Exhibit: National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls
Location/Phase: Parts 2/3 St. John's
Witness: Joanne Crompton & Tina Chalk
Submitted by: Beth Symes
Add'l info: PD2-03P04P0101
Date: OCT 15 2018
Intials: 63
I/D:
Entered: 42

UNDERSTANDING THE NEEDS OF URBAN INUIT WOMEN

Final Report

Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada
April 2017

CONTENTS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY 2
CHAPTER 1: Conceptualizing the Research 3
1.1 Introduction 3
1.2 Objectives 3
1.3 Setting the context 4
1.4 Literature review 5
1.4.1 Urbanization among Aboriginal peoples in Canada 5
1.4.2 Urbanization among Inuit peoples in Canada 6
1.4.3 Aboriginal women's identity in urban space 8
1.4.4 Relocation to urban centres 8
CHAPTER 2: Research Methods 10
2.1 A framework for analyzing Inuit women's experiences in urban areas 10
2.2 Methodology 11
2.2.1 Individual/participant interviews 12
2.2.2 Focus group and engaging sessions 12
CHAPTER 3: Pathways to Southern Urban Spaces 13
3.1 Pull factors 13
3.1.1 "There are millions of opportunities here": Attraction to southern urban centres 13
3.1.2 Need for services and institutional flow 15
3.2 Push factors 17
3.2.1 Lack of options / opportunities for self-actualization in northern communities 17
3.2.2 Disintegrating social relationships in the North 18
3.3 Chapter conclusion 19
CHAPTER 4: Adaptation to the Urban Environment 20
4.1 Women's material experiences in urban centres 20
4.1.1 Housing experience 20
4.1.2 Employment, education and income 21
4.1.3 Health and access to services 21
4.2 Women's non-material experiences in urban centres 22
4.2.1 Identity 22
4.2.2 Social networks 26
4.2.3 Cultural practices 27
4.3 Chapter conclusion 29
CHAPTER 5: Gendering the Urban Inuit Experience 30
5.1 Family responsibilities 30
5.2 Gendered roles in urban centres 32
5.3 "Unsafe to be an Inuk woman in the streets" 32
CHAPTER 7: RECOMMENDATIONS 34
REFERENCES 36
APPENDIX 1 41
APPENDIX 2 44

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report examines Inuit women's experiences in five major Canadian cities: Edmonton, Winnipeg, Toronto, Ottawa and Montréal. Women's stories reveal that migration rationale does not usually take the form of a linear and logical sequence of events. Rather, a combination of factors simultaneously pushes them away from their hometowns and pulls them into cities. While some women actively seek better opportunities in southern urban centres, the cost of housing and poor-quality services in the North also push them into migration pathways. Many interviews revealed that living in the city often felt like a "consequence" rather than a personal choice.

Several factors contribute to positive experiences for Inuit women in cities; namely, the presence of a social network, kin and friends, secure and adequate housing, participation in cultural practices, good health and well-being, and economic opportunities. Conversely, factors in negative experiences may include poverty, homelessness, violence, illness, marginalization, and exclusion.

Furthermore, analysis of women's material and non-material experiences demonstrates that available resources and services tend to focus overwhelmingly on material needs while addressing non-material needs and challenges only superficially. The report highlights the intersectionality of women's experiences in urban centres, the multi-dimensional nature of urban Inuit women's lives and the dynamic ways in which marginalization, exclusion, well-being, and security are all framed.

CHAPTER 1: Conceptualizing the Research

1.1 Introduction

While Aboriginal peoples began to urbanize in Canada in the 1940s and 1950s, they remained nearly invisible in urban studies until the late 1970s. Similarly, the inclusion of gender, race, and identity as important elements in the production of place and geographies began in the 1970s. As a consequence, Aboriginal women have remained 'doubly invisible' both in those bodies of literature and in urban planning. In fact, only in the 1990s did researchers and planners begin to focus on Aboriginal women's experiences and specific needs in the urban landscape. Because Inuit women constitute only a small percentage of Aboriginal women, they have gone mostly unnoticed in this field of research. Additionally, the gendered and intersectional effects of Aboriginal migration often lack representation in research, policy development, program implementation, and monitoring and evaluation. Overall, this research investigates Inuit women's experiences in urban space at the intersection of gender, race, colonial relations, and migration in the context of urbanization among Canada's Aboriginal population.

