From the North to Ottawa's Southway Inn Historical Document Collection

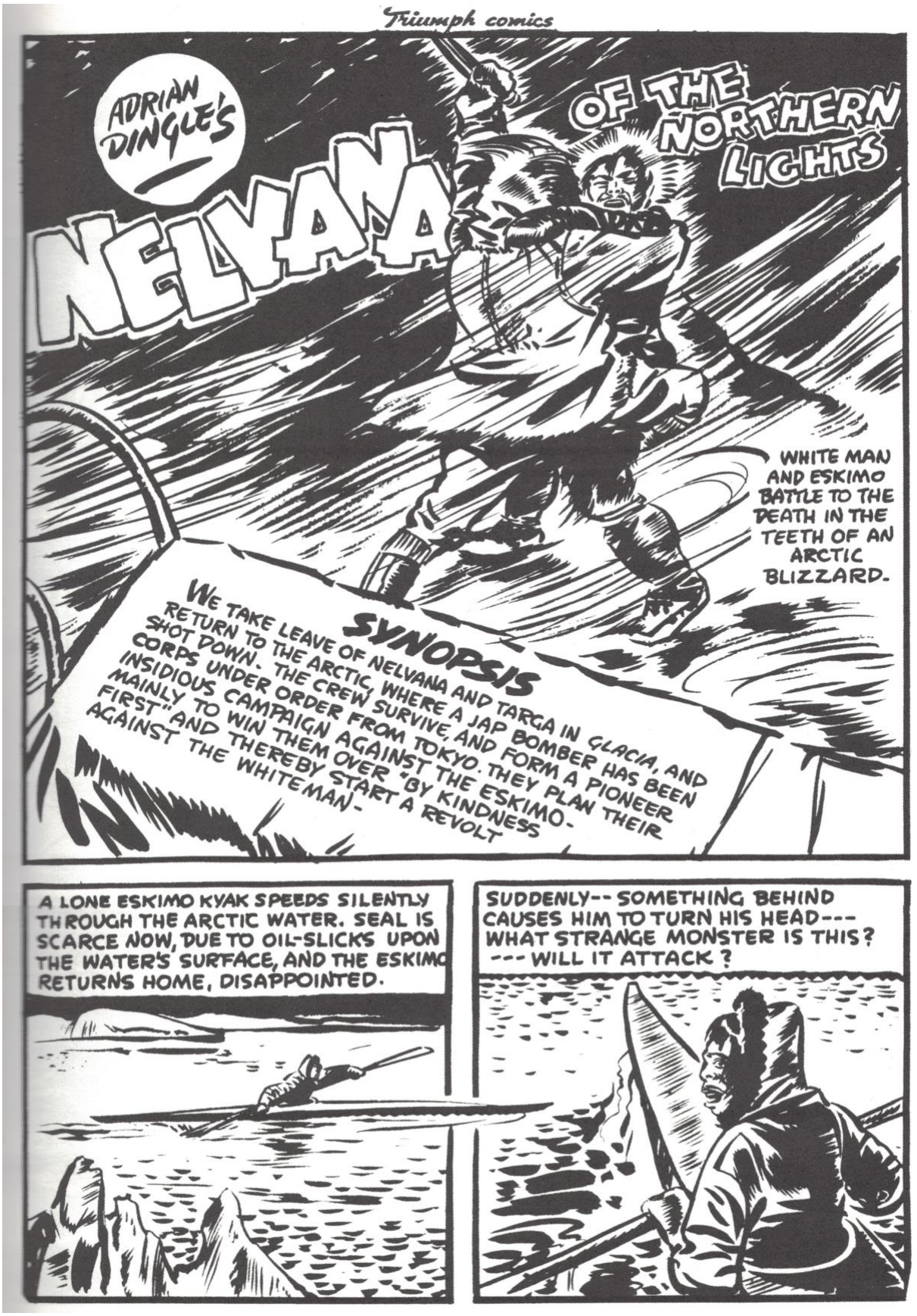
Note to Students

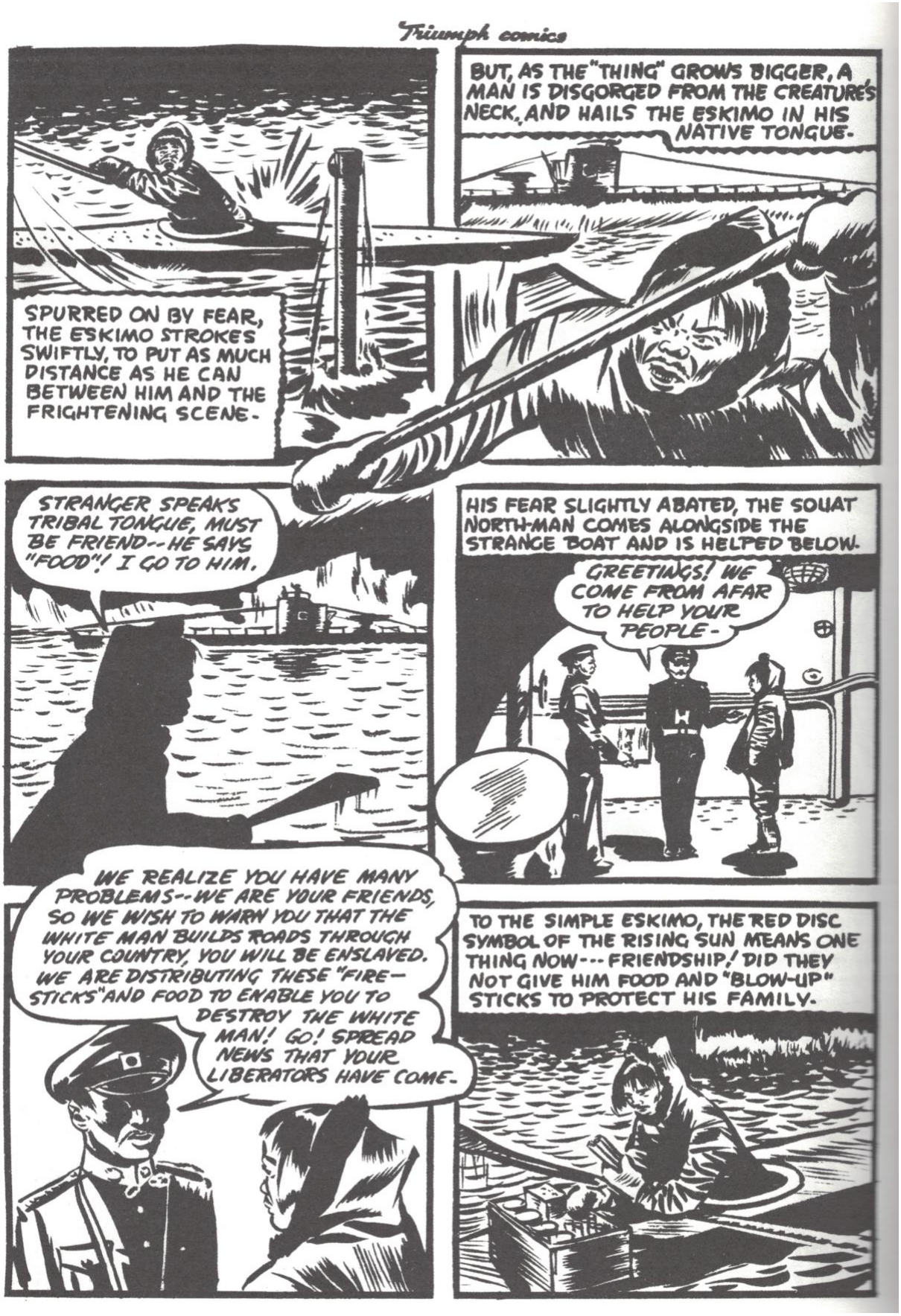
Working with primary documents is one of the most challenging tasks that historians undertake. As you read through these documents it is important for you to remember the type of text you are working with. In most cases, these documents were not written to provide you with information. As such, these documents need to be interpreted. You will need to read them carefully and to ask yourself questions about who wrote them, when, and why. You will also need to consider whether the author is a reliable or credible source of information. In order to help you with this task, each document is prefaced with a very brief background statement as well as some guiding questions.

