

Servicing Indigenous Persons in a Frontier Area: The Nunavut Experiment

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In 1993 the government of Canada signed an agreement to create Nunavut as a new frontier territory in the north to give a measure of autonomy, control and responsibility to the Inuit. It is clear that the creation of Nunavut, while catering to the expressed desires of the Inuit for autonomy, will present the native peoples with challenges especially with respect to the implementation of self-government and the provision of basic services.

The paper provides empirical information about Nunavut and also theoretical notions regarding modernity and principles for collective choice. Five characteristics of modernity are identified and it is argued that these have had catastrophic social consequences on the Inuit. If the Inuit are to survive then it is imperative that they be allowed greater control over their lives in the harsh frontier region of northern Canada. If Nunavut is to succeed then the process for its creation must satisfy certain principles, and four have been identified. It is argued that a successful outcome for creating a system for servicing peoples in the frontier region should result from a process which is seen to be fair, full, thorough and legitimate.

In June 1977 Justice Berger eloquently reminded Canadians, in a preamble to his report on the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry, that:

We are now at our last frontier. It is a frontier that all of us have read about, but few of us have seen. Profound issues, touching our deepest concerns as a nation, await us there. The North is a frontier, but it is also a homeland too ... And it is a heritage, a unique environment that we are all called upon to preserve for all Canadians.

(Berger, 1977, p. vii)

The collection of solitudes that for so long characterized the settlement pattern of the North is changing dramatically and this paper will examine the reasons that are leading to the creation of a new territory called Nunavut in the eastern Arctic. Covering about 20 percent of Canada with a population of approximately 20,000 (85 percent Inuit or indigenous peoples) scattered in about 25 settle-

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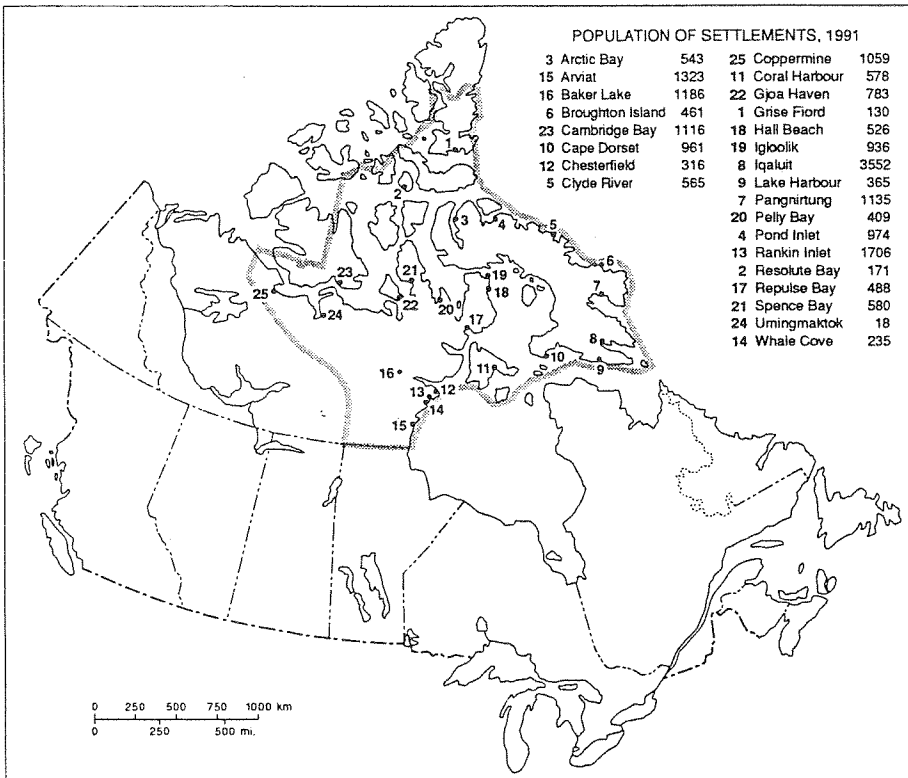
ments, ranging in size from 3,000 to 75, the creation of this large political entity, while potentially answering specific needs and expectations, must also confront significant financial and logistical problems. The needs, expectations and problems refer in large measure to matters relating to the servicing of the people in this vast frontier region through the provision of employment opportunities, shelter, health care and education as critical elements in the securing of a sustainable culturally acceptable milieu. In essence, self-determination for the Inuit, via a public government, is the fundamental objective of Nunavut.

Among the reasons that will be discussed we must include not only the desire for self-determination but also concerns with legitimacy, and the process for the re-organization of national territory. The legal and bureaucratic processes for re-allocation of specific authority from the Federal government and the government of the North West Territories to the emerging government of Nunavut will be examined. The transition will not be easy, and some potential problems will be identified. Geo-political issues have played a significant role in development of Northern Canada, and such issues have, in some instances, impinged adversely on the aboriginal peoples and the treatment of the Inuit. Reference to this will be made later in the paper.