1.2 Objectives

Pauktuutit undertook this research to examine and support action in response to the opportunities and barriers Inuit women face in building desirable lives in urban centres. The research primarily *develops a comprehensive analysis of Inuit women's experiences in urban centres in Canada* as well as investigates four specific objectives:

1- To identify what motivates Inuit women to migrate/relocate to urban centres. This objective addresses the following question:
   a. What are the *pull* and *push* factors contributing to the urban relocation of Inuit women?

2- To examine the challenges faced by Inuit women who relocate to Winnipeg, Edmonton, Ottawa, Toronto, and Montréal. This objective addresses the following questions:
   a. What are the material challenges?
   b. What are the non-material challenges?
   c. What factors (social, cultural, economic) influence Inuit women's abilities to stay in urban centres?
   d. How do welfare policy, housing needs, community centres, cultural practices, and health services support or inhibit Inuit migrants?

3- To discuss the primary effects of relocation on Inuit women's roles and responsibilities. This objective addresses the following questions:
   a. What are the effects of relocation on women's livelihoods, parenting, social networks, employment opportunities, poverty, health and well-being, safety (security), and identity?
   b. What social capital do Inuit women draw upon in urban centres?

4- To identify the support needed by Inuit women in urban centres. This objective addresses the following questions:
    a. What policies/programs/services ought to be implemented and/or adapted?
    b. What gaps, if any, exist between the best practices the literature suggests and the current reality?

1.3 Setting the Context

Recent census numbers suggest that while most Inuit live in Inuit Nunangat, a growing percentage lives in southern urban centres. Indeed, in 1996, only 17% of Inuit lived outside Inuit Nunangat; in 2001, it was 18.7%; in 2006, 21.8%; and in 2011, 27.9%. According to the 2011 National Household Survey (NHS), the urban centres with the largest Inuit populations were Montréal (1,535), Edmonton (1,480), Ottawa (1,450), Toronto (1,385) and Winnipeg (420)[1]. Table 1 shows Inuit growth in these five cities. Toronto experienced the largest increase (288.7%) and Winnipeg the smallest (121%). While the Inuit population in cities remains relatively low, the average increase (220.3%) far outpaces national Inuit population growth (31.8%). Data also shows that in four of these urban centres (the exception being Toronto), Inuit women outnumbered Inuit men. Although Inuit women in Canada are more likely than Inuit men to live in urban centres (28.3% and 25.4%, respectively) they have been underrepresented in this area of research.

Recognizing the growing number of Inuit women in urban centres in Canada and the lack of information regarding their experiences and needs, this report reviews the existing scientific literature, statistical data, and policy landscape in order to better assess their experiences and needs.

[1] Individuals who reported Inuit ethnic identity in the 2011 NHS.

Table 1: Inuit population in Census Metropolitan Areas in 2001 and 2011

Census Metropolitan Area	Individuals who identified[2] as Inuit (female[3]) in 2001	Individuals who identified as Inuit (female) in 2011	Percent population change 2001–2011 (female)
Winnipeg	190 (85)	420 (245)	121 (188.2)
Edmonton	460 (250)	1,480 (755)	221.7 (202)
Toronto	355 (180)	1,380 (640)	288.7 (255.5)
Ottawa-Hull (Ottawa-Gatineau in 2011)	455 (240)	1,445 (840)	217.5 (250)
Montréal	435 (240)	1,535 (805)	252.8 (235.4)
Total Inuit population outside Inuit Nunangat	8,440	15,985	89.3
Total Inuit population in Canada	45,070	59,440	31.8
Total Canadian population	30,007,094	32,852,325	9.5

Source: Statistics Canada (2007; 2016)

1.4 Literature Review

This section reviews the existing literature on Inuit women's urban experiences in Canada. Given that migration and urban studies as well as key feminist debates tend to ignore Inuit women, this report uses the framework of two main bodies of literature: 1) Aboriginal peoples' urbanization processes, issues, and debates in Canada, and 2) gender, race, and identity in urban places and geographies.