Document 1: Nelvana of the Northern Lights

The Nelvana of the Northern Lights comic book series, which ran from August 1941 to May 1947, was created by Welsh Canadian cartoonist Adrian Dingle. Dingle based his main character, Nelvana, on an Inuit mythological figure who traditionally took the form of an old woman. Dingle transformed Nelvana into a strong, attractive, white superhero who drew her power from the northern lights. The issue below was published in the early 1940s at the height of the Second World War and depicts Japanese soldiers as Nelvana's antagonist. As you read the comic, consider the following questions:

1. *How do the Inuit in the comic react to the "warning" from the Japanese soldiers?*
2. *What does their reaction tell us about how Dingle, and other settler Canadians, perceived the Inuit?*


Triumph comics
ADRIAN DINGLE'S
NELVANA
OF THE NORTHERN LIGHTS
WHITE MAN AND ESKIMO BATTLE TO THE DEATH IN THE TEETH OF AN ARCTIC BLIZZARD.
SYNOPSIS
WE TAKE LEAVE OF NELVANA AND TARGA IN GLACIA, AND RETURN TO THE ARCTIC, WHERE A JAP BOMBER HAS BEEN SHOT DOWN. THE CREW SURVIVE, AND FORM A PIONEER CORPS UNDER ORDER FROM TOKYO. THEY PLAN THEIR INSIDIOUS CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE ESKIMO. MAINLY TO WIN THEM OVER "BY KINDNESS FIRST" AND THEREBY START A REVOLT AGAINST THE WHITEMAN.
A LONE ESKIMO KYAK SPEEDS SILENTLY THROUGH THE ARCTIC WATER. SEAL IS SCARCE NOW, DUE TO OIL-SLICKS UPON THE WATER'S SURFACE, AND THE ESKIMO RETURNS HOME, DISAPPOINTED.
SUDDENLY-- SOMETHING BEHIND CAUSES HIM TO TURN HIS HEAD--- WHAT STRANGE MONSTER IS THIS? --- WILL IT ATTACK ?


Triumph comics
SPURRED ON BY FEAR, THE ESKIMO STROKES SWIFTLY, TO PUT AS MUCH DISTANCE AS HE CAN BETWEEN HIM AND THE FRIGHTENING SCENE-
BUT, AS THE "THING" GROWS BIGGER, A MAN IS DISGORGED FROM THE CREATURE'S NECK, AND HAILS THE ESKIMO IN HIS NATIVE TONGUE-
STRANGER SPEAKS TRIBAL TONGUE, MUST BE FRIEND--HE SAYS "FOOD"! I GO TO HIM.
HIS FEAR SLIGHTLY ABATED, THE SQUAT NORTH-MAN COMES ALONGSIDE THE STRANGE BOAT AND IS HELPED BELOW.
GREETINGS! WE COME FROM AFAR TO HELP YOUR PEOPLE-
WE REALIZE YOU HAVE MANY PROBLEMS--WE ARE YOUR FRIENDS, SO WE WISH TO WARN YOU THAT THE WHITE MAN BUILDS ROADS THROUGH YOUR COUNTRY, YOU WILL BE ENSLAVED. WE ARE DISTRIBUTING THESE "FIRE-STICKS" AND FOOD TO ENABLE YOU TO DESTROY THE WHITE MAN! GO! SPREAD NEWS THAT YOUR LIBERATORS HAVE COME-
TO THE SIMPLE ESKIMO, THE RED DISC SYMBOL OF THE RISING SUN MEANS ONE THING NOW--- FRIENDSHIP! DID THEY NOT GIVE HIM FOOD AND "BLOW-UP" STICKS TO PROTECT HIS FAMILY.

Document 2: The Eskimo Economy

The memo below was written in 1953 by James Cantley, a service officer in the Arctic Services division of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, the government department responsible for Inuit affairs at that time. Cantley writes to J.G. Wright, a member of the Department's Sub-Committee on Eskimo Education, who had sent Cantley a copy of "Pakistan News and Views," a newsletter issued by the office of the High Commissioner for Pakistan in Ottawa. The newsletter described a program designed to "help villagers help themselves" by training people to work on construction and agricultural projects in 600 villages in Pakistan. As you read Cantley's memo, think about the following questions:

1. *Why did Wright and Cantley think it was useful to consider the program in Pakistan when addressing the economy in the North?*
2. *What does this tell you about how the government of Canada envisioned its relationship with Inuit?*

With reference to your memorandum and the attached copy of the 'Pakistan News and Views,' I think we have reached the stage now when we shall have to make a more direct approach to Eskimo economy and social problems. Even though the white fox market should recover from its present low level, we still have to face the fact that trapping occupies only about four months of the Eskimo year, and is a very precarious means of earning a livelihood. If he is to progress or even remain self-sustaining and independent, the Eskimo must have other sources of income. Since there is little of economic value in the country, apart from white fox, the solution would seem to lie in introducing "cottage" or small industries. Public works such as improving settlement areas, have their uses, particularly in dealing with able bodied relief recipients, but they are limited in scope and are at best only a temporary make-shift. Local industries may be considered under two categories:

a) Those promoted for the production of articles for sale in outside markets

b) Those aiming at making the Eskimos more self sufficient by encouraging them to make more of their own requirements instead of depending wholly on imports…

Suggestions have been made in other memoranda on this file for the development of local projects at Aklavik and elsewhere, all aimed at increasing the Eskimos' income, or providing them with means whereby they can improve their standard of living or conserve their present income. A great deal can be done along these lines, but it will require time and patient effort. The average Eskimo is the least concerned about the precariousness of his present condition and it will take time to convince him that he must change his way of life greatly if he is to do more than survive.

J. Cantley,
Arctic Services

J. Cantley, Memorandum for Mr. J.G. Wright, December 18, 1952. RG 85, Volume 1234, File 251-1 Volume 2, "Eskimo Economy & Welfare (General and Policy)," Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources. Library and Archives Canada.

Document 3: "How I Became an Eskimo"

The following article was published in the Canadian magazine Maclean's in November 1954. The author, Doug Wilkinson, was a salesman and Second World War veteran from Toronto who lived with an Inuit family in the Arctic for just over a year. While reading Wilkinson's article, consider the following questions:

1. *Why did Wilkinson write this text? Who was his audience?*
2. *What does this article tell us about how Canadians viewed the people of the North?*

How I Became an Eskimo

Here's the remarkable story of a traveling salesman who returned to the Stone Age. Adopted by an Eskimo family, he lived for a year on raw meat and slept on skins. This is what he learned – from the inside of an igloo.

From April, 1953 until May, 1954, I lived as the adopted son of an Eskimo family. My father was Idlouk, a strong and able hunter. My mother was Kidlik, a short woman in her mid-thirties, with jet-black hair, slanted eyes and dark skin. I had nine brothers and sisters. We were one of the five families living at Owlatseevik, a speck on the frozen wastes of north Baffin Island... Some aspects of the white man's civilization frighten the Eskimo. One night Idlouk saw me glancing at a population chart in my dictionary. In reply to his questions, I gave him the population of various Canadian provinces. He was amazed. I capped our discussion by telling him that in a city called New York, fourteen million people dwelt in an area no larger than that covered by his small island. "This cannot be," said Idlouk, over and over again. The next morning he complained, "I couldn't sleep last night." He told me he had been tortured by visions of hordes of New Yorkers, piled high on each other, struggling for enough space to breathe.

