

Homeless Inuit in Montreal

Nobuhiro Kishigami

(National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka, Japan)

e-mail: inuit@idc.minpaku.ac.jp

*Paper prepared for the session “Aboriginal Peoples in Cities, Identity and Human Nature” at the CASCA meeting(Concordia University, Montreal, Canada) in May, 2006

1. Introduction

According to the 2001 Census of Canada, the total population of Inuit in Canada is approximately 45,000. While the majority live in the Arctic, approximately 8,000 live in southern Canada (Appendix 1 and 2).

In Montreal, Quebec, there are Inuit working for a number of Inuit and governmental organizations. However, many in this city are dependent on welfare and unemployment insurance, others are here temporarily for higher education and medical reasons, and finally, there are those who are homeless.

While the 2001 census indicates that there are 435 Inuit in the Montreal area, if the number of patients, students, and homeless Inuit is taken into account, it is estimated that there are more than 800 Inuit in Montreal.

Immigration of Inuit into southern Canadian cities increased substantially during the 1980s. However, the phenomena did not attract any serious attention from federal and municipal officials at that time. Only social workers at several Native Friendship Centres across Canada noticed the increasing number of Inuit in the cities. However, over the past few years, the rapid increase of homeless Inuit in major Canadian cities has started to be recognized as a social problem by municipal workers.

The Native Friendship Centre of Montreal contacted about 90 homeless Inuit in downtown Montreal between April, 2004 and March, 2005. This is a minimum number, and suggests that there may be considerably more than 90 homeless Inuit in Montreal (note 1).

The life of urban Inuit, especially those who are homeless, is essentially unknown to us. This paper reports and discusses several characteristics and problems of the life of homeless Inuit as well as the activities of the Native Friendship Centre of Montreal and the Association of Montreal Inuit, which are concerned about the welfare of urban natives.

(2) Research on Montreal Inuit

In 1996 I undertook preliminary research on Inuit in Montreal. In 1997, I interviewed 54 Inuit and since then, I have continued this research, even during short visits to Montreal (Kishigami 1999a, b; 2002 a, b, c; 2004a).

In August, 2004, I carried out follow-up research with 52 Inuit in Montreal. More than 80% of those interviewed were different individuals from those interviewed in 1997. During that seven year span, there occurred two major changes relating to Inuit in Montreal. First, Baffin House (a patient transit centre for Inuit from Baffin Island) was closed in 1998 by the Government of the Northwest Territories, and Inuit patients from the Baffin region were then sent to hospitals in Ottawa. Second, in 2002 Inuit with 2 pieces of identification were now allowed to receive welfare money in the Province of Quebec, even though they did not have any fixed address.

In this 2004 research, I was able to contact and interview 12 homeless Inuit. Among them, as well as among other unemployed Inuit, alcoholism and drug abuse was a serious problem, a situation I did not identify in my 1997 research.

It should be noted that I did not select my informants at random. My cases consist of all the homeless Inuit I could contact while I was in Montreal. Accordingly, my samples cannot be considered statistically representative of the entire homeless Inuit population of Montreal.

(3) Homeless Inuit in Montreal

In general the homeless Inuit spend their time along a main street, in three parks and at the Native Friendship Centre of Montreal, which is located in the downtown area. At night, they tend to stay in the parks or shelters. I will describe in detail two individual cases of homeless Inuit before discussing the characteristics of their lives in general.

3-1 A Case of a Homeless Inuit Woman

The first case is that of an Inuk lady, approximately 35 years old, from the Ungava Bay region. She had married a French Canadian and had two children from this marriage. They were divorced ten months ago due to her heavy drinking problem. Her former husband was granted custody of the children. Since that time, she has been homeless and panhandling on the streets in the downtown area. In her case, she does not receive any welfare money simply because she did not know how to apply welfare assistance. She can earn more than \$5 a day but cannot live on that small amount of money. Thus, she frequently takes free lunches at the Native Friendship Centre and

free suppers at various women's shelters. She rarely eats Inuit food such as caribou meat, arctic char, etc.

