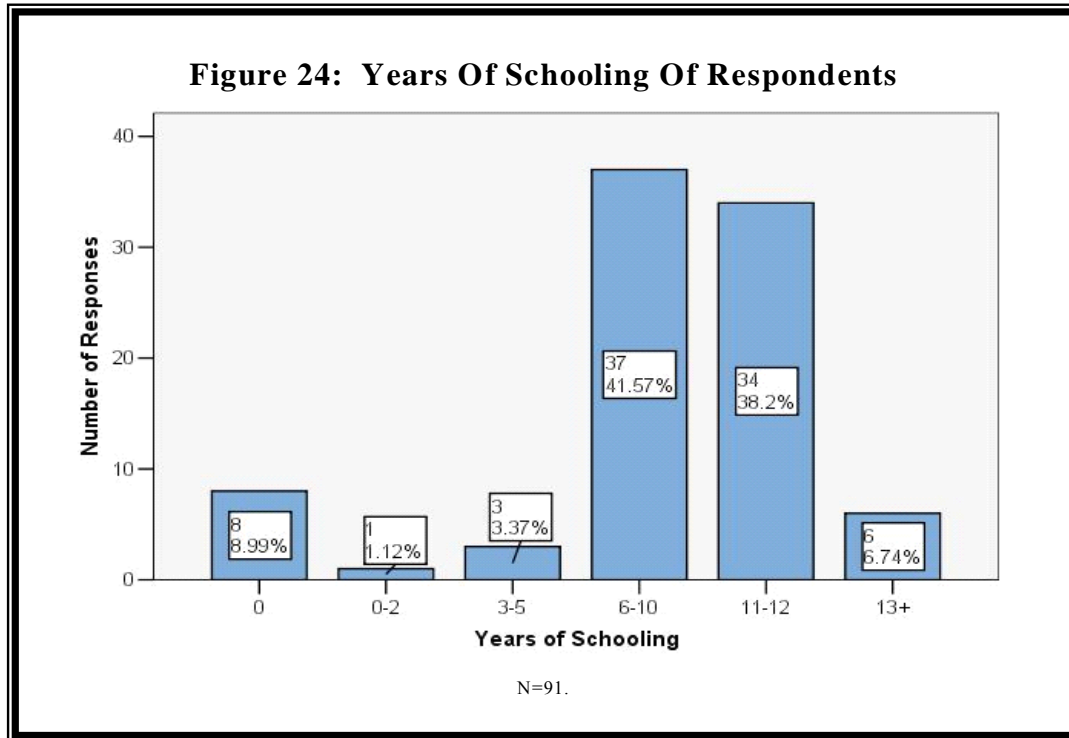


Compared with the Canadian population in general, Inuit are more inclined to a variety of living arrangements, with a large portion of the population living with a partner but who do not define themselves as living common law. In fact, there is little distinction between living common law and living with a partner. The term common law is a formal one commonly used by non-Inuit society, whereas the statement that one is living with someone is a more likely and common way for Inuit, speaking in either English or Inuktitut, to describe their relationship. Interviews were conducted in both languages, depending on the preference of the respondent. Living with someone without the benefit of formal legal status was, historically, the customary way in which Inuit ‘coupled’. It appears that simply living together – retaining or returning to this form of arrangement – is what is happening in contemporary Inuit culture. A significant portion of the sample (25.27%) was living with a partner and only 3.3% defined themselves as living ‘common

law'. About 21% of the sample reported being married, less than reported living with a partner.

Education

We also examined the sample in terms of education (**Figures 24 & 25**): both formal education as well as training respondents had received in addition to, or outside of, the formal education system.

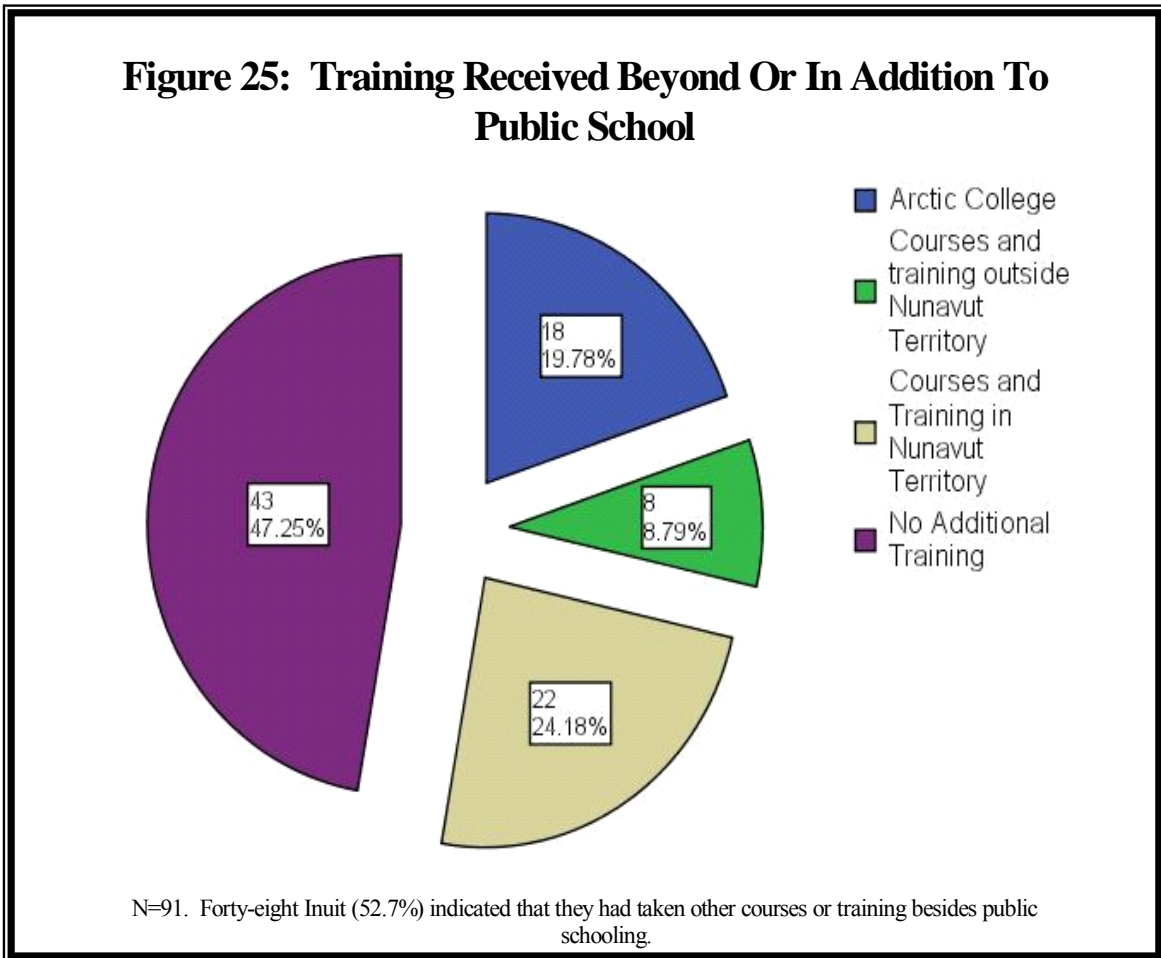


Almost 7% of the sample had education beyond the secondary school level, having completed secondary school. Approximately 38% of the sample had 11 or 12 years of schooling. However, this should not be equated with high school graduation. Education levels are low compared to Canadians, 47% of Canadians having some exposure to post-secondary education.

In Nunavut, 9.65% of the population over 15 years of age has graduated from secondary school (Statistics Canada 2001 Census Data). While we were interested in number of years of schooling, these results, taken with the 7% of the sample having some education beyond secondary school, suggests that the sample closely resembles the picture for Nunavut in general. As noted by a 1998 CMHC report on core housing need among aboriginal Canadians, there tends to be a relationship between education and core

housing need (a measure that includes overcrowding as well as age and state of repair of housing stock and affordability).⁴

Those having little or no schooling (9% of the sample) are Elders. Schooling of any sort was not generally available in the region until the early 1950s and even then, failed to provide schooling to many Inuit children living in camps scattered along the coast.



However, some in the sample had taken some form of education beyond public (primary and/or secondary) schooling. This does not mean they first completed secondary school. The extent and nature of this additional education is revealed by data found in **Figure 3**.

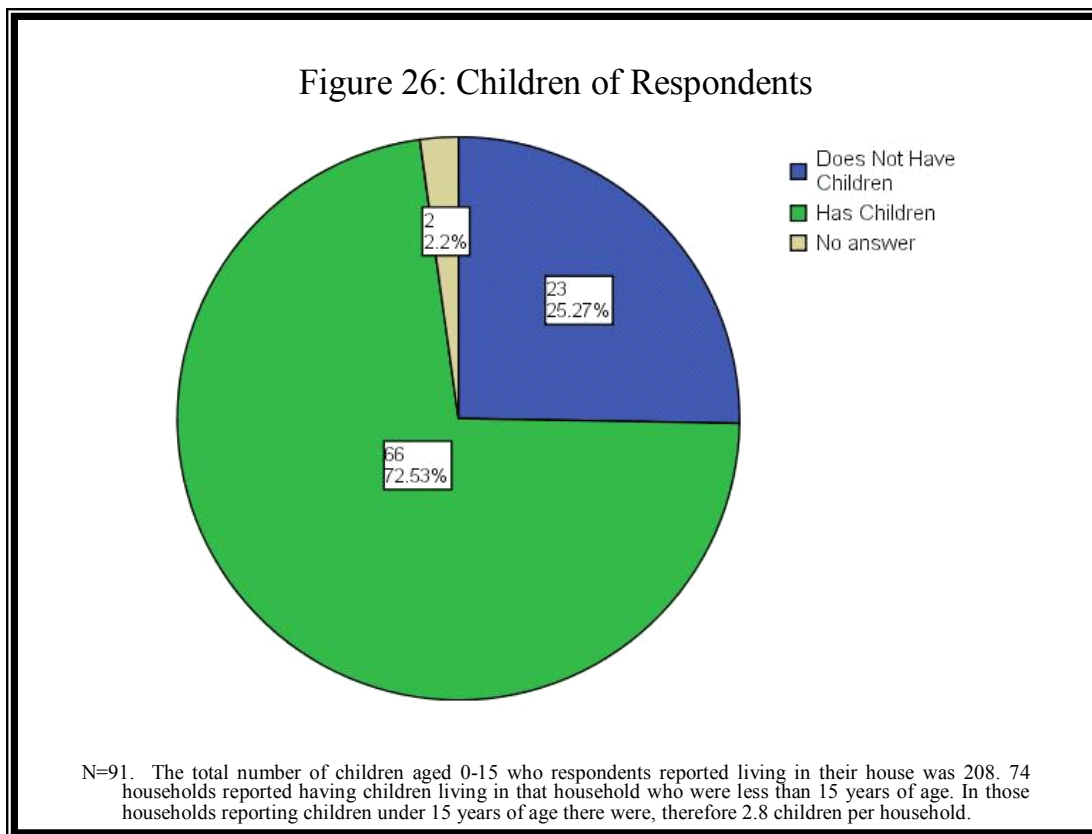
The focus on education in relation to housing and overcrowding is, we believe, an important one. As revealed elsewhere, overcrowding is a contributing factor to the depression experienced by many Kinngait residents. However, we believe that the housing situation, and how that situation appears to an increasingly educated population of young people who have personal knowledge of, and in many cases direct experience

⁴ CMHC. (1998) Core Housing Need Among Off-Reserve Inuit, Métis, Status and Non-Status Indians in Canada. Ottawa.

with living situations elsewhere in Canada, may contribute significantly to feelings of hopelessness, confinement and, ultimately, depression in a population of young Inuit with increasing levels of education. The other contributing factor, noted below, is the high rate of unemployment in the community. There appears to be a significant interaction among levels of education, lack of meaningful employment and overcrowding that is particularly relevant to explaining the social and mental health problems experienced by youth in the community.

Children

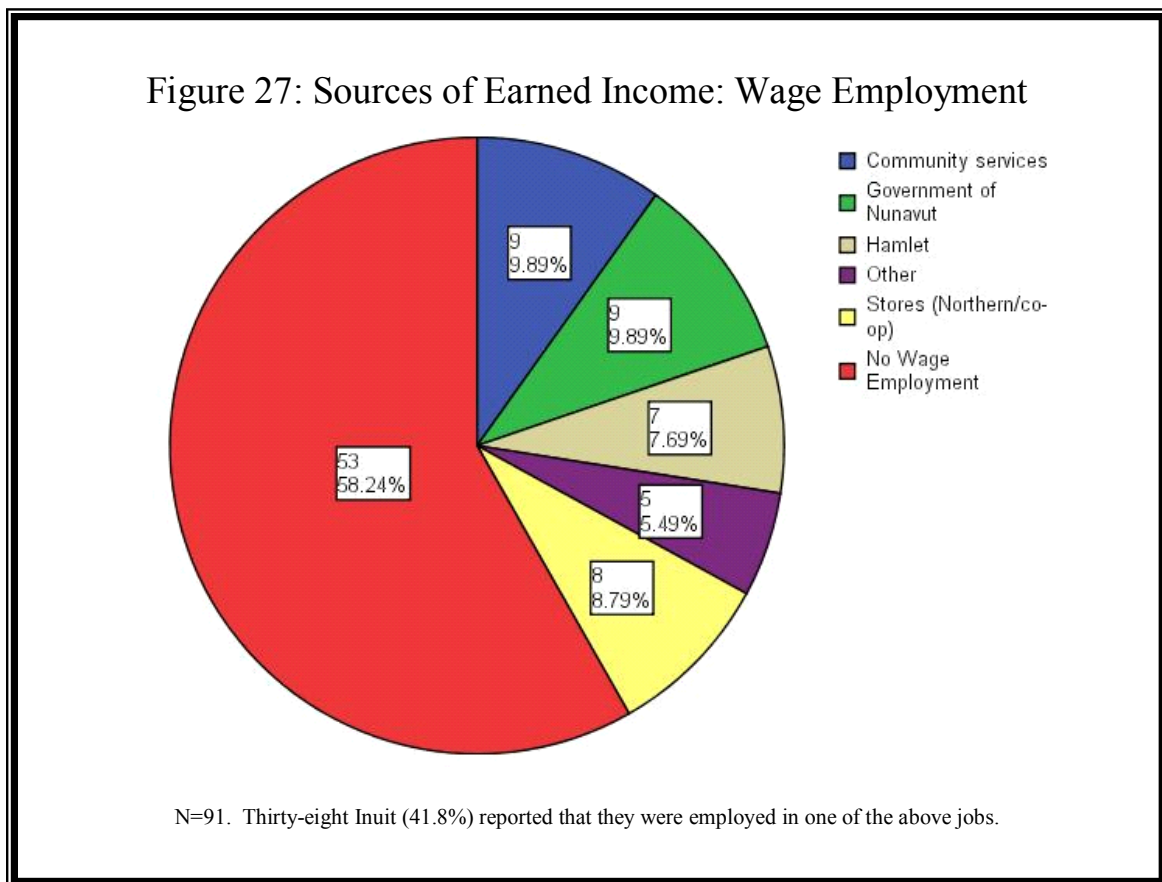
As noted elsewhere, the population of Nunavut is a very young one with most households having children (**Figure 26**). This has both immediate and long-term implications for housing. Sixty-four point eight percent of those interviewed (59 respondents) indicated that they needed a different house for one reason or another. There were 225 responses to a list of possible reasons. Of these, the claim that the house in which the respondent was living was unsuitable for children constituted 11.6% of the responses given. The number of children in the population as a proportion of the total population and the fact that the number of children under 5 years of age is a good predictor of overcrowding suggests that much more attention needs to be paid to this reality in the design of housing for Nunavut.



Income and Economic Considerations

This section details the economic status of Inuit in the sample. Given that Kinngait is typical of most Nunavut communities, it is obvious why much of the housing stock is social housing. Dealing with public provision is the only way the current housing crisis can be addressed. However, sources of income impact on housing in other ways. Kinngait residents earn some income in non-traditional and domestic forms of employment, notably carving, sewing and other craft occupations. Housing design does not adequately account for this economy, for while an activity like carving must take place principally outdoors, the space needed to store, not only the equipment required for the activity, but the space and equipment needed for other income generating activities, notably sewing, as well as the considerable space needed for outdoor equipment in a demanding and cold climate, is seldom given adequate consideration in housing design. Finally, the high rate of unemployment strongly suggests that far more attention needs to be paid to housing and house construction as an integral part of community social and economic activity.

Fifty three of the 91 respondents – 58.24% of the total – reported that they had no income from wage employment (**Figure 27**). However, about 13% of the sample were youth

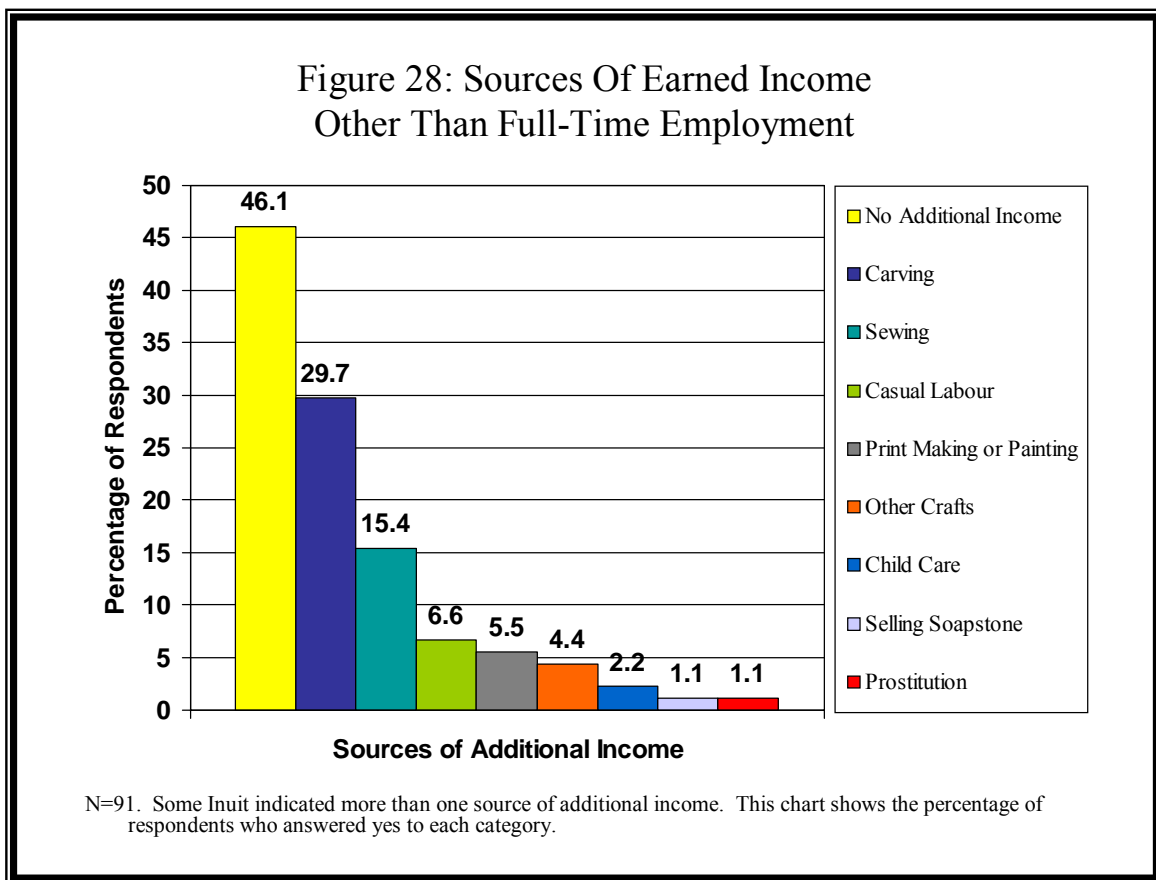


who were still in school. Some respondents were over 65 years (7% of the sample) or dependents not actively looking for work (12% of the sample). Considering employment

and income from other sources, as well as the above, we estimate the unemployment rate in Kinngait to be at least 40%, with underemployment being a severe problem. The official rate for Nunavut (Census Canada, 2001), is 17%.

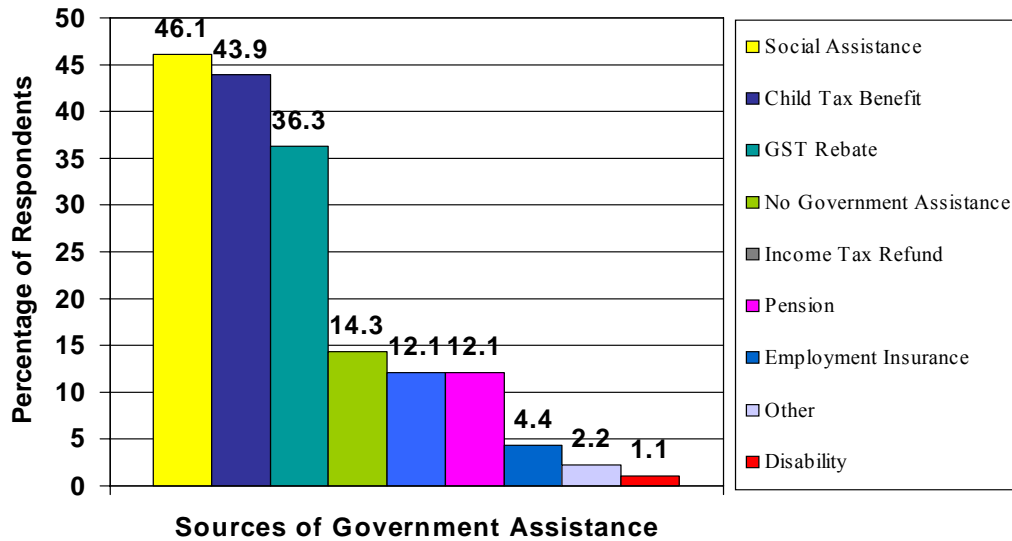
Furthermore, not unlike Aboriginal and First Nations populations living on many reserves in southern Canada, particularly those located in ‘bush’ or remote locations, this is a population heavily dependent for employment on the public sector. Twenty-seven point five percent of those interviewed had wage employment with the Government of Nunavut, the Hamlet or government-funded community services. In other words, of those employed, 66% are employed in publicly-funded positions. The remainder has some form of private sector employment, of which the greatest number is employed by one of the two retail outlets in the community; the Northern Store or the Co-op.

Those in the community who are employed or not employed also derive some income from other activities. The extent and nature of these is outlined in **Figure 28**.



About 46% of respondents indicated they had no source of income other than wage employment or non-earned sources of government income (**Figure 29**). Carving (29.7%) and sewing (15.4%) are the most significant sources of other income. However, 5.5% also derive income from print-making. Both carving and print-making are important

Figure 29: Non-Earned Sources of Government Income



N=91. The above table shows the percent of Inuit who receive income from one or more of the above sources.

sources of other income in this community, with a number of carvers and print makers deriving significant income from these activities.

Despite this, it is important to note that the community is heavily dependent on various forms of social assistance. About 46% of respondents indicated that they were in receipt of social assistance. Almost 44% received the child tax benefit and 36.3% were eligible for the GST rebate. Only 14.3% of the populations receives no government assistance of any kind, presumably meaning that their incomes are significant enough to make them ineligible for the GST rebate and, furthermore, that they are not of an age to be collecting pension. About 12% of the population receives pension income and another 12% indicated that they get an income tax refund. Four point four percent of the sample was, at the time, receiving employment insurance benefits and one respondent was on disability. One respondent admitted that she made a living as a prostitute (**Figure 28**). Given our sample size (91) and a population of approximately 1200, this suggests as many as a dozen women in this community who are earning a living in the sex trade.