While the case study of Nunavut can be told as a story of cultural change in an isolated harsh environment, I suggest that there are some general principles about serving the needs of individuals and groups in a frontier region which complement work in other frontier regions. An attempt will be made to identify such principles as they relate to regional development and attempts by individuals and groups to cope with the adverse and often catastrophic consequences of modernity.

The first part of this paper includes a summary of basic contemporary statistics about Nunavut. Some basic data are shown in Table 1 and the map of the new territory is shown on Figure 1. While the former clearly indicates the stark contrasts between the Inuit population and the North, and the rest of Canada, the latter draws attention to the size of the area and the dispersed settlement pattern. This basic raw information is complemented by an overview of the history of the people in the region and the ways in which their lives have changed so dramatically in recent years, especially since the 1940s. In response to these changes, and as causes of change, it is appropriate to examine the influences of government activities as well as the diffusion of the trappings of modernity. These elements will be considered in Section two when the long-term changes which stretch back to the 16th and 17th centuries will be summarized. Section three asserts that modernity in Northern Canada has created such spectacular failures that had steps not been taken to create Nunavut then the aboriginal culture would surely have been doomed to extinction. Whether this culture can still be saved while recognizing the forward movement of social change only time will tell.

Figure 1: Nunavut



The specific steps which are part of the creation of Nunavut will be identified, and these will be examined in terms of general principles concerning need as well as concepts relating to processes of collective choice and the creation of a civil society. The concepts include fairness, fullness, thoroughness and legitimacy.

In later sections I will argue that while the search for justice must occupy the attention of theoreticians, at the same time practical matters of providing specific services to particular people has to go on. For those in pressing need of services such as housing, health care and education, they cannot wait until there are clear, unanimously-agreed final definitions of the nature of goods and services that are to be provided and integrated into a culture of opportunities and responsibilities that create, enhance and support meaningful, purposeful existence in its full material and spiritual sense.

Table 1: Basic facts on Nunavut.

Population:	c. 22,000—c. 80% Inuit
No. of people per 100 sq. km:	1 (Canada: 250; Pr. Edward Is.: 2,230)
Percent of population under 15:	40% (Canada: 25%)
Birth rate:	x2 Canadian average
Average household income:	\$31,171 (Canada: 45,251)
Cost of living:	x1.5 to x2.0 Canadian average
Unemployment rate:	aboriginals: 32% non-Inuit: 2% youth: 26% Canada: 11.5%
No. of households involved in traditional crafts:	46% (Lake Harbour c. 100%)
Percent of households that rely on hunting and fishing for meat:	50% (5 out of 6 households involved in hunting and fishing; 1 in 6 in trapping)
Proportion registered vehicles:(excluding snowmobiles)	42 per 1000 (Ontario 830/1000) 4 out of 5 households own a snowmobile
Kms of government-maintained highway:	20 kms
No. of airline boardings per year:	c. 5 for domestic flights per person (Canada: less than 1)
Language:	2 out of 3 families speak Inuktitut at home
Education: percent with at least Grade 12 (1989):	Inuit: 4% non-Inuit: 69% (note: c. 50% of Inuit not old enough to be in Grade 12; many Inuit with no Grade 12 have technical training certificates)
Households: average no. of people:	5.3 (Canada 2.7) 1/20 live along (Canada 1/11)
Proportion of communities with arenas for sport:	2/3: 72 indoor recreational facilities among 27 communities: 5,000 registered athletes in 32 sports
Church attendance:	well above national average
T.V.:	96% with T.V.: Inuit B.C. provides 5.5 hours in Inuktitut per week
Temperature:	mean low January: -29.7°C mean high July: 11.4°C

Sources: NWT government departments and agencies, Statistics Canada, Inuit B.C., *Canadian Geographic*, March/April 1993.

AN OVERVIEW OF THE EASTERN ARCTIC AND NUNAVUT

In his book *The Road to Nunavut: The Progress of the Eastern Arctic Inuit since the Second World War*, Duffy (1988) examines the demography of the region by systematically addressing four key areas: shelter, health care, education and employment. Prior to dealing with these critical areas as important components of regional development Duffy reminds us that since the 1840s Canadian Dominion has been the [federal] government's main concern vis-à-vis the Arctic. Brody (1975) reinforces this point and notes that by the turn of the century:

... Canada intended to establish beyond any doubt, internationally, nationally, and in the minds of northern indigenous peoples themselves, that the whole of the land area between the Alaska boundary to the west, Newfoundland and Labrador to the east and the highest Arctic islands to the north, formed part of national territory. (p. 18)

The presence of the Royal Northwestern Mounted Police, the passage of Canadian-registered ships through the high Arctic Seas, later complemented by the establishment of a network of airports and observation posts for defense purposes were explicit efforts by the federal government to establish sovereignty over this vast area. Government-run school and health posts together with mission stations and trading posts all have served to establish a measure of sovereignty. Purich (1992) recognizes the mixed approaches that have been used by the federal government to establish sovereignty and to deal with the servicing of the indigenous people. In summary, perhaps more energy has been focused upon the former activity than the latter. The celebrations of Canada Day (July 1, 1993) provided the occasion for Miro Cernetig, reporting in the *Globe and Mail* (July 2, 1993, p. A4), to note that the settlement of Grise Fiord was established less than four decades ago when the Canadian government relocated Inuit families from northern Quebec to:

... a bleak spot on the map that had been last inhabited by the Thule a nomadic people who disappeared more than 1000 years ago. The government has said the Inuit came ... voluntarily in 1955.... They [Inuit] say their parents were used as human flagpoles by a cruel and uncaring federal government to enforce Canadian sovereignty claim. ... Despite these bitter beginnings, which many here do not want Canadians to forget, Grise Fiord has grown into what may be the most patriotic collection of people in the nation.