At night, she tends to sleep in one of the parks. Only occasionally does she spend nights at one of the shelters or friend's places. As missions and shelters provide shower and laundry facilities to homeless people, she is able to shower four times and wash her clothes two times a week. Also she is able to obtain free seasonal clothing from the Native Friendship Centre and women's shelters. Although she has no place to live and has to endure rain, wind, and very cold winters, she manages to obtain food and clothing in order to survive in the city.

Once a month, her ex-husband takes his two children to the Native Friendship Centre to let them see their mother. Because she cannot live with her children, she hopes to leave the city for her home village in the Arctic. But as she has an ongoing court case relating to a violence charge against her, she is not allowed to do so.

She has various medical problems from her alcohol and drug use. Despite this, she drinks beer every day and sometimes smokes marijuana. She shares and drinks several bottles of beer with her friends at a park and occasionally drinks heavily until the early morning at a friend's apartment. They share the costs of the beer and continue drinking until all of their money is gone. However, because she also frequents bars, she never fails to acquire additional beer from male bar patrons. Once she and her friends get drunk, they often have fights with others or yell at each other on the bus or metro, or in the street. Although she herself recognizes that her life is not good, she finds it very difficult to escape from this reality.

3-2 A Case of a Homeless Inuit Man

This case concerns an Inuk man in his early 40s who spent several years in Montreal. He had committed a crime and had been sent to prison in the south for two years. After he was released, he came to Montreal before flying back to his home in the Arctic. But as he lost his air plane ticket, he was unable to go back to his home and had no option except to stay in Montreal. Currently, he does not have any job or fixed address.

He receives welfare money of about \$550 per month. If he wants to rent an apartment, he can do so. But instead, he spends almost all of his income on alcohol, cigarettes or drugs. However, he is able to survive in Montreal.

Let me give an example of how he spends a typical day in the summer. When he awakes in a park in the morning, he goes to his accustomed grocery store to buy one liter bottle of beer and brings it back with him to the park, where he shares it with his

homeless friends. Usually his friends include not only Inuit but also French Canadians and aboriginal persons from other groups.

At lunch time, he goes to the Native Friendship Centre which provides poor or homeless natives with free lunch from Monday to Friday. Also, the centre gives donated clothing and food baskets to needy natives.

After lunch, he reads newspapers, watches video or television programs, uses the internet, or talks with other Inuit friends in the lobby room of the centre. At the centre, he hears of news from his native village from other visitors or talks to his family or relatives in his home arctic village via a telephone at the centre. Occasionally he eats caribou meat and arctic char brought from the arctic to the centre.

After 4:00 PM, he visits one of the restaurants run by various shelters, the Salvation Army or local missions. There he can have a free supper. Also, if he desires, he can take a shower and/or spend a night in bed. If he uses effectively these charitable organizations and missions, he can manage to live without cash.

At night, he goes back to a park where his homeless friends come together. At the park, he shares and enjoys beer and cigarettes with other homeless persons. He generally communicates them in English. It seems that it is neither ethnic background nor race that is important here, but rather the opportunity to share time and space, thus forming a kind of temporary homeless persons community.

From these cases, two points can be made. Firstly, although homeless Inuit are able to obtain cash income from panhandling and/or welfare, they spend the cash not to rent an apartment, but instead to buy food, alcohol, cigarettes or drugs. Secondly, they obtain necessary clothing and food from missions, shelters or the Native Friendship Centre.

(4) Characteristics and Problems of Homeless Inuit

In this section, I will summarize several characteristics and problems of homeless Inuit in Montreal.