Access to the Land

In any hunting culture there are multiple implications that result from not being able to access the land (and ocean). Accessing the land refers here to access for any purpose: hunting and trapping, recreation, fishing, visiting a seasonal camp; venturing out for a day, a week or longer, for sport, recreation and/or reasons related to one’s mental or spiritual health. Inadequate income is one important factor in explaining why it is that many Inuit do not have the equipment necessary to using the land both for recreational purposes and to obtain food. Thus poverty – and the inability to buy nutritious food –

contributes to poverty - the inability to obtain country food because one does not have adequate income to purchase the necessary equipment. Furthermore, 11% of respondents (as outlined in the next section) indicated that they went out onto the land when there were problems in the home. Others clearly could not do so because they lacked the resources and equipment. Access to the land is a consideration related to overcrowding and strategies employed by Inuit when there are troubles at home.

About 36% of Inuit surveyed reported that they did not own or have the equipment needed to go out on the land. This does not necessarily mean they did not have access to the land, as some respondents presumably have access to equipment owned by others. Nevertheless, not being able to access the land appears to have significant implications for the mental health and well-being of those whose resources do not make this possible (33 respondents). About 42% of these respondents indicated that they were subsequently bored. Lack of access contributed to anxiety in 21% and to depression in 5 individuals, or about 15% of those who did not own the necessary equipment. Another 15% were comfortable with not being able to get out on the land.

There are, not surprisingly, differences with respect to gender, both in terms of the ownership and access to equipment necessary to go out on the land and the emotional implications of not having the necessary equipment. **Figure 30** shows the results for males. First of all, it is important to note that more males than females (**Figure 31**) have equipment essential to getting out of town and onto the land. Ten males and 22 females in the sample indicated that they did not have, or have access to, equipment necessary to getting out on the land. The majority of males indicated that this led to them feeling bored. One person indicated that the circumstances made him angry. Boredom and depression are related states of mind.

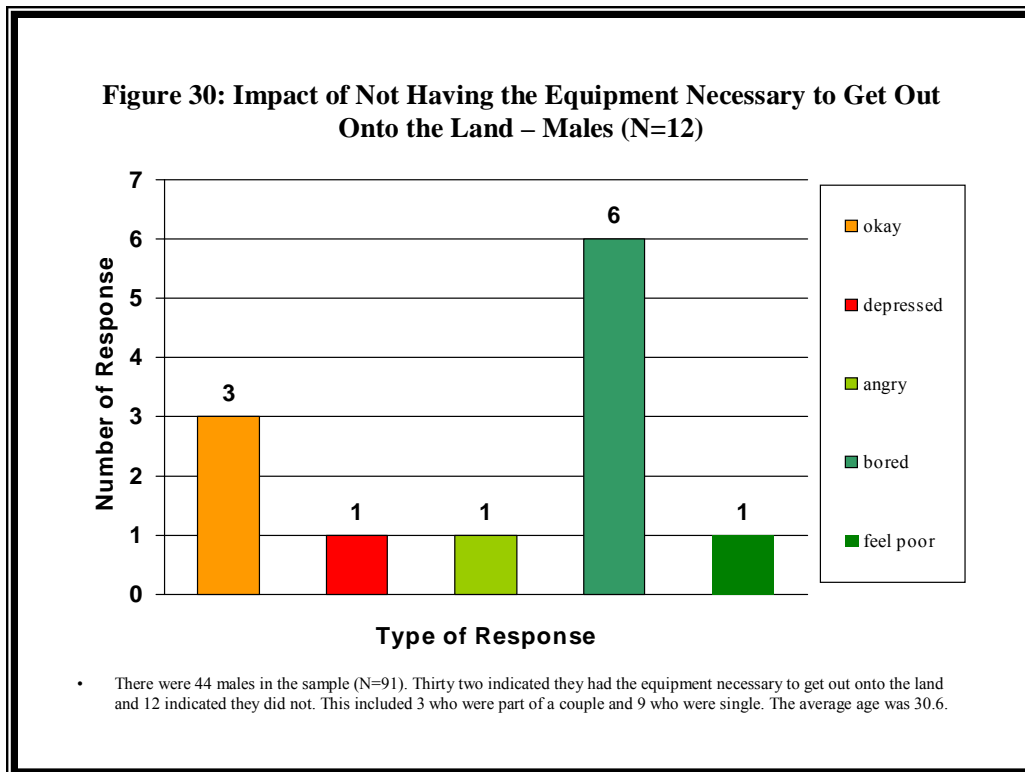
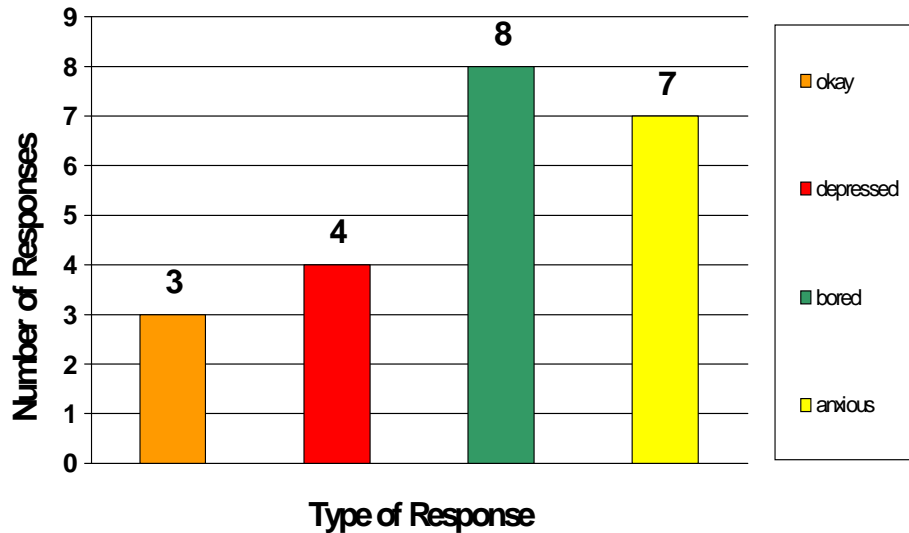


Figure 31: Impact of Not Having the Equipment Necessary to Get out Onto the Land – Females (N=22)



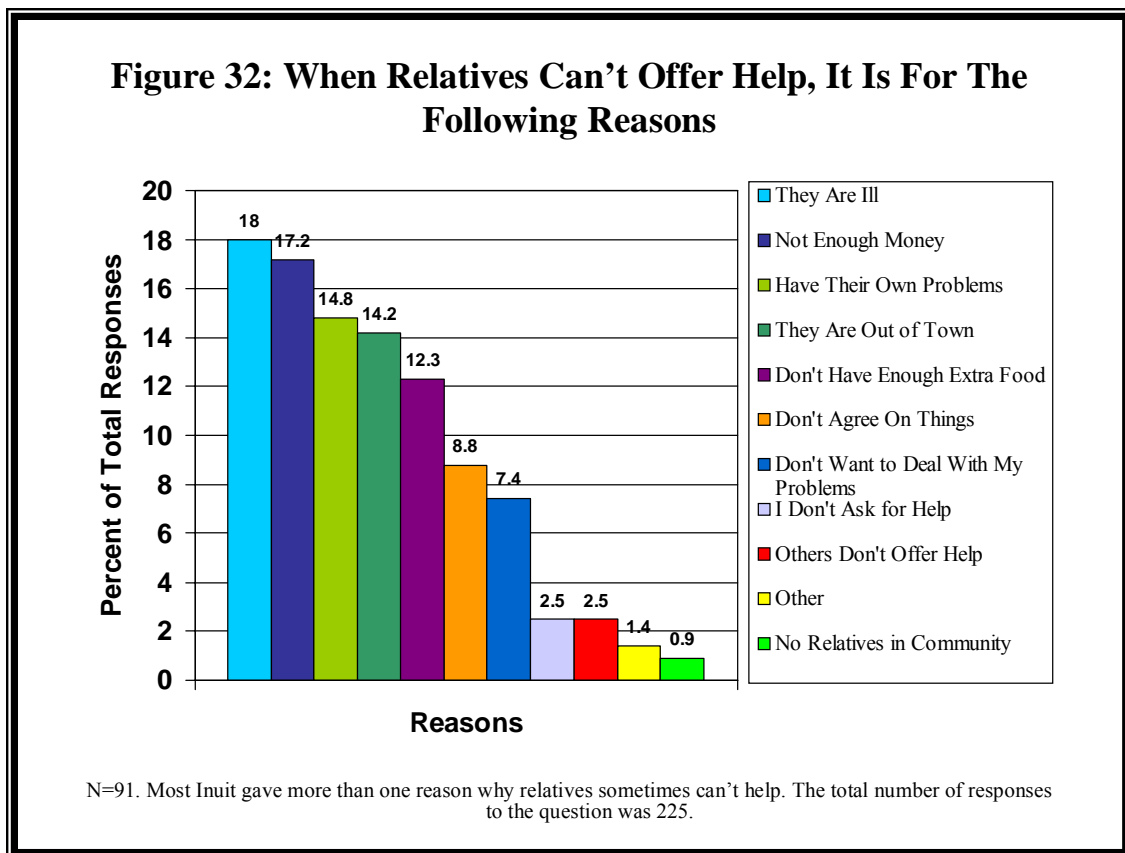
• There were 47 women in the sample. Twenty-five indicated they had the equipment necessary to go onto the land and 22 did not. Ten of these women were coupled and 12 were singles. That average age was 31.4.

Women, on the other hand did not as often have the equipment necessary to getting out of town. However, it appears that they were less ‘okay’ with the situation than their male counterparts. It is important to note that ten of these women were coupled and therefore it can be assumed that there was no, or inadequate, outdoor equipment in the household. Furthermore, single women might be expected to have access to equipment through their families.

Twelve men (3 single and 9 coupled) did not have equipment essential to going out on the land. The data indicates the extent of poverty in the community. Three men and 3 women indicated they were ‘okay’ with these circumstances. The number of women reporting they did not have the necessary equipment was 22. Therefore, of those not having equipment, only 13.6% of the women were ‘okay’ with this situation, while 25% of the men were ‘okay’ with not having adequate outdoor equipment. Women, like men, were also bored as a result of not getting out on the land (8). However, no women reported that this made them angry. What women reported that was not at all indicated by men, was ‘anxiety’. More women reported that they found the situation depressing (18% of those not having equipment) than men (8.3%). The relationship between men and women may offer some explanation, in that women may be anxious about the impact that not having equipment might have on the men in their lives and the implications for them of the depression, boredom and anger that this generates. Women may also be anxious about not being able to provide food for Elders and children.

Implications for Social Relations

The ability to assist one's extended family in times of need is extremely important to Inuit families. Historically, sharing meant the sharing of equipment, food and other resources necessary to life on the land. As part of the research, we investigated the state of these relations, recognizing that the housing situation in the community was likely a contributing factor to tensions and conflict within families, as well as a contributor to mental and physical health problems. We reasoned that these, in turn, would have a negative impact on the capacity of people to help one another. When relatives can't help, we asked respondents to indicate the reasons why (**Figure 32**).



While the reason given most often was because relatives are ill (18% of 225 responses), the reasons that follow are particularly revealing. About 17% of responses to the question were to the effect that relatives did not have enough money to help, 14.8% of the responses indicated that relatives had problems of their own that made it impossible for them to help, 14.2% indicated that relatives were out of town and couldn't help. The most likely situations covered by this last response are youth or young adults being out of the community attending school, or temporarily employed elsewhere (Ottawa, Iqaluit, etc.), or relatives being out on the land or employed elsewhere. Of note, 12.3% of the responses indicate that relatives can not help because they do not have enough extra food. This makes it clear that the help being sought was specifically related to the provision of food,

and reinforces the observation that food security is a current and critical issue in this community.



Access to the Land is an Essential Consideration related to Mental Health concerns in Situations of Overcrowding

Housing, Health and Social Problems

Social and Personal Problems and Overcrowding

The personal problems experienced by many Inuit are evident from a number of social indicators. **Table 4** lists crimes committed in Nunavut Territory compared with data for Canada for 2004 [Statistics Canada (2005)].

Table 4: Crime Statistics, Nunavut and Canada

	Canada	Nunavut
Rates per 100,000 population		
All incidents	8,834.9	38,493.5
<i>Criminal Code</i> offenses (excluding traffic offenses)	8,050.6	36,685.3
Crimes of violence	946.1	7,883.6
Homicide	2.0	13.5
Attempted murder	2.2	23.6
Assaults (level 1 to 3) ¹	731.8	6,628.7
Sexual assault	73.1	941.2
Other sexual offenses	8.2	40.5
Robbery	86.0	10.1
Other crimes of violence ²	42.3	226.0
Property Crimes	3,990.9	6,959.3
Breaking and entering	859.9	3,548.8
Motor vehicle theft	530.7	786.0
Theft over \$5,000	54.1	43.9
Theft \$5,000 and under	2,131.3	2,229.8
Possession of stolen goods	110.8	108.0
Frauds	303.9	242.9
Other <i>Criminal Code</i> offenses	3,113.6	21,842.5
<i>Criminal Code</i> offenses (traffic offenses)	124.9	155.2
Impaired driving	247.2	580.2
Other <i>Criminal Code</i> traffic offenses ³		
Federal statutes	412.3	1,072.7
Drugs	304.1	914.2
Other federal statutes	108.2	158.6

1. Assault level 1 is the first level of assault. It constitutes the intentional application of force without consent, the attempt or threat to apply force to another person, or openly wearing a weapon (or an imitation) while accosting or impeding another person.

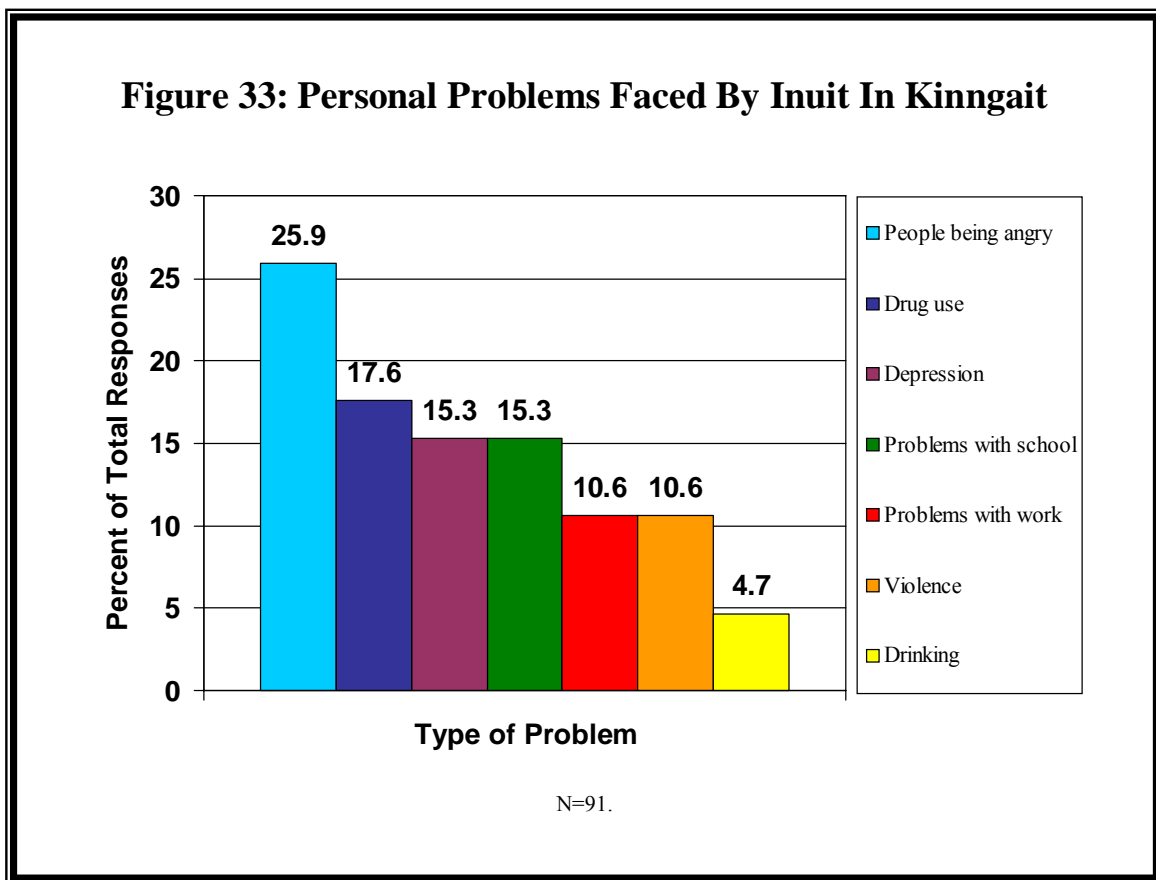
2. Includes unlawfully causing bodily harm, discharging firearms with intent, abductions, assaults against police officers, assaults against other peace or public officers and other assaults.

3. Includes dangerous operation of a motor vehicle, boat, vessel or aircraft, dangerous operation of motor vehicle, boat, vessel or aircraft causing bodily harm or death, driving motor vehicle while prohibited or failure to stop or remain.

These statistics are revealing. The overall rate of incidences in Nunavut is 4.4 times the Canadian national average. Criminal code offenses, excluding traffic offenses, are 4.6 times the national average, with the homicide rate being 6.8 times greater and the rate of attempted murder being 10.7 times the national average. Assaults are 9 times the national average. Sexual offenses show the greatest difference, with sexual assaults calculated at 12.8 times the national average and other sexual assaults being nearly 5 times greater. Alcohol and drugs are clearly contributing factors, with offenses for impaired driving being 2.4 times the national average and drug offenses being 3 times greater.

Incarceration rates for Nunavut are consistent with this picture. For young persons the rate per 10,000 in 2002 was 0.38, and in 2003 was 0.27. By way of comparison, the same figures for British Columbia were, respectively, 0.07 and 0.05 [Statistics Canada, 2006].

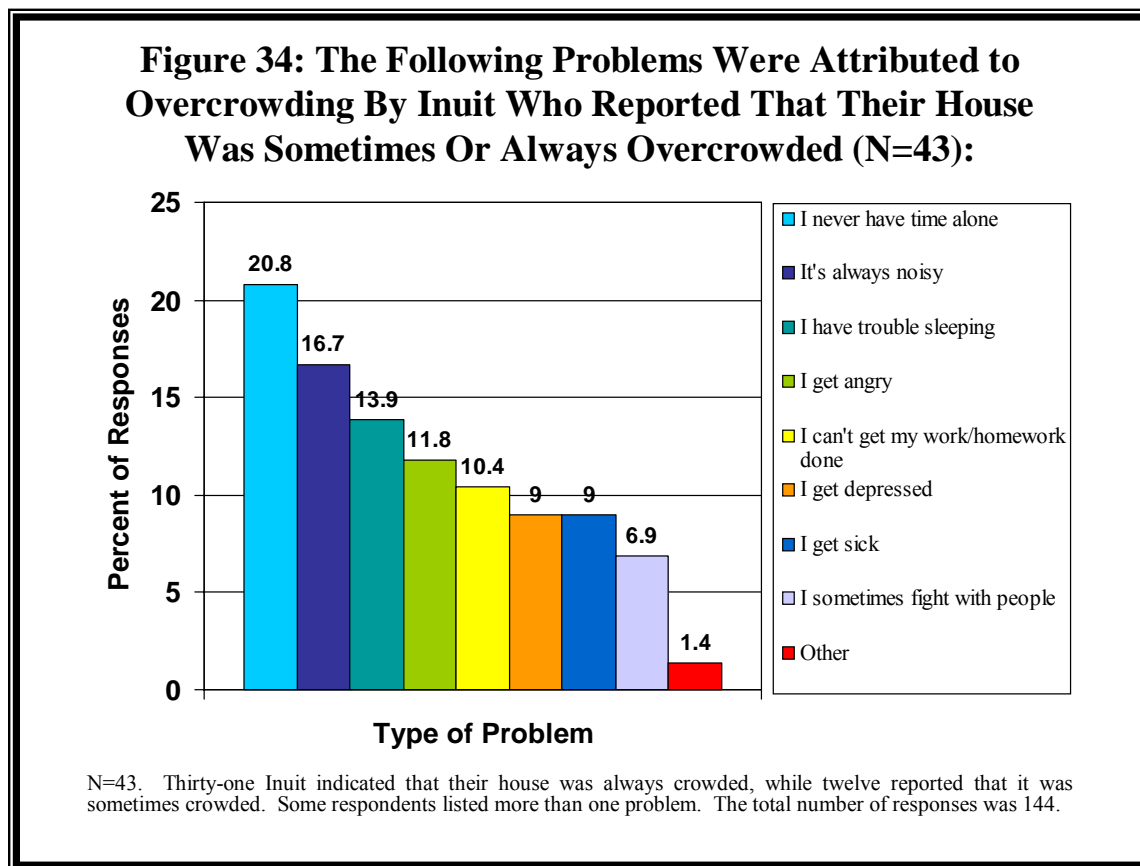
Inuit interviewed as part of this research were asked what personal and social problems they were experiencing in their lives (**Figure 33**).



We then asked questions about the extent to which these problems were perceived to be related to their housing situations. The results can be related to the statistics presented in **Table 4**. In our sample, nearly 26% of the total response given indicated that “people being angry” was a significant problem faced by residents of Kinngait. Drug use was given as the second most important problem, constituting 17.6% of the responses given.

Depression was noted as the third most significant problem (15.3%). Problems with school were given equal importance. To some extent, this can be related to sampling, with young people being somewhat over-represented in our sample. However, this hardly diminishes the extent of the problem. Problems with work and violence, clearly related to the problem of anger, were listed as the next most significant problems (10.6% of responses each), with drinking constituting 4.7 % of responses. Anger, drug use and depression are all significant problems experienced by those participating in the survey.