Excerpts from Doug Wilkinson, "How I Became An Eskimo," Maclean's, November 15, 1954, 28 & 105.

Document 4: Travelling to Ottawa for School

In the early 1960s, the Canadian government was interested in determining whether it should build more schools in the North, or bring Inuit students South for schooling. Concern over whether Inuit students could compete with students in Southern cities led the government to select four promising Inuit students from the North for an "experiment," in which these students would attend junior high school in Ottawa. Peter Ittinuar, who would later become Canada's first Inuk Member of Parliament, was one of the students selected for the program. In his memoir, he recounts the impacts of his experience attending school in Ottawa from age 12 to age 14. As you read about how Ittinuar's life was shaped by his experiences in Ottawa, please think about the following questions:

1. *How did Ittinuar feel about his identity and his place in society after leaving Ottawa?*
2. *Why do you think this was the case?*

[We] gained a lot in our knowledge of English. By the time we left, it was the same as the

white kids English. As good as it was in Rankin Inlet, it wasn't nearly as good as what could be learned in an urban environment. Our English increased multi-fold. Our competitiveness increased in school. Again, it was competitive in Rankin Inlet, but not anything like what it was in a standard public school in urban Ottawa or elsewhere. It was very competitive. You had to do your homework. You had to pay attention to detail. You had to be specific when you were doing grammar and mathematics…On the negative side, there was our loss of language, our loss of cultural upbringing. I mentioned earlier that up until I was twelve, I got the upbringing that a traditional Inuk boy would be getting; hunting, fishing, trapping and all these things. But it doesn't stop at twelve. You keep on learning. You learn navigation. You learn meteorology, Inuit lore and songs. You learn many, many more things about animals. You learn animal anatomy. You learn about the seasons, and all these things. All these things that we would have learned as Inuit we lost, because we were down there…There were all these losses. Then the alienation comes to the fore. You are not really aware of it when you are twelve or thirteen. When we went back to Rankin Inlet there was some teasing from the other kids, but mostly there was some envy and some jealousy. When you reached fourteen, fifteen or sixteen and you went back up North, that's when the real marginalization and alienation started. You were not really white, and you were not really Inuit. You were either in between or you were both. We felt both, but neither side accepted us as both."

Excerpt from Peter Ittinuar, Teach an Eskimo How to Read: Conversations with Peter Freuchen Ittinuar (Iqaluit: Nunavut Arctic College, 2008), 66 – 67.

Document 5: Inuit in Vanier Outraged with Mayor

The following article from the Ottawa Citizen newspaper describes the reaction of Inuit in Vanier (now part of the city of Ottawa) after the city's mayor asked the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC), the crown corporation created in 1946 to improve housing conditions in Canada, to stop building homes for Indigenous peoples in Vanier. As you read about Mayor Lalonde's comments and the reaction from Inuit in Vanier, think about the following questions:

1. *What does Mayor Lalonde's request tell us about how she views Inuit?*
2. *Do you think other non-Inuit living in Vanier agreed with her?*

Natives Say Lalonde Owes them Apology

Native people living in Vanier are outraged with their mayor and say she owes them an apology because they feel they have been portrayed as drunks. Sitting in a native drop-in centre Thursday, Bryan Alexander threw up his hands in disgust as he recalled that Mayor Gisele Lalonde asked federal officials to put a freeze on native housing units because she said they were causing "social problems" in Vanier. "I don't like living there now," Alexander said. "I expect an apology. I'm not a drunk." Lalonde met with harsh criticism from a native housing group about her request to the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation for a moratorium on federally-financed purchases of more housing for natives in the city. She changed her mind Wednesday after meeting Gignul Non-Profit Housing Corp. officials and now says natives are welcome to buy houses in Vanier. The native housing corporation has bought many of its units in the region in Vanier because prices are lowest there. "All I've been hearing about in the last few months is that (Vanier) wants to throw natives out, "Alexander said. "It's a town turned prejudiced." He said he and friends have heard many complaints about

natives drinking. Most natives interviewed said they are treated no differently in other parts of the region although they agree they have become Vanier's scapegoats for alcohol and drug abuse problems. "Vanier is scuzzy to begin with. They don't need natives to make it scuzzy," said Mika Conboy, who moved out of Vanier in January. "The alcohol and drug problems were not caused by natives." "When there are a few bad apples every native gets labelled," Elena Albert said. Jim Eagle, director of the Odawa Native Friendship Centre, feared that Lalonde's reaction could escalate intolerance among whites. People tend to emulate those in authority and might agree that additional native housing should be stopped, he said. "The mayor wants to elevate the status of that community," he said. She can't do it by pulling people down. She has to treat them equally."

Excerpt from Patrick Meagher, “Natives say Lalonde owes them apology,” The Ottawa Citizen (Ottawa, Ontario), August 3, 1990, B2.

Document 6: Inuit Children and the Education System

The excerpt below is taken from a document called Inuit Rights in the City. Published by Tungasuvvingat Inuit, an Ottawa-based Inuit social and cultural organization, the document is designed to act as a manual for non-Inuit service providers in Ottawa who may not have an understanding of Inuit rights and culture and how this affects the way Inuit navigate the city. In this part of the manual, the authors describe the challenges that children and families face when integrating into the education system in Ottawa. As you read the text, answer the following questions:

1. *What challenges do Inuit children face in the education system of the South?*
2. *Why do these challenges exist?*

Inuit Children and the Education System

In schools, a lack of knowledge about Inuit culture can translate into problems for Inuit children. Parents have expressed frustration with how their children are treated in school. One problem noted by a number of parents is that too many Inuit children are scolded by teachers for not listening properly. A child who has been raised in an Inuit family learns to speak a certain way…Inuit children respond to teachers in an honest and, often, straightforward manner, but this can be interpreted as being too blunt. If this occurs with any regularity, the child is assumed to be challenging the teacher’s authority. In these situations, in the eyes of the parent and the child, the child is responding like an Inuk. Yet, the teacher, unaware of how Inuit express themselves and expecting a response more typical of a Qallunaat child, may begin thinking of the child as a troublemaker…English and Inuktitut are structured so differently that even when children grow up speaking English, if their parents speak Inuktitut, they will pick up the Inuktitut way of structuring sentences and phrases. The nuances of the English way of expressing a point may be difficult for an Inuk child to pick up. When asked a question, an Inuk child may take time to ponder what the speaker is really expecting in the way of an answer. Unfortunately, in school, taking time to formulate a response can be considered the equivalent of not knowing the answer. Assumptions are then made about the child’s ability to absorb information (i.e. they are “not listening”) or they may be labelled as slow learners.

Excerpt from Linda Archibald and Mary Crnovich, “Inuit Rights in the City: A Guide to

Understanding the Rights of Inuit Living in the Ottawa Area" (Ottawa: Tungasuvvingat Inuit, 2000), 21 – 23.

Document 7: Census Data

This article published by the Ottawa Citizen newspaper in 2008 describes the difference between the Inuit population of Ottawa reported by Statistics Canada, and that recorded by Inuit organizations in the city. As you read the article, consider these questions:

1. *Why is there a discrepancy between the census numbers reported by Statistics Canada and the number reported by Inuit organizations in Ottawa?*
2. *How might this difference impact Canadians' and Ottawans' understanding of Inuit living in Southern, urban areas?*

More Inuit in City than Census Recorded

Ottawa-Gatineau's Inuit population has to grown to 730, making it the largest Inuit community anywhere outside of the North, according to 2006 census figures released by Statistics Canada. The news that the capital has easily eclipsed Montreal and Edmonton, the census leaders in 2001, came as no surprise to Ottawa's Inuit. They say they've known for years that more Inuit live here than in any urban centre. But they were surprised -- and disappointed -- at the small number reported by StatsCan. "We know there are many more Inuit here than that -- probably more than twice as many," says Morgan Hare, who runs Tungasuvvingat Inuit, a non-profit group that has provided social services to Ottawa's Inuit for 21 years. "Our mailing list alone contains 400 families, many of them with three or four or more children." Indeed, most of the dozens of Inuit-related organizations in Ottawa-Gatineau put the population somewhere between 1,600 and 2,000, enough to generate the creation of a special Inuktitut word, Ottawamiut, to refer to the city's Inuit residents. Even in the North, that amounts to a good-sized community.