4-1. Native Village and Geographical Movement

Of the 12 homeless Inuit I interviewed, 6 came from the Nunavik region (2 from Kuujjuarapik, 1 from Inukjuak, 1 from Kuujjuaq, 1 from Kangrsujuak, 1 from Quaqtac), 5 from the Nunavut Territory (1 from Iqaluit, 1 from Cape Dorset, 1 from Pond Inlet, 1 from Resolute Bay, 1 from Gjoa Haven) and 1 from the Labrador region

(Northwest River). Thus, the majority of them came from the Nunavik and Baffin Island regions.

Concerning their geographical movement, the majority of them did not move to Montreal directly from their native villages, but instead arrived there after moving between several villages within the Arctic and/or within southern Canada. This tendency suggests that they will probably move to other cities or arctic villages in the future.

4-2 Age and Sex

Of the 12 homeless Inuit I interviewed, 7 were male and 5 were female. Most were in their 30s or 40s, with the youngest about 27 years old and the oldest about 50 years old. The average age was 38.8 years old. There was almost no difference in the average ages between male and female.

	Male	Female	Total
25~29 years old	1	0	1
30~39 years old	2	3	5
40~49 years old	3	2	5
50~54 years old	1	0	1
Total	7	5	12
Average age	39.1 years old	38.2 years old	38.8 years old

4-3 Reasons for Migration and Length of Residence

There are various reasons for Inuit migration to Montreal, including accompanying parents or a spouse.

Male	Female
Accompanying his parents 1	Accompanying her parents or husband 3
For a job 1	For a job 0
Being sent to a prison 1	Being sent to a prison 0
Running away from police 1	Escaping from a gossip 1
Being divorced 1	Being Divorced 0
For experience 1	No particular reason 1
On the way back to his arctic home 1	

The average length of time Inuit live homeless in Montreal is approximately

7.3 years. However, the majority of the homeless Inuit live there no more than 5 years. The average length of male Inuit homelessness in Montreal is about 2.9 years and no male stays in Montreal more than 10 years. On the other hand, the average length of female homeless Inuit in Montreal is about 13.3 years and half of them spend more than 10 years. That is, female homeless Inuit tend to stay in Montreal much longer than the male ones.

	Male	Female	Total
Less than 1 year	3	1	4
1~5 years	2	1	3
6~10 years	2	0	2
11~20 years	0	2	2
21~25 years	0	1	1
Average length	about 2.9 years	about 13.3 years	about 7.3 years

4-4 Life

Homeless Inuit manage to live in Montreal by combining resources provided by the Native Friendship Centre, charitable organizations and shelters. Their resources include free food or meals, clothing, services, cash from panhandling and/or welfare. They have fixed places for sleeping and panhandling. They tend to share cigarettes, beer, food, and drugs with other homeless persons who share the same location, regardless of their original native village or ethnic origins.

The majority of homeless Inuit tend to avoid using several of the shelters and charitable organizations because they are discriminated against by non-Inuit workers and homeless persons. The non-Inuit workers and homeless persons often say: “the Inuit smell”, “the Inuit are noisy”, “the Inuit have fleas and lice with them on”, “the Inuit are always begging” or “the Inuit are always drinking”.

Many homeless Inuit obtain an apartment with the assistance of the Native Friendship Centre. However, because almost all of them fail to pay their rent, and make noise at their apartment, they are often evicted by the owners of the apartments after only three months. As they do not participate in education and job training programs, and do not speak French, finding employment is extremely difficult. They generally cannot escape from their poor situations except by returning to their home village. Also, many of them suffer from serious drug and alcohol problems. However, it should be emphasized that the majority of the homeless Inuit have chosen a homeless life on purpose because they can enjoy the freedom such a lifestyle offers.

(5) Activities of the Native Friendship Centre of Montreal and the Association of Montreal Inuit

The Native Friendship Centre of Montreal and Association of Montreal Inuit provide important services to the Inuit living in Montreal.

5-1 The Native Friendship Centre and Its Activities

Native Friendship Centres were established as aid organizations in large cities that have large indigenous populations, with financial assistance from the federal government mostly beginning in the 1970s (note 2) and continuing to the present. Currently there are more than 70 centres in Canada. Each centre has its own budget and programs and is run by executive directors elected by its members. The centre in Montreal was established in 1974.