Specifically, this review pays attention to 1) how urban studies and geography scholarship has framed Inuit and Aboriginal peoples' urbanization, 2) the reasons for Aboriginal/Inuit women to migrate and relocate to urban centres, and 3) the effects of relocation on women's well-being.

1.4.1 Urbanization among Aboriginal peoples in Canada

Research documenting the living conditions of Inuit and other indigenous peoples in Canada has focused primarily on those residing on reserves and in their homelands. As Peters (2000) argues, urban spaces have long been perceived as somehow less 'authentically' aboriginal and therefore have not received much scholarly attention from a cultural perspective. In fact, most studies on Natives' and Indians' urban experiences in the 1960s overwhelmingly considered urbanization as a process within which Native peoples lacked agency and concluded that urbanization would necessarily result in assimilation. For instance, Hawthorn (1966) predicted that a significant influx of Natives into large Canadian urban centres would occur in the decades following the 1960s, and

[2] Individuals who reported Inuit ethnic identity in the 2001 Census and 2011 NHS.
[3] In brackets is the number of Inuit female.

linked urbanization to industrialization and economic development. He saw the process of economic development as a progression from subsistence hunting, trapping, and fishing to full-time employment and residence in urban communities. In other words, individuals and groups would inevitably give up their traditional ways of life to embrace "modernity" and urban life.

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, Aboriginal people became increasingly invested in all spheres of Canadian society, which redefined their relationship to space. While issues regarding traditional Aboriginal political and territorial claims in rural areas emerged as a major site of resistance and research, a burgeoning literature also began to document Aboriginal urban experiences and reserve-to-urban movements (Groves 1999; Kariya 1989; Peters 1996; 1997). Studies have shown that the decision to migrate to urban centres is not limited to economic opportunities in cities, but involves a complex web of factors including social conditions and cultural dynamics (Denton 1972; Reeves and Frideres 1981), as well as overcrowded housing and limited employment opportunities within reserves (Deprez and Sigurdson 1969; Gerber 1984).

More recent research has drawn attention to the "problems of relative invisibility of urban Aboriginal people to city officials and politicians" (Peters 2012:90), the disproportionate poverty among urban Aboriginal people (Dahl and Jensen 2002), and the increase in Aboriginal homelessness (visible and invisible) as well as living and housing issues (Anderson and Spence 2008; Walker 2006; Walker 2008). Negative stereotypes, racism, discrimination, and inequality plague marginalized indigenous groups and are on the rise as Aboriginal presence in urban centres increases (Dahl and Jensen 2002; Sanderson and Howard-Bobiwash 1997). Geographies of urbanization show that Aboriginal peoples' experiences in cities are not limited to urban boundaries but extend to migration dynamics, sociocultural construction of space, identity, gender relations, and geographical movements between spaces (i.e. between rural and urban areas).

This growing body of scholarship has found that urban Indigenous women are vulnerable to disproportionate violence, sexual abuse, and trafficking (Canada 1993). As illustrated by the 2016 allegations of systemic racism against Aboriginal women in Québec as well as by the events that led to the creation of the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, Aboriginal women in urban areas face double jeopardy: racial discrimination as visible minorities and gender inequality.

1.4.2 Urbanization among Inuit Peoples in Canada

For centuries, Inuit across the Canadian Arctic lived nomadically in small hunting camps. By the late 1970s, the Canadian Inuit population had settled in the government's newly-created communities and had started adapting to a new lifestyle structured around permanent houses, larger groups, and new institutions regulating social and economic life. While few Inuit initially moved far from their traditional territories, a more recent relocation process has brought an increasing number of Inuit out of Inuit Nunangat and into southern cities.