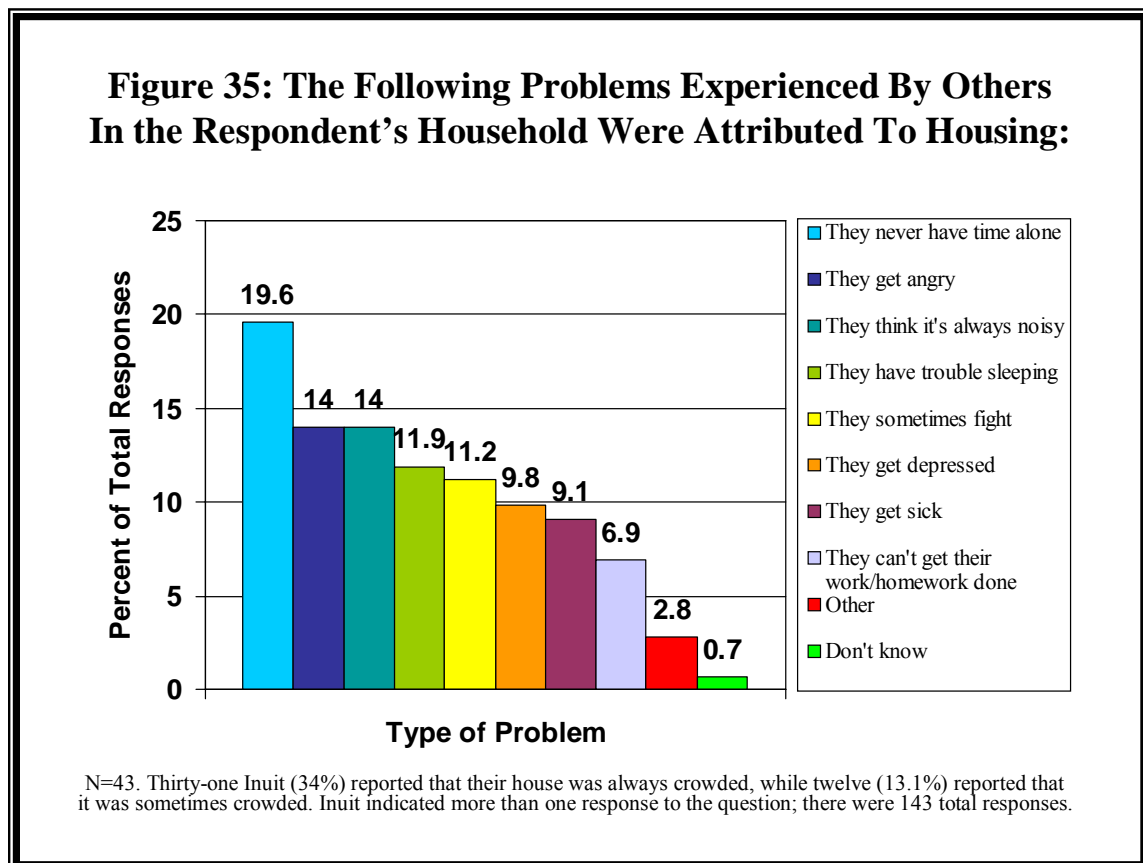
We asked respondents what personal and social problems might be attributed to overcrowding. Forty three Inuit responded, 31 of whom stated that their home was always overcrowded, and a further 12 who reported that it was sometimes overcrowded. Inuit listed multiple problems that they believed were attributable to overcrowding. The results are found in **Figure 34**.



The lack of any privacy – time alone, noise, and trouble sleeping - were the most significant problems identified with overcrowding. Inuit were willing to acknowledge that they got angry as a result of being in overcrowded homes, this response being about 12% of total responses and something noted by nearly 40% of the 43 Inuit who indicated that their homes were overcrowded. Anger is a significant theme that emerges in the response to a number of questions as a significant factor associated with overcrowding. Almost 35% of those responding (10.4% of total responses given) listed getting homework or work done as a problem related to overcrowding. Twenty-one percent of

respondents listed depression as one of the consequences of overcrowding and an equal number listed sickness. Sixteen percent of respondents (6.9% of total responses) admitted that they sometimes fought with people and attributed this to living in an overcrowded home.

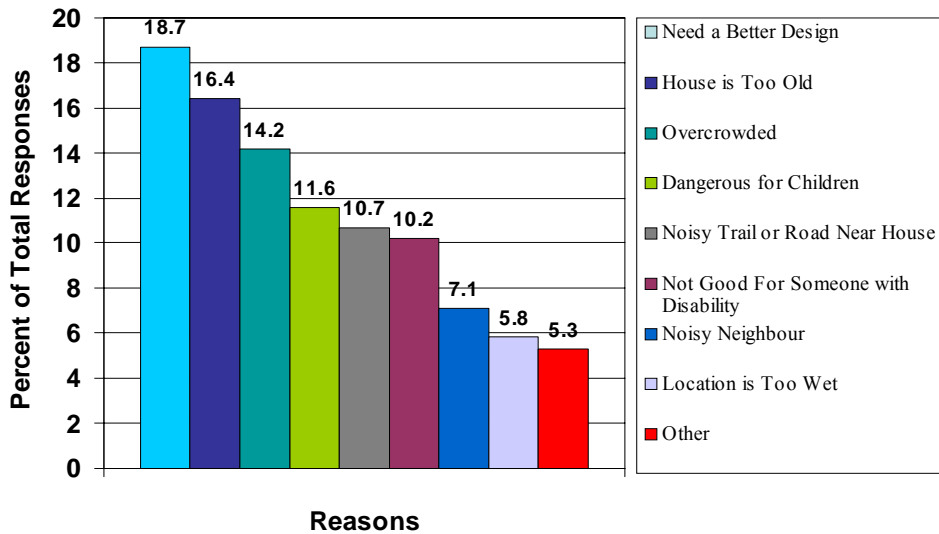
We also asked Inuit to indicate what problems experienced by others in the household, in their opinions, might be related to overcrowding. The results are displayed in **Figure 35**.



The results are, once again, revealing of the extent to which anger and fighting are seen to be related to overcrowding. Anger was listed by 20 of the respondents (46.5% of those who experienced overcrowding) and constituted 14% of the total responses to the question. Fighting by others resident in the respondent’s home was also noted (11.2% of responses) by 16 Inuit (37.2% of respondents). Fourteen Inuit (32.5% of those who reported living in overcrowded conditions) noted depression in others as one of the implications of overcrowding.

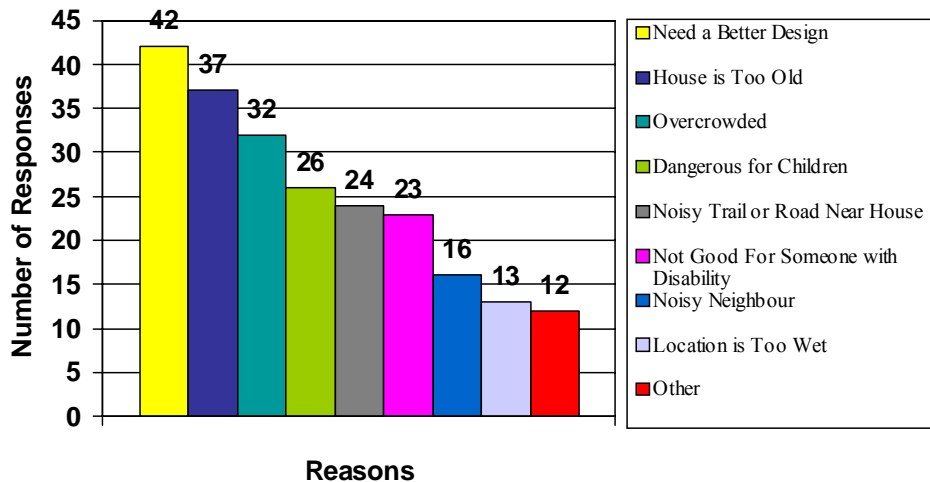
Some further insight into the problems that might be attributed to overcrowding was achieved by asking the respondent to indicate if he or she needed a different house. If the answer was “Yes”, we then asked “Why”. We repeated the question in relation to anyone else living in the respondent’s home.

Figure 36: Of Those Inuit Reporting They Needed A Different House, The Following Reasons Were Given:



N=59. Most Inuit gave more than one reason why they needed a different house. The total number of responses was 225.

Figure 37: Of Those Inuit Reporting They Needed A Different House, The Following Reasons Were Given:

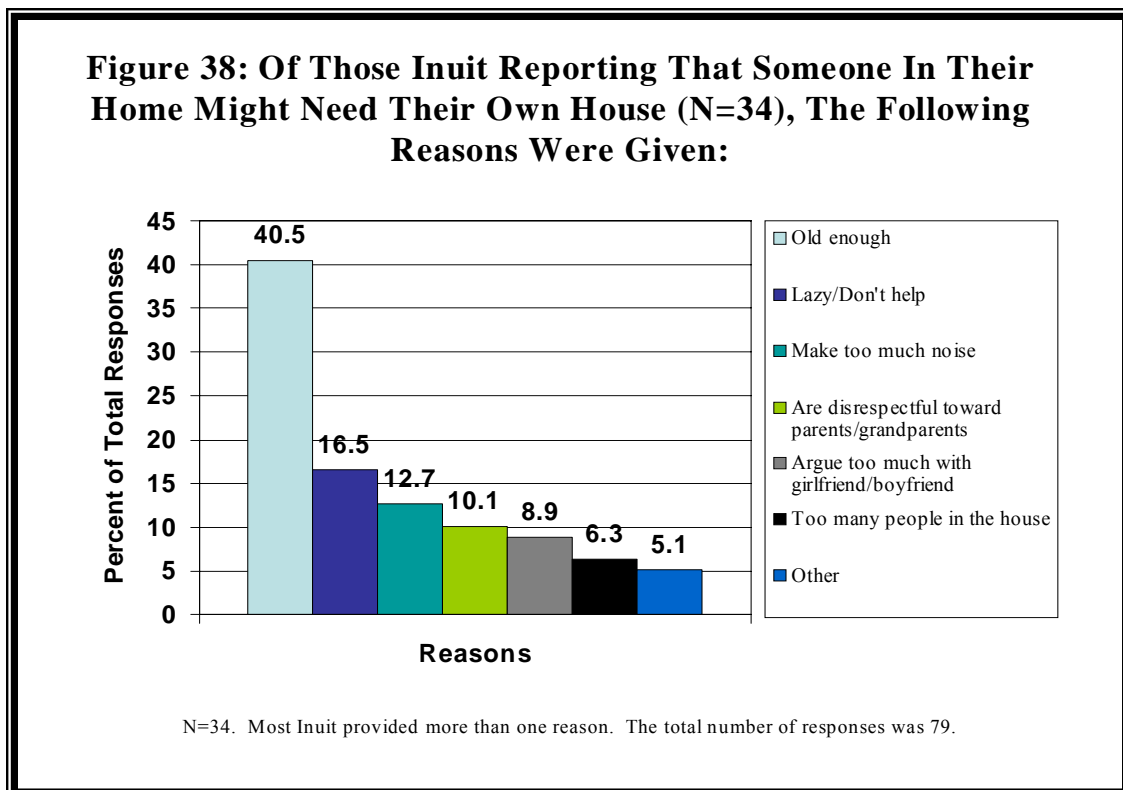


N=59. Included in 'Other' were two Inuit who indicated that their home was too far from the Co-op and Northern Stores and other facilities, and three who said that their homes needed repairs and renovations, although it can be assumed that many more would agree given the number indicating that their homes were too old. 59 Inuit, or 64.8% indicated that they needed a different house for one or more of the reasons shown above.

The results of asking those Inuit indicating that they needed a different house the question “Why” are found in **Figures 36 and 37**. Multiple responses were recorded.

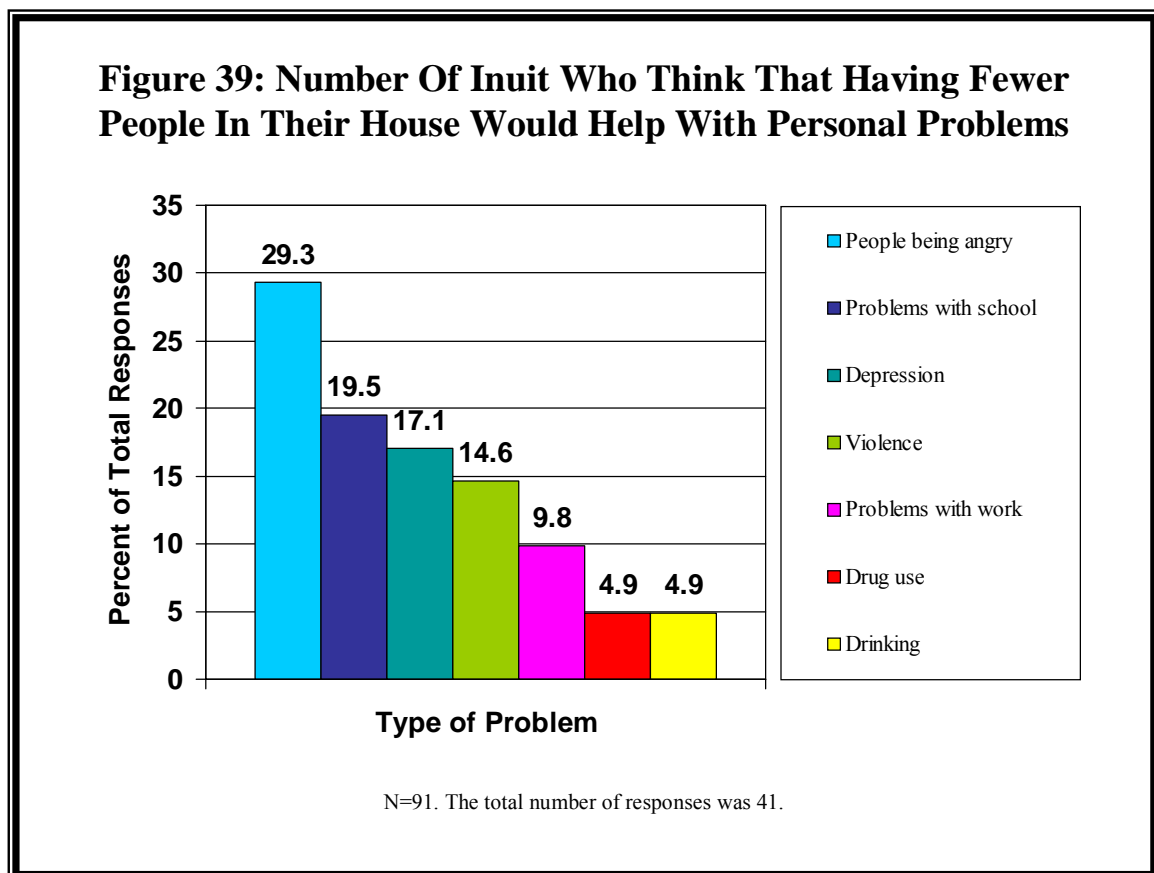
Fifty-nine Inuit responded to this question, being almost 65% of the sample. This can be taken as a solid indication that many residents are unhappy with their current accommodation. Forty-six percent of all respondents (N=91) were unhappy with the design of their current accommodation (71.2% of those indicating they needed a different house). The claim that the house was “too old” constituted 16.4% of the total number of responses to this question, a response given by 62.7% of those claiming they needed different accommodation. Fifty-four percent of those claiming they need a different house gave overcrowding as a reason (14.2% of total responses). Forty-four percent of those who responded that they needed a different house gave “unsafe for children” as a reason. Other reasons included factors related to location (noisy trails or roads and wet locations), as well as a problem that can be included with the most prominent reason given (need a better design); the fact that the home was not suitable for someone with a disability (39% of those responding to the question – 10.2% of total responses).

While these reasons are predominantly related to deficiencies in the physical infrastructure of the home and its location, the situation looks quite different when the question is asked as to whether or not anyone living in the home might need a home of his or her own, and why. The result of asking “Why”, for those who responded positively to the enquiry as to whether or not someone living in the house might need a home of his or her own, are entirely revealing of situations that might give rise to anger and fighting. The results of asking this question are found in **Figure 38**.



A good indication of the frustration of living in crowded conditions is evident from the responses. Thirty-four Inuit responded to this question and, of these, 32 (94%) indicated that there was someone in the household who was old enough to have his or her own place. This was by far the most common reason given (**Figure 38**). Other reasons included having someone in the home that was lazy and didn't offer to help (a reason given by 38% of those responding to this question and constituting 16.5% of total responses). Other reasons included the presence of someone who was disrespectful toward parents and/or grandparents (10.1% of responses and 23.5% of those answering the question) with 20.6% of those responding listing having someone in the home who "argues too much with his or her boyfriend/girlfriend" as a reason why someone in the household should get his or her own home. This is yet another indication of the relationship between anger and overcrowding.

There can be little doubt that housing and overcrowded conditions are one – but only one – contributing factor to these problems. Experience with the Innu community of Davis Inlet, Labrador, makes it clear that while addressing problems with physical infrastructure are necessary in dealing with personal and social problems, this is not sufficient. Inuit of Kinngait clearly recognize this reality, while also noting that housing conditions and overcrowding are extremely relevant to the problems listed (**Figure 39**).

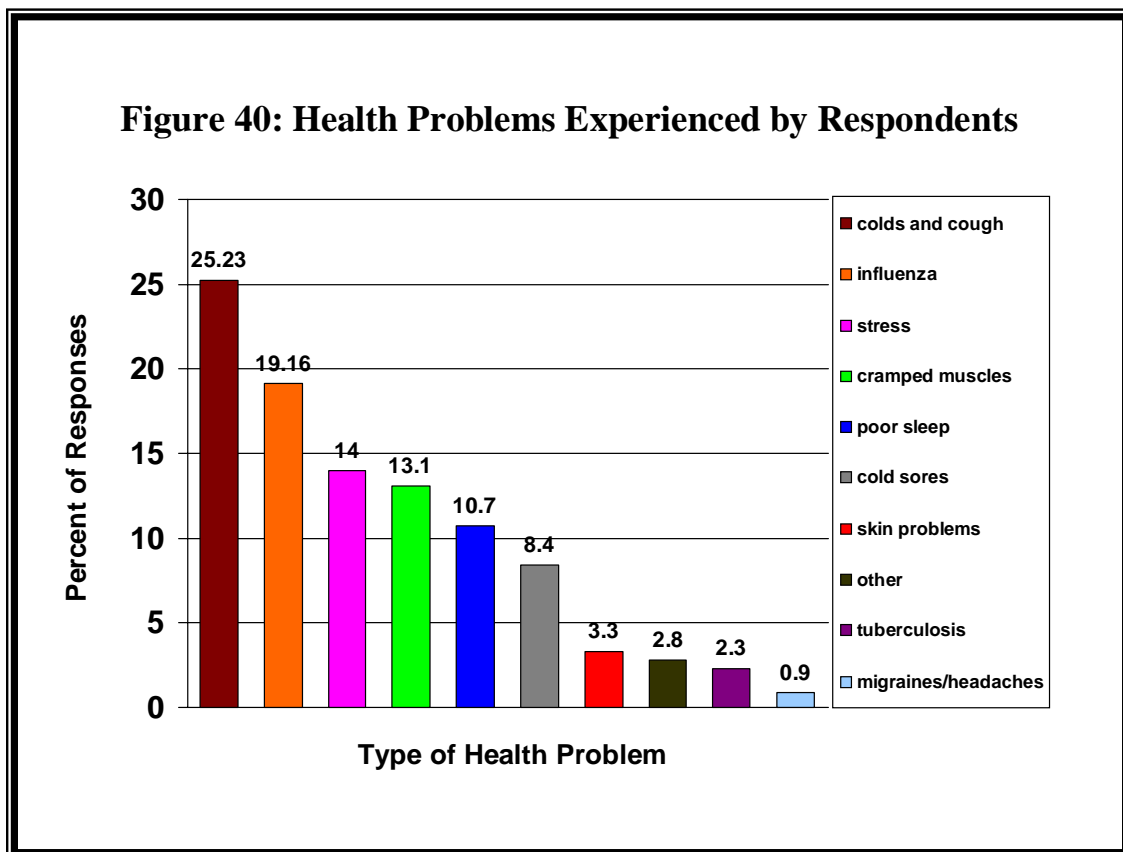


Forty-one respondents (those experiencing overcrowding) indicated that to some extent, the social and personal problems they were experiencing would be helped by addressing the problem of overcrowding. Nearly 30% of these indicated that having fewer people in their home would help address the problem of anger, and almost 20% felt that problems with school and doing homework would also be helped by addressing the problem of overcrowding. A further 17% thought that the problem of depression would also be addressed. That domestic violence is not solely related to overcrowding, although being listed as the most significant problem in the community, is reflected by the fact that only 14.6% of respondents thought that addressing overcrowding would help alleviate this problem. Few respondents (4.6% of those experiencing overcrowding) felt that drinking and drug abuse were related to problems of overcrowding.

Health-related Problems and Overcrowding

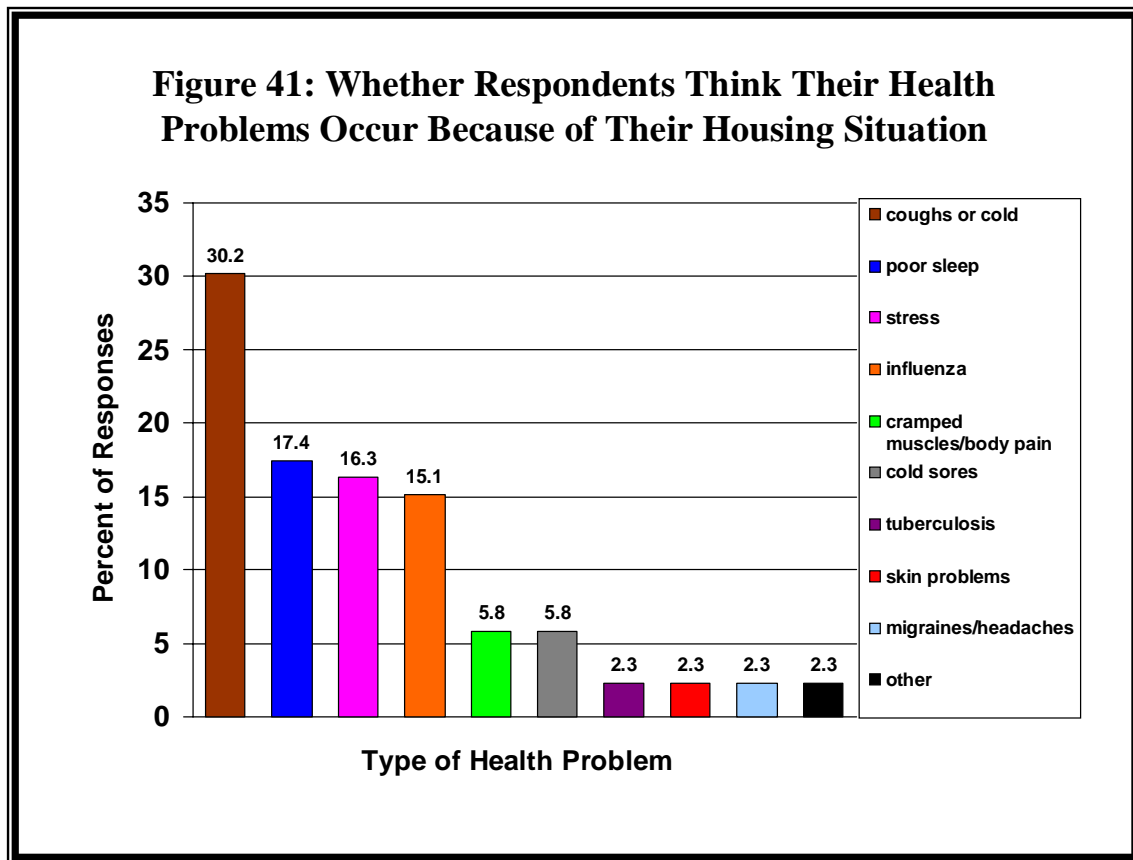
We also asked respondents what health problems they were experiencing and whether or not they thought these problems were related to their housing situation (overcrowding, age of building, location, etc.). Respondents were presented with a list of conditions that might be related to housing conditions. All of those interviewed responded to the list. Most responded by listing multiple conditions and the results (**Figure 40**) are given as percentages of total responses.

The most commonly reported problems were coughs and colds. These constituted about 25% of the 214 responses given. Influenza constituted 19% of the responses; stress 14%; cramped muscles and body pain, 13%; poor sleep 10.7%; cold sores 8.4%; skin problems 3.3%; other 2.8%; tuberculosis 2.3%; and migraines/headaches 0.9%.



3.3%. Tuberculosis was reported by 5 individuals as a health problem they had – constituting 2.3% of responses. If the sample is representative of the population (approximately 1180), this suggests that as many as 65 people in Kinngait have tuberculosis.