The Eastern Arctic has been settled for a long time. Duffy (1988) claims that:

... the Inuit have for thousands of years endured stoically the unkind environment of the region and adapted to it. The first people to do so came from the west four, maybe five millennia ago. However ... The unique culture of the Canadian Inuit of hunting and trapping with intricate social systems and values, attitudes and norms ... vanished into the Arctic mists, a long time ago. (p. xv)

It is abundantly clear that since the end of the second-world war the Inuit have come close to cultural extinction and "... [they] have sunk as low as any people could in dirt, degradation, disease and dependence" (Duffy, 1988, p. xviii). Yet their tenacity of spirit, aided by some enlightened advocates, has encouraged them to regain cultural independence and self-respect within the evolving contemporary political scene in Canada. Pelly (1993) recognizes that while the Inuit have a strong emotional attachment to the land, and more than half of all Inuit families still rely largely on food from this land, many children have grown up with little knowledge of traditional ways. In a word, the Nunavut project consistently promoted by the Inuit for many years, and now finally agreed to by the government of Canada on the ratification of the Nunavut Land Claim Agreement following the signing of the Nunavut Final Land Claims Agreement on May 25, 1993 represents an imaginative, legitimate outcome for the people of Canada and especially for the Inuit in the region. The ratification includes legislation to create this new territory in the Eastern Arctic though the establishment of the Nunavut Implementation Commission with the necessary mandate to create a successful functioning public government within a new jurisdiction by 1999.

The Inuit are drawing new lines across the North, this time in their own interests and, according to Pelly (1993), they are no longer accessories to white man's endeavors. The Inuit leader James Eetoolook is quoted as saying, "Inuit will have a management role in our land. This agreement will give us self-determination over our lives in the future" (INA Communique, 1-9324, Oct. 30, 1992, p. 1). Of course this assertion steers clear of commenting on revenue generation problems and the costs of providing services. These topics are a focus of attention of the Federal government and have been the subject of a report prepared by Coopers and Lybrand in 1992. Comments on this report will be given later.

The Inuit first came under the jurisdiction of the Canadian government in the 1870s and 1880s when their lives became the affairs of councils based in Ottawa. It should be noted that it was not until 1966 that the first Inuk was appointed, only one year before the government of the Northwest Territories moved from Ottawa to Yellowknife. Purich (1992) among others, has reviewed the long attachment that the Inuit have had with the land, the way this attachment has sustained them materially and spiritually, and the pressing need, now recognized by all levels of government in Canada, for a new arrangement for the Inuit. Had

changes to the traditional lifestyles of the aboriginal peoples of the North not occurred then the need to create Nunavut would not have existed.

Since the early 1970s the Inuit, through their various organizations—the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC), the Nunavut Constitutional Forum (NCF) and the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut (TFN)—have defined how their future government should operate. Since 1976 when the first Inuit put forward their land claim, the concept of Nunavut was a critical part of the claim and it is clear that the agency negotiating for the Inuit, namely the TFN, consistently argued for an outcome that encompassed the settlement of land claims and the creation of a legitimate government with a high degree of sovereignty. Merritt *et al.* (1989) have summarized a set of seven options which covered a full range of possibilities for outcomes of the discussions that were taking place in the 1980s between the agencies representing the federal government and those representing the Inuit. The list is summarized below.

- A Setting aside the land claim and create Nunavut with a permanent Inuit character
 - B Settlement of land claim and creation of a Nunavut territory simultaneously
 - C Settlement of the land claim, and creation of a Nunavut territory at a later date
 - D Creation of a Nunavut territory, but implementation at a later date
 - E Negotiation of an agreement with the Government of the Northwest Territories
 - F Perpetual negotiations
 - G Litigation negotiations
- (Merritt *et al.*, 1989, p. 29)