Despite widespread scholarly interest in traditional Inuit lifestyles and subsistence adaptations, researchers have not paid much attention to the presence of Inuit people within the Canadian urban landscape (with the exception of Kishigami). In December 2004, the first event specifically focusing on this subject took place at the University of California, Berkeley. Proceedings from the session, entitled "Peripherals at the center: Inuit in urban spaces" were then published in a special issue of *Inuit Studies* (2008); the issue explores Inuit experiences in Nuuk (Greenland), Fairbanks (Alaska), and Montréal and Ottawa (Canada). As the editors noted, "in the near future, urban Inuit studies will become increasingly necessary and will constitute an important area of research in both academic and practical spheres" (Kishigami and Lee 2008: 10).

Following this publication, an increasing volume of research has investigated Inuit urban life, as well as the specific paths migrants take and the issues they face during their journeys into Canadian cities. These studies have delved into health issues (McShane, et al. 2006), language (Patrick and Budach 2014; Patrick, et al. 2013), identity (Budach, et al. 2015; Patrick, et al. 2011; Tomiak and Patrick 2010), homelessness (Kishigami 1999; Kishigami 2008; Seltzer 2012), and pregnancy, parenting, and family challenges (Kelly, et al. 2009; Simonet, et al. 2010). While these challenges hardly affect only Inuit, studies point to the importance of history, geography, culture, and identity in understanding individual and collective experiences. This suggests that Inuit urban experiences are rightfully gaining traction as a field of study.

However, within this volume of research, the gendered dimension of the Inuit urban experience remains understudied and poorly understood. Indeed, Inuit women have lacked representation in this body of research and, consequently, their experience in cities and specific needs remain largely unknown. In 1998, a report for Status of Women Canada recommended that "priority be given to Aboriginal women's rural-urban migration patterns and *the differential experiences* of First Nations, Inuit and Métis female migrants" (Dion Stout and Kipling 1998: 7, emphasis added). Researchers have not yet explored these differential experiences adequately, despite the fact that more Inuit women than men migrate to urban centres (Table 1).

While no studies have specifically targeted Inuit women, Kishigami (2002: 55) notes that among Inuit in Montréal,

> [M]any young women leave their homes for the south because they have serious economic problems, such as a shortage of jobs and housing, or social problems related to drugs and alcohol, sexual and physical violence, in the north. These latter do not remain in the cities for a pleasant lifestyle or to benefit from the resources that the cities offer. Instead, they simply do not want to go back to their homes in the north due to the problems there.

Kishigami (2002: 57) further notes that "Inuit women in Montréal tend to live with, or marry, non-Inuit partners, and their children tend not to speak Inuktitut or to retain an Inuit cultural identity. The urban settings of multi-ethnic cities lack the social conditions for maintaining Inuit culture and language." These findings from Kishigami's study in

the 1990s point to the need to document Inuit women's very specific experience in Canadian cities.

1.4.3 Aboriginal Women's Identity in Urban Space

For decades, the patriarchal colonial legacy of the Indian Act (1876) contributed to Aboriginal women's exclusion from their home communities (reserves), as many were forced to relocate to urban centres after losing their Indian status (for instance, after marrying non-status men). Consequently, Aboriginal women have been overrepresented in urban areas compared to men since the 1950s (Gerber 1984; Peters 2005). Although the loss of status 'push' factor has applied only to First Nations women, the racialized and gendered colonial processes have extended to Métis and Inuit women as well, serving to marginalize them in urban areas (Lawrence 2003; 2004). This legacy has shaped gender power relations within northern communities, including Inuit women's identity and social position.

1.4.4 Relocation to Urban Centres

Decisions to migrate to urban centres follow a number of *push* and *pull* factors. Push factors relate to a person's original location, while pull factors emanate from the potential destination. These factors underlying urban-rural mobility differ between women and men. For instance, Aboriginal women often migrate to urban centres in search of better opportunities in environments where they, their children, and other family members (the elderly, ill, or disabled) can access better-quality services (Norris, et al. 2004). Such family priorities number among the top pull factors attracting Aboriginal women to cities.

While most scholars agree that overall more Indigenous men than women choose to leave reserves seeking employment or educational opportunities, in the Arctic context these represent important pull factors for women (Janovicek 2009). In Alaska, Fogel-Chance (1993) and Lee (2002) have shown that Native women often migrate to cities for employment and because of the lack of education services in their home villages. Similarly, Inuit from Greenland are also experiencing a gender imbalance in small villages as a disproportionate number of women relocate to urban centres for education and employment (Hamilton, et al. 1996). This phenomenon has not yet received similar attention in Canada.