The Native Friendship Centre of Montreal is currently located in downtown Montreal and aims to improve the quality of life of the homeless and/or poor urban natives. The centre provides several services such as 1) Referral/Walk-in Clinic, 2) Community Meals Program, 3) Day Center, 4) Outreach/ Street work. Many homeless Inuit use the center for lunch, laundry and/or meeting with other Inuit.

There are two outreach projects concerned with homeless natives at the Native Friendship Centre of Montreal. One is a downtown patrol during the day and another is meal distribution to homeless natives from early to late evening from a centre vehicle.

A homeless countermeasure patrol team, noted above, has been established at the centre. The team consists of two Inuit and one Mohawk who patrol a few main streets and parks over a downtown area from the Atwater metro in the west to the University of Quebec at Montreal in the east. These patrols take place from morning to afternoon every Monday, Tuesday and Thursday. If they find a sick native, they will take him/her to a hospital. If they find that a person needs food or clothing, they will provide him/her with it.

Another meal distribution to homeless natives is carried out in the downtown area with a Native Friendship Centre van every week, Monday through Friday, from 14:30 to 22:00. The aim of this project is to decrease the number of homeless natives who are not NFCM customers and to improve their life on the streets. Sandwiches and coffee or juice are given to homeless natives in the street by the workers on the van. They provide blankets and new needles to the natives. Also, if they find any sick person in danger on the street, they take him or her to a shelter or hospital.

The homeless Inuit have benefited from these two NFCM projects.

5-2 The Association of Montreal Inuit and Its Activities

In November 1999, Mr. Victor Mesher (working at Makivik at that time) and others held an Inuit meal supper at an Anglican Church in Lachine in the suburb of Montreal (note 3). Some 120 Inuit who heard about the news of the Inuit supper joined it. This event was the start of a monthly supper for the Montreal Inuit held by several Inuit volunteers on the last Saturday of each month. This monthly supper was held 65 times without a break until March 2005.

Mr. Mesher and others asked for assistance from the Makivik Corporation, Air Inuit and First Air (owned by the Makivik Corporation as subsidiaries), and 14 Inuit communities in Nunavik in order to assist in the cost of the monthly supper. The Makivik Corporation provided \$500 a month for food and \$150 a month for a place (the church) to hold the meal.

When the day of the supper approached, Mr. Mesher made phone calls and sent faxes to 14 mayors in the Nunavik region to request donations of caribou meat, arctic char, etc. A few villages sent some meat and fish to Mr. Mesher each month. The two air companies carried the meat and fish from arctic villages to Pierre Trudeau airport without charge. The meat and fish were allowed to be kept in a freezer in the basement of the Makivik Corporation building until the monthly supper. The Anglican church in Lachine provided the Inuit with a hall for the supper. Inuit volunteers prepared the dishes and put things in order after the supper at the church. After supper, children's games were carried out. At Easter, Halloween, and Christmas days, the feasts were especially large and the games well-attended.

On March 29th 2000, the Association of Montreal Inuit was officially founded by Mr. Mesher and other Inuit in Montreal. Mr. Mesher became a president of the association and recruited and appointed 6 representatives among the volunteer Inuit. It should be noted that no elections were held at the founding of the organization or anytime in the following 6 years. Mr. Mesher energetically promoted its activities such as a monthly supper and other events with other Inuit.

One of Mr. Mesher's strategies to run the association was to attempt to obtain assistance and cooperation from a wide variety of people and groups through cultural exchange of the association with other residents and groups in Montreal. He obtained unsold clothing, furniture and books at flea markets organized by the nearby Rotary Club and old hockey equipment from local hockey teams free of charge. A few times a year, he donated them to arctic villages which sent fish and meat to Montreal Inuit for the monthly supper.