As with social and personal problems, we enquired as to whether or not respondents thought that their health problems were related specifically to their housing situation. The answers to this question, with regard to the health problems shown in **Figure 40**, are found in **Figure 41**.



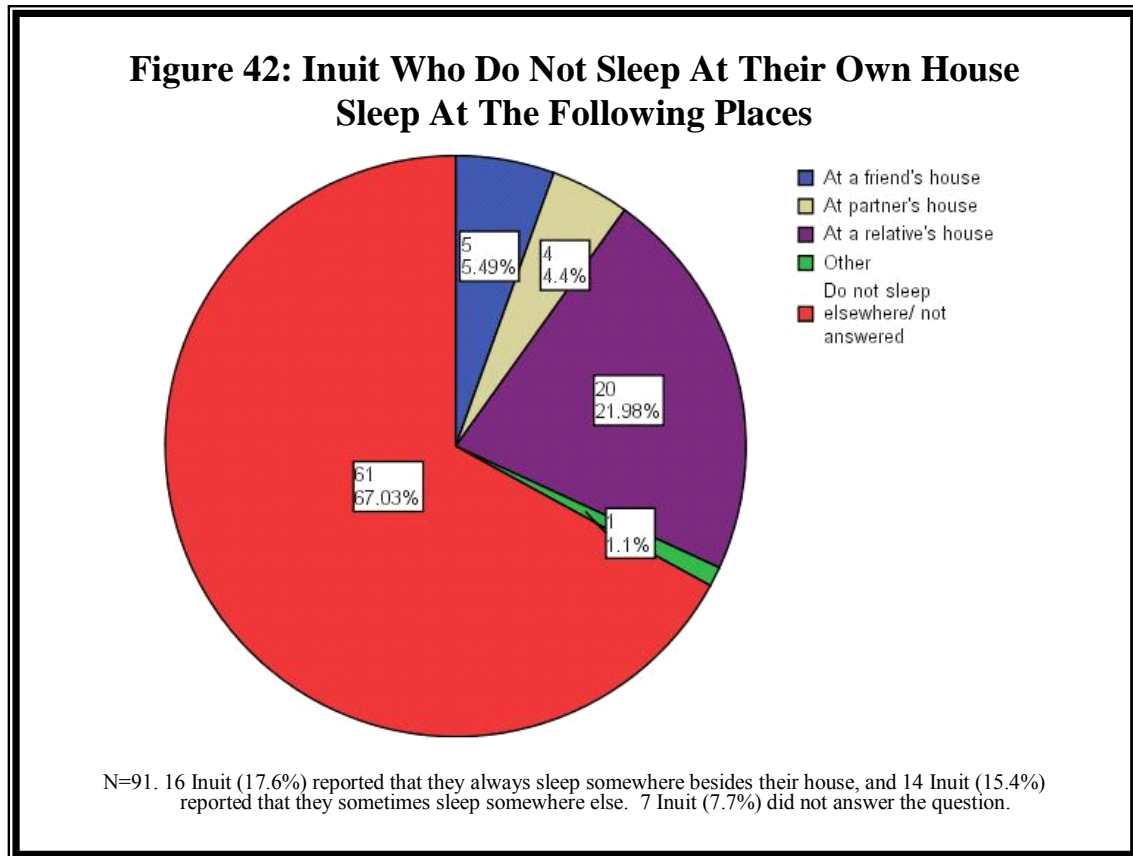
Forty-nine Inuit (53.8% of the sample) said they thought people in their house would be healthier if they had more space. There were 86 responses to the question as to whether or not the health problems experienced were related to the housing situation. Colds and coughs were the problems that respondents most commonly attributed to their housing situation, being 26 of a total of 86 responses given (30.2%). These were followed, in order of importance, by: poor sleep (17.4%), stress (16.3% of the total), influenza (15.1%), and cramped muscles/body pain and cold sores (5.8% each). A few people (2, or 2.3% of responses in each case) felt that problems with tuberculosis, skin problems, migraines and headaches and other minor problems were attributable to their housing situation. This can also be taken as an indication of how many people were suffering from these problems.

Mobility and Issues of Safety in Relation to Housing

Mobility

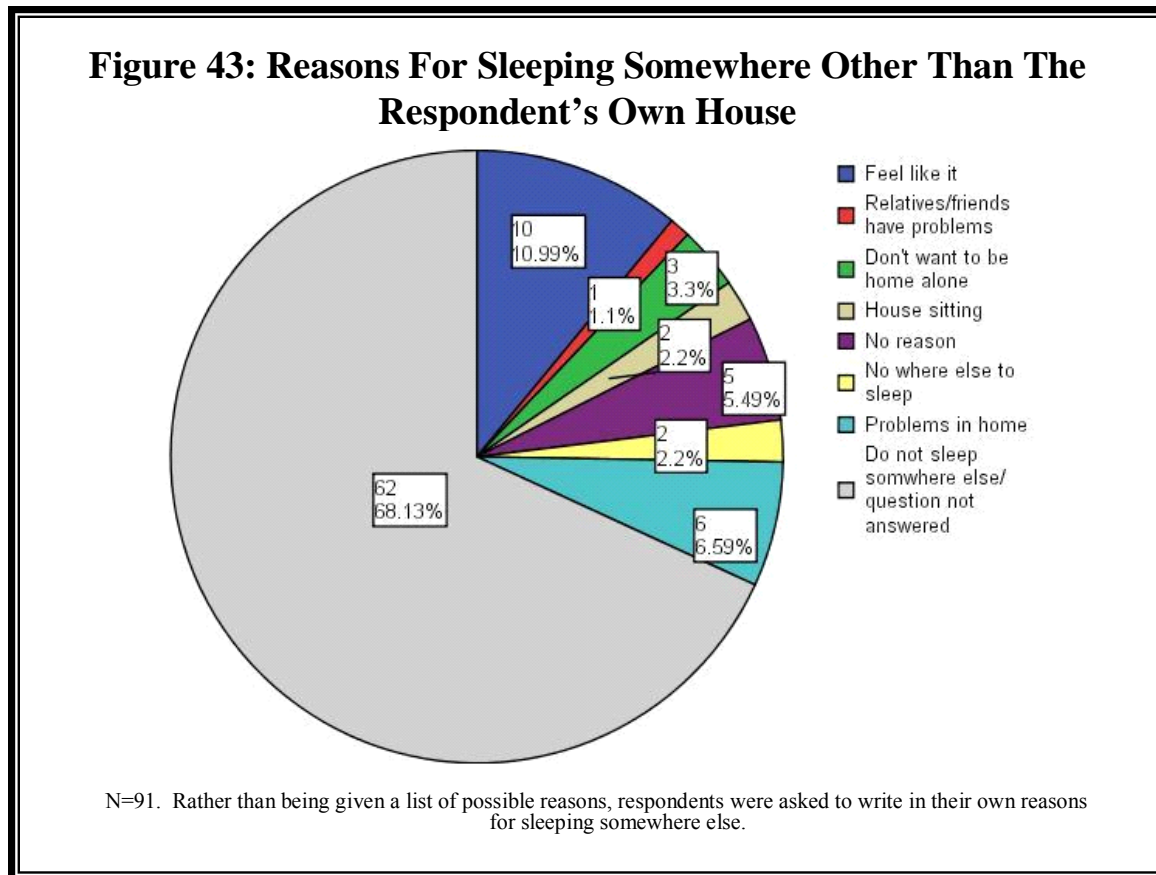
This section of the report examines the extent to which Inuit of Kinngait are mobile with respect to sleeping arrangements. It was reasoned that overcrowding might contribute to a situation where some residents sleep, from time to time, someplace other than their primary residence. We also reasoned that there could be a number of reasons for this. In this section we present the results of exploring these possibilities.

Respondents were asked whether or not they sleep somewhere other than their residence and, furthermore, where they slept when not sleeping at home. The results are presented in **Figure 42**.



The majority of respondents do not sleep anywhere other than their place of residence. However, of those answering the question, almost a third (33%) of respondents indicated that they always (17.6%) or often (15.4%) sleep somewhere other than their primary residence. About 5.5% of the sample sleep at a friend's house, 4.4% at a partner's house and about 22% at the home of a relative.

We enquired about the reasons for sleeping somewhere other than the respondent’s own home (Figure 43).



Respondents were asked to ‘write in’ their reasons. Sixty two respondents (N=91) about 11% simply indicated they did so because they “felt like it”. One person indicated that s/he slept elsewhere because relatives and friends have problems. Several individuals stated that they didn’t want to be home alone and when this situation arose, they slept elsewhere.

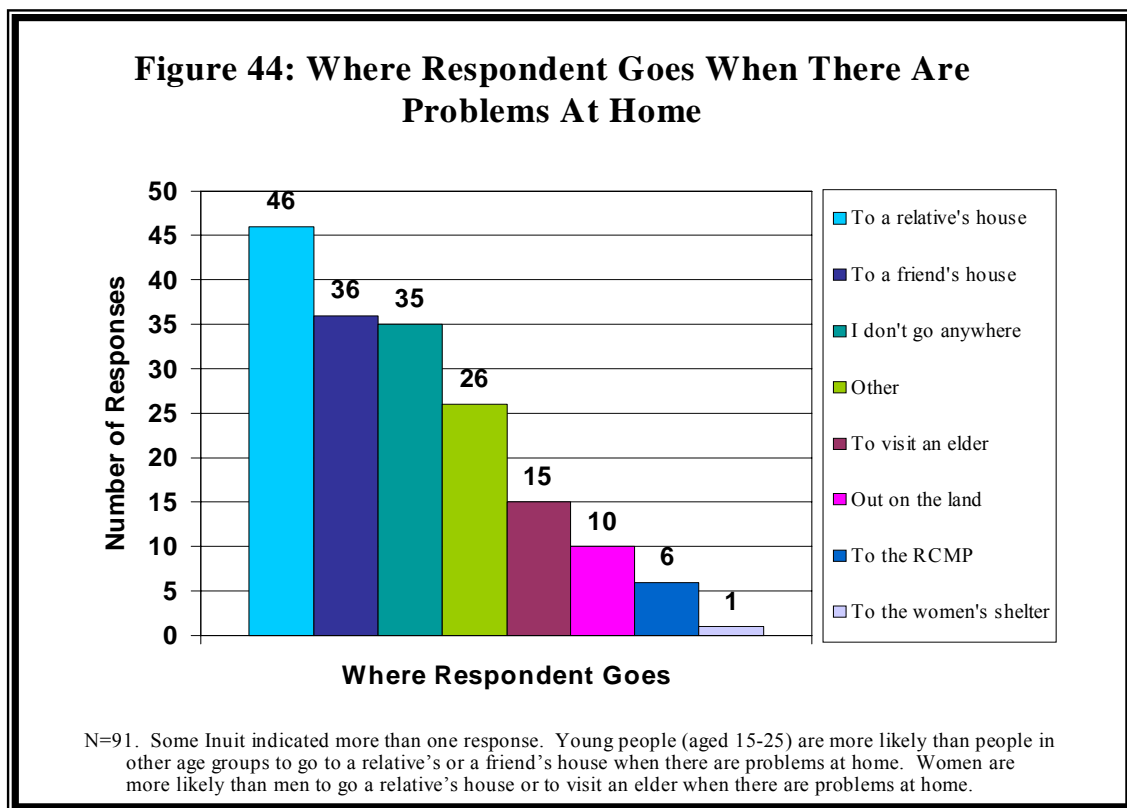
Three respondents (3.3%) stated that they slept elsewhere because they sometimes were house sitting. Five Inuit (5.5%) gave no reason for sleeping elsewhere and several Inuit (2.2%) indicated that they slept elsewhere because there was nowhere else for them to sleep; suggesting that their primary residence was seriously overcrowded and didn’t afford them a place to sleep at night. Almost 7% of Inuit indicated that they chose to sleep elsewhere because there were often problems at home.

While we do not have comparative data, it appears that Kinngait Inuit are highly mobile within their community when it comes to sleeping arrangements. About 10% of our sample sleeps elsewhere for reasons that give rise to some concern; nowhere else to sleep, or problems in one home or another. Not wanting to be alone may be a cultural or personal preference, but it may also reflect a concern for personal safety.

We tested the relationship between age and the likelihood of someone sleeping elsewhere. Sleeping elsewhere is related to age, with younger Inuit most likely to sleep somewhere other than their primary residence sometimes, or all of the time. In the age category 25–29, while some respondents slept elsewhere sometimes, no one indicated doing so regularly [Pearson’s R for the relationship between age and sleeping elsewhere being .017, based on normal approximation].

Safety Concerns

Recognizing that there are often problems in the home that might necessitate someone going elsewhere, we asked respondents where they go when there are problems at home. Of the 91 Inuit interviewed, 35 indicated that they don’t go anywhere (**Figure 44**).

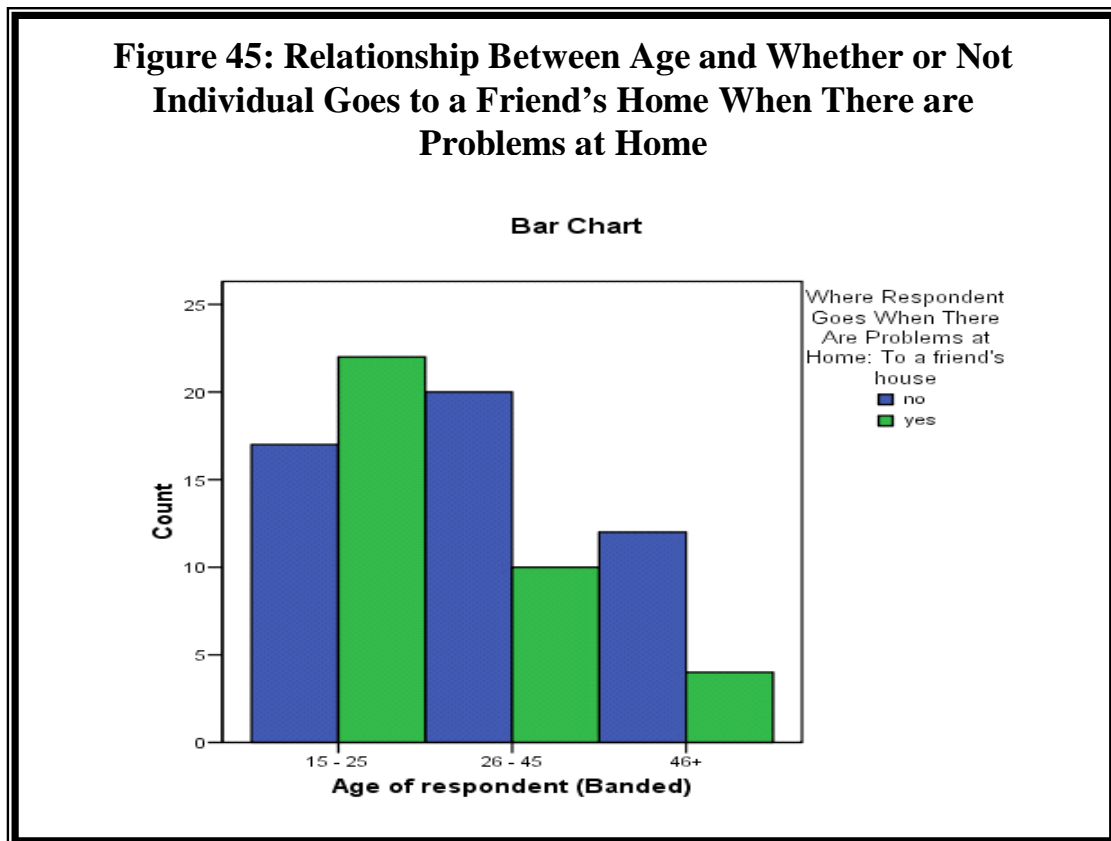


This could mean that they have no need to go elsewhere or that they have no where to go when problems arise in the household, such that going elsewhere would otherwise be a good idea. There were 140 responses to a list of 7 possible places to go. Forty six of these (almost 33%) were “to a relative’s place”. “To a friend’s house” was a response given by 27.5% of respondents. Almost 11% (15 responses) indicated that they sometimes went to visit an Elder, about 7% (10 responses) said they go out on the land (likely to a cabin or camp), 4.3% indicated they would go to the RCMP. Only one person said that she would go to the women’s shelter, if necessary, the only operating shelter being in Iqaluit.

Twenty-six respondents simply indicated that they would go somewhere, without specifying where.

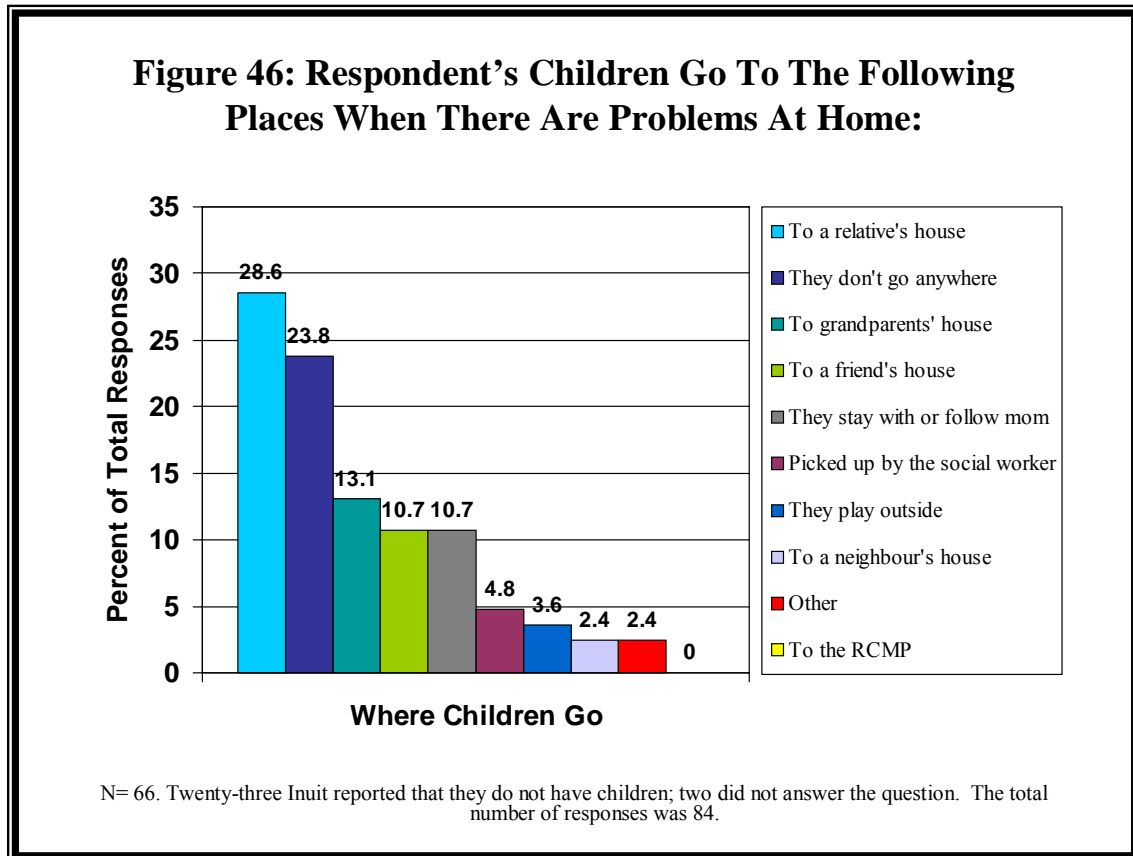
There are gender differences in the responses to these questions. The sample consists of 47 females and 44 males. Twenty women, or 42.6% of the women responding to this question, indicated that when problems arose in the home, they went nowhere. Thirty women, or 63.8%, indicated that they would go to the home of a relative. Fifteen men, or 34% indicated that they went nowhere if there were problems at home and 16 men, or 36.4% indicated that they would go to visit a relative. There could be a significant difference between male and female responses to this question. Women may go nowhere because they cannot, for a variety of reasons; concern for children, being prohibited from doing so, etc. Men, on the other hand, may go nowhere because they have no need or reason to go somewhere. With respect to both men and women, the reliance on relatives as a place to go is notable.

Youth are far more likely to go to a friend’s house when there are problems at home, as indicated by **Figure 45**. The correlation between age and a tendency to seek refuge at the home of a friend (Pearson Chi-Square) was .047.



We asked where the respondent’s children would go if there were problems at home. Twenty-three Inuit reported that they did not have any children and 66 Inuit responded by listing one or more possibilities (**Figure 46**). “Go to a relative’s house” was a response

given by 28.6%. About 13% said they would go to a grandparent’s home, 10.7% to either a friend’s house or that they would stay with and follow mom (wherever she may go). Four point eight percent said they would be picked up by a social worker if necessary, 3.6% said they would play outside, 2.4% stated that they would go to a neighbour’s house



and 2.4% did not specify where their children would go. No one suggested that their child would go to the RCMP station. What is notable is that 23.8% of responses were to the effect that when there are problems at home, the children “don’t go anywhere”. This can be interpreted in a number of ways: that the problems are not severe enough to warrant them going anywhere or, alternatively, that there is no place for them to go. The latter, in the presence of a serious incident of domestic violence, would be cause for concern.

The extent to which people are dependent upon relatives and friends when there are problems at home is considerable. For this reason, this data should be considered together with reasons why others are not available to help when it is needed (see section on the “Socio-economic Status of Respondents”).

Conclusions

The Extent of Overcrowding

While the extent of overcrowding in Nunavut has previously been well-documented, we are unaware of any studies undertaken to examine Inuit perceptions and experience with overcrowding and the impact of overcrowding on their personal lives and social relations. This study is, to the best of our knowledge, the first in-depth look at the relationship of housing to these problems.

Both objective and subjective measures of overcrowding produced similar results that, in the case of this study of Kinngait, accord with what is generally known about overcrowding in Inuit communities. While the Aboriginal People's Survey of 2001 found that 54% of Inuit live in conditions of overcrowding, our study of Kinngait suggests that at least 45% of Kinngait homes are overcrowded and this figure could be as high as 54%. The data accords with the self-perception of Inuit of Kinngait; 47.2% felt that the homes they were occupying were overcrowded. These rates compare with a national figure of 7%. The rate of overcrowding in Kinngait is, therefore, 6 to 7 times the national rate.

Anger and Domestic Violence

We are concerned about the extent to which overcrowding, in the opinion and experience of Kinngait residents, helps explain the data presented in the section 'Housing, Health and Social Problems'. Nunavut has rates of violent crime that far exceed national averages. As noted, the homicide rate is nearly 7 times the Canadian national rate. Other *Criminal Code* offences include a rate for attempted murder that is almost 11 times the national rate, assaults (levels 1 to 3) at 9 times the national rate, sexual assaults at almost 13 times the national rate, other sexual offences at 5 times and other violent crime at slightly more than 5 times the national rate. These figures can hardly be ignored even while reporting anomalies must be considered. Inuit in communities like Kinngait are highly visible and because of the size of communities and their isolation, families are well-known to the RCMP. It is difficult to go about undetected and what might go unnoticed or unrecorded in larger communities and urban centers in southern Canada, is hard to ignore in northern communities. Nevertheless, it is disturbing to note the extent of drug-dealing and bootlegging in a community like Kinngait – realities that contribute much to the problem of domestic violence - that does not seem to be dealt with adequately by the RCMP, to the frustration of many community residents and Elders with whom I spoke. Explanations are in order. The figures related to violence paint a very worrisome picture. The extent to which alcohol and/or drugs are involved in these crimes is suggested by impaired driving convictions that are about 2.3 times the national average, despite the fact that comparatively few Inuit own vehicles. A rate, calculated in relation to the number of Inuit owning a vehicle would likely send this figure soaring. Drug offenses that are 3 times the national average

Inuit in this study reported anger as the most significant problem they face in their daily lives. From a list of 7 significant problems, anger was chosen most often and constituted about 26% of the responses given. Related to this, violence constituted about 11% of total responses, drug use 17.6% of responses, being the second most commonly noted problem, with alcohol abuse being 4.7% of the responses given. Other problems listed included depression and problems with school and with work.