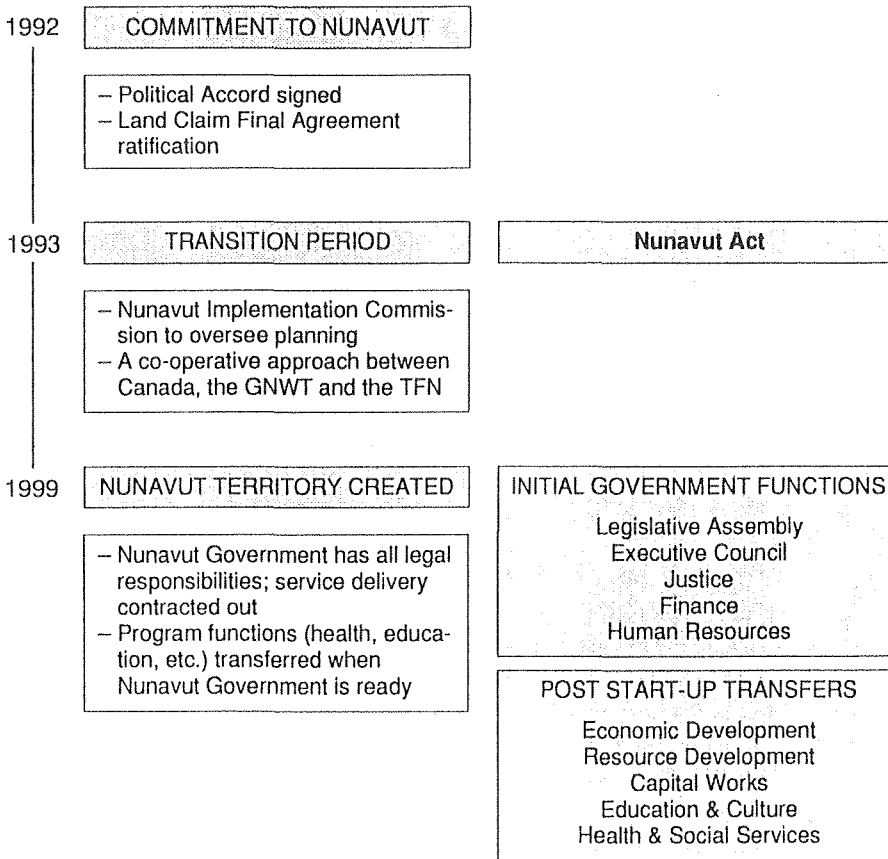
Over the last four years considerable progress in the constitutional negotiations occurred in Northern Canada, and Option B has emerged as the preferred choice, albeit with some elements of Option D.

In the last twelve months a number of reports have been written to explore alternate administrative arrangements to handle the Inuit's needs for greater control over their lives. For example, the discussion paper: *Division of the NWT: Models of Geo-political Division* (1993), provides a summary of approaches used in Greenland and Alaska as well as the Sami Parliaments in Finland, Norway and Sweden. The case is made for the transition to a new form of government to be sound and thoroughly elaborated otherwise the exercise of creating a new government is almost bound to fail. The Nunavut Implementation Commission is a critical element as the Agreement recognizes in Article 37 on Implementation. Figure 2 outlines the steps to the creation of Nunavut. The paper: *The Evolution of Public Governments in the North and the Implications for Aboriginal Peoples* (1993), makes the case for the need for accessibility to services that can be provided by territorial governments as a more appropriate arrangement than can be

offered by the federal government. The emphasis is on local self-determination of needs, and ways for satisfying them.

Figure 2: Steps to the creation of Nunavut.

STEPS TO THE CREATION OF NUNAVUT



Source: Indian and Northern Affairs, Canada Communiqué 1-9228, October 1992

These two reports were produced by the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs. In 1991 a report was prepared for the TFN by a private consulting agency in Ottawa—(Environmental-Social Advisory Services Inc.): *Concepts for the Decentralization of Government for the Nunavut Territory*. The decentralized approach to service provision is offered for scrutiny as a comparison to the centralized approach which was used by Coopers and Lybrand in their 1991 study

on costs of dividing the NWT. They envisaged two separate governments which closely mirror the GNWT.

Siddon (Oct. 30, 1992), the federal minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development in 1992 stated that:

This accord is an historic document that will ultimately change the map of Northern Canada, in accordance with the wishes of its residents. The two governments [federal, Northwest Territories] and the TFN can be justly proud of their accomplishments in negotiating this landmark Accord, which fulfills a major commitment in the Inuit land claim agreement.

(Indian and Northern Affairs,
Communique, 1-9228,
Iqualuit: Oct. 30, 1992, p. 1)

Eetoolook (Acting President, T.F.N., Oct. 30, 1992) has expressed the view that the "Creation of a Nunavut Territory and Government has been an Inuit goal for almost 20 years. We are pleased to be turning dreams into reality." (I.N.A. Communique 1-9228, p. 1) A ratification vote on the Accord was held late in 1992 and 69 percent of the eligible voters supported it.

On the occasion of the signing of the Nunavut Final Agreement (May 25, 1993), Siddon commented that:

... the land claim agreement represents a landmark accomplishment in nation building ... it finalizes the settlement of the largest land claim agreement in Canada.... the creation of the territory and the settlement of the land claim provide the NWT Inuit with the measures to take their rightful place in Canadian society while playing a vital role in the economic and social development of the region.

Indian and Northern Affairs,
Communique 1-9324,
Iqualuit, May 25, 1993, p. 1)

The inclusion of a training component (c.\$13 million) in the Political Accord Agreement is of particular importance to Nunavut residents wishing to work with the new government once it is established, since the responsibility for the direct delivery of territorial services to Nunavut residents will be assumed gradually by the Nunavut government after 1999. Canada, that is the federal government, has agreed to pay incremental costs arising from the creation of Nunavut.