On the other hand, push factors are characterized by forms of "forced" migration. For instance, Cooke and Bélanger (2006: 158) argue that a crucial aspect of the social structural context of migration is informed by gender relations and women's increased risk of domestic violence. Because Aboriginal women in Canada are at a higher risk of experiencing violence than non-Aboriginal women, they are also more likely than men to relocate because they are fleeing domestic violence and escaping social ostracization (Janovicek 2009). Some women choose to leave both their abusive relationship and their home community. However, studies show that they may not be able to find sufficient support in urban centres where they migrate (Cooke and Bélanger 2006).

Housing has also proved a push factor, especially in the North. A survey conducted in Montréal has shown that many Inuit in the city had fled the lack of housing in their communities in Nunavik and Nunavut. The increasing rate of homelessness (visible and invisible) in the Canadian North has only recently received attention within scholarly and policy communities (Christensen 2012; 2013; Peters and Christensen 2016). Housing also presents an issue in the urban environment, leading to many homeless Inuit and Aboriginal women (Mason 1996).

CHAPTER 2: Research Methods

2.1 A Framework for Analyzing Inuit Women's Experiences in Urban Areas

This study aims to qualitatively assess Inuit women's experiences in urban Canada. The research project used an intersectional approach to understand women's experiences and a gender-based analysis (GBA) to assess the differential impact of urban life on Inuit women. As defined by Status of Women Canada, GBA is a tool for better understanding social processes and for responding with informed and equitable options (Status of Women 2001). Additionally, GBA has been recognized to provide important insights into Canadian Indigenous/Aboriginal contexts (Mills 2005; Native Women's Association of Canada 2007; Stirbys 2007).

While pull and push factors shape the migration experience, other important elements need to be included to provide an accurate analysis of Inuit women in Canadian cities. As Patrick and colleagues (Patrick et al. 2011: 73) note:

> Inuit who move to Ottawa for jobs or higher education navigate the city differently from those who have been marginalized in the North, fled from abusive homes, or spent time in Ottawa for medical reasons. Social stratification and different reasons for migrating determine the positionalities of individuals and families in the urban context, which translates into a myriad of experiences, perceptions, and ways of dealing with the realities of urban life.

Consequently, women's experiences, needs and challenges in urban centres are shaped by several elements gathered into five categories (Figure 1): economic status, social capital, cultural practices, health, and housing.

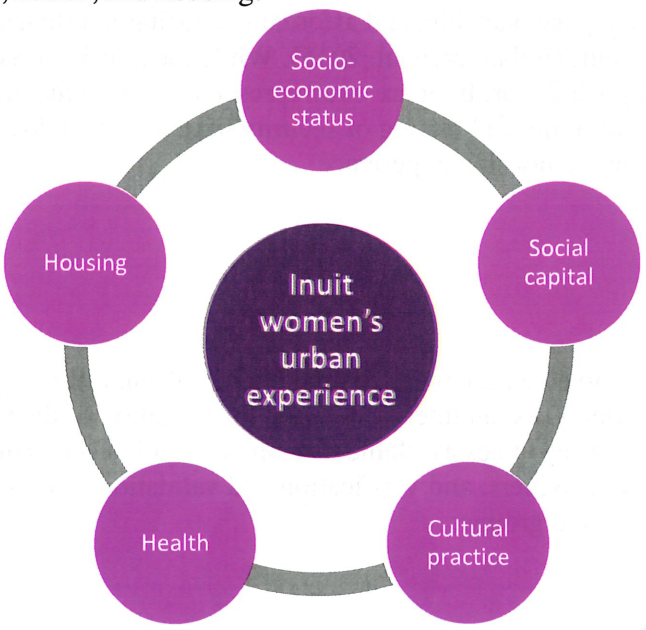


Figure 1: Factors influencing Inuit women's experiences in urban centres

Socio-economic status: Socio-economic status is defined as a measure of one's combined economic and social status (Baker 2014). Three common measures of socioeconomic status usually used are: access to education (and education attainment), occupation and employment status, and income. Feminist economists tend to include domestic responsibilities and the social context within which one is performing work and its social responsibilities. The combination of these elements shapes a woman's autonomy and her ability to make decisions for those for whom she has responsibilities (such as children and relatives).