Getting an accurate number is important to many of those Inuit groups, who say the services they provide, the policies they develop -- and the money they spend -- need to keep pace with the growing population. In many cases, agencies receive government funds directly tied to the number of people they serve. StatsCan is aware of the discrepancy, and even worked with Tungasuvvingat Inuit before the May 2006 census to be sure as many Ottawa Inuit were captured by the survey as possible.

"We probably started a bit late in the game and we do need to keep working with the Ottawa Inuit," says StatsCan analyst Heather Tait. "Small populations in urban centres are always a concern." Ms. Tait defended the agency's data as a "completely reliable snapshot," although she conceded problems might arise from StatsCan's practice of not requiring residents of "collective dwellings" -- rooming-houses, hospitals, health residences, jails -- to fill out the detailed census forms that otherwise go to one in five households. Only those longer surveys include questions that identify a person's racial background. Language barriers and the higher-than-average Inuit homeless population may also hamper the collection of data. And, many Inuit who come to the capital for what they believe will be short stays don't list Ottawa as their "usual address" and then wind up remaining much longer, maybe even permanently.

Excerpt from Doug Fischer, “More Inuit in city than census recorded; Most agree Ottawa has the largest Inuit population outside the North.” The Ottawa Citizen (Ottawa, Ontario), January 18, 2008, F1.

Document 8: “Urban Inuit”

This article was taken from a 1993 issue of Inuktitut, the magazine published by Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (formerly the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada), a national Inuit organization founded in 1971. Writer Mary Carpenter describes the role of the Inuit Non-Profit Housing Corporation (INPHC) in helping Ottawa’s Inuit community find and maintain housing. As you read about the work of the INPHC, answer the following question:

1. *How do you think the work of the INPHC affects the experiences of Inuit living in Ottawa?*

Urban Inuit (Vanier, Ottawa)

Vanier, home to about a hundred of Ottawa's 300 Inuit, is located ten blocks east of Parliament Hill and you have the choice of two bridges over the Rideau River into this "city within a city." Its population is about 28,000, of whom 80 percent are French-speaking, and it occupies an area of 725 acres, slightly more than one square mile. Vanier is regarded as the most truly bilingual French-English community in Canada. The Inuit who reside here have come to the National Capital Region for a variety of reasons - some to work, some to study, and some for adventure and new horizons...

Vanier is known among the Aboriginal population of Ottawa as "The Res". Many Inuit, Indians, and Metis have taken up residence there. I can walk down any street and I know where my fellow Natives reside. It is easy to spot the buildings where Inuit live. Many have wooden animal-shaped signs bearings names like Kayak, Uvinuk, and Atuat on the outside. There are shops on Montreal Road open for business all day and night where one can go for a coffee or company at three in the morning. According to Ken Russell, manager of Inuit Non-Profit Housing, there are fifty apartment units in Vanier and several duplexes geared for families in the suburban communities of Gloucester and Orleans, and in the west end of Ottawa...The main idea behind INPHC is to provide low-income housing for "families". The Inuit family make-up is changing, as it is with families elsewhere in North America. The urban Inuit family typically has more childless women and fewer children than in the North; also, the numbers of lone-parent families and elderly women are increasing, and there are few Inuit women in the labour force...The Inuit tenants come from a wide geographical area, the Northwest Territories, Northern Quebec, and Labrador from communities like Ikaahuk (Sachs Harbour) Tuktoyaktuk, Qamanittuaq (Baker Lake) Igloolik, Taloyoak, Kuujjuaq, and Nain. Beth Williamson is the tenant counsellor for INPHC. Beth was born and raised in Kangiqsiniq (Rankin Inlet), and is the daughter of Jean Williamson, principal of Qitiqliq school in Arviat. Beth's father is Bob Williamson, former Territorial Councillor and now an anthropology professor at the University of Saskatchewan. Evie Amagoalik is the administrative assistant at INPHC, and it's her friendly face you see when you first walk into their twelfth-floor office in downtown Ottawa. Since most of the tenants are from the Eastern Arctic and still fluent in Inuktitut Evie has proven to be quite an asset to urban Inuit trying to cope with the south. Evie has lived in the south for a number of years

and is very comfortable in both northern and southern living, and this knowledge is very helpful for new tenants from the Arctic to help them make the adjustment.

Excerpt from Mary Carpenter, "Urban Inuit (Vanier, Ottawa)," *Inuktitut* 76 (1993): 62 – 69.

Document 9: Nunavut Sivuniksavut

This article by Inuk educator Murray Angus was featured in a 2004 issue of Inuktitut, the magazine published by Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, Canada's national Inuit organization. Angus describes Nunavut Sivuniksavut (NS), the college program for Inuit youth that he founded in 1985. The program is designed to educate youth from the North about Inuit history and culture, as well as about the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement, which recognized the rights of Inuit to establish and govern the territory of Nunavut. As you read about the work of Angus and the NS, think about the following questions:

1. *Why is NS located in the South and not in Nunavut? How does it impact the experiences of Inuit youth living in Ottawa?*
2. *Why is it important that NS was founded by an Inuk?*

Heading South to Learn About the North

For over 19 years, Inuit youth from Nunavut have been learning about one of the most amazing stories in Canadian history: Their own. The surprising thing is they have been doing it while living outside of the north, thousands of miles away from home, in Ottawa. The setting is a unique college program called Nunavut Sivuniksavut (NS). Founded by the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut, the Program is for youth who are beneficiaries of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement. Since 1985, it has provided over 200 young students with a successful transition year between high school and post-secondary education, and/or the Nunavut workforce…

Learning about Inuit

The success of the program stems from the fact that it enables Youth to do several important things at the same time: One is to learn about their land claims agreement, signed in 1993. Virtually all employers in Nunavut – Inuit organizations, governments, and the private sector -- need people who know what the Agreement entails. N.S. is one of the few places where that knowledge can be acquired in a formal educational setting. "To me, the land claims are much more than a document representing an agreement between two groups of people," says Miranda Atatahak, 17, of Kugluktuk. "Its an achievement by the Inuit, for the Inuit, and a path for future Inuit successes." Nunavut Sivuniksavut students also acquire a greater knowledge of Inuit history. This involves the different eras of pre-contact history such as the pre-Dorset, Dorset and Tunnit. It also includes the different phases of European contact -- the explorers, whalers, traders, missionaries, RCMP, the military and government administrators – and the impacts each had on Inuit society…

Advantages of Ottawa

While it may appear odd for students to leave the north to learn about themselves, ITK [Inuit

Tapiriit Kanatami, the national organization protecting the rights of Inuit in Canada] president (and NS Board member), Jose Kusugak, says the Ottawa location makes sense: "In order to fully understand your own world, sometimes you need to view it from the outside. That's the kind of opportunity that the NS program offers Nunavut youth today." Living in Ottawa gives NS students first-hand exposure to national Inuit organizations and to Parliament. They also take advantage of a wide variety of educational resources including museums, archives, libraries, and universities. Nor does living in Ottawa cause students to lose their culture or ties to the North either. On the contrary, students develop their cultural performing skills; learning ayaya songs, drum dances and throat singing. They share their culture with residents of the National Capital region each year, performing at schools, festivals and other public events.