In January 1993 details of a report prepared by Coopers and Lybrand (1992) were released which estimated that the additional costs of setting up a new government structure would be about \$50 million per year over the period 1992-2008. This would be seven percent more than the 1990-91 annual federal grant provided to the government of the NWT. These funds would cover capital costs for new government facilities, new community capital needs, operating costs and

local training. After 2008, when the Nunavut government is expected to assume full operation, an additional \$85 million per year would be required. This would be a twelve percent increase over the 1991 annual federal grant provided to the GNWT. It should be noted that these are not 'net' cost estimates, since they do not take into account savings that will arise from the decrease of responsibility in the Western NWT. It is estimated that an additional 930 person-years will be required to operate the new government by 2008 and if the 'aggressive training and recruitment strategy' is successful then about half of these positions could be filled by Nunavut residents. An article in the *Globe and Mail* (August 10, 1993) highlights the problems of encouraging young Inuit to participate in educational and training programs to prepare them to take on responsible government positions.

In terms of economic effects the Coopers and Lybrand (1992) report argues that one-time capital infrastructure projects could generate as many as 1100 person-years of construction jobs and \$117 million GDP within Nunavut. After full operations, increased annual expenditure could lead to as many as 620 permanent private sector jobs and could generate approximately \$33 million GDP annually within the territory.

Amagoalik, a constitutional advisor to the TFN in an article in the *Globe and Mail* (February 15, 1993) notes that:

Canada has supported governments in the North for decades. But they have been run almost exclusively by non-aboriginals. They have been miserable failures.... Surely the Nunavut approach to Arctic sovereignty and security makes more sense than a purely military one, for both practical and economic reasons.... In Nunavut, Canada will be underscoring its sovereignty in the Arctic through a contemporary and creative partnership with the Canadians whose ancestors have survived there for thousands of years. (p. 11)

In closing this section it should be noted that the federal government rejects the notion that the term 'social experiment' should be used to characterize the structure of government in the North. The claim is made that:

The considerable change we have seen in the North is a viable outgrowth of the political, social and cultural dynamic which exists in that part of Canada. Government and political developments in the North, both specifically within Aboriginal communities and more generally within public government, are the products of evolutionary processes.

(Indian and Northern Affairs, 1993, p. 2)

This interpretation of history will no doubt be scrutinized by future generations of Canadians.

TOWARD MODERNITY AND POSTMODERNITY

In a paper by Radford (1993) five recurrent themes in the recent literature on modernity have been identified. Radford (1993) argues that our understanding and exploration of the ways certain individuals, loosely categorized as minorities or deviants from the norm, have been classified and dealt with through public policies and private attitudes is largely a function of the values and attitudes which strongly relate to certain dominant characteristics of modernity. In this section of the paper I will use the five characteristics he has identified and seek to link these to the major components in the treatment of, and attitudes towards, the Inuit. I am using an argument of cultural distinction as an analogy of minority or deviance from the Canadian norm. Such an approach, as offered by Radford, provides an intellectual device to structure historical narrative of the evolution of the treatment of aboriginal peoples in Northern Canada by Southern governments and outside private agencies. Perhaps, by recognizing and acknowledging that public policies and private behavior fit within a general framework of modernity then the unfortunate social and economic consequences of dominance, exploitation and alienation, together with the lack of acceptance and understanding of the needs of the minority, which all too often have characterized policies and attitudes towards the Inuit, will not be continued in the future, and the Nunavut venture will be celebrated by all Canadians as an act of tolerance and egalitarian pluralism.

The five characteristics of modernity identified by Radford (1993) are shown on Table 2 with selected examples of activities which profoundly influenced the lives of the Inuit in the overall process of change and so-called modernization.

Table 2: Characteristics of modernity.

<i>Characteristic</i>	<i>Examples from Canadian North</i>
Penetration of industrial capital	Whaling, trapping, Panarctic oil venture, mining camps, etc.
Creative destruction	Change of settlement patterns, housing, hunting, lifestyle, missionary schools, etc.
Surveillance	Assignment of numbers to Inuit, role of Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), etc.
Re-naming	Use of English, naming of places, etc.
Rational bureaucracy and technique	RCMP rule of law, parliamentary government, reports by management consultants, etc.

Source: Modified after Radford (1993).

And it is with respect to this latter theme that ends and means become endlessly confused. It is in this regard that it seems so important to ensure that the provision of services to the Inuit, while possibly contributing to increases in productivity, market competitiveness and economic development potential must be further assessed in terms of their contribution to the enhancement of well-being and justice, and a milieu which allows and encourages participation in such ways as to allow self-determination to play a major role in the organization of the collective life of the Inuit. This search for what some, for example Smith (1989) and Keane *et al.* (1988), have called a civic or civil society underlies much of the argument presented by the TFN in their case for Nunavut. Whether the writing of the story of the demise of Inuit culture, using the concepts of modernity, will serve to help our understanding of past mistakes and move us towards an enlightened future is an open question.

Using material by Purich (1992), Duffy (1988) and others a summary of the sequence of major stages of modernization, and events affecting the lives of aboriginal peoples in Northern Canada is presented on Table 3.