Social capital: Social capital refers to the resources available within one's social networks and social relationships. Access to resources might depend on the size, quality, and diversity of one's network. For instance, in the Inuit urban environment, kinship relations and other social networks are key for accessing country food and childcare (Patrick et al. 2011).

Cultural practices: Cultural identity and practices are important elements contributing to a sense of well-being and belonging. In urban settings, Inuit and other Indigenous people create new 'urban communities' within which they reproduce social and cultural practices (Patrick and Budach 2014). Maintaining cultural and linguistic practices in urban centres fosters pride, well-being, a sense of belonging, and connections between home and city (Newhouse 2012).

Health: From an Indigenous perspective, health is a holistic concept, encompassing mental, physical, cultural, and spiritual health. Inuit consider land central to well-being (Kirmayer, et al. 2003). Food practices (sharing and security) also play a critical role in Aboriginal health and must be addressed in urban settings as well.

Housing: Finding adequate, suitable, and affordable housing in urban settings poses a challenge for many Inuit (Belanger, et al. 2015). While the housing crisis in the North has been identified as a push factor, Inuit are overrepresented among the urban homeless population. A sense of home and feeling of security have also been identified as important elements in the housing experience.

2.2 Methodology

The methodology involved a review of existing studies of Inuit life in urban settings with a focus on gender differences; an interview-based investigation of the impacts of existing policies, programs, and resources available to Inuit women in Canadian cities; interviews with frontline service providers; and verification and validation of findings with concerned individuals and groups.

2.2.1 Individual/participant interviews

A minimum of eight interviews was conducted in each city and informants were selected using a purposeful sampling approach. Individual interviews were conducted with the participants using a conversational interview approach and open-ended questions. Questions and discussion themes are presented in Appendix 1. Similarly, interviews with frontline service providers used a conversational approach and open-ended questions (see Appendix 2).

Overall, sixty-eight interviews were conducted; forty-six with Inuit women and twenty-two with service providers. Among the forty-six Inuit women the vast majority (91%) had migrated to the south during their adulthood, two women (4%) did so as children following their parents, and two others (4%) were born in urban centres. Concomitantly, the average time spent living in an urban centre was 6 years. Table 2 shows the distribution of the sample according to the number of years they had spent in urban centres in the South.

Table 2: Inuit women participants' number of years in urban centres

	Less than 5 years	5-9 years	10-19 years	20 + years
Number of participants	21	13	6	6
Percentage of participants	45.6%	28.2%	13%	13%

2.2.2 Focus groups and engagement sessions

In addition, focus groups were run depending on the availability and possibilities in each city. The engagement sessions were structured as informal group discussions and included three main sections for discussion: 1) Why did you migrate to an urban centre, 2) what are the main challenges in your city, and 3) how to adapt to urban life. The consultation process resulted in three engagement sessions with 19 participants.

CHAPTER 3: Pathways to Southern Urban Spaces

The flow of Aboriginal women into urban spaces has been increasing steadily over the past few decades in Canada; among these, Inuit women represent the "newcomers". Urbanization among the Inuit population is a relatively recent phenomenon. Because of both geographical distance and the history of contact and colonization, the vast majority of Inuit people remain northerners (72% lived in Inuit Nunangat in 2011). Therefore, most research participants were recent migrants; they were not born and raised in the South, but rather had migrated as young adults. Inuit women's migration experiences include several "pull" factors attracting them into urban centres as well as "push" factors that led them away from their communities (Christensen 2012; Lee 1966). Two main "pull" factors included *opportunities* in southern urban centres, and the *need for services* or institutional flows (Christensen 2012). On the other hand, "push" factors included the *lack of opportunities* for self-realization in northern communities (i.e. housing and individual opportunities) and "disintegrating *social relationships*" in the North (ibid: 427).