Excerpt from Murray Angus, "Heading South to learn about the north: Nunavut Sivuniksavut program," Inuktitut 94 (2004): 48 – 50.

Document 10: The Origins of Tungasuvvingat Inuit

The narrative below is that of Ovilu Goo-Doyle, an Inuk Elder from Cape Dorset, Nunavut who spent forty years of her life living in Ottawa. In the late 1970s, Ovilu garnered the support of Inuit in Ottawa for the creation of an Inuit community centre. This centre would become Tungasuvvingat Inuit (TI), an organization that still provides important programs for Ottawa's Inuit today. TI programs include a Family Resource Centre, a Housing Support team, career support, and a healing centre for those struggling with addiction. As you read Ovilu's oral history, consider these questions:

1. *How do you think the experiences of Inuit living in Ottawa changed after TI was founded?*
2. *Why is it important that TI was founded by a group of Inuit? How might it have differed if it was founded by non-Inuit or the Canadian government?*

In the late '70s, I said we have to have an Inuit community centre. It's very much a culture shock when people come down from the north to experience southern living. I was worried about that. That the community would start growing and growing. Patients used to go to Montreal for hospital care from Baffin Island, but when they changed it to Ottawa, the Inuit community got bigger and bigger. They would get escorted to Ottawa for medical treatment, and then for whatever reason many chose to stay here...I gathered lots of people and that's when TI started. I found the building. It was a really, really small building so TI could start a drop-in centre. I found a very, very tiny place on Bronson through a friend of mine who is a restaurant owner in Ottawa. He was nice enough to rent us a tiny place. I think it was two years later, when the community got bigger, we had to find another place because that place was way too small! When the events were happening people were crammed in there. It was not very big but it did very good things for the people that were coming down to Ottawa either for work or for higher education. People didn't just come down here to do nothing. In those days people actually came down for jobs or education. And then families eventually started to come down...We gather together in different kinds of Inuit traditional functions. You are able to speak your own language, talk to them, and get together with your Inuit fellows. Like the lunch program or, for instance, on Inuit Day. People really put effort into doing these sorts of things in the community and the Children's Centre. I appreciate it so

much because Inuit have more places to go to. We gather and it's wonderful, it's like a feast for us, like up north, our traditional way. With games as well. It's so much easier now than it was in the early days living here. You have a place to go to. Inuit have a place to go to.

Oral history of Ovilu Goo-Doyle, taken from Anita Kushwaha, "The Significance of Nuna (the Land) and Urban Place-making for Inuit living in Ottawa, Ontario, Canada," (PhD Thesis, Department of Geography, Carleton University, 2013), 109 – 114.

Document 11: Ottawamiut

The excerpt below is taken from a document called Inuit Rights in the City. Published by Tungasuvvingat Inuit, an Ottawa-based Inuit social and cultural organization, the document is designed to act as a manual for non-Inuit service providers in Ottawa who may not have an understanding of Inuit rights and culture and how this affects the way Inuit navigate the city. This excerpt provides a profile of Ottawamiut, the Inuktitut term for Ottawa's Inuit community. As you read about Ottawamiut, please answer these questions:

1. *What does this community profile tell us about the relationship that Ottawamiut have with the North?*
2. *Why do you think it was necessary for TI to publish this "manual"?*

Ottawamiut Community Profile

The Ottawamiut community consists of over six hundred people living in Ottawa and the surrounding area…Among the Ottawamiut, the shared culture, language, values and traditions contribute to the creation of a socially and culturally cohesive community… Many Inuit children are born in Ottawa and consider it home. Most of these children have strong links to families and communities in the north, even though they are raised within the Ottawa Inuit community. Recently, the Inuit Family Resources Centre began having a celebration of new life and welcoming of children. The purpose of this celebration is to bring new members of the community together with other Ottawamiut so that everyone can become familiar with one another through a sharing of names. The sharing of names is an important part of Inuit culture. At this celebration, children two years and younger are introduced to the community by their parents. The parent introduces the child by her or his Inuktitut name. Inuit children are named after a person who has recently died and their spirit now lives on through that child. In the introduction, the parent also gives a history of the person for whom their child is named. This is one of the forms of kinship that bonds Inuit within the community.

Community events also celebrate the importance of food in Inuit culture. Inuit attitudes towards food do not change just because people move outside of the north. The love of Inuit food (Arctic char, caribou, muktuk, seal, and bannock) ties people together, as does the tradition of sharing food. When an Inuit organization in Ottawa receives an order of Inuit food, everyone in the community is welcome to share. Organizations celebrate many holidays (Christmas, Easter, and Nunavut Day) by sponsoring community feasts, with drum dancers, throat singers, and Inuit games. Meat and fish are eaten frozen – cardboard is placed on the

floor and people kneel down to cut pieces of char or caribou with their ulus (knives)– as well as made into roasts and stews.

Language plays a fundamental, sustaining role in Inuit culture. This is especially true because the oral culture of Inuit relies heavily upon the traditional language – Inuktitut. For those Inuit who have lost their Inuktitut or who may have never learned the language, TI and the Inuit Family Resources Centre offer Inuktitut language courses.

Excerpts from Linda Archibald and Mary Crnovich, "Inuit Rights in the City: A Guide to Understanding the Rights of Inuit Living in the Ottawa Area" (Ottawa: Tungasuvvingat Inuit, 2000), 4 – 6.

Document 12: A Seal Feast in Ottawa

In the excerpt below, geographer Anita Kushwaha describes her experience attending a seal feast hosted by the Ottawa Inuit Children's Centre (OICC) in 2010. Kushwaha, a student at Carleton University at the time, was writing her Ph.D. dissertation about the Inuit community in Ottawa. As you read about Kushwaha's experience, think about the following questions:

1. *Why did the OICC host this event?*
2. *The author, Anita Kushwaha, is not an Inuk. How do you think her experience of this event differed from that of the Inuit who attended the feast? Why is it important for historians to consider this?*

When we arrived at the OICC, dozens of adults and children were excitedly gathered in the yard. They were standing around a plump ringed seal which had been laid on the ground on a bed of cardboard, covered by a plastic tarp.

The ringed seal had been harvested by a hunter in Kimmirut, Nunavut, and shipped to Ottawa earlier that week. The crowd curiously watched as a community member began to butcher the seal. As he worked he addressed the crowd in Inuktitut to impart some knowledge about what he was doing. He pointed to certain body parts and organs and told us their Inuktitut names. Another Inuk woman stepped in and spoke about the seal organs, making a point to educate the many school children that were huddled around the seal. She pointed out which parts were eaten by men and which parts were eaten by women. After the first stage of butchering was complete, several Inuit women took to the task of preparing and distributing the seal meat, as is traditionally the practice.

Many skilled hands armed with uluit (Inuit women's knives) portioned the seal. Certain sections of the animal were set aside to be boiled for broth. However, the majority of the seal was eaten fresh and raw. Elders and children were invited to eat first, and then other community members. In addition to seal, community members enjoyed a mixed fare of moist bannock, and cups of seal broth. Throughout the couple of hours we attended the seal feast, there was a steady stream of people coming in and out of the yard to partake in the sharing of country food. Clearly, news about the seal feast had travelled quickly throughout the community. There was a distinct sense of celebration in the air as people gathered together to enjoy the sharing of seal meat, as well as each others' company. For some, it was their first visit to the OICC. Through the seal feast, they had been connected to an important social and cultural network in Ottawa. For many, it was the first time they had eaten seal in months. In

the words of one Inuk woman, she was "craving it", a sentiment that was repeated throughout the afternoon. After a couple of hours, there was nothing left of the seal but its skin. The skin itself was given to a community member to clean, dry, and use for sewing traditional clothing.