Table 3: Stages in northern development.

1.	c. 2000 B.C. Aboriginal peoples self-sufficient and self-governing living in extended families and hunting groups.
2.	16 th century onwards: arrival of Europeans Frobisher 1576 British Arctic exploration peaked 1815-45 Parry reached Melville Island 1819 "State of war existed ... raiding ..." 15 th and 16 th centuries (Purich, 1992) "They came, they saw, they left" (Purich, 1992)
3.	1820-1830: 750 ships to Arctic: 8000 + whales caught 19 th century: whalers introduced European trading goods Inuit labor used → goods → trade Tea, tobacco, rifles, traps, utensils, alcohol "... unprecedented debauchery" (Purich, 1992)
4.	1867: British North America Act (Constitution Act, 1867) Section 146: new provinces & "Rupert's Land & N.W. Territory" R.L. (Charles II had granted Hudson Bay Co. exclusive trading license) 1870: HBC's interest transferred to new Dominion 1880: responsibility for Arctic islands ceded from England to Canada to prevent American extension into Eastern Arctic "Transfer made clear that Canadian law was to apply in the Arctic islands: (Purich, 1992)
5.	19 th and early 20 th C: Whaling continued—foreign governments involved 1882-83: First International Polar Year (science in the North): research stations
6.	1890s: Sifton (Laurier's Minister of Interior): show Canadian presence in Arctic 1909: Bernier: plaque on Melville Island claiming all Arctic islands for Canada 1905: NWT Act amended to restate Canada's claim to Arctic islands Sovereignty approaches <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sector theory: each Arctic nation ... • Effective occupation—Canada had to settle N. or publicly accept the Inuit as full citizens

Table 3 (con't)

7.	1910s: whaling declined, fur trade grew (fox)	
	1923: All Inuit were within travelling distance of a trading post	
	• Coates: aboriginals willing participants	
	• Ray: start of welfare dependency for Canada's Native peoples	
	HBC—more than trading company represented government delivered social services—health, welfare	
	1934: HBC moved 52 Inuit from Baffin Island to Dundas Harbour on Devon Island	
	“... whaling and fur trade brought unprecedented disruption to the lives of the people in the North” (Purich, 1992)	
	By 1930 responsibility to Bureau of NWT & Yukon Affairs	
	Imposition of Rule of Law: 1913 case of La Roux & Rouvière trials in Edmonton (acquitted) ... Calgary (convicted) Conflict of definitions of justice	
8.	1930s: Collapse of fur trade: \$40 → \$10 per fox pelt; 1940s → \$5, c. 7,700 Inuit became ‘wards of the state’—given numbers—moved into settlements—easier to service	
	1938: HBC: 100 posts in 80 locations by 1931 Federal government \$13,000 for 8 schools (1 in Eastern Arctic) on Baffin Island	
	cf success of Denmark in Greenland	
	by 1939: \$12/Inuit on education, health, welfare	\$13/person Alaska
	\$40/person Greenland	
	Policing: \$1 7/Inuit	\$41/person Alaska
	\$0/person Greenland	
	1939: April 5: Supreme Court of Canada ruled that, “Eskimos were in fact Indians.”	
	1943: 11 hospitals in NWT (2 in Eastern Arctic)	
	9 run by missionaries	2 run by companies
	Mission schools—Christian education	
9.	Second World War: military, defense bases	
	1943: c. 43,000 Americans working on national defense projects, x3 population of North	
	1946–49: Inuit income cut by 80%+costs x2 and 15% Federal tax on rifles and ammunition (1950) “... a crushing economic burden. ...” (Duffy, 1988, p. 135)	
	“The whalers, the traders and the missionaries completely shattered the age-old Inuit culture” (Duffy, 1988)	
10.	1950s: resource development in North but not until 1 980s did Canada consider that Inuit's occupancy could be a good claim for sovereignty over disputed passages in Arctic	
	1940s–1960s: number of settlements grew: voluntary & involuntary moves	
	1940s: Health problems identified: T.B. 5/10,000 in Canada; 110/10,000 Inuit	
	1945: Family allowance paid in kind—trading posts	
	1950s: infant mortality 120/1000, among the highest in world; cf 30/1,000 in Canada	
	1956–58: c. 230/1000 Inuit; cf 25/1,000 in Ontario	
	1951: 900/8646 Inuit in schools: 2/3 schools missionary	
	1953: 11 families move from Inukjuak to Grise Fiord	
	1960s: Federal government decision to locate a nursing station in each settlement	
	1980s: Inuit co-operatives largest single employer of native labor in the Arctic	
	1990: Report of Aboriginal Affairs Committee re: Grise Fiord move: Siddon Government Minister “Move to improve living conditions of Inuit”	
	1992: Canadian Human Rights Commission report ... Ottawa willing to apologize and discuss Inuit demands (for compensation)	

Sources: Purich (1992), Duffy (1988), DIANA (1990) and DIANA (1985).