In November, 2002, the Association of Montreal Inuit received permission to use the buildings owned by the Makivik Corporation and opened an activity center for the urban Inuit. The association also opened a small shop to deal with Inuit clothing, prints, sculptures and food next to the center's building. Mr. Mesher hoped that the profits from the shop would assist in the costs of running the association.

However, the center always suffered from a shortage of funds. Being unable to hire permanent staff to run the center, it often remained closed during week days. In summer, the back yard of the center was used as a place for a monthly supper. In addition to the activities, the center was used by Inuit women every Saturday for a sewing class to make winter fur clothing and gloves. On the other hand, although the shop next to the centre building opened everyday from Monday to Saturday, it did not attract many customers and did not make any profit because it was located in a suburban area and on a street that is not very commercially developed.

The Association of Montreal Inuit was operated under the strong leadership and volunteer spirit of Mr. Mesher. The monthly supper provided the Montreal Inuit with country food which was otherwise very difficult to obtain, and an opportunity for them to develop friendships and exchange information. Thus, the monthly supper functioned as a centralizing event for the urban Inuit community in Montreal and triggered the formation of social networks among the Inuit. It thus appeared that an urban community of the Inuit was forming in Montreal.

However, in the spring of 2005, the Makivik executive directors decided to sell the buildings that housed the center and the shop. This decision resulted in the association giving up the space in April of that year. Another misfortune happened to the association. The priest of the Anglican church in Lachine, who had kindly provided the urban Inuit with a hall for the monthly supper, was transferred to a church in downtown Montreal and the membership of the Lachine church committee was also changed at the end of March, 2005. The new church committee hesitated to let the Inuit use the hall for the monthly supper because, they said, several cooking items disappeared after the supper. Thus, the monthly supper carried out 65 times without a break since November of 1999, was interrupted by the church committee in March 2005.

As I have shown in this paper, the monthly supper of the Association of Montreal Inuit was one of the very few means to form a community for the urban Inuit. This suspension of the monthly supper is expected to have a negative impact on community formation. Currently, the Inuit living in Montreal eagerly hope to establish their own community center in the city.

5-3 Social Movement to Establish an Inuit Center and Community Development

As I pointed out above, homeless Inuit have been recognized increasingly as a social problem by municipal officials of large cities in Canada since approximately 2000. Thus, the federal government, political Inuit organizations, provincial governments, and local municipalities have had to accept the existence of Inuit people in southern Canadian cities.

At last, in October, 26-27, 2005, a workshop entitled “National Urban Inuit –One Voice” was held under a joint venture between Tungasuvvingat Inuit and the Inuit Relations Secretariat of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada. In this workshop, some 30 Inuit from 7 Canadian cities - St. John’s, Happy Valley-Goose Bay, Montreal, Ottawa, Winnipeg, Edmonton and Yellowknife - reported on and discussed their experiences and problems. This was the very first meeting to exchange information on urban Inuit life across the nation. “The participants identified three concerns: the need for a national body representing Inuit in the South, the need for Inuit community centres in urban areas, and the need for support from the federal government and others”(Tungasuvvingat Inuit 2006).

Mr. Mesher of the Association of Montreal Inuit participated in this workshop and made appeals to the Inuit Relations Secretariat of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Quebec Provincial Government as well as municipalities of the Greater Montreal Region in order to establish an Inuit center with drop-in, information exchange, and sheltering functions.

In December 2005, a group of Inuit in Montreal proposed to hold an election to decide the board of directors of the Association of Montreal Inuit. Mr. Mesher did not run as a candidate in the election. The group of Inuit held the election anyway and chosen 7 people to sit on the board of directors. Then, the new officers of the board were chosen by the directors. Currently, the association is maintaining the monthly supper and making attempts to establish a resource centre.

(6) Conclusion

Progress in economic globalization has accelerated population movement in the world. It was in the 1980s that Inuit migration into southern cities became more pronounced than previously. The population of Inuit in southern Canada is still increasing with their constant departure from their northern villages. Around 2000, the drastic increase in the number of homeless Inuit became a social problem in several cities of Canada.