Excerpt from Anita Kushwaha, "The Significance of Nuna (the Land) and Urban Place-making for Inuit living in Ottawa, Ontario, Canada," (PhD Thesis, Department of Geography, Carleton University, 2013), 91 – 93.

Document 13: The Ottawa Inuit Children's Centre

The following article was published in 2013 by Nunatsiaq News, the newspaper for Nunavut and the Nunavik territory of northern Quebec. In this piece, the author describes a new addition to the Ottawa Inuit Children's Centre (OICC) and the opportunities that this expansion will provide for Inuit children living in Ottawa. As you read about the OICC's programs, think about these questions:

1. *The president of the OICC compares the building to an Inukshuk, a traditional stone figure built by Inuit for the purpose of communication and navigation in the Arctic. Why is this comparison important?*
2. *What does it tell us about the role that the OICC plays for Inuit in Ottawa?*

For Inuit in Ottawa, who use the services of the Ottawa Inuit Children's Centre, there's more to love: a new building which celebrated its grand opening on April 3.

"It was an amazing event. It was really an event about the community," said Karen Baker-Anderson, executive director of the Ottawa Inuit Children's Centre. Bought with the help of a $350,000 donation from Toronto-Dominion Bank Group, the new building will house programs for Inuit youth in Ottawa…At the opening, Maatalii Okalik, president of the Ottawa Inuit Children's Centre, talked about how the new building will be more than just a structure. "It will be a place where our youth come together to learn, grow and dream," she said. "Like building an inuksuk that marks the land, this building will give our youth a place where they will mark the future of this community. The future of our youth is so important because our youth do represent the future of this community."

The official opening of the new space was a cross-cultural affair: Jim Watson, mayor of Ottawa, artist Tim Pitsiulak from Cape Dorset, and Terry Audla, president of Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, joined representatives from TD Bank Group and the children's centre. Abigail Carleton and Aneeka Anderson, two Inuit youth who live in Ottawa, wrote and performed a song of "gratitude" about the centre, "where they can come and celebrate as youth in our community." A qulliq-lighting ceremony, throat-singing and traditional games took place in a traditional tent where everyone could sample fresh bannock. The end of the ceremony was marked by the placing of the last stone on an inuksuk in front of the new building. For some of those present, the event provided a "quick glimpse into the Inuit culture," Baker-Anderson said. Even in the new building, the goal of the centre remains the same, that is, to provide cultural, educational, recreational and social support services to children, youth and families of Ottawa's growing Inuit community, Baker-Anderson said. The Ottawa Inuit Children's Centre started seven years ago when a group of parents decided they wanted their children to grow up knowing who they were and the history of their Inuit culture, she said.

Excerpt from Samantha Dawson, "Ottawa Inuit Children's Centre Gets a New Building for its Future," Nunatsiaq News (Iqaluit, Nunavut), April 4, 2013, http://nunatsiaq.com/stories/article/65674ottawa_inuit_childrens_centre_gets_a_new_building_for_its_future/

Document 14: Southway Inn, Nunavut's "home away from home"

The newspaper article reprinted below was published in 2015, just before the Southway Inn was closed. As you read the article, consider the following questions:

1. *Why was the Southway Inn an important place for Inuit who travelled south to Ottawa?*
2. *Would the type of assistance the Southway Inn provided to Inuit be visible or obvious to the non-Inuit community?*

For nearly 60 years, the Zlepnig family passed on the Southway Hotel from generation to generation, eventually becoming a namesake among visitors from Canada's Far North.
But in January, the family's legacy in Ottawa's south end at Bank and Hunt Club will come to an end.

The inn will soon become the third branch of the family's newer Waterford Retirement Residences, following a $6-million conversion set to begin in July. It marks a new era in the family business, several decades after Peter and Theresia Zlepnig built a seven-unit motel next to their home in 1958. Later, the couple passed the property on to their son Bill and his wife, Louisa, who guided its expansion into the 170-room hotel that stands today. Now, passed on once more to their sons, Fred and Stephen, it will be converted to a 115-suite retirement residence. Fred's son, Adam, the fourth generation of the family, is working on the design of the new home.

The Southway leaves behind a 25-year history as a "home away from home" for visitors from Nunavut and other areas of Northern Canada. The relationship began when crews from First Air, an airline that served the North, began staying at the Southway. That led to an invitation to attend a business fair in Iqaluit. The Southway has had a booth at the event every year since, said Stephen Zlepnig. It was the first and only hotel in the area until the turn of the millennium, said Jo-Anne Saikaley Sparkes, the company's director of sales and marketing, and its proximity to the airport and a shopping mall made it especially attractive to northern visitors. The hotel recognized one the special needs for northern guests was a place to store fresh produce they bought in "the south," because of the high costs of groceries in Nunavut.

"The northern community has expressed their sadness. We've been receiving tons of overwhelming expressions and media from the North and all over," she said. Famous guests include actor Jason Priestley, of Beverly Hills 90210 fame, who stayed at the Southway on his way North to film a television program, and Jordin Tootoo, the first Inuk player in the National Hockey League, and countless politicians. Fred Zlepnig says the hotel's tradition of hospitality will continue as it becomes a retirement home. "I don't see it as coming to an end," he said. "I see it as a transition. The building will still be there." He said an elderly couple that has signed up to move into the home at the end of the year came to the Southway in 1958, when they first arrived to Canada. The then seven-room hotel was sold out, but his grandparents invited the new arrivals to stay in the basement of the Zlepnig family home until they settled.

A. Feibel. Southway Hotel, Nunavut 'home away from home' for Ottawa vistis, to close. Ottawa Citizen (June 21, 2015).

Document 15: Planning an "Experiment"

The letter below was written in 1953 by James Cantley, a service officer in the Arctic Services division of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, the government department responsible for Inuit affairs at that time. He writes to Constable M. Donnan, an Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) officer in Flin Flon, Manitoba, describing an "experiment" that the Department is arranging to have several Inuit families relocated from communities in northern Quebec to RCMP detachments in the High Arctic. As you read the letter, consider these questions:

1. *What does this letter tell us about the Department's reasons for transferring Inuit to the High Arctic?*
2. *After reading the letter, what questions do you still have about the Department's plan?*

Dear Cst. Donnan:
Many thanks for your letter of January 13th, I was very glad you had the opportunity of visiting the Eskimos in the hospitals in the West and I am sure they appreciated seeing your pictures and having an opportunity of talking with someone in their own language.

At the moment we are endeavouring to make arrangements to have about five families of Eskimos transferred from over-populated areas to each of the two detachments on Ellesmere Island, i.e. Craig Harbour and Cape Herschel. It is also possible that we may place five families at Resolute Bay, provided the Commissioner agrees to placing a detachment there. These moves will be in the nature of an experiment to find out what number of people the resources of these areas will support and how well Eskimos from southern areas can adapt themselves to the high Arctic.

There may be other developments, but I would like to know if you would be interested in any of these projects as a member of the force. If so, we would be glad to recommend to the Commissioner that you should be appointed to one of these places. Such an arrangement would, I think, meet your desire to do something for the Eskimos and at the same time retain your connection with the force.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,

J. Cantley,
Arctic Services.

J. Cantley, Letter to RCMP Detachment in Flin Flon, Manitoba, January 1953. RG 85, Volume 1234, File 251-1 Volume 2, "Eskimo Economy & Welfare (General and Policy)," Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources. Library and Archives Canada.