Anger was noted once again when Inuit were asked about the problems they experience in relation to overcrowding. Of those who live in overcrowded conditions, nearly 40% (17 of 43) listed personal anger as one consequence. About 23% also noted that sometimes they fight with people, and attributed this to their living circumstances. With respect to others in the house, 46.5% of Inuit attributed anger in others to overcrowding and 37% noted fighting by others living in their home as something related to overcrowding. Possible sources of frustration that might contribute to anger on the part of respondents and others are the fact that many homes have people living in them who, in the opinion of those interviewed, are old enough to have a place of their own. Of 34 Inuit who reported that someone in their home might need their own home, 32 gave "age" as a reason (94% of those responding). Other reasons given were laziness, making too much noise, disrespect toward parents and/or grandparents and arguments with a girlfriend or boyfriend. These are all sources of frustration that could easily give rise to anger and fighting in a home.

A further source of potential anger and frustration was noted in relation to problems having water delivered and sewage pumped out. A third of respondents reported feeling frustrated when there were problems with water delivery or sewage pump-out, and 11% actually indicated feeling angry. In response to questions about the impact of these situations on the household, about 26% of Inuit reported that problems with water delivery or sewage pump-out made feeding children difficult; a significant problem given the number of children in most households. Another 26% (24 respondents) noted that other people in the household became frustrated. Almost 8% indicated that people actually became angry.

Frustration and anger could also reasonably be assumed to be present in households where basic appliances, essential to the functioning of a home, were not working properly. We found the number of homes in which it was reported that essential appliances were not working to be remarkably high. Apart from cupboards which didn't function well (presumably because doors were missing or broken and because they were readily accessible to small children), 13.3% of respondents stated that their stove didn't work, 11% had problems with their refrigerator, 10% had problems with their furnace and 9% had problems with the water heater. A further 4.6% reported that their shower didn't work and some people also had problems with their washer and dryer.

Some homes were reported to be very cold, a problem that could be associated with design, age or condition. Thirty five people (38.5% of the sample) reported that their homes were cold and, of these, almost 43% (15 Inuit) noted that this gave rise to anger and frustration. Anger and frustration constituted 20.5% of all responses given to this

question. A further source of some anger (and considerable boredom) was the lack of equipment necessary to getting out on the land. Furthermore, 11% of respondents identified going out of town – meaning ‘on the land’ as a strategy they used when problems arose in the home. At the same time, economic realities make it very difficult for many people to access the land. This has implications for mental health and is a consideration in relation to the depression, anger and violence that can be attributed, to some degree, to situations of overcrowding.

In summary, there are multiple sources of frustration and anger associated with the current housing situations in Kinngait. In addition to overcrowding, these include problems related to services – water delivery and sewage pump-out - appliances that don’t work and homes that, for one reason or another, cannot be properly heated. Another basic problem may be design. When asked about reasons why the respondent might need a different house, a design that doesn’t work was identified as the most significant reason why the occupant would like to move to another dwelling and was 18.7% of the total responses and something identified by 71.2% of those responding to this question. Anger is a significant problem related to overcrowding in this community, with multiple implications for relations between and among residents and for other problems resulting from the expression of anger.

Depression

Depression was one of the impacts that emerged consistently in relation to many of the questions put to residents. Given the high rate of suicide among Inuit youth⁵ and the likely contribution of depression to poor performance at school and at work, we were greatly concerned about the relationship between depression, overcrowding and the general housing situation in this community.

Depression shows up as a consideration and concern in a number of ways in this study. When asked if they had any one of a number of problems – including personal problems with drinking, violence, depression, drug use, problems at work or school or with people being angry - respondents listed depression as a significant problem. Depression constituted 15.3% of total responses to the question and was noted by 13 of the respondents (14.3% of the sample). Asked about the impact of overcrowding on others in their household, respondents identified depression as something from which others suffered [9.1% of total responses, 14 (32.6%) of 43 people reporting their homes were overcrowded.] However, Inuit clearly recognize that dealing with overcrowding would only be a partial solution to the problem of depression. Seven respondents [7.7% of the sample or 16.3% of those Inuit reporting that they lived in overcrowded conditions (N=43)] were of the opinion that the problem would be addressed if there were fewer people in their homes.

⁵ For a discussion of Inuit suicide – particularly youth suicide and different approaches to understanding and dealing with the problem see: Frank James Tester & Paule McNicoll. 2004. *Isumagijaksaq*: mindful of the state: social constructions of Inuit suicide. *Social Science & Medicine*. 58: 2625-2636.

We asked a question about the effect on respondents of not owning equipment necessary to going out on the land. Thirty six point three percent of respondents reported that they did not own the necessary equipment. Slightly more than 15% of all respondents said that they were bored because they did not have the equipment necessary to go out on the land and a further 5.5% indicated that they get depressed as a result. If we accept that boredom is often associated with, and is a precursor to, depression, more than 20% of the Inuit we interviewed are emotionally affected by their lack of equipment and inability to get out of town to spend time on the land, hunting, fishing or camping. The differences between men and women are notable, with women reporting ‘anxiety’ in association with not having equipment necessary to get on to the land. Taken with the fact that 11% of respondents identified going out on the land as a strategy for dealing with the problems that arose in relationship to overcrowding, this may explain the presence of anxiety among women (and not men) in response to this situation.

The lack of equipment is, presumably, related to the precarious economic circumstances of many Inuit, something else we have documented in terms of this community’s reliance on various forms of social assistance. Statistics Canada reported that in 2001, the median income of all males in Kinngait 15 years of age or older was only \$13,936, compared to \$17,270 for Nunavut. The average earnings for all males with earnings (full, part time or other forms of earning a living) was \$20,894 for men and \$16,097 for women.

We are also, particularly in relation to youth, concerned about frustrated ambitions in relative to having reasonably good levels of education, but limited opportunity to take advantage of the education they have. While these problems are not directly related to housing, they are factors which compound problems of depression related to the housing situation in the community.

Getting out of town – onto the land – is one way of escaping, even if temporarily, from situations – including and perhaps especially overcrowding – that contribute to anger, frustration and depression. Our conclusion is that many Inuit feel ‘trapped’ in their communities, lacking the resources (equipment) to ‘get out of town’. The need to ‘get out of town’ is made all the more urgent by the problem of overcrowding. The inability to get out of town and onto the land contributes significantly to boredom and depression in both men and women.

Children and Safety Concerns

Taken together with territorial statistics indicating that violence is a serious problem in Nunavut households, and results from this survey that indicate anger, frustration and violence to be important concerns of those interviewed, it is entirely reasonable to ask questions about personal safety in relation to problems associated with housing and accommodation. We asked respondents where they might go if there are problems at home. The results suggest that there may be significant safety issues that arise in many domestic situations and that these are inadequately addressed.

Slightly more than 50% of respondents (26.2% of total responses) indicated that they would go to the home of a relative if there were problems at home. However, 38.5% of respondents indicated that they would not go anywhere, with the women's shelter being the least likely place that respondents (women, in this case) would go if there were problems at home (1 person).

This, of course, may simply indicate that the kind of problems experienced – when they occur - are not severe enough to warrant going someplace else for shelter and safety. However, the fact that over 50% of respondents gave a relative's home as the place they go when there are problems at home, suggests that safety and the need to remove oneself from the home, from time to time, are very common issues in this community. Going 'out on the land' to get away from problems at home was a solution that was more commonly identified than turning to the police or the women's shelter for help. This response, given by 11% of those asked, should be taken together with data indicating the number of people who cannot avail themselves of this option because they do not have the equipment necessary to go outside of the community.

Youth are more likely to go to a friend's home when there are problems at home than are older people. We asked where the respondent's children go when there are problems at home and 66 Inuit (N=91) responded to this question. Again, going to a relative's home was the most commonly used option (36.4% of respondents). However, the second most common option listed was "they don't go anywhere" (22% of respondents, 23.8% of total responses given). Other options included going to a grandparent's home (an option noted by 16.7% of respondents), staying with – which may include staying at home – mom (9 – or 13.6% of respondents), being picked up by a social worker (13.6% of respondents), playing outside or going to a neighbour's home (3.0% of respondents each). No one indicated that their child would go to the RCMP.

The results suggest a significant problem in the community when, for one reason or another, the home environment is a troubled one and the respondent and/or his or her children need to go elsewhere. The prevalence of the "don't go anywhere" response suggests that there are few options for some people and women are more likely to not go anywhere than men. In a community such as Kinngait, there is considerable stigma associated with going to the shelter – the location of which is well-known by everyone in town. Furthermore, accommodations are limited and knowing this likely produces something to the effect of: "Why bother?" Issues of safety – particularly for women and children - are a problem in the community and overcrowding is a significant contributing factor.

Health Problems

Physical and mental health problems were identified with overcrowding. The most significant physical health problems were colds and coughs and influenza. Of concern, 5 individuals in our sample (5.5%) reported suffering from tuberculosis – a serious and re-emerging problem in Nunavut and one definitely related to housing conditions. Cramped

muscles, cold sores and skin problems were also identified as problems related to housing conditions.

However, it is the social and mental health implications of overcrowding that were most notable in this survey. A lack of sleep, anger, depression and sometimes fighting with others were all identified by respondents as problems they saw as being related to their housing situation. Inuit had no illusions that solving the housing problem would completely resolve the personal and social problems they identified with overcrowding, however, asked if solving the problem of overcrowding would help, respondents felt that addressing overcrowding would address problems of anger (30% of all responses to this question), depression (17% of responses) and violence (15% of responses). Our conclusion is that overcrowding is making a definite contribution to mental health problems in this community, notably domestic violence associated with anger and violence. Depression was also identified by residents as a significant outcome of the problem. These results should be considered along with the reasons that some residents gave for sometimes sleeping somewhere other than at their primary residence. Cross-tab analysis reveals that young people are more likely to do this than older Inuit. However, some of the reasons given should be of concern. 'Problems at home' was given by 6.6% of respondents as a reason for sleeping elsewhere. Another 2.2% who indicated they had nowhere else to sleep (which might indicate that the home was so crowded that they didn't have a bed in their family residence).

Food Security

In recent years, much attention has been directed at issues of food security in circumpolar regions. The issue of food security in Kinngait is made evident by the response to a number of questions put to respondents. First, when asked if anyone in their residence had ever sold furniture and appliances for any one of a number of reasons. Twenty eight of the 91 respondents (30.8%) answered in the affirmative. The most common explanation given was that money was needed for food. In fact, an incredible 23 or the 28 respondents listed this as one of the reasons and it was by far the most common one, with money for clothing (9 responses) being a distant second.

When the question was asked as to why relatives might not be able to offer the respondent help when it was needed, 25 of the 91 respondents (27.5%) listed "they don't have enough extra food" as an explanation why help was not forthcoming. The implication is that food was needed and, furthermore, that it was not forthcoming because relatives were having difficulties meeting their own needs for food.

Both of these indicators suggest that food security and not having enough money to purchase food is, from time to time, a serious issue for many Kinngait residents. The high price of food in northern stores – sometimes 250% more, for some items, than the cost of the same items in a southern city like Ottawa – is well known. For example, a kilogram of apples that cost \$4.99 in Kinngait costs \$1.69 in Ottawa. Flour at \$9.79 for 2.5 kilograms in Kinngait is \$2.49. While social assistance rates are nearly double what they are in the province of Ontario, it is evident that with most food items costing more than

twice what they do in Ontario, the higher rates do not fully compensate for significant price differences.⁶

A Serious Problem About To Get Much Worse

Some progress may have been made since 1981 with regard to the problem of overcrowding, however, the results of this research cast doubt on any such claim. In 1981, the average number of persons per dwelling was reported as 4.81 (Nunavut Housing Corporation, March 22, 2001, *Business Plan 2001/2002*, p.8). By 1999, this figure had dropped to 3.84. However, this data is reported by the NWT Housing Corporation and is an average for what was then, the entire Northwest Territories. By 2001, the figure for Nunavut was reported by Census Canada as 3.27.

These figures for Nunavut as a whole are likely biased by the difference between Inuit households and non-Inuit households, something to which the census data pays no attention. This is a distinction not made in the data presented above. Furthermore, we suspect that there are major differences between predominantly Inuit communities, such as Kinngait and centers of administration, notably Iqaluit, Rankin Inlet and Cambridge Bay where there are a greater number of non-Inuit residing, often young people or young couples with no or few children. What we found alarming with respect to our sample was that the number of people per household was 5.06 – a very high number indeed, higher than the statistic reported in 1981 for the Northwest Territories as a whole, and indicating a serious problem.

However, overcrowding, while a very significant problem, does not seem to have increased in the past 5 or 6 years, while the number of people per household has remained high and may have increased over the past decade. Taken together, these two figures suggest that the Nunavut Housing Corporation and its predecessor, the NWT Housing Corporation, has contained the problem – somewhat – by supplying communities with larger homes. This in no way diminishes the fact that there is a growing problem that has more to do with the number of units available for occupation, and not just their size – something best measured by the number of bedrooms per unit.

That the assumptions we have made about the impact on the overall statistics have merit is evidenced by the fact that in our sample, only 6.6% of households were occupied by one person. In 1996, it was reported that 15.5% of all households in Nunavut had one person. It was also reported that in 1996, the number of households with 6 or more persons had declined from 32.1% in 1986 to 22.5%. However, in our sample, 39.6% of households had 6 or more people. The situation in predominantly Inuit communities appears to be far worse than the general and overall statistics for Nunavut reveal.

⁶ The high cost is offset to some extent by differences in rates for social assistance. A single person in Ontario is entitled to \$6,240 / year. In Nunavut the figure is \$10, 148. For a couple with two children, the comparable figures are \$12,223 and \$28,431 respectively. Nevertheless, as can be seen, costs for most food items are more than double what they are in the south and the same applies to clothing and other necessities.

Finally, we note that 3 considerations intersect to suggest that a serious problem is about to become, very suddenly, much worse. The rapid growth in the Inuit population of Nunavut suggests a rapidly emerging housing crisis. Combined with the phase-out of CMHC support for the operation of social housing in Nunavut – in which approximately 60% of the population Nunavut lives - and given the economics of predominantly Inuit communities like Kinngait, we see a disaster in the making unless the federal government moves resolutely to address the problem. Commencing in 2008, a serious decline in federal funding for social housing is to take place, from nearly \$60 million a year to \$40 million by 2013 and declining thereafter to zero by 2037. These figures are not adjusted for inflation (Nunavut Housing Corporation, March 22, 2001, *Business Plan 2001/2002*, p.6). This will, barring other forms of intervention, make a very serious situation much worse.

Observations and Recommendations

Recommendations are based, not only on the data presented in this report, but on our understanding of the community, the housing situation and other social considerations characteristic of the community. These are grounded in the author's 30 years of experience with Inuit communities, visits to Kinngait, and discussions with Elders and others about housing and social conditions in Kinngait and other communities.

Community Involvement

We asked participants in this survey what could be done to address the housing crisis. The most common response was a simple and logical one: "Build more houses." There are, however, details and options for addressing the situation related to the need for more homes, that did not often surface when residents were asked for advice. It appears that this community is less involved in, and not as well informed about the provision of housing – in all its dimensions – as it could be.

For example, the possibility of cooperative housing was not introduced. Respondents did not suggest ways in which they could be involved directly, as residents, to improve decisions about the location of homes. The idea of a separate facility for single men, or for men who are returning to the community and may not, for any one of a number of reasons, be able to comfortably live with their families or relatives, was not noted. There was little discussion about ensuring that Inuit youth are trained in and are the beneficiaries of any construction activity in the community.

The local housing committee, with positive intentions, is not given the training nor the resources to create any real change, and are overwhelmed with wait-list and community complaints. **We recommend that committee members receive training to help them become more effective in exercising their responsibilities. They also need more resources, recognition and encouragement, and the autonomy required to make variations in housing allocations based on community needs.**

We recommend that more be done to actively involve residents in all matters related to housing in the community, through the housing association.

Funding

More housing units are needed and simply put, more money is needed from the federal government. There is a ‘false economy’ related to the current situation that deserves considerable attention. By way of illustration, in 2004, nine infants and toddlers were med-evacuated from Arviat to the south because of respiratory syncytial virus; a virus that makes children cough so much they vomit. The cost of these evacuations and treatment was about \$100,000.

Every Inuit community has similar stories. The relationship between health – physical, spiritual and mental – and housing, is well established internationally. In Kinngait we see a clear relationship with wide-ranging implications for social services, schooling, the local economy and medical costs. In dealing with the matter of cost, these realities need to be considered. However, we recognize the barriers to doing so; obstacles associated with the way departmental budgets are allocated and jurisdiction defined. Housing is an inter-jurisdictional concern. **We recommend that an inter-departmental committee of the Nunavut Government, that includes knowledgeable Elders and other expertise, be created to ensure that the social costs associated with inadequate housing, and the implications for a wide range of departmental budgets of addressing the problem, get full recognition and consideration.**

The Kelowna Accord, reached by the previous federal administration and Aboriginal people set aside \$300 million for Inuit housing in Nunavut. This amount is a small portion of what, in fact, is needed to address the current crisis. In September of 2004, Nunavut Tunngavik and the Government of Nunavut put a proposal to the federal government for \$1.9 billion to address the problem over a 10 year period. It was a proposal that was not given serious consideration by the federal administration. It has been estimated that Nunavut communities need a total of 273 units a year to keep up with an expanding population. The current budget allows about 80 units a year to be constructed to meet the needs of 28 communities. The accumulated housing deficit is now in excess of an incredible 3000 units.

Spending \$1.9 billion over 10 years on Inuit housing is, simply put, ‘not sexy’. Unlike \$1.9 billion, were it to be spend on national defense, it is not likely to garner national headlines and get votes. But housing, like food and clothing, is an essential good. A government that cannot meet the most basic needs of its citizens when it clearly has the means to do so is morally and ethically bankrupt. We conclude that the federal government has just such an obligation to address this crisis – resolutely.

The tentative position of the federal government with respect to the Kelowna Accord is worrisome. At the same time, a case can be made that the *Nunavut Agreement* [2.7.3 (b)] guarantees that Inuit are entitled to government programmes “for aboriginal people

generally” and furthermore (c) entitles Inuit to all the rights and benefits of all other (Canadian) citizens.

At the same time, Section 36(1) of the Canadian Constitution commits Parliament and provincial legislatures to: (a) promoting equal opportunities for the well-being of Canadians; (b) furthering economic development to reduce disparities in opportunities; and (c) providing essential public services of reasonable quality to all Canadians.⁷

We recommend that Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated vigorously pursue the current federal government for funds to address the current Nunavut housing. We recommend that it consider suing the federal government for breach of the *Nunavut Agreement* (in that housing programmes available to First Nations in the rest of the country have not been made available to Inuit), and for violating of the spirit and intent of Section 36 of the Constitution, it being clear that the federal government has failed dramatically – as evidenced by housing statistics – to promote equal opportunities for the well-being of Inuit as Canadian citizens.

Economic Development and Housing

It is impossible to fully appreciate the housing crisis in this community without paying attention to economic conditions. Of nearly 27,000 Nunavummiut, more than 14,000 are living in social housing. As our research reveals, Inuit have difficulty with many aspects of daily life that exacerbate the problem of overcrowding and these, in turn, are often related to inadequate income and economic opportunities. The problem of housing cannot be isolated from the lack of economic opportunity in this community, particularly for young people. A number of studies have shown that the number of Inuit employed in the Nunavut Government is between 45 and 48%, primarily in administrative positions. The number of Inuit youth graduating from secondary school and going on to higher education is, as our data suggests, low. These facts make the considerable dependence on social assistance that we have documented a reality for many Nunavummiut. This dependence is an important factor leading to depression, anxiety, anger and the abuse of alcohol and drugs.

Meaningful and viable economic development for Inuit communities is probably the most vexing and long-standing problem in the history of consolidated Inuit communities. There are useful activities that could be undertaken by Inuit communities, few of which have the potential to be entirely self-sustaining. At the same time, with subsidy, there are activities that could encourage and absorb the considerable talent and energy of many Inuit – including Inuit youth. For example, many Inuit games have the potential to engage and interest children in southern Canadian schools. An enterprise that creates these games, boxes them, provides appropriate text and illustration to explain their history and

⁷ For a full discussion of Section 36 of the Constitution (1982) in this regard, see: Aymen Nader and Marina Morrow. 1999. “Section 36 of the Constitution: Canada’s Commitment to Social Services” in: Frank James Tester and Robert Case, editors. *Critical Choices, Turbulent Times, Volume II, Retreat and resistance in the reform of Canadian social policy*. Vancouver, University of British Columbia, School of Social Work. ISBN 0-88865-537-1.

relevance to Inuit culture, could find outlets for such a product in southern Canada. Increased fishing allocation rights with international promotion of Arctic seafood are initiatives that need to be aggressively pursued. And there are very many other examples, too numerous to list here. All would likely require subsidy. Bilingual education is essential to ensure the future employment of Nunavummiut.

We recommend that the Nunavut government consider transferring resources from its current social assistance programme to wages associated with activities that provide Inuit with meaningful employment and new opportunities. We are not recommending a ‘workfare’ programme, but rather a voluntary system that engages more Inuit and Inuit youth in meaningful employment. Such a programme would need to be tied into existing subsidies for social housing and make a meaningful link between work and accommodation. Such an initiative could be considered by the inter-departmental task force recommended above. The idea is to identify creative relationships linking meaningful employment, housing (directly and indirectly the largest of expenditures on Inuit in Nunavut Territory) and social assistance.

The current problem is that if one is on income assistance, his or her rent is set at \$60.00 per month, with utilities and heating oil included. Once someone gains employment and makes over \$325.00 per month, he or she has to pay the full cost for utilities and fuel. Rent is pro-rated based on income. At this rate, there is little incentive to work unless one makes over \$1500 a month as any ‘extra’ income is absorbed by housing costs. The result is that many people take jobs at the Northern or Co-op stores at \$8.50 per hour for only a brief period of time, so as not to economically disadvantage themselves. This situation is a clear disincentive to seeking employment with implications for how Inuit live their lives and how they come to regard themselves, any chance for advancement or accomplishing personal goals. If one works as a driver for the Hamlet, the Hamlet will assist with the cost of housing, allowing one to keep some income for oneself. This problem – unique to low paying jobs is a compound one as, for a variety of reasons - including levels of education - wage employment for many Nunavummiut is limited to opportunities in low paying jobs. Adult education – which might help address this situation - is almost non-existent in Kinngait and other communities and, when available, is not structured to meet the needs of young adults.

Design Considerations

The research contained in this report makes it clear that there are persistent and serious problems with the design of Inuit housing that require attention. For example, when asked about appliances and fixtures in the home, the most common observation was that cupboards are broken and don’t work.