The increasing population of the Inuit in urban areas is probably an aspect of

the globalizing society of Canada because their mobility is significantly correlated with the drastic development of transportation and communication systems in the arctic Canada. This change produces few successful and many unsuccessful Inuit in cities. Although Inuit society in the arctic is being stratified under the influence of a cash economy, it has an economic leveling mechanism within each extended family and across households in an arctic community through Inuit food sharing practices (e.g. Kishigami 2000, 2004). On the other hand, as Inuit in cities usually do not have their extended family or community, they seldom practice food sharing. Thus, many homeless Inuit always suffer from severe poverty and lack of food in the cities.

I argue that to solve the food security problem in the city it is necessary to create a social community that is able to help each other personally and economically, exchange information and maintain Inuit identity. For that reason, establishment of an Inuit community center is needed.

Finally, I would like to make a few comments on the rapidly increasing Inuit populations in cities of Canada. While the Inuit population is rapidly increasing in large cities by an influx of individuals from the arctic regions, it is nevertheless quickly increasing in the arctic regions through high birth rates. In other words, Inuit migration into cities does not cause a decrease in the Inuit population of the arctic regions. In this respect, the population distribution of the Inuit is very different from that of the First Nations and Métis, which is characterized by a drift of population away from their native villages or reserves.

Furthermore, I would like to emphasize that socio-economic problems in southern Canada are closely connected with those in northern Canada. As long as socio-economic problems in the arctic such as rapid population growth, shortage of jobs, substance abuse, domestic violence, and sexual violence remain unresolved, a lot of arctic Inuit, especially Inuit women, will continue moving out into the southern cities from their native villages. This will keep reproducing poverty problems of many Inuit including homelessness in the southern cities. Thus, I argue that a new socio-economic policy addressing both the southern and arctic situations of the Inuit at the same time should be developed.

Notes

(note 1) According to a report on the aboriginal homeless in Montreal, “the Inuit are clearly over-represented in all categories of homeless. Although they account for less than 10 % of the Aboriginal population in Montreal they account for 43% of those who

are homeless” (Native Friendship Centre of Montreal 2002: 17).

(note 2) Several Native friendship Centres such as Winnipeg one, etc were established in the 1950.

(note 3) Many Inuit in Montreal area have attended to the church service at the Anglican Church in Lachine. Thus, this church is well known to them.

(Acknowledgements)

Montreal research in August, 2004 would not have been possible without assistance and cooperation of Makivik Corporation, the Association of Montreal Inuit, the Native Friendship Center of Montreal, and the Avataq Cultural Institute. I thank these organizations. Also, my sincere thanks to the following people who helped and encouraged me a lot during my research: Victor Mesher, Louise Mayo, David Papak Panegyuk, Pitsulala Lyta, Annie Pisuktie, Pamela Shauk, and Jobie Weetaluktuk. Finally, Professor James Savelle and Dr. Mark Watson checked and corrected my English of earlier draft and Dr. Robert Bone, Mr. Jobie Weetaluktuk and Dr. Toby Morantz gave me several comments on the draft. I appreciate their kind assistance to revise the draft.

References

Kishigami, Nobuhiro

- 1999a Why Do Inuit Move to Montreal?: A Research Note on Urban Inuit. *Études/Inuit/Studies* 23 (1/2): 221-227.
- 1999b Life and Problems of Urban Inuit in Montreal: Report of 1997 Research. *The Journal of the Society of Liberal Arts*, Hokkaido University of Education at Hakodate 68: 81-109.
- 2000 Contemporary Inuit Food Sharing and Hunter Support Program of Nunavik, Canada. In G.W. Wenzel, G. Hovelsrud-Broda and N. Kishigami (eds.) *The Social Economy of Sharing: Resource Allocation And Modern Hunter-Gatherers* (Senri Ethnological Studies No.53) pp.171-192, Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology.
- 2002a Urban Inuit in Canada: A Case from Montreal. *Indigenous Affairs* 3-4: 54-59.
- 2002b Inuit Identities in Montreal, Canada. *Études/Inuit/Studies* 26(1):183-191.
- 2002c Living as an Inuk in Montreal: Social Networks and Resource