Document 16: Relocation to Resolute

In 1950, the Canadian government began planning for the relocation of ten Inuit families from Inukjuak (in Northern Quebec) and Pond Inlet to communities on Ellesmere Island, in the High Arctic. In 1993, the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples investigated the role of the government in the 1953 relocations, hearing testimonies from the Inuit who were relocated and their descendants. The Commission concluded that although the Government had attempted to do what it thought was best for these families, the plans for the relocation were unsound and had been misrepresented to the Inuit to gain their agreement. The testimony below is that of Simeonie Amagoalik, whose family was relocated from Inukjuak, in Northern Quebec, to Resolute Bay, on Cornwallis Island. As you read this oral history, consider the questions below.

1. *What does this testimony tell us about why Simeonie's family agreed to take part in the relocations?*
2. *How did the conditions in Resolute differ from those in Inukjuak? Why is this significant?*

I myself was newly married at that time and the police told me that my brothers-in-law would probably agree to go to the High Arctic if I myself could agree to do so and my mother-in-law, Minnie, sort of pushed me on. I myself had questions in my own mind about why do we have to do this, but this was being said by a policeman, who was armed, an armed policeman, and an armed policeman in those days you don't argue with very much...When we went beyond Pond Inlet, we were separated into different groups and when they started separating certain groups, my older brother, who couldn't really look after himself, was designated to go to Alexandra Fiord. That's how insensitive the police were. I had to eventually go get him myself by dog team from Resolute to Craig Harbour. The government who did this relocation simply dumped us on the ground, dumped us on the shore, and we were forced to live off the garbage of the white men. The police, who was conducting our lives in all ways possible, was doing his best to prevent us from going to the dump. We used to have to act like criminals and sneak around to get life-sustaining food from the dump and here we were, having been plucked out of an area that had just about everything, berries, vegetation, and all sorts of different varieties of food. Here in the High Arctic we were now living only on polar bear meat and seal meat. Those were the only two staples. We left behind us in Inukjuak teachers, spiritual advisors, stores. The government told us that they were going to help us out in the new locations, but there was absolutely nothing in the High Arctic locations. So, the eldest of our people died off very quickly and my wife had several infant deaths, some infants born to us never lived long enough because it was too cold, there was not enough food, and then there was also many of our people sick. When the police, who were the only available medical personnel, had to look after people, all he fed them as medicine was apple juice.

Testimony of Simeonie Amagoalik, Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, "Volume 1: High Arctic Relocations Special Consultations," Ottawa, April 5, 1993, http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/aboriginal-heritage/royal-commission-aboriginal-peoples/Pages/item.aspx?IdNumber=99, 48-52

Document 17: Going to Residential School

In 1954, the Committee on Eskimo Education of the Department of Northern Affairs and

National Resources recommended that the Residential School system, which had been operating in the South since the 1830s, be expanded to communities in the North in order to assimilate Inuit children into the economy and culture of white Canadians. While Inuit students lived at these schools, which were often so far away from their homes that they did not see their families for years, they were punished for speaking their language or practicing their culture, and many were subject to physical, mental, and sexual abuse. Shirley M. Flowers lived in a dormitory from 1966 to 1968 as she attended a residential school in North West River, Labrador. In the poem below, she describes the experience of being separated from her loved ones to go to school. As you read the poem, think about the following questions:

1. *How are Shirley and her family affected by her travelling to a residential school?*
2. *Why do you think Shirley's parents would agree to send their children to a residential school? Why is it important to ask this question?*

Going to the Dorm
by Shirley M. Flowers

My mother sits by the window crying
Her heart is breaking
It's the same memory every fall
The plane has taken her children away
They are gone for all winter
It's time for them to go to school
School is ninety miles away
We will not see them again for ten months
In the spring my brothers and sisters return
The plane flies overhead
My mother is running and crying
She's crippled but she can run today
I hide behind my mother's dress
I'm shy
My brothers and sisters
are strangers
Soon it will be my turn to go
When I turn twelve or thirteen
I have to leave too
I'm scared and excited at the same time
I'm venturing out into a new world
I'm living in a room full of strangers
Some are kind, some are cruel
I'm constantly homesick and I cry all the time
My heart is breaking
I want to be home
I see someone who might help me
I walk up to his car and say
"Can you send me home please
I'm lonesome and it's making me sick "
That person doesn't answer

He just looks at me and drives away
leaving me crying, standing in a cloud of dust
Next thing I know I'm being told I'm a trouble maker
The principal of our school
Has been advised that I want to go home
I'm told that what I'm saying and feeling
is upsetting others
And causing problems for the people
who run the place
And there's no way I can go home
All hope is lost
I just have to make it through this year
My God, how can people do this?
How can they own my life?
I feel like I must be in a prison
I can't get away
I can't see my parents
My heart is breaking
I hate it here
Sometimes we have to fight for food
We have to work hard to look after the place
I can't wait to get out of here

Legacy of Hope Foundation. "Shirley Flowers." We Were So Far Away: The Inuit Experience of Residential Schools. Accessed July 23, 2018. http://weweresofaraway.ca/survivor-stories/shirley-flowers/.

Document 18: Travelling South for Treatment

In the 1940s and 1950s, some of the first Inuit to travel south did so for medical treatment. Tuberculosis (TB), a contagious respiratory infection, had spread rapidly among the Inuit. Instead of building properly equipped medical facilities in the North, the Canadian government reacted by sending those who were ill to sanitoria (centres for the treatment of TB) in the South. By 1956, one in seven Inuit were being treated in Southern hospitals. Below, Sara Saimaiyuk of Pangirtung describes her experience being evacuated to Hamilton.

1. *What is the experience of being evacuated to Hamilton like for Sara?*
2. *What does Sara's experience tell us about health care in the North in the 1950s?*

We used to live in a camp near Pangnirtung. We were told that we had tuberculosis, and we were brought to Pangnirtung. We stayed at the hospital there, waiting for the airplane to take us down south. When it arrived, it landed on the water and anchored quite a distance from shore. We were taken to the airplane by boat and having never seen an airplane before, I was very puzzled. "I wonder where the entrance is?" I thought. "The only thing that looks like a door is underwater! How are we going to get inside? How does it fly? We might sink if it's unable to fly!" During the flight we got very thirsty, and we were frightened. My little sister, who was only a baby then, started crying. I was so thirsty that my mouth got very dry, and we couldn't tell the qallunaat [white people] who were with us, because we didn't speak their language. Although I knew the word for water in English, I didn't say anything, thinking there was no water in the airplane. I was so frightened of the qallunaat.

Finally we landed, and I overheard somebody saying that we were now in Moose Factory and not too far away from Hamilton. We were taken to a residence for patients...In the residence I saw a wooden bed that had been used by a patient coming back from Hamilton. On it he had written the names of all the patients, and messages. That's how I learned that I was going to Hamilton. 1 think he must have learned to speak English because some words were in English. We were then taken to a train and as we started to go, I noticed the air felt very stuffy. I felt like I was going to suffocate! When I looked up, all I could see were lights. Later, I learned that we were going underground...There were a lot of Inuit patients on the train. When we were told that we had arrived in Hamilton, I was just overwhelmed. "So this is where qallunaat come from," I thought. All the children were taken to one hospital, probably a children's hospital, and we adults were taken to another. When they took my little sister Lucy away, I cried because I wanted her to be with me.

When I got to the hospital, all my clothes were taken away from me, maybe because I was more infected than the others. I never thought I was that sick. All this time there were no interpreters. In the hospital I met Inuit from Povungnituk for the first time. I found out they could understand and speak English. I was then given a jar. An Inuk from Povungnituk tried to explain to me what to do with it, but I couldn't understand her because her dialect was so different from mine. Since I couldn't understand her, she just ran to her room in embarrassment. This made me feel terrible, as I began to believe I would never be able to communicate with them. Later on I found out the jar was for spitting.

Excerpt from Pat Sandiford Grygier, A Long Way from Home: The Tuberculosis Epidemic Among the Inuit (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994), 106 – 108.