Radford notes that:

The penetration of market forces into every aspect of life is a dominant theme in modernity.... No theme more clearly characterizes discussions of modernity than "creative destruction". Surrender of control is at the heart of a theme that characterizes another section of the modernity literature.... Perhaps most illuminating of all is the theme of modernity's obsession with instrumental rationality. (pp. 14–17)

In summary, it is abundantly clear that modernity, as represented by the themes identified by Radford, has been going on in the North since the initial arrival of Europeans. The pace of change picked up significantly in the twentieth century, especially since the marked decline of trapping as a source of revenue and the impacts of the arrival of military personnel associated with the geo-political significance of the North as the frontier between the East (Soviet Union) and West (U.S.A.). Reports by U.S. military personnel and others on the poor housing and health care facilities and lack of educational opportunities in the North provided evidence that the Inuit were doomed to extinction in the near future unless significant and acceptable social policies could be devised and implemented. The provision of funds, the construction of schools, nursing stations and the increase in policing would clearly not be sufficient to help the Inuit regain control of their lives. Megaprojects of mineral exploitation, though possibly offering short-term employment opportunities soon petered out as a source of fundamental restructuring of the northern world. Perhaps the most significant help for the Inuit was taken in the 1960s with the creation of co-operatives. This step, together with more informed attitudes among officials in Ottawa and Yellowknife, together with the recent public debates in Canada on constitutional affairs and land claims, and self-determination for native peoples has set the scene and established an appropriate political climate for the creation of Nunavut.

BEYOND CATASTROPHE: PRINCIPLES OF HOPE

If blame and responsibility for the catastrophic treatment of the Inuit and the demise of their culture can be attributed to modernity, then future public policies surely demand that in the emerging era of post-modernity past mistakes not be repeated.

Recently Barry (1990) has offered some answers to questions surrounding definitions of welfare and the part played by government in its promotion. Among other things, he argues that the growth of state welfare is directly linked to social dependency and a diminution of self-sufficiency as well as the reduction of individual choice which is a result of collectivist provision. In the case of the Inuit the

latter has tended to take the form of provision of services via a bureaucracy which has not involved sufficiently the consumers.

Those who examine some of the writings on modernism and postmodernism, for example Cooke (1990, p. 22), will observe that the "concept of progress, [is] itself perhaps the defining characteristic of modernity," and that the breakdown of community and nation state is, almost paradoxically, replaced by greater co-operation and the development of an "act local, think global" philosophy:

As the 20th century fin de siècle approaches we seem to be confronted by change wherever we look. Debates about future directions have been saying throughout the 1980s ... Is the market the best mechanism for delivering the allocation of all goods and services? Should the welfare state be dismantled? (p. 22)

This view is discussed in an editorial comment in *The Economist* of 23 June 1990, under the title "Goodbye to the nation state". Cooke's book on post-modernism attempts to "explain the problems that underlie such debates" (Cooke, 1990, p.11). He suggests that:

Postmodernists argue that modern perspectives undervalue, amongst other things, the consensus of minorities, local identities, non-Western thinking, a capacity to deal with difference, the pluralist culture and the cosmopolitanism of modern life. (p. 11)

The ambiguity which results is captured by Cooke's assertion that "the appeal to ideas of community and the authority of tradition is clearly a populist yet also a reactionary one" (p. 11). These general ideas are elaborated in Massam (1993) but for the purposes of this paper, with its focus on servicing the Inuit, it seems clear that Nunavut aims to restore control and authority to the aboriginal peoples and give them the direct responsibility for dealing with their needs for services. And as such Nunavut and the agreement could be cited as an example of a post-modern approach to the production of welfare for a well-defined community.

The question of need is central to the provision of services and it is appropriate to offer some comments on this topic. One of the seminal papers on need is provided by Bradshaw (1972) in which he recognizes that the history of the provision of social services is essentially the story of the recognition of social needs and the organization of society to meet them. York (1988) considers need assessment as a critical aspect of human service planning, and he acknowledges the important conceptual work of Bradshaw which is complementary to Maslow's (1954) hierarchy of needs which begins with those relating to physical conditions, then safety and so on to embrace belonging, self-esteem and self-actualization or self-fulfillment. It is contentious to assert that an individual necessarily proceeds in sequence through this hierarchy or that several levels cannot be pursued concurrently. When all is said and done for facility planning and siting,

and the allocation of resources to provide services, generic comments on need assessment have to be converted to data collection exercises usually via a census or questionnaire survey in order to provide a set of scores or indicators which are felt to be related to needs. Also, of course such scores represent performance levels of existing facilities and as such are explicitly required in any monitoring exercise.

Nunavut clearly is an attempt to shift responsibility for need assessment to the Inuit and as such remove the biases and priorities of outside agencies, whether public, via federal or GNWT initiatives or private, via development companies and corporations. Of course, the Inuit will be faced with the problem of developing social policies to provide services for their people which may have to accommodate pressures from the private sector.