Overcrowding results in considerable wear and tear on a home. The results are doors that don’t close properly, handles that are broken, hinges that don’t work, water taps that leak or don’t function, floors that are worn, etc. **We recommend that fixtures in Inuit homes be of industrial strength and quality.**

We also note that the use of space in Inuit homes, combined with the demographics of most Inuit households, suggests a different configuration of space. The presence of many children under 5 years of age suggests the possibility of some smaller bedrooms with attention to living room or open space being used by children for play. The number of young children also suggests that kitchens need to be open so that someone using a kitchen can still have visual contact with children playing in an open living room area. Given cost considerations, hall space is wasted space in most Inuit homes and space needs to be configured such that more rooms open onto a common area. Cost and space savings are important to making sure that homes have enough rooms to accommodate large Inuit families. Cupboards need to be redesigned to accommodate the large cooking pots and other utensils that Inuit typically use to boil caribou and seal meat. In general, housing design must better consider children and accommodate Inuit with disabilities. It must also consider the privacy needs of Elders, where Elders continue to live with their extended families.

The ability to personalize one's home by painting or decorating the interior is not permitted. There are potential problems to be anticipated with a policy of allowing residents to customize rental units, but there are also ways of regulating this so that these are avoided. The result of not permitting someone to paint or decorate is to disenfranchise the occupants, making them feel that the house – which they may occupy for many years – is really not their own. One consequence is a distant and detached attitude to maintenance and care of the unit. It is likely that the costs of this far exceed any costs associated with the need to repaint or redecorate once a resident moves.

We found the recommendations contained in a report prepared for CMHC [*An examination of the use of domestic space by Inuit families living in Arviat, Nunavut*. October 10, 2003. by Peter C. Dawson] to contain a list of recommendations for changes to the design of Inuit housing which fit with what Inuit in Kinngait communicated with us through this study and in subsequent conversation. **We recommend the implementation of these recommendations for changes to the design of Inuit housing [See Appendix VII].**

We recommend that Kinngait Inuit be more directly involved in matters related to the location of housing. A common complaint was that homes were sited in locations that were too wet in the spring and too close to roads and the noise of skidoos and ATVs.

Space for Women to Earn Income

There appears to be limited and inadequate space to accommodate earning opportunities for women working outside the formal economy. While carving does – and must – take place outdoors, in Kinngait inadequate attention has been made to the needs of women for space that permits them to sew, quilt, knit, weave and engage in other activities that have earning potential.

We recommend that a crafts centre be developed in the community where women can have the equipment and the space they need to take better advantage of

opportunities that our research suggests are important, but inadequately recognized ways in which women earn income.

Safety and Security Concerns

The results lead us to conclude that there are significant safety and security concerns in the community, particularly in relation to the problem of domestic violence in relation to women and children and the isolation of men. We do not doubt the importance of the women's shelter. It would appear to be a necessary, but far from sufficient answer to the problem of providing a safe place for women and children when it is needed. When we developed the questionnaire, we were not aware that the women's shelter in Kinngait was, at the time, not in operation due to a lack of funding. The shelter to which women in Kinngait are transported is in Iqaluit. While this undoubtedly affected the response to the question as to where women would go if there were problems at home, there is no doubt that use of the women's shelter in the community was never without problems. In a small community, its use is stigmatizing. There is currently, no operational funding for the women's shelter available from either the Department of Justice or from the Department of Health and Social Services and the shelter cannot be re-opened without financial aid. The community of Kinngait currently receives only \$2000. a year to support victims of violence.

Instead, women – and sometimes their children - in need of protection, are flown to the shelter in Iqaluit.⁸ The shelter in Iqaluit employs staff at minimal wage and they are not part of the public service union. It has to be assumed that the cost of airfares from outlying communities to this facility is cheaper than the cost of operating a shelter in each community. Due to a lack of trained staff, women at the shelter are not given counseling consistent with Inuit values and culture. They return to the community in a few weeks or months, to their spouses, and most often the household circumstances that gave rise to the problem in the first place. There is no family reunification programme or Inuit family values programme available to the man who may have directed violence at his partner and children. There are no services available for men. When the woman and children return, the cycle often repeats itself.

The problem of male violence in Inuit communities is tied to a number of other considerations identified in this report. As noted, there are few jobs available in Kinngait. However, the few jobs that do exist are primarily sources of employment for women: as cashiers at the Northern Store and the Coop, as secretarial and record-keeping staff in the Hamlet Office, the school, as agents working behind the counter at the airport, etc. There is a gendering of employment in communities like Kinngait that provides some employment opportunity for Inuit women, albeit often at low wages. There are far fewer opportunities for stable employment available to men. This has contributed to men feeling devalued and gives rise to internal messages: "I'm a loser." "I'm worthless." "I'm no good". Men often do not recall why they hit their spouses. According to the Director

⁸ Michel Petit, former Director of Social Work for Kinngait until September of 2006, told us that someone in need of protection was flown to Iqaluit at the rate of about one person a week.

of Social Work, they most often simply indicate that they felt “helpless” at the time. This is a response similar to that given by someone who has attempted suicide.

Our research makes it clear that relatives play a very important role as a place where Inuit – both men and women – can go when there are problems in the home. **We recommend that a programme be initiated that identifies one or two members of extended families who are in a position to play a role in relation to addressing problems of anger and violence that may arise in the home.** We are not suggesting that there are not already in place, unique and highly effective interventions, consistent with Inuit culture and communicative norms. **We are recommending that these be recognized and strengthened and that those who wish to play a more active role in addressing the problem of anger and violence within their homes and extended families, receive support, recognition and encouragement and any resources and training that they believe might better assist them in playing such a role.**

All RCMP officers working in northern communities must have training, not only in dealing with situations of domestic violence, but should have a reference group – male and female Elders in the community – to whom they can look for advice and direction in dealing with situations that involve domestic violence. Domestic violence is a community problem and to the greatest extent possible, all Kinngait residents – Elders, parents and youth – should have an active role to play in its prevention and in dealing with the problem when it arises.

Finally, safety and security issues in Kinngait appear to be seriously compromised by a serious problem with alcohol and drugs. In the short time we were present in the community, we were able to identify which homes were those of bootleggers and where much of the drugs available in the community were coming from. Conversations with Elders and others reveal considerable frustration about the apparent unwillingness or inability of the RCMP to shut these operations down and arrest the perpetrators. There may be good reason why bootlegging and drug dealing is so prevalent in the community and why the RCMP are limited in their capacity to deal with it. **This being the case, there needs to be better communication between the RCMP and the community Justice committee about such problems. Residents need to better understand the complexities of making arrests, having sufficient evidence to warrant the laying of charges and other problems that the RCMP may encounter.**

The problems of drugs and alcohol, and criminal behaviour, are directly related to the housing problem in Kinngait in that they contribute to the problem of domestic violence and make worse, a situation already compromised by the problem of overcrowding. Individuals released from prison have no place to go other than to their homes or those of relatives. This can cause problems, as individual who may be dealing with social, personal and psychological problems, are resident with others who may be seriously affected by their behaviour. There are situations in which everyone needs a ‘cooling off period’. Unlike southern Canada, there are limited places to go to ‘get away from things’, particularly if access to the land – for a host of reasons that might include mental health and other concerns - is not practicable. There are no cost-effective motels in Kinngait and

no coffee shops where one can go for a few hours to get away from a crowded, noisy or troublesome home environment. It is no surprise that Inuit are, consequently, so terribly over-represented in national crime and related statistics. The physical infrastructure of northern communities ‘sets Inuit up’ for situations that lead to trouble.

We recommend that in addition to a women’s shelter, accommodation be made available for men who need to be away from their families for whatever reason, and who may be returning from a jail sentence served in Iqaluit or elsewhere or who may be experiencing personal problems that warrant some degree and time of separation away from their families – however defined. We recommend that family reunification programmes, based on Inuit cultural practices, be introduced to assist women and men who have had their children removed due to family breakdown.

Access to the Land

Nunavut Tunngavik currently operates a hunter support programme that gives financial assistance to Inuit hunters. We discovered that there are many Inuit in Kinngait who cannot access the land because they do not have the necessary equipment. We are also convinced, based on what we were told, that there are serious mental health and other problems associated with not being able to ‘get out of town’ from time to time.

This need to ‘get away’ is not easily addressed, particularly as it is evident that the problem is associated with a lack of financial resources and the means to acquire the necessary equipment. However, access to the land requires not only equipment. It requires skill and know-how. We recommend that programmes that currently take young people out on the land be expanded or built upon to include anyone in the community who feels he or she might benefit from knowing more about how to travel and live on the land.

We recommend that a system that loans, or otherwise makes available equipment to those who qualify to use it, be developed. Any such system will require careful consideration and design. One option is to require a deposit for equipment used. However, this immediately encounters the fact that those who might need to and want to leave town to go hunting or to stay in a camp do not have the resources for the equipment and, therefore, do not have the funds that would be required for a meaningful deposit. This is a problem that requires a community development approach and input from the residents of Kinngait.

Cooperative Housing

Very little remains of cooperative housing initiatives in Nunavut. This is unfortunate. Historically, cooperative housing has done a great deal to meet the housing needs of low income Canadians in major urban centers in southern Canada. There is currently no coop housing in Kinngait. The West Baffin Inuit Co-op does own several units of housing, but they are leased to the school board for teacher housing. Iqaluit used to have a cooperative, but it folded several years ago.

The federal government initiated support for cooperative housing by changes made to the *National Housing Act* commencing in 1973, having piloted support for cooperative housing in Canada in 1969. Unfortunately, federal support for cooperative housing and provincial support disappeared between 1992 and 1995, the period of retrenchment and cutbacks to social programmes in Canada. The results, particularly in terms of homelessness and housing problems faced by many low-income Canadians have been predictable. Accommodation is a huge and growing problem for a large segment of Canadian society: one that the private sector has been unable to meet and that municipal governments have only partially addressed. According to the Cooperative Housing Federation of Canada, a report commissioned by Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation in 2003 concluded that cooperatives cost 14% less to operate than municipal or private not-for-profit housing complexes.

Cooperative housing can be found everywhere in Canada. In British Columbia, 266 co-ops provide 14,766 units of housing. In Ontario, 554 cooperatives provide over 44,000 units. In the Yukon, Northwest Territories and Nunavut, the Cooperative Housing Federation of Canada reports that there are only 5 cooperatives providing 162 units.

We conclude that cooperative housing has not been given enough attention in Nunavut. We also recognize that there are unique problems related to the development of cooperative housing in Nunavut that place limits on the development and operational models and financing associated with cooperative housing elsewhere in the country. Nevertheless, cooperative housing has, historically, met the needs of a large number of low-income Canadians. **We recommend that the Nunavut Government work with the Cooperative Housing Federation of Canada, the Canadian Cooperative Association and Nunavut Tunngavik to explore the development of a cooperative housing programme tailored to the unique needs and circumstances of Nunavummiut. It is time to put in place, imagination, creativity and a willingness to explore every possible avenue for seeking solutions to the current housing crisis.**

APPENDIX I
WORKSHOP OUTLINE

**Workshop Design
Week One**

<p>Day One Tuesday</p> <p><i>Topic: Getting in to it</i></p>	<p>MORNING</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Welcome <hr/> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introductions <hr/> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Break <hr/> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Brief overview of project/weeks to come <hr/> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Opening Survey for youth to fill out. <hr/> <p>LUNCH</p> <hr/> <p>AFTERNOON</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sharing of Pictures and Stories 	<p>Activity</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In partners, choose cutout images that describe the other. Then introduce each partner using pictures to tell a story about who they are. Two rounds through the circle. <p>This survey is to be used to evaluate what youth are interested in and what they already know about research.</p> <p>Activity</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Post archival documents/photos of the past on walls for all to look at. - Invite Elders to talk about how Inuit got houses and what happened when they moved from camps into communities.
<p>Day Two Wednesday</p>	<p>MORNING</p>	<p>Activity</p>

<p><i>Topic: Trying It All Out</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Debrief (45 min) <hr/> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sharing Housing Stories. <hr/> <p>LUNCH</p> <hr/> <p>AFTERNOON</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Doing research 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Use ‘faces’ for the exercise. <p>Activity</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Gain experience with the subject matter by sharing experiences with living situations. - Use symbols to tell the story - Group watches, and tries to guess the story from the symbols used. - Person tells the real story using the symbols. - Film and screen afterwards. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Big Themes: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Goals and Objectives of this research. 2. Teamwork. 3. Ethics and Consent. 4. Using advisory people. <p>Activity</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Use examples of situations that may come up during this project. - 3 examples, 3 teams. Have them generate ideas for managing these when they come up and share with the group.
<p>Day Three Thursday</p> <p><i>Topic: Asking the Questions</i></p>	<p>MORNING</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Debrief (45 min) 	<p>Activity</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The previous day. What was interesting? What did they like about the day? What

	<hr/> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Ins and Outs of Surveys <p>LUNCH</p> <hr/> <p>AFTERNOON</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Discuss the housing survey 	<p>didn't they like? Sheets of 'faces' used for the exercise.</p> <p>Activity</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> In two teams, youth develop questions to interview Anna and Marnie. Choose from one of the following topics: Housing – where you live. What you do for fun. What your family is like. Going to school. - <p>Purpose</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Have youth practice writing questions and asking them. Gain insight into how to develop questions that uncover information. <p>Activity</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Go over the survey. Try and answer: Is this question important? Why are we asking this? <p>Purpose</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Generate feedback in order to make changes. Should we do something different? What else do we need to know? Should parts be changed? Familiarize all with the survey and its questions. Make list of impact of housing situation on people's lives.
<p>Day Four Friday</p> <p><i>Topic: Telling the Whole Story</i></p>	<p>MORNING</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Debrief (45 min) <hr/> <p>Break</p>	

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Set up the archival documents in the classroom and then in the community centre for the Elders 	<p>Activity</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Have all the archival documents/photos posted on the wall - Give pairs one of four themes: (Health, Schooling, Housing, Policing/Justice). Have them tell a story from what they see in the photographs/documents. - What's the story in the documents and/or pictures? - What's missing? - Is this an accurate record? - What would make this complete?
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lunch and Elders gathering for the afternoon - games 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - introduce Elders to historical documents and explain the research project - thank them for their support and acknowledge their contributions

**Workshop Design
Week Two**

<p>Day Five Monday</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Debriefing • Introduction to the idea of telling a story using film – Different kinds of 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Show a student-made documentary film and discuss it.
-----------------------------------	---	--

	<p>documentary film.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What is a story board? <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">Lunch</p> <hr/>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Activity Divide into groups and using flip chart paper and thinking of images, tell a story about housing. <p>- Present and discuss</p>
Day Six Tuesday	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Debriefing • Interviewing skills <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">Lunch</p> <hr/> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interviewing skills 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Have youth interview each other using the survey • Provide feedback <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Practice with two volunteers from the community. Film <p>- Provide feedback – revise questionnaire as needed.</p>
Day Seven Wednesday	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Debriefing • Discussion of research ethics <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Still Photography 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Activity Look at different scenarios and discuss what they would do as researchers. <p>- Practice taking still shots in the community, framing a picture, etc.</p>

	<p style="text-align: center;">————— Lunch —————</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dealing with situations. • Video Camera skills 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Activity Workshop dealing with domestic violence, etc. - Camera Olympics – setting up, checking, using and storing video camera
<p>Day Eight Thursday</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Debriefing • Become familiar with consent forms <p style="text-align: center;">————— Lunch —————</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reception and party 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Activity Go over consent forms and make sure everyone understands the content and what has to be completed and why. - to acknowledge parents, spouses and the support of others - award certificates

APPENDIX II

**YOUTH QUESTIONNAIRES:
BEFORE AND AFTER SURVEYS**

Questions For Getting Started

Instructions

Please complete this questionnaire.
Where appropriate check off the right boxes or write in your answer.
This information will help us plan for our time together.

Information About You

1) Name: _____

2) Age: _____

3) Gender: _____

4) Why are you here? **Check all that apply.**

- I'm here for the free coffee
- The money is good
- I think Qallunaat say funny things
- I want to make a difference in my community
- I had nothing better to do
- I want to learn more about the housing crisis
- I got lost and ended up in here
- I was captured by aliens and dropped off
- I want to spend time with Elders
- Other: _____

5) Have you lived in Kinngait all your life? **Check one.**

- Yes
- No

5a) If NO, what other communities have you lived in? _____

Your Housing Experience

6) How many people are living in your house now? _____

7) How many people in your house are:

Under 5 years _____
5 – 15 years _____
15 – 21 years _____
21 – 35 years _____
35 – 50 years _____
50 + years _____

8) Is your house crowded? (Do you think there are too many people living in your house?) **Check one.**

Yes

No

8a) If YES, how crowded? **Check one.**

A little crowded

Somewhat crowded

Very crowded

9) In your house, do you have enough privacy – a place where you can do what you want without being bothered by others? **Check one.**

Yes

No

10) How many bedrooms does your house have? _____

11) How many people usually sleep in your room? _____

12) Do you have your own bed? **Check one.**

Yes

No

13) Do you sometimes sleep at someone else's house? **Check one.**

Yes

No

13a) If YES, why? **Check all that apply.**

- I like visiting my friends and family
- My house is too crowded
- I like to sleep at my friends' house
- I crash at my friends' because it's late and I'm tired
- Other: _____

14) Do you sometimes sleep on the couch? (At your house, your relatives' house, or your friends' house). **Check one.**

- Yes
- No

14a) If YES, how often? **Check one.**

- Once in a while
- Often
- A lot

About Your House

15) When was your house built? (How many years has it been here?) _____

I don't know

15a) If you don't know, approximately how old is it? **Check one.**

- Very old
- Not very old
- New

16) Do you ever run out of water? **Check one.**

- Yes
- No

16a) If YES, how often? **Check one.**

- Once in a while
- Often
- A lot

17) Do you ever have problems with sewage pump-out? **Check one.**

Yes

No

17a) If YES, how often? **Check one.**

Once in a while

Often

A lot

18) Do any of your windows or doors let in cold air when they're closed? **Check one.**

Yes

No

19) In the winter, are your floors cold? **Check one.**

Yes

No

20) In the winter, is your house cold? **Check one.**

Very cold

Cold

Just right

Warm

Very warm

21) How much money do you think it costs to heat your house? **Check one.**

Not very much

About average

Quite a bit

A lot

22) We would like to know if you have the things you need in your house.

<i>Type of Appliance</i>	22a) Check here if you have one.	22b) Check here if it <u>DOES NOT</u> work.
Stove	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Fridge	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Microwave	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Freezer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Dishwasher	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Washing Machine	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Dryer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Toaster	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Computer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
TV	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Stereo	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

23) Do your parents have any of the following equipment?

Equipment	23a) Check here if you have one.	23b) Check here if it <u>DOES NOT</u> work.
Snowmobile	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ATV	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Rifle	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Komotik	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tent	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Fishing Gear	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Boat	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Motor	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Truck or Car	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Questions About the Project

24) How do you feel about working on this project? **Check one.**

- I feel really scared
- I feel a little nervous
- I'm not sure
- I feel okay
- It's not a problem for me

25) Do you feel you know what you are doing? **Check one.**

- I have no clue at all
- I'm not sure
- I sort of do
- I'm cool with what's going on
- I have it all figured out

26) How do you feel about doing some research? **Check one.**

- I'm really scared
- I'm a little nervous
- I'm not sure
- I'll be okay
- Not a problem

27) How much do you know? **Check one for each question.**

a) About writing a film script

- A lot
- Some
- A little

b) About using a video camera

A lot
Some
A little

c) About using a still camera

A lot
Some
A little

d) About writing a questionnaire

A lot
Some
A little

e) About deciding who to interview

A lot
Some
A little

f) About deciding who to film

A lot
Some
A little

g) About how to work with Qallunaat

A lot
Some
A little

h) About how to work with Elders

A lot
Some
A little

i) About how to work with other youth

A lot

Some

A little

j) About how to interview Elders

A lot

Some

A little

k) About how to interview parents

A lot

Some

A little

l) About how to interview relatives

A lot

Some

A little

m) About how to interview other youth

A lot

Some

A little

n) About how to interview community leaders

A lot

Some

A little

o) About how to deal with ethical situations

A lot

Some

A little

I don't know what an ethical situation is

This chart asks questions about how much Inuktitut you know.

INUKTITUT	28) How well can you <i>SPEAK Inuktitut?</i> Check one.	29) How well can you READ syllabics? Check one.	30) How well can you WRITE syllabics? Check one.
Really good	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Good	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Poor	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

This chart asks questions about how much English you know.

ENGLISH	31) How well can you <i>SPEAK English?</i> Check one.	32) How well can you READ English? Check one.	33) How well can you WRITE English? Check one.
Really good	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Good	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Poor	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

34) What do you do when you disagree with someone? **Check all that apply.**

- I walk away
- I talk to the person
- I get mad
- I get upset
- I feel bad
- I talk to a friend
- Other: _____

34a) Does what you do work? **Check one.**

- Yes
- No
- Sometimes

35) What kinds of things do you like to do? **Check all that apply.**

- | | | | |
|-----------------|--------------------------|-----------------|--------------------------|
| Drawing | <input type="checkbox"/> | Shooting video | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Painting | <input type="checkbox"/> | Writing | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Telling stories | <input type="checkbox"/> | Drumming | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Reading | <input type="checkbox"/> | Hunting | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Sewing | <input type="checkbox"/> | Fishing | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Hanging out | <input type="checkbox"/> | Carving | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Dancing | <input type="checkbox"/> | Taking pictures | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Other: | _____ | | |

36) Which sentence describes you? **Check one.**

When I am with a group of people....

- I always have something to say
- I always have something to say, but only say it sometimes
- I always have something to say, but I never speak
- I don't usually have much to say

37) Do you feel you can make a change to the housing problem by being part of this project? **Check one.**

- No way
- Not likely
- Not sure
- Maybe
- Yeah, that's why I'm here

Thanks!

Ending Survey

Instructions

Please complete this questionnaire.

Where appropriate check off the write boxes or write in your answer.

1) Name: _____

2) Age: _____

3) Gender: _____

4) How did you feel about working on this project? **Check one.**

I felt really scared

I felt a little nervous

I'm not sure

I felt okay

It wasn't a problem for me

5) Now that you have worked on this project, do you feel you know what you are doing? **Check one.**

I still have no clue at all

I'm still not sure

I sort of do

I'm cool with what's going on

Now I have it all figured out

6) Now that you have done some research, how do you feel about doing it?
Check one.

I'm still really scared

I'm still a little nervous

I'm still not sure

I'm okay

It's not a problem

7) How much did you learn? **Check one for each question.**

p) About writing a film script:

A lot
Some
A little

q) About using a video camera

A lot
Some
A little

r) About using a still camera

A lot
Some
A little

s) About writing a questionnaire

A lot
Some
A little

t) About deciding who to interview

A lot
Some
A little

u) About deciding who to film

A lot
Some
A little

v) About how to work with Qallunaat

A lot
Some
A little

w) About how to work with Elders

A lot
Some
A little

x) About how to work with other youth

A lot
Some
A little

y) About how to interview Elders

A lot
Some
A little

z) About how to interview parents

A lot
Some
A little

aa) About how to interview relatives

A lot
Some
A little

bb) About how to interview other youth

A lot
Some
A little

cc) About how to interview community leaders

A lot
Some
A little

dd) About how to deal with ethical situations

- A lot
- Some
- A little
- I still don't know what ethical situations are

8) Did your Inuktitut improve while working on this project?

- Yes
- No

This chart asks questions about how much Inuktitut you know.

Inuktitut	<i>9) How well can you SPEAK Inuktitut?</i> Check one.	10) How well can you READ syllabics? Check one.	11) How well can you WRITE syllabics? Check one.
Really good	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Good	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Poor	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

12) Did your English improve while working on this project?