Document 19: "I remember her being put on the plane"

In the 1940s and 1950s, some of the first Inuit to travel south did so for medical treatment. Tuberculosis (TB), a contagious respiratory infection, had spread rapidly among the Inuit. Instead of building properly equipped medical facilities in the North, the Canadian government reacted by sending those who were ill to sanitoria (centres for the treatment of TB) in the South. By 1956, one in seven Inuit were being treated in Southern hospitals.
In the excerpt below, Peter Ittinuar, who would later become Canada's first Inuk Member of Parliament, recalls his mother being evacuated from her home in Chesterfield Inlet, Northwest Territories (now Nunavut) to a sanatorium near Winnipeg in 1953. As you read about Peter's memories of his mother, think about these questions:

1. *What impact did Peter's mother's evacuation to the South have on her family?*
2. *What does Peter's experience tell us about health care in the North in the 1950s?*

When I was three years old, my mother left for the Clearwater Lake sanatorium just north of Winnipeg in 1953, because she had tuberculosis. She took my sister with her because she was only a year old. I still remember them getting on the single engine Norseman airplane in the wintertime. I think it was January or February or something like that. I was holding my aunt Masali's hand. She raised my other sister and myself during the nine years my mother was in the hospital for tuberculosis. So, I remember my mother in the time before she left. I remember the colour of the shawl she was wearing. In those days women wore a beret, an amauti, and a plaid tartan shawl. I remember her being put on the plane. I don't remember crying, but I have a distinct image of her getting on that plane and going away. In the intervening years I saw pictures of her, but I didn't see her again until I was nine years old. She came back home briefly, and then went back again to the sanatorium.

Peter Ittinuar, Teach an Eskimo How to Read: Conversations with Peter Freuchen Ittinuar (Iqaluit: Nunavut Arctic College, 2008), 22-23.

Document 20: Report on Nunavut's health system

The following excerpt is taken from the 2007 – 2008 Report on the State of Inuit Culture and Society. Published annually by the Nunavut Social Development Council, the report is tabled in both the Legislative Assembly of Nunavut and the Canadian House of Commons. This edition of the report focused on the state of health and health care in Nunavut. As you read the report, consider the following questions:

1. *What does this report tell you about health care in the North?*
2. *The report suggests that an epidemic of tuberculosis in the 1950s "established a pattern of Inuit medical evacuation to hospitals in Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba and Alberta." Why is this significant?*
3. *How does this report relate to the story of the Southway Inn?*

The Geography of Health Care

The distances between communities and referral hospitals in Nunavut's health care system are the largest in Canada, perhaps the world. No other province or territory relies on as many extra-provincial hospitals in as many different provinces as Nunavut does. This is not by design.

Nunavut has inherited the most geographically stretched north-to-south health network in Canada. Unfortunately, funding to address this and other issues at the start-up of Nunavut were completely inadequate. It is, therefore, unfair to criticize the [Government of Nunavut] for the structural problems it inherited. In fact, so much of what is usually thought of as health service is delivered outside of the territory, or relies on outside professionals flying into the territory, that it is somewhat a misnomer to label it Nunavut health care. No other Nunavut government activity, education or housing for example, is forced to pay to deliver so much of its service outside the territory. Nunavut's health care system has been devoted to the expensive practice of long-distance patient and doctor travel since the onset of major government involvement in the affairs of Inuit 60 years ago. A tuberculosis epidemic in the 1950s established a pattern of Inuit medical evacuation to hospitals in Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba and Alberta, a pattern of dependence that persists to this day. Nunavut's primary flow of health care workers and recipients is not east-west across its breadth, and certainly not locally focused, but caught in three main north-south flows: between Qikiqtaaluk and Ottawa (previously Montreal), Kivalliq and Winnipeg, and Kitikmeot and Yellowknife and Edmonton. The cost implications are staggering: over half of the $100 million in federal Non-Insured Health Benefit (NIHB) contributions to Inuit health care in Nunavut between 1996- 2006 went to transportation costs. This is not so much a health care expenditure as a subsidy to the airline industry.

Excerpt from "Nunavut's Health System: Annual Report on the State of Inuit Culture and Society" (Iqaluit: Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated, 2008), 7.

Document 21: Inuit Homelessness

This article was taken from a 2006 issue of Inuktitut, the magazine published by Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (formerly the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada), a national Inuit organization founded in 1971. Inuk filmmaker and writer Mosha Folger writes about the issue of homelessness among Inuit and why many Inuit affected by the housing shortage in the North choose to travel to cities in the South. As you read the article, consider the questions below.

1. *What does the report tell you about why homeless Inuit move to the South?*
2. *The author, Mosha Folger, also directed the Lost Stories film about the Southway Inn. How does his characterization of North-South travel by Inuit in this article compare to the narrative of the film?*

Life on the (Not so Mean) Streets

Homelessness is a strange word. Even in the Arctic we often think of it narrowly, in terms of people on the street, beggars, panhandlers, old ladies pushing shopping carts full of bric-a-brac down dingy alleys in Toronto, Vancouver, or New York. But in the Arctic we don't see that kind of homelessness. It's too cold, for one thing. And secondly, most anyone who might find themselves pushing a shopping cart around, say, Ring Road in Iqaluit, knows someone with a spare mattress, extra floor space, or at the very least a porch with a door to keep the elements at bay. And, in Iqaluit, there is the final recourse, a homeless shelter, with limited bed space.

This community togetherness, this level of charity from neighbours, doesn't make the homelessness disappear, though. These people still don't have a home. What results is a hidden homelessness. How many people do you know who are "living with my cousin and her kids"? "Staying at a friend's place for now"? "At my brother's until I can find my own place"? There are staggering numbers of people living in limited space, with limited privacy. 54 percent of Inuit live in this kind of over-crowded condition. And there are few escape options.
Larry (not his real name) last lived in an Arctic community about a year ago, with a brother and his family. After much frustration with the housing situation – housing crisis – in the Arctic, Larry took a route most people would not like to go down. He has ended up in Ottawa, living on the street, sleeping in shelters, his hand out begging for change. His hidden homelessness in the Arctic has become a very visible homelessness in Ottawa.

When Larry went to utilize the homeless shelter in Iqaluit, he often found that, with its limited space, it was at capacity. In Ottawa Larry has three options, and he can always find a bed. Larry utilizes the services of three shelters: the Mission; the Salvation Army, or Sally; and the Shepherds of Good Hope. The Mission and Salvation Army don't accept individuals under the influence of alcohol or drugs, so when Larry is intoxicated he heads to the Shepherds of Good Hope, which has a program called "Hope Recovery" where, as Larry puts it, "drunk people can go sleep it off." "[And] food is no problem in Ottawa," says Larry. The three shelters he uses provide meals, the Mission providing three meals a day for those staying there. Ottawa also has other sources, St. Joe's Parish Church for one, where homeless people can go for a meal. "So," Larry adds, "food-wise I don't have any problems getting something to eat on any given day."

In contrast, Larry speaks of searching for sustenance as a homeless man in the Arctic. "When I was living in Iqaluit, when I was living at the shelter, they had a meal program at lunchtime,

only once a day. There was not that much food available for the homeless … In Ottawa I've got all these places where I can go eat, and go hang out at the [Inuit] centre and mingle with my people" …

The truth is there will always be homeless Inuit – in the Arctic and in southern centres like Ottawa and Montreal. But staying home in the Arctic needs to be made more palatable than living on the streets in the South. The severe housing shortage in Inuit communities, problems with alcohol abuse, familial abuse, a lack of shelter and food – these are all issues that need to be dealt with in the Arctic to keep people like Larry from choosing to move thousands of kilometres from home to live on the streets of southern cities.

Excerpt from Mosha Folger, "Life on the (not so mean) streets," Inuktitut 100 (Spring 2006): 27 – 32.