The search for the ideal constitution for a community to tackle collective choice problems, for example, in the provision of services, continues. The literature is large and ranges from abstract analytical axiomatic approaches à la Arrow (1951), to more restrictive normative efforts of the accessibility maximizing variety and on to prescriptive process statements. It is this latter category which may hold greatest promise in the development of strategies for the Inuit to determine their needs for specific services. Perhaps the strongest exposition of the prescriptive approach to service provision and collective choice can be based on the four principles enunciated by O'Riordan *et al.* (1988), drawing on the conceptual framework they developed to assess large public inquiries and related social policy making. Specifically, they attempted to examine the process that was used to select the site for a nuclear power station at Sizewell in the U.K. O'Riordan *et al.* sought to elaborate a theoretical approach which embraced a wide variety of elements which in total focus on the role of a public inquiry in seeking a democratic and legally appropriate outcome. In essence, they attempt to define necessary and sufficient conditions for an acceptable public policy outcome by insisting that the process be fair, full, thorough and legitimate. These four elements are elaborated and a summary is given on Table 4.

These four elements can be used to evaluate the process which has been used to create Nunavut. A detailed examination of the negotiation process and the documentation cannot be attempted here, but a cursory and preliminary overview suggests that in large measure Nunavut is the outcome of a process which sought to be fair, full, thorough, and legitimate.

DEVELOPMENT AND SELF-DETERMINATION

It is now well-recognized that development is more than economic growth as defined by more output and changes in technical and institutional arrangements, as Kindleberger (1965) argued twenty years ago, and development goes beyond more inputs and efficiency it must draw attention to the change in functional

capacity. Other authors, for example, Hopkins and Van Der Hoeven (1983), are much more explicit and make the case for linking development with needs which embrace health and food as well as social security and human freedom which includes non-material needs, for example participation to bring about social justice and self-reliance. And Pearce *et al.* (1990) stress that development embraces concern for the quality of life such as educational attainment, nutritional status, access to basic freedoms and spiritual welfare all within a framework of sustainability and which looks beyond short-run gains.

Table 4: Basic principles for evaluating public policy-making.

Fairness	<p>Central to the rule of law. <i>Nemo iudex in causa sua</i>: rule against bias. <i>Audi alterem partem</i>: right to a fair hearing.</p> <p>Refers to form of investigation and the substance of investigation and the dissemination of information.</p>
Fullness	<p>Refers to the scope of the inquiry, the evaluation and the needs assessment process, i.e. the variety and breadth of issues covered (the full range of needs à la Bradshaw and Maslow, for example) and the relevancy of issues.</p>
Thoroughness	<p>Refers to depth of examination of the issues: detail, accuracy, use of professional advice, good instrumentation, goods sampling procedures, replication and traceability.</p>
Legitimacy	<p>Refers to sanctioning of actions by the populace. A legitimate process is one that is normatively sanctioned by the population. Ideal normative conditions include:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) ACCESS to argument: gain access to argument and ability to follow up responses b) INTELLIGIBILITY: be authentically understood and comprehensible c) HONESTY AND SINCERITY: ability to express feelings and intentions d) CREATIVE: development of a case based on evidence and full justification.

Sources: After O'Riordan *et al.* (1988), Haar (1984), Connally (1984), Habermas (1976), and Held (1984).

CONCLUSION

Nunavut represents a specific attempt to provide an institutional framework, within a sovereign state, to cater to the particular needs of people living in a fron-

tier region. The fact that the sovereign state, Canada, is so large and the territory of Nunavut is so far removed from the ecumene together with the small population, that pressure for control of land currently used by others is less severe than in other contexts, for example, in a small state or one in which the aboriginal peoples are laying claim to land within cities, for instance, as in Australia. Nevertheless, there is competition for control of land in Nunavut especially with respect to mineral rights, and given that exploitation of minerals can generate employment opportunities and revenue for social services the government of Nunavut will be faced with hard policy choices and decisions. This is acknowledged by the Inuit leaders and, as has been reported in *The Globe and Mail* (November 11, 1993) in the Business News: "Canada's aboriginal leaders are spreading the word to Canadian mining community that the NWT are open to business." Charles Lyall (President Kitikmeot Corporation of Tunngavik) makes it clear that:

The Inuit will not be passive participants in the developments. Mining companies must come to understand that access to mineral resources should have an economic value and that in Nunavut it is the Inuit who control access.... We require a piece of the action.... We will not sell our birthright and the birthright of our children for quick benefits. (Quoted in Robinson, 1993, B1)

One of the first companies to negotiate with the aboriginal groups is Metall Mining Corporation of Toronto. The vice-president of Metall, David Watkins, (1993, Nov. 11) is quoted in *The Globe and Mail*: "As a mining company, we need to know that we are guests on their land."

Finally, the differences between self-government, devolution and independence as elements of self-determination are captured by the view of Purich (1992).

Self-government means more than acting as an agent in the delivery of services for the federal or provincial government. This is known as devolution. While some Aboriginal communities have accepted such a devolution of powers, they have also sought something more, namely independent control over specific areas of jurisdiction without any restraints from other levels of government. (p. 20)

If Nunavut is to succeed then the concept of self-determination for the Inuit must not only be accepted in a legal document, but most importantly it must be practiced. Future writers will perhaps be able to report that Nunavut is making a positive contribution toward the just and sustainable development of the North, not only for the Inuit but for all citizens of Canada.

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