- Sharing. *The Journal of the Society of Liberal Arts*, Hokkaido University of Education at Hakodate 71: 73-84.
- 2004a Cultural and Ethnic Identities of Inuit in Canada. In IRIMOTO, Takashi and Takako YAMADA (eds.) pp.81-93. *Circumpolar Ethnicity and Identity* (Senri Ethnological Studies 66). Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology.
- 2004b A New Typology of Food-Sharing Practices among Hunter-Gatherers, with a Special Focus on Inuit Examples. *Journal of Anthropological Research* 60: 341-358.
- Native Friendship Centre of Montreal
- 2002 Homelessness Among Montreal's First Nations, Inuit and Métis: A Summary Report of Findings. Montreal: Native Friendship Centre of Montreal.
- 2005 A Statistical Sheet of NFCM Hepatitis C, HIV/AIDS Prevention and Outreach Pilot Project Interventions (April 1, 2004 to March 31, 2005). Montreal: Native Friendship Centre of Montreal
- Trattles, David
- 2005 Urban Inuit: An Ottawa Neighbourhood is Home to the Largest Community of Inuit South of 60. *Canadian Geographic* (July/August) : 74-82.
- Tungasuvvingat Inuit
- 2006 *Report: National urban Inuit -One Voice- Workshop*. Ottawa: Tungasuvvingat Inuit

Appendix 1. CENSUS OF CANADA 2001. CUSTOM DATA ON INUIT POPULATION

SUMMARY TABLES BASED ON CHRISTINA PLEIZIER' S DETAIL AGE/SEX TABLE (DIRECTLY OBTAINED FROM STATISTICS CANADA.

Source : summary tables based on the detailed age/sex table prepared by Christina Pleizer for Inuit Relations Secretariat DIAND. This table was distributed by Donat Savoir and Robert Bone by e-mail.

	Number	%
Nunatsiavut	2,345	5.2

Nunivik	8,705	19.3
Inuvialuit	2,975	6.6
Nunavut	22,560	50.1
RofCanada	8,485	18.8
Canada	45,070	100

Canada		
0-14	17,465	38.8
15-64	26,205	58.1
65 & over	1,400	3.1
Total	45,070	100

Nunatsiavut		
0-14	800	34.1
15-64	1,430	61
65 & over	115	4.9
Total	2,345	100

Nunavik		
0-14	3,645	41.9
15-64	4,790	55
65 & over	270	3.1
Total	8,705	100

Inuvialuit		
0-14	1,010	34
15-64	1,820	61.2
65 & over	145	4.8
Total	2,975	100

Nunavut		
0-14	9,345	41.4
15-64	12,595	55.8
65 & over	620	2.8
Total	22,560	100

RofCanada

0-14	2,675	31.5
15-64	5,560	65.5
65 & over	250	3
Total	8,485	100

Appendix 2

Inuit Residing Outside of Their Land Claim Regions

Major Inuit Urban Centres	2001
Happy Valley-Goose Bay	1,100
Yellowknife	660
Edmonton	460
Ottawa/Hull	455
Montreal	435
Toronto	355
Vancouver	260
St. John's	205
North West River	195
Calgary	190
Halifax	165
Saskatoon	120
Whitehorse	115
Hay River	105
Total in Major Inuit Centres	4,820
Total in Minor Centres	3,665
Total Urban Inuit	8,485

Source: Statistics Canada. 2001 Aboriginal Population Profile. <http://www12.statcan.ca/english/Profil01ab/PlaceSearchForm1.cfm>; and Statistics Canada. Special Request from INAC. (Note) This table was provided to me by Dr. Robert Bone of the Inuit Relations Secretariat DIAND.