- Yes
- No

This chart asks questions about how much English you know.

ENGLISH	<i>13) How well can you SPEAK English?</i> Check one.	14) How well can you READ English? Check one.	15) How well can you WRITE English? Check one.
Really good	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Good	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Poor	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

16) What do you do when you disagree with someone? **Check all that apply.**

- I walk away
- I talk to the person
- I get mad
- I get upset
- I feel bad
- I talk to a friend
- Other: _____

16a) Does what you do work? **Check one.**

- Yes
- No
- Sometimes

17) What kinds of things do you like to do? **Check all that apply.**

- | | |
|--|--|
| Drawing <input type="checkbox"/> | Shooting video <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Painting <input type="checkbox"/> | Writing <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Telling stories <input type="checkbox"/> | Drumming <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Reading <input type="checkbox"/> | Hunting <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Sewing <input type="checkbox"/> | Fishing <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Hanging out <input type="checkbox"/> | Carving <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Dancing <input type="checkbox"/> | Taking pictures <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Other: _____ | |

18) Which sentence describes you? **Check one.**

When I am with a group of people....

- I always have something to say
- I always have something to say, but only say it sometimes
- I always have something to say, but I never speak
- I don't usually have much to say

19) Now that you've been a part of this project, do you feel you can make a change to the housing problem? **Check one.**

- No way
- Not likely
- Not sure
- Maybe
- Yeah

Thanks!

APPENDIX III
KINNGAIT COMMUNITY SURVEY INSTRUMENT

Kinngait Household Survey

This survey is to collect stories and information ABOUT THE HOUSING SITUATION in Kinngait. This project is being done by the Harvest Society and young people from Kinngait with help from some Qallunaat researchers.

WE WANT TO THANK YOU FOR HELPING US AND AGREEING TO BE INTERVIEWED.

Information About You

Respondent Number: **Remember to write the number and name on a separate sheet of paper – the numbers and the names that go with them.**

Age: _____ Don't know

Gender: Male Female [*Don't ask, just fill it in.*]

Which sentences describe you? **Check all that apply.** [*Read the options to the person.*]

I am single

I have a girlfriend/boyfriend

I am married

I am living with my partner

I am a widow/widower

Other: _____

Did you go to school? **Check one.** [Notice that the wording is did – like at any time.]

I never went to school

I went to grade school (primary and high school)

5a) If you went to grade school, for how many years?

0-2 years

3-5 years

6-10 years

11-12 years

Other: **Write in the number**

5b) Did you take any other courses or other form of training?

YES

NO

If YES what was it? [*like a course in sewing, or I went to Nunavut Arctic College to take a social work course ...*] **Write the answer.**

6) Do you have children?

YES

NO

6a) If YES, list their names and ages below. [*If you need more space, write on the back.*]

NAME	AGE	<i>Check here if they live with you</i>

7) Relatives are usually available to help when you need help. Are there any times when they can't help for any of the following reasons? [*Read the whole list to the person before the person answers the question.*] **Check all that apply.**

- Because they are sick
- Because they don't have enough extra money
- Because they don't have enough extra food
- Because they don't want to deal with my problem
- Because they have their own problems
- Because we don't agree on things
- Because they are out of town
- They are always able to help me

I don't have any relatives in this community

Other reason: _____

8) Are you employed right now?

YES

NO

8a) If YES, where, and what do you do? [Like work at the Co-op, as a cashier or for Hamlet as water truck driver, etc.] Write in the answer.

8b) Do you earn money from any of the following? Check all that apply.

Carving

Print making or painting

Sewing

None of the above

Anything else? _____

9) Do you get any of the following kinds of help from the government? [Read this whole list to the person slowly so they can think about it.] Check all that apply.

Pension

Unemployment Insurance (UI)

Social Assistance/Welfare

Disability

Child Tax Benefit

Other: _____

None of the above

End of Section

About Your Housing Situation [*You might say: "Now we want to ask you some questions about your housing situation."*]

10) How long have you lived in your house?

Less than 1 year

Between 1 and 5 years

More than 5 years

11) How many bedrooms are there in your house? **Circle the number.**

1 2 3 4 **If more than 4, write the number.** _____

12) Do you own your house?

YES

NO

13) Do you have your own bedroom?

YES

NO

14) If you share a bedroom, how many people do you share it with? [*This means people **in addition to** the person you are talking to and means someone other than the person's wife or husband or partner. It could be their children or anyone else.*]

1

2

3

More than 3

15) If you don't have a bedroom, where do you sleep **in your house**? [*For example, on the couch, or in the porch or*] **Write in the answer.**

16) Do you sometimes sleep somewhere else (**meaning not in your house**)?

YES

NO

SOMETIMES

16a) If YES, or SOMETIMES, in what other places do you sleep? **Write in the answers.** [*For example: "At my aunt's house."*]

16b) Why do you sleep there? **Write in the answer.**

17) In your life, how many other houses have you lived in? **Check the right answer**

- One
- Two
- Three
- Four
- Five
- More than Five

18) Did you live on the land before moving into the community? [*This question will probably only be answered with 'yes' by an Elder you are interviewing, but you should always ask the question!*]

- YES
- NO

18a) If YES, what did you live in? **Check all that apply.**

- Tents
- Igloos
- Qammaq
- Wooden house

18b) If YES, when did you move in to the community? Year _____

Don't know

19) Have you ever gone back and lived on the land for a long period of time (more than 1 year)? [*Most people will say no, but someone might have gone to try living on the land because they were sick of living in the community. Even if we find only a couple of people who have done this, that will be interesting.*]

- YES
- NO

19a) If YES, why did you go back to live on the land? **Check all that apply**

- I was lonely for the traditional way of living
- I wanted to get away from the community
- It was better for hunting
- It was a better way to live
- Other _____

End of Section

Questions About Your House [You might say: **“Now we are going to ask you questions about your house.”**]

20) Do you need a different house?

YES

NO

20a) If YES, why? [Say this. *“I am going to read you a list of reasons why someone might need a different house. I want you to listen to the list and tell me which reasons are true for you.”* Then, when you have finished checking off any of the ones that are true for the person you are interviewing, ask them which one of the reasons is the most important one and check it off. If the person only gives one reason, then you don’t have to ask them: “What is the most important reason.” But if they give 2 or more reasons, you have to ask.]

	Check any that apply	Check the most important reason
Overcrowded (too many people)		
Too old		

Dangerous for kids		
Noisy neighbour		
Noisy trail or road near the house		
Too wet here		
Need a better design (better kitchen, better bathroom, etc?)		
Not good for someone with disability		
Other (write in the reason)		

21) Is there anyone in your house that you think needs to have a house of their own?

YES

NO

21a) If YES, why? [*Do the same thing as last time. Say: "I am going to read you a list of reasons why someone might think that someone in their house needs a house of their own. I want you to listen to the reasons and tell me which ones are true for you." Then go back and ask the person: "What is the most important reason."*]

	Check any that apply	Check the most important reason
Old enough to have own place		
Make too much noise		
Too much arguing by boyfriend or girlfriend		
Laziness (they don't help)		
Disrespect for parent/grandparent/Elder		
Other (write in the reason)		

22) How old is your house?

- Very old (15 years or older)
- Not very old (between 5 and 15 years old)
- New (less that 5 years old)

23) How many people are living in your house right now? **Circle the right number**

- 1 2 3 4 5 6
- 7 8 9 10 11 12
- More than 12. **Write in the number** _____

24) How many of them are ? **Write in the number** [For example, the number of people who are 16 to 20 years old, etc.]

- Under 5 years old 16 to 20 years old 31 to 40 years old
- 5 to 10 years old 21 to 25 years old 40 to 50 years old
- 11 to 15 years old 26 to 30 years old older than 50 years

25) We would like to know if you have the things you need in your house. [Read the list **one thing at a time** and let the person answer. Like: "Stove? Does it work?" If it **doesn't** work, check off in the space next to that appliance.]

Type of Appliance.	Check here if you have one.	Check here if it DOES NOT work.
Stove		
Fridge		
Freezer		
Dishwasher		
Washing Machine		
Dryer		
TV		

Stereo		
Microwave		
Toaster		
Computer		
Cupboard		
Shower		
Furnace		
Water heater		

26) Do you have enough furniture in your house?

YES

NO

26a) If NO, are there any appliances or pieces of furniture that you need or would like to have. **Write a list.**

27) Do you ever run out of water?

YES

NO

27a) If YES, how often? *[Make sure you read out the three possibilities before the person answers the question.]*

Rarely

Sometimes

A lot

28) Do you ever have problems with sewage pump-out?

YES

NO

28a) If YES, how often? *[Make sure you read out the three possibilities before the person answers the question.]*

Rarely

Sometimes

A lot

28b) If YES, how does running out of water or having sewage problems make **you** feel? *[Read all the possible answers before the person answers the question.] Check all that apply*

Angry

Frustrated

Its okay

Other _____

28c) If YES, what happens when you run out of water or the sewage needs to be pumped out? *[Then say: "I am going to read you a list of things that might happen. Just tell me if any of these things happen in your house." Read the things one at a time and let the person say yes or no to each one of them. If they say "yes", check it off.] Check all that apply.*

There are arguments

Can't feed the kids

Other people in the house get frustrated

Kids are late for school

People are late for work

Nothing happens

Other _____

29) Do any of your windows or doors let in cold air when they are closed?

YES

NO

SOMETIMES

30) In the winter are your floors cold?

YES

NO

SOMETIMES

31) In the **winter**, what is the temperature of your house? **Check one.**

Very cold

Cold

Just right

Warm

Very warm

31a) If your house is cold or very cold, what effect do you think this has on the people living in the house? [*Only ask this question if the person said **cold** or **very cold** when they answered the question above. Read the list one thing at a time and ask the person if this happens – “yes” or “no”. If the answer is yes, then check off the box.*] **Check all that apply.**

They get frustrated and angry

It causes sickness

The house is expensive to heat

It is hard to keep house (to do chores)

We have to stay at someone else's house

Other

End of Section

Problems in Your Home [*You might say: "Now I want to ask you some questions about any problems that you might be having in your home."*]

32) Is your house crowded? (Do you think there are too many people living in your house?) **Check one** [For example, if the person says: "Yes, sometimes" then you would check off SOMETIMES.]

YES

NO

SOMETIMES

32a) If you picked YES or SOMETIMES, how crowded is it? **Check one.**

A little crowded

Somewhat crowded

Very crowded

32b) If YES or SOMETIMES, is this a problem? **Check any that apply.**
[For example, someone might say: "Yes, but I like having people around." So, you would check off YES and also I LIKE HAVING PEOPLE AROUND.]

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| YES | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| NO | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| SOMETIMES | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| I LIKE HAVING PEOPLE AROUND | <input type="checkbox"/> |

33) If your house is crowded, what problems does this make for **you**? **Check all that apply.** [Ask them to say "yes" or "no" to each thing on the list. Read them one at a time. If they say: "Yes, that happens to me – I feel that way" or "Its that way", check off the box.]

- | | |
|---|--------------------------|
| I never have time alone (privacy) | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| I get angry | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| I get depressed | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| It's always noisy | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| I have trouble sleeping | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| I get sick | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| I sometimes fight with people (hitting, swearing, beating someone up) | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| I can't get my (home)work done | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Other: _____ | |

34) What problems does this make for **other people in your house**? **Check all that apply.** [Ask them to say "yes" or "no" to each thing on the list. Read them one at a time. If they say: "Yes, that happens to me – I feel that way" or "Its that way", check off the box.]

- | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| They never have time alone | <input type="checkbox"/> |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|

- They get angry
 - They get depressed
 - They think it is always noisy
 - They have trouble sleeping
 - They get sick
 - They sometimes fight with others (Hitting, swearing, beating someone up)
 - The can't get their (home)work done
 - Other:
-

35) Did someone ever sell any furniture, appliances or equipment from your house because somebody in your house [Ask them to say "yes" or "no" to each thing on the list. Read them one at a time. If they say: "Yes, that happens to me – I feel that way" or "Its that way", check off the box.] **Check all that apply**

- Was gambling
- Was using drugs
- Was drinking
- Needed money for food
- Needed money for clothing
- Needed money to buy a skidoo, ATV or outdoor gear
- Needed money for a plane ticket
- Needed money for bingo
- I don't know why they needed the money

36) Do you have the equipment you need to go out on the land?

YES

NO

36a) If NO, how does this make you feel? **Check one**

I'm okay with it

I get depressed

I get angry

I am bored

I get anxious

Other _____

37) Do **you** have any health problems? [Say: "I am going to read you a list of health problems that might be related to your housing situation. For example, if there are too many people in your house this might mean that you can't get to sleep at night. If you have any of these problems, say "yes" and I will then ask you if you think these are related to your housing situation. You can tell me yes or no." If the person says "yes" or "yes I think so", put a check mark in the last column next to that thing you have asked about.]

Health Problems	Check if the answer is yes	Check here if the person thinks it is because of their housing situation.
Do you get cold sores?		
Do you get the flu?		
Do you get colds and coughs?		

Do you have tuberculosis?		
Do you have cramped muscles or body pain?		
Do you have poor sleep?		
Do you have skin problems?		
Do you suffer from stress?		
Other (Write it in)		

38) Do you think the people in your house would be healthier if they had more space?

YES

NO

DON'T KNOW

39) Does anyone in your house have a problem with alcohol?

YES

NO

38a) If YES, how much of a problem is this?

Not much

Some

A big problem

40) Does anyone in your house have a problem with drugs?

YES

NO

40a) If YES, how big of a problem is this?

	Check all that apply	If you had fewer people in your house, do you think it would that help any of these problems? Check all that apply	<i>Don't know</i>	<i>Which is the most serious problem?</i> Check one.
Drinking				
Violence				
Depression				
Drug use				
Problems with school				
Problems with work				
People being angry				

Not much

Some

A big problem

41) Do you have any of these problems? Do you think they are related to your housing situation? [*Read each one on the list one at a time. Ask the person if they have this problem. If they say “yes” put a check mark next to it. Then ask if the problem would be not so bad if there were fewer people in the house. If the answer is “yes” or “maybe” or “I think so”, check that space too. If they “don’t know” check that space **instead**. When you have finished, ask which one is the most serious and check it.*]

	Check all that apply	If you had fewer people in your house, do you think it would that help any of these problems? Check all that apply	<i>Don't know</i>	<i>Which is the most serious problem?</i> Check one.
Drinking				
Violence				
Depression				
Drug use				
Problems with school				
Problems with work				
People being angry				

42) When **you** have problems in your home, where do **you** go? [*Read the whole list to the person **before** they answer the question.*] **Check all that apply.**

To a friend's house

To a relative's house

To the RCMP

To the women's shelter

To visit an Elder

Out on the land

I don't go anywhere

Other: _____

43) If you have **children**, where do they go when there is trouble in your house? [*Read the whole list to the person **before** they answer the question.*] **Check all that apply.**

To a friend's house

To a neighbour's house

To a relative's house

To the RCMP

To grandparent's house

The social worker picks them up

They don't go anywhere

Other: _____

End of Section

Closing Questions

44) How big a problem is housing in your community? **Check one.**

A big problem

A problem

A small problem

45) Do you have any ideas on how to solve the housing problem?

46) Is there anything else you would like to add that you think is important?

End of Section

On behalf of the Harvest Society, Thank you very much!

Make Sure You Fill This Out Every Time

Name of person doing the interview

Date the interview was done. Day ____ Month _____ AM
PM

Names of other researchers present at the interview _____

Was the ethics form signed by the person being interviewed? YES

NO

Was there an audio tape made of this interview? YES

NO

Do you think it would be a good idea to come back and do a 'talking heads' interview with this person about part of what they said? YES

NO

What was the most interesting thing they said that you think we should put on film?

APPENDIX IV
ETHICAL SITUATIONS

Ethical Situations

1. You show up to do an interview with one of your cousins. When you get there and begin getting ready to do the interview, you notice a bruise on your cousin's arm. When you ask her what happened, she tells you that her boyfriend hits her.

What do you do?

2. You are interviewing a 15-year old boy. During the interview you notice that something seems wrong but you aren't sure what. After he answers all the questions and you finish the interview, you begin thinking about some of the things he said. Some of these things are about him feeling really depressed and wanting to hurt himself. You start to think that he may be suicidal.

What do you do?

3. You are at your house getting ready to go do an interview. You tell a friend who has dropped in where you are going. They tell you that the person you were planning to interview is a crazy liar. Your friend has lots of stories and examples about how this person makes stories up to get attention and how they can't be trusted ever to tell the truth. This is the second person that has told you this and you know your friend doesn't make up stories about others.

What do you do?

APPENDIX V
ASSENT AND CONSENT FORMS ⁹

⁹ Completed forms are stored securely at the University of British Columbia. They were made available in both English and Inuktitut. Raw data, stripped of identifiers, is also stored at the University, consistent with the University's Behavioural Research Ethics Policy. This research was given ethical review and approved by the Nunavut Research Board and the Behavioural Research Ethics Board, University of British Columbia. Forms were available in Inuktitut and English.

For a child agreeing to be part of the study
(Assent in *Qallunaattitut*)

**Iglutaq (in my room): a case study of homelessness in Kinngait,
Nunavut Territory**

People doing this study:

This study is being conducted by the Harvest Society of Kinngait. The co-investigators are Frank Tester, a teacher with the School of Social Work, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, British Columbia [phone 604 822-2255], and Michel Petit, Social Worker, Kinngait, NT. [8803 or 8494]

Other people who are helping:

Marnie Stickley is a student (Masters Degree in Social Work) in the School of Social Work, University of British Columbia and is participating in this study as a student who will include this practice experience as part of her studies. Another social work student from the School of Social Work, University of British Columbia, will be working with the research team as a research assistant. The people can be reached through Frank Tester at the School of Social Work, University of British Columbia [phone 604 822-2255]. Also participating in the research are Inuit youth from your community who have been chosen for this study by the Harvest Society Elders and the community social worker.

Why we are doing this study:

The purpose of this study is to find out more about homelessness and overcrowding in Kinngait. The results of this study will be used to make it known about the shortage of housing in Kinngait and in Nunavut.

You have been asked to be part of this study because you are a young person who can give information to the study that is useful to the research team in making a record about the problem and understanding the problem of homelessness (overcrowding) in Kinngait.

We are also making a film about homelessness (overcrowding) in Kinngait. Because of this, you may be asked if we can videotape the interview.

How we are going to do this:

If you say yes to being part of this study, you will be interviewed by one of the Inuit youth that has been trained to work on this project. There will also be someone else from the study team there. If you say yes, you will be interviewed wherever you would like us to talk to you. This can be in your home at the social

worker's office or some other location that is okay for you. The interview should take about an hour, but if you want to talk to us for a longer time, that is okay.

During or after the interview, if you would like to say more to the social worker or the *Qallunaat* researchers in private, you can tell us and we will arrange to meet with you at another time that works for you and where you can talk to us alone.

We will be making a sound recording of the interview unless you say that you do not want to be recorded.

We may also want to videotape the interview.

Protecting your words:

The interview will be taped if you agree. If you don't want the interview to be taped, the people doing the study will take notes of what you say. The tapes will not have your name on it so that someone listening to the tape may not know who is speaking. We will put a number on the tape and will have a separate list of names and numbers so that the researchers will be the only ones who know whose voice is on the tape. The tapes will be kept by the researchers in a locked filing cabinet and the information on them will be used for the study. After 5 years, these tapes and any notes that have been made will be destroyed.

The Inuit youth who is interviewing you will be able to listen to the tape that has been made until the study ends in December of 2005. The Inuit youth will only be able to listen to the tape when one of the other *Qallunaat* researchers is present. He or she will not be able to have or to keep the tape or a copy of it.

If you agree to having the interview videotaped, the tape may be used in making a film about homelessness (overcrowding) in Kinngait. If you agree to this, then anyone who sees the film will know what you have said.

If, when you are being interviewed, you report anything related to the abuse, this will have to be reported to the social worker. This information cannot be kept confidential.

You have to agree to the interview, the recording, and the videotape by signing this paper.

If anything bothers you when you are being interviewed please tell the person doing the interview. You can stop the interview any time. If something bothers you after the interview (some thoughts you have), you can phone the social worker or talk to any of the researchers and we will try to help you.

What you will be given:

To show that we value what you have to say, you will be given \$20. for being part of this study.

Who to contact about the study:

If you have any questions about this study you can contact Michel Petit, the community social worker at or desire further information with respect to this study, you may contact Frank Tester, long distance, at 604 822-2255 or Michel Petit at 8494.

Who to contact about your rights:

If you have any concerns about your treatment or rights as a research subject, you may contact the Research Subject Information Line in the UBC Office of Research Services at 604-822-8598. But it is likely a better idea to talk to Nunavummi Qaujisaqtulirijikkut at (867) 979-4108 or reach them at slcnir@nunanet.com.

Agreeing to be part of the study:

Your participation in this study is your choice. You can say 'no' to participating. If you decide after you have started to talk to the researchers that you don't want to take part in the study, you can say that you don't want to be a part of the study any more, and this will be okay. This will not affect you in any way. You will still have all of the services from the social work office and the respect that you have now.

We will give you a copy of this form after you have signed it and we have made a copy at the office. Your signature below indicates that you have received a copy of this consent form.

Please sign after any of the sentences that are true for you.

I agree to participate in this study and to be interviewed

I agree that a tape recording can be made of the interview

I agree that a videotape can be made of the interview

I agree that a videotape can be made of my home

Signature of the person(s) doing the interview

Date: _____

For any subsequent or follow-up interviews (sign both this form and the copy held by the person being interviewed.) [Follow-up interviews with children will not be videotaped under any circumstances.]

I agree to another interview _____

Date: _____

I agree to a tape recording being made of this interview

Signature of the person(s) doing the interview

I agree to another interview _____

Date: _____

I agree to a tape recording being made of this interview

Signature of the person(s) doing the interview

Your signatures indicate that you assent to participate in this study.

Signature of youth

Date

Printed Name of the Youth

Agreement of the parent or guardian

I have read this agreement. My child wants to be part of this study. I understand what my child will be talking about and how my child's words will be recorded. I understand that my child may want to talk to the researchers more than one time.

I agree to my child taking part in this study.

I do not agree to my child taking part in this study.

Signature of parent or guardian

Printed Name of the parent or guardian

Version 1: 14/03/05 fjt

Agreeing to be part of the study
(Consent in *Qallunaattitut*)

**Iglutaq (in my room): a case study of homelessness in Kinngait,
Nunavut Territory**

People doing this study:

This study is being conducted by the Harvest Society of Kinngait. The co-investigators are Frank Tester, a teacher who works for School of Social Work, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, British Columbia [phone 604 822-2255], and Michel Petit, Social Worker, Kinngait, NT. [8803 or 8494].

Other people who are helping:

Marnie Stickley is a student (Masters Degree in Social Work) in the School of Social Work, University of British Columbia and is participating in this study as a student who will include this practice experience as part of her studies. Another social work student from the School of Social Work, University of British Columbia, will be working with the research team as a research assistant. The people can be reached through Frank Tester at the School of Social Work, University of British Columbia [phone 604 822-2255]. Also participating in the research are Inuit youth from your community who have been chosen for this study by the Harvest Society Elders and the community social worker.

The reason for this study:

The reason for this study is to find out more about homelessness and overcrowding in Kinngait. The results of this study will be used to make it known about the shortage of housing in Kinngait and in Nunavut.

You have been asked to be part of this study because you are a person who can give information to the study that is useful to the research team in making a record about the problem and understanding the problem of homelessness (overcrowding) in Kinngait.

We are also making a film about homelessness (overcrowding) in Kinngait. Because of this, you may be asked if we can videotape the interview. We may also ask if we can videotape and take pictures of your home and the problems of overcrowding that you are having.

What we are doing:

If you agree to take part in this study, you will be interviewed by one of the Inuit youth that has been trained to work on this project. He or she will be accompanied by one of the other members of the study team. If you agree, you

will be interviewed wherever you would like us to talk to you. This can be in your home, at your office or where you work or at the social worker's office or some other location agreeable to you. The interview should take about an hour, but if you want to talk to us for a longer time, that is okay.

During or after the interview, if you would like to say more to the social worker or the *Qallunaat* researchers in private, you can tell us and we will arrange to meet with you at another time that works for you and where you can talk to us alone.

We will be making a sound recording of the interview unless you say that you do not want to be recorded.

We may also want to videotape the interview. We may also want to videotape and take pictures of your home and the problems of overcrowding that you are having.

If anything bothers you when you are being interviewed please tell the person doing the interview. You can stop the interview any time. If something bothers you after the interview (some thoughts you have), you can phone the social worker or talk to any of the researchers and we will try to help you.

Protecting your words:

The interview will be taped if you agree. If you don't want the interview to be taped, the researchers will take notes of what you say. The tapes will not have your name on it so that someone listening to the tape may not know who is speaking. We will put a number on the tape and will have a separate list of names and numbers so that the researchers will be the only ones who know whose voice is on the tape. The tapes will be kept by the researchers in a locked filing cabinet and the information on them will be used for the study. After 5 years, these tapes and any notes that have been made will be destroyed.

The Inuit youth who is interviewing you will be able to listen to the tape that has been made until the study ends in December of 2005. The Inuit youth will only be able to listen to the tape when one of the other *Qallunaat* researchers is present. He or she will not be able to have or to keep the tape or a copy of it.

If you agree to having the interview videotaped, the tape may be used in making a film about homelessness (overcrowding) in Kinngait. If you agree to this, then anyone who sees the film will know what you have said. If you agree to having a videotape recording made of your home and living situation, that tape may also be used in making the film.

If, when you are being interviewed, you report anything related to the abuse of a child, this will have to be reported to the social worker. This information cannot be kept confidential.

You have to agree to the interview, the recording, and the videotape by signing this paper.

What you will be given:

As a show of our appreciation for your participation in this study and the information you have given to us, you will be given \$20.

Who to contact for information about the study:

If you have any questions about this study you can contact Michel Petit, the community social worker at or desire further information with respect to this study, you may contact Frank Tester, long distance at 604 822-2255 or Michel Petit at 8494.

Who to contact about your rights:

If you have any concerns about your treatment or rights, you may contact the Research Subject Information Line in the UBC Office of Research Services at 604-822-8598. But it is likely a better idea to talk to Nunavummi Qaujsaqtulirijikkut at (867) 979-4108 or reach them at: slcnir@nunanet.com.

Agreeing to be part of the study:

Your participation in this study is your choice. You can say 'no' to participating. If you decide after you have started to talk to the researchers that you don't want to take part in the study, you can say that you don't want to be a part of the study any more, and this will be okay. This will not affect you in any way. You will still have all of the services from the social work office and the respect that you have now.

We will give you a copy of this form after you have signed it and we have made a copy at the office. Your signature below indicates that you have received a copy of this consent form.

Please sign after any of the sentences that are true for you.

I agree to participate in this study and to be interviewed

I agree that a tape recording can be made of the interview

I agree that a videotape can be made of the interview

I agree that a videotape can be made of my home

Signature of the person(s) doing the interview

Date: _____

For any subsequent or follow-up interviews (sign both this form and the copy held by the person being interviewed.) (**See note below**)

I agree to another interview _____

Date: _____

I agree to a tape recording being made of this interview

I agree to a video recording being made of this interview

Signature of the person(s) doing the interview

I agree to another interview _____

Date: _____

I agree to a tape recording being made of this interview

I agree to a video recording being made of this interview

Signature of the person(s) doing the interview

Your signatures indicate that you consent to participate in this study.

*** Note:** If the follow-up interview is because you wish to share something in absolute confidence with the researcher, you may not wish to have the talk videotaped as what you say cannot be kept confidential in this case.

Printed name of the person being interviewed and who has signed above.

APPENDIX VI
LITERATURE REVIEW AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

The Literature

The scholarly literature on Inuit housing is, understandably, not extensive. The literature on theory and method in understanding housing policies and practices has recently been revived by debates between social constructionists and realists over the contribution of these perspectives to research (Sommerville, 1994; Jacobs and Manzi, 2000; Jacobs, 2001; Lawson, 2001, 2002; Clapham, 2002). These debates have their origins in a history of modern approaches to understanding housing in western cultures and the role of the State in its provision and regulation of the market (Marcuse, 1978; Morcombe, 1984; Kemeny, 1992; King, 2003). There are many government reports dealing with aspects of Aboriginal housing in Canada, some of which include information about Inuit housing and a few of which deal with the topic exclusively.

While the focus of the general literature is far removed from the specific conditions of Inuit housing, understanding the tension between housing as a market commodity versus a social need, and the role of the Canadian State in relation to this tension, is essential to understanding the history of Inuit housing. Inuit housing is provided, commencing in the mid-1950s, within a context and logic relying on precedent set for State involvement by the *Dominion Housing Act* of 1935 and developments following World War II. The literature in this field is rich and often articulated within a Canadian tradition of political economy (Bacher, 1986, 1988 & 1993; Wade, 1986 & 1994; Hulchanski, 1986 and Rose, 1980).

However, the provision of housing to Inuit is a subject that is almost completely missing from Canadian literature dealing with the history of housing and social housing in Canada. We were able to locate only two papers dealing with the topic: ‘Housing Programmes for Eskimos in Northern Canada’ by Barry Yates and published in *The Polar Record*, Vol.15, No. 94, 1970, pp.45-50 and ‘Housing in the Northwest Territories: the Post-War Vision’, by Robert Robson, published in *Urban History Review*, Vol. 24, No. 1, 1995, pp. 3-20. Our understanding of actors involved in the first official Inuit housing policy of 1959 suggests that their historical experience, as well as the socio-economic context of the late 1950s, are essential to understanding the genesis of Inuit housing policy [Tester, (in press)].

Based on the records we have collected from the 1950s and 1960s, the archival and government records on the provision of housing to Inuit appear to be extensive. A preliminary foray into records held by the Prince of Wales Heritage Centre in Yellowknife and the Archives of the Government of the Northwest Territories suggests that records beyond the period of the early 1950s through to the early 1970s, are equally rich in content, as are records related to health, housing and health and the economic status of Inuit settlements (Northwest Territories Corporation, 1992; Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs, 1992, 2001). Current records relevant to the early period of Inuit housing – documents dealing extensively with housing, health and economic conditions – are available through a keyword search at www.nunavutsocialhistory.arts.ubc.ca.

The scholarly literature dealing with Inuit housing is principally historically and anthropologically focused, dealing with 'traditional' Inuit snow housing. Jenness, for example, makes meticulous records of various forms of snow housing and the families (and their composition) housed therein (Jenness, 1923). A recent pictorial essay draws upon this extensive historical and anthropological literature and captures in text, drawings and photographs the many forms used by Inuit to cope with one of the severest climates imaginable (Lee & Reinhardt, 2003). Contemporary forays into the field are often by architects, planners and designers concerned with melding environmental, cost and cultural considerations in the design and provision of housing. Historically, studies have been concerned with the provision of housing and culture change (Thompson, 1969; Dudley, 1972). A few recent publications suggest important considerations relevant to understanding the significance of 'home' from a socio-psychological perspective, although this literature needs to be considered in light of unique and different cultural realities (Arias, 1993; Mallett, 2004). A few contemporary studies have pursued the topic with some emphasis on the relationship of new forms of household and governance to emerging Inuit cultural practices (Stern, 2004; Collignon, 2001). More research is needed into the relationship between housing and social conditions. Little systematic attention has been given to this in the case of Inuit, while a number of reports have pointed to the link between housing needs and problems like domestic violence, school leaving, young people and the law, etc. (Pauktuutit, 1993, 1995; Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2004).

Much has been written about the community context within which Inuit housing has developed (Honnigman & Honnigman, 1965, 1970; Tester & Kulchyski, 1994; Vallee, 1967; Damas, 2002; McPherson, 2003). Within the literature, there is considerable controversy over 'volunteerism': the extent to which the move to settlements and into rigid frame housing was driven by a consciously-created government policy of consolidation (assimilation) or, as Damas argues, was the unintended result of State welfare policy (see: Usher, 2004). This debate is, for example, relevant to dealing with questions of State responsibility for providing Inuit with homes. The provision of housing and the significant socio-psychological and health problems developing in the Canadian Arctic as a result of government housing policy (and at a particular historical moment, the lack thereof) can be appreciated in relation to this debate.

Many housing reports have been produced by the Indian and Inuit Affairs Programme, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, but the historical emphasis has been on on-reserve housing for First Nations in southern Canada [Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation. 1997. *Literature Review: Aboriginal People and Homelessness*. University of Winnipeg, Institute for Urban Studies], with some minimal reference to Inuit housing need [for example, see: The Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation. 1998. *Core Housing Need Among Off-Reserve Inuit, Métis, Status and Non-Status Indians in Canada*. Ottawa. Prepared by Ark Research Associates]. In April of 2001, Inuit Tapirisat of Canada prepared a report on Inuit housing across Canada for CMHC [*Research and Consultation Project Concerning Inuit Housing Across Canada*]. This report contains a useful bibliography, including websites, documents and reports of relevance. We refer the reader to this source and have not reproduced all of the sources listed here.

A recent study examines the use of domestic space by Inuit families and is useful in that it makes extensive design recommendations, important to addressing problems that respondents in the current study, identified with their housing situation (homes unsuitable for children, the Elderly and people with disabilities) [*An Examination of the Use of Domestic Space by Inuit Families Living in Arviat, Nunavut*, by Peter C. Dawson, published by CMHC, October, 2003]. Contemporary data lies with the Government of the Northwest Territories and most recently, the Inuit Housing Corporation. The most recent business plan for the corporation available on line is for the year 2001/2002, a report that outlines the mission of the corporation and describes its organization and operations. It includes useful information on critical issues, some important statistics and a section on goals, strategies and targets [Nunavut Housing Corporation. March 22, 2001. *Business Plan 2001/2002*].

A few reports and newspaper articles document the relationship between housing and social and personal problems faced by Inuit of Nunavut. A 1995 report '*Inuit Women: The Housing Crisis and Violence*, prepared by *Pauktuutit*, The Inuit Women's Association for CMHC, details the housing crisis and relates it to domestic violence. Much of the content is anecdotal. In recent years, a number of newspaper articles have drawn attention to the Inuit housing crisis. These include an article by Nathan Vanderklippe in the *Edmonton Journal*, May 9, 2004: "It's crazy but we're used to it"; a *Globe and Mail* report on attempts to secure funds written by Bob Weber, "Nunavut seeking federal funds for housing"; and another article by Nathan Vanderklippe appearing in the *Vancouver Sun*, November 24, 2005: "Inuit face housing crisis". *Nunatsiak News* has also published many articles dealing with the Inuit housing crisis.

Recent initiatives, like the project 'Housing as a Socio-Economic Determinant of Health' (Dunn et al., 2003), highlight the causal relationships between housing and health for Canadians (Bryant, 2003). A wealth of new research, in Canada and elsewhere, also highlights the role of housing in wealth and welfare generation (Hulchanski, 2004), and the role of housing in family formation (Lauster, 2002; 2004; Hughes, 2003). The causal models being developed in these contexts elaborate and detail the importance of housing for most Canadians, but they require modification if they are to account for the experiences of Inuit in the Eastern Arctic. Considerations of Inuit culture and the context of the harsh circumstances of the Arctic make these modifications necessary.

Bibliography

Arias, E. (ed.). 1993. *The Meaning and use of housing: international perspectives, approaches and their applications*. Aldershot, Hants, England; Brookfield, Vermont, USA. Averbury.

Ark Research Associates. 1998. *Core Housing Need Among Off-Reserve Inuit, Métis, Status and Non-Status Indians in Canada*. Ottawa. The Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation.

Bacher, J. 1986. 'Canadian Housing "Policy" In Perspective.' *Urban History Review/Revue d'histoire urbaine*. 15 (1) 3-18.

Bacher, J. 1993. *Keeping to the Market-place: The Evolution of Canadian Housing Policy*. Montreal & Kingston. McGill-Queen's University Press.

Bryant, Toba. 2003. "The Current State of Housing in Canada as a Social Determinant of Health." *Policy Options*. March: 52-56.

Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation. 1997. *Literature Review: Aboriginal People and Homelessness*. University of Winnipeg, Institute for Urban Studies.

Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation. 1998. *Core Housing Need Among Off-Reserve Inuit, Métis, Status and Non-Status Indians in Canada*. Ottawa. Prepared by Ark Research Associates

Clapham, D. 2002. "Housing Pathways: A Post Modern Analytical Framework." *Housing Theory and Society*. 19 (2) 57-68.

Collignon, B. 2001 "Sense of place and cultural identities: Inuit domestic spaces in transition/Esprit des lieux et modeles culturels. La mutation des espaces domestiques en arctique inuit." *Annales de Geographie*. 620: 383-404.

Damas, D. 2002. *Arctic Migrants/Arctic Villagers: the Transformation of Inuit Settlement in the Central Arctic*. Montreal & Kingston, McGill-Queen's University Press.

Dawson, P. 2003. *An Examination of the Use of Domestic Space by Inuit Families Living in Arviat, Nunavut*. Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation. October.

Dickerson. M. 1992. *Whose North: Political Change, Political Development, and Self-Government in the Northwest Territories*. Calgary. University of Calgary Press.

Dudley. K. 1972. *Arctic Settlement – Pangnirtung*. Toronto. Ginn and Co.

Duffy, R. Q. 1988. *The Road to Nunavut: The Progress of the Eastern Arctic Inuit Since the Second World War*. Kingston & Montreal. McGill-Queen's University Press.

Dunn, James R., Michael Hayes, David Hulchanski, Stephen Hwang, Louise Potvin. 2003. "A Needs, Gaps, and Opportunities Assessment for Research: Housing as a Socio-Economic Determinant of Health." *A Report for The Canadian Institutes of Health Research*.

Honigmann, J. & I. Honnigmann. 1965. *Eskimo Townsmen*. Ottawa. St. Paul University, Canadian Research Centre for Anthropology.

Honigmann, J. & I. Honnigmann. 1970. *Arctic Townsmen: Ethnic Backgrounds and Modernization*. Ottawa. St. Paul University, Canadian Research Centre for Anthropology.

Hughes, Mary Elizabeth. 2003. "Home Economics: Metropolitan Labor and Housing Markets and Domestic Arrangement in Young Adulthood." *Social Forces* 81(4): 1399-1429.

Hulchanski, D. 1986. "The 1935 Dominion Housing Act: Setting the Stage for a Permanent Federal Presence in Canada's Housing Sector." *Urban History Review/Revue d'histoire urbaine*. 15 (1) 3-18.

Hulchanski, J. D. 1995. "The Concept of Housing Affordability: Six Contemporary Uses of the Housing Expenditure-to-Income Ratio." *Housing Studies* 10(4): 471-491.

Hulchanski, J. D. 2004. "A Tale of Two Canadas: Homeowners getting Richer, Renters Getting Poorer." Chapter 11 in *Finding Room: Policy Options for a Canadian Rental Housing Strategy*. Ed. J.D. Hulchanski and M. Shapcott. Toronto: CUCS Press. P. 179-194.

Institute for Urban Studies, University of Winnipeg. 1997. *Literature Review: Aboriginal People and Homelessness*. Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation.

Inuit Tapirisat of Canada. 2001. *Research and Consultation Project Concerning Inuit Housing Across Canada*. Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation. April.

Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami. 2004. *Backgrounder on Inuit and Housing*. Ottawa. Nov. 1.

Jacobs, K. & T. Manzi. 2000. "Evaluating the Social Constructionist Paradigm in Housing Research." *Housing Theory and Society*. 17 (21) 35-42.

Jacobs, K. 2001. "Historical Perspectives and Methodologies: Their Relevance for Housing Studies?" *Housing Theory and Society*. 18 (3/4) 127-135.

Jenness, Diamond. 1923. *The Life of the Copper Eskimos*. Volume 12, Part A. Ottawa. Acland.

Kemeny, J. 1992. *Housing and social theory*. London; New York. Routledge.

King, P. 2003. *A social philosophy of housing*. Aldershot, Hampshire, England; Burlington Vermont, USA. Ashgate.

Lauster, Nathanael. 2002. "Hem Ljuva Hem: Cohabitation, Marriage, and Access to Home Ownership in Sweden, 1970-1992." *Scandinavian Population Studies* 13: 171-190.

Lauster, Nathanael. 2004. *Room Enough for Two or a Room of One's Own? Access to Housing and Family Household Formation in Sweden, 1968-1992*. Doctoral Dissertation – Brown University.

Lawson, J. 2001. "Comparing the causal mechanisms underlying housing networks over time and space." *Netherlands Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*. 16 (2) OTB, Delft.

Lee, M. & G. Reinhardt. 2003. *Eskimo Architecture: Dwelling and Structure in the Early Historic Period*. Fairbanks. University of Alaska Press.

Mallett, S. 2004. "Understanding home: a critical review of the literature." *The Sociological Review*. 52 (1): 62-89.

Marcuse, P. 1978. *The myth of the benevolent state: towards a theory of housing*. New York. Columbia University, Graduate School of Architecture and Planning.

Morcombe, K. 1984. *The residential development process: housing policy and theory*. Aldershot. Gower.

Northwest Territories Housing Corporation. 1992. *Housing Needs Survey 1992*. Yellowknife. Pauktuutit, 1993. *A Community Perspective on Health Promotion and Substance Abuse: A report on community needs in the Northwest Territories, Nunavik, Quebed, and northern Labrador*. Ottawa.

Nunavut Housing Corporation. 2001. *Business Plan 2001/2002*. Government of Nunavut. March 22.

Pauktuutit. 1995. *Inuit Women, the Housing Crisis and Violence*. Ottawa

Robson, R., 1995. 'Housing in the Northwest Territories: the Post-War Vision.' *Urban History Review*. 24 (1):3-20.

Rose, A. 1980. *Canadian Housing Policies (1935-1980)*. Toronto. Butterworths.

Sommerville, P. 1994. "On Explanations of housing policy." *Scandinavian Housing and Planning Research*. 11 (4): 211-230.

Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs. 1992. *A Time for Action: Aboriginal and Northern Housing*. House of Commons. Ottawa.

Stern, P. 2004. *The Nucleation of Inuit Households: Cash, Kinship, and the Obligation to Share in Light of Self-Governance*. paper presented at the 14th Inuit Studies Conference, Calgary, Alberta, Aug. 12-14.

Tester, F. & Kulchyski, P. 1994. *Tammarniit: Inuit relocation in the eastern Arctic, 1939-63*. Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press.

Tester, F. & McNicoll, P. 2002. *Housing and Health in the Eastern Arctic, 1955-1966: Writing, Practice and Lived Experience*. Paper presented at the 13th Inuit Studies Conference. Fairbanks, Alaska. Aug. 1-3.

Tester, F. & Kulchyski, P. (in press). *Kiumajuk (Talking Back): Game Management, Community Development and Inuit Rights in the Eastern Arctic*. Vancouver. University of British Columbia Press.

Tester, F. (in press) "Iglu to Iglurjuaq: The Anthropology of Colonialism in Culture, Home and History" in: P. Stern & L. Stevenson (eds). *After Boal: New Approaches to Arctic Anthropology*. Lincoln. University of Nebraska Press.

Thompson, C. 1969. *Patterns of housekeeping in two Eskimo settlements*. Ottawa. Queen's Printer.

Usher, P. 2004. *Arctic Migrants/Arctic Villagers: the Transformation of Inuit Settlement in the Central Arctic*. (Book Review) *The Canadian Geographer*. 48 (2): 248

Vallee, F. 1967. *Kabloona and Eskimo in the Central Keewatin*. Ottawa, Saint Paul University. Canadian Research Centre for Anthropology.

Wade, J. 1986. "Wartime Housing Limited, 1941-1947: Canadian Housing Policy at the Crossroads." *Urban History Review/Revue d'histoire urbaine*. 15 (1) 41-59.

Wade, J. 1984. *Houses for All: The Struggle for Social Housing in Vancouver, 1919-50*. Vancouver. University of British Columbia Press.

Yates, B., 1970. 'Housing Programmes for Eskimos in Northern Canada.' *The Polar Record*. 15 (94): 45-50

APPENDIX VII
DESIGN RECOMMENDATIONS

Design Recommendations Based on Observational Data and Spatial Analysis

[Source: Peter C. Dawson. October 10, 2003. **AN EXAMINATION OF THE USE OF DOMESTIC SPACE BY INUIT FAMILIES LIVING IN ARVIAT, NUNAVUT.** Research Report prepared for the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, Ottawa, Ontario.]

1. **The construction of houses with more open floor plans generating wider viewfields that do not restrict the flow of visual information.** This could be achieved by eliminating long central corridors from which other rooms are accessed. Instead, smaller rooms such as bedrooms, utility rooms and workshops would open directly onto a single, large open space.
2. **The integration of kitchen and living room into this single, enlarged space.** This type of layout coincides with observational data which indicates that most family activities take place in the living room and kitchen.
3. **The construction of large enclosed cold porches on the front of the house.** This design modification is supported by observations of the need for cold porches in the facilitation of traditional activities such as hunting and fishing. These enclosures should be fitted with a locking door to deter instances of theft.
4. **The elimination of multi-story dwellings in favor of single-floor dwellings.** This would reduce the problem of the overheating of the second floor during the summer months, as well as widen viewfields throughout the house thereby increasing its visual accessibility. This recommendation also addresses a preference for single floor dwellings expressed by the majority of Inuit families.
5. **The replacement of small standard kitchen sinks with larger stainless steel sinks to accommodate traditional foods which tend to be larger and bulkier than store-bought western foods.**
6. **The addition of more energy efficient stoves with larger heating elements to accommodate the boiling of traditional foods such as caribou meat in large cooking pots.** Alternatively, the construction of outdoor brick fire pits so that large pots of meat can be brought to boil more quickly and efficiently.
7. **The construction of larger storage cupboards in kitchens to accommodate large cooking pots which are important in the preparation of traditional foods.**
8. **The addition of better ventilation systems to accommodate large amounts of condensation released during the boiling of traditional foods in large cooking pots.**

9. **The addition of self-closing (spring-loaded) doors to reduce heating bills during cooler months.** This would eliminate the problem of children and visitors leaving doors open when entering and exiting the house.
10. **The development and construction of more storage solutions for clothing, toys, and other items used by Inuit families.**
11. **The construction of elevated gravel pads along the sides of houses to serve as dedicated work areas for repairing snowmachines, ATV's, boats, komatiks, etc.** The elevation of these gravel platforms would deter people from driving in between houses and prevent the pooling of water. In addition, the gravel could be changed periodically to remove the accumulation of pollutants such as oil and gas spills.
12. **The placement of skirting around the foundations of all houses, leaving southern sides open to warmer winds, thereby reducing heating bills.**
13. **The replacement of all door hardware (knobs, locks) with heavy duty industrial latches and handles.**
14. **The attachment of vinyl or linoleum sheets to lower portions of interior house walls to reduce damage caused by scratching and drawing from children.**