3.1 Pull Factors

Before traveling to urban centres, many female participants had previous contact with or knowledge about their urban destination. Some of them had travelled to the city for medical reasons (either for themselves or for a relative), so they had some sense of what the city would look like. When participants were asked why they had chosen that particular city, a common response was "because I had already travelled there on a medical trip". The second, more common, reason in the choice of destination was having an acquaintance: knowing someone in a city was perceived as a "safer" way to migrate.

3.1.1 "There are millions of opportunities here": Attraction to southern urban centres

Women in all five cities described urban centres as places of opportunities. Many of them emphasized a clear distinction between northern communities—where opportunities are limited—and southern urban places, where "opportunities are infinite" (woman from Montréal, mid-thirties). Participants usually considered "opportunity" to mean employment or training and education possibilities. One woman (late forties) from Edmonton described her migration story:

> I've been in the Edmonton area for nine years now. My husband and I, we both moved here for jobs, but mostly my husband because he had an offer. But he is no longer with that job and now it's me who has a good job. It's much easier to get jobs, especially interesting ones, in the South; there are more opportunities for employment.

While all women, except one, had work experience in their hometown, they all felt that better opportunities were available in the South. For instance, many young women talked about the lack of job diversity in the North's employment landscape: "You can either be a

clerk or cashier, it seems" (woman from Winnipeg, mid-thirties). A service provider in an Inuit employment centre in Montréal expressed a similar view: "There is a strong desire for new opportunities in terms of career, especially for Inuit women, when they arrive at our offices".

Even if urban centres present more employment opportunities than northern communities, women cannot necessarily access these jobs easily. In fact, many women mentioned that although they perceived more opportunities than back at home, various limitations kept them from obtaining them. Among the most common limitations were applicants' education level and the lack of relevant previous experience. This led several participants to describe the labour market as "tough", "unfriendly" or "non-rewarding". Very few participants had education beyond grade 12, which led them into low-wage jobs that conferred very little social advantage.

A few women also discussed discrimination and racism towards Indigenous people as a constraint for employment, especially outside Aboriginal or Inuit organizations. Nevertheless, employment was an important factor explaining women's migration to the South, whether they themselves had found jobs or they were following a partner who had. Even if employment did not constitute their primary reason for moving, women always mentioned it as something they could look for in case their initial plan fell through; it served as a buffer.

An important divide among Inuit men and women in urban centres appears in education and training programs. In all five cities we visited the universities' Aboriginal Student Centre or Services and reached out to the Inuit student community. While Inuit students are very few, the overwhelming majority are female. Although this is not new information, this raises questions for the long term about what Inuit women do after graduating, and, more importantly, where they do it. For instance, Hamilton and Seyfrit (1994) demonstrated that in Alaska, education was among the primary reasons for Native women to leave their community, and that afterward many of them established residence permanently in urban centres because of greater opportunities. However, in a recent study conducted in Nunavut, Dowsley and Southcott (2017) conclude that to this date there is no evidence of female flight.

Accordingly, during the research process we asked all young female students about their plans after graduating. The vast majority described their sojourn in the South as temporary. Lorrie (an 18-year-old) emphasized that Inuit women are strongly committed to their community:

> I have always been involved in my community— with children at the school, at the community centre and at the daycare too. I feel this is my place, maybe because we, as women, have always been responsible for teaching the next generation. Elders say that women were 'guides' for our people. I can relate to that. I know other girls like me who went South for education, like colleges or universities, and then went back North to work either in the school or for the government; like good jobs where you can make a difference. Anyway, this is

> why I am doing it; I think I can change things and make sure that we have access to a better education, one that is truly Inuk.

One student advisor in a university Aboriginal centre noted that over the past six years she had worked there, twelve Inuit female students had been referred to the centre, while no male students had. She also noted that Aboriginal women (not only Inuit) usually undertake studies that are directly relevant and applicable to their home community, such as early-childhood education, teacher preparation programs, nursing, or management. This choice presents them with more options after graduating: the route back home lies open, as does the opportunity to stay in the urban centre. Completion rates were also higher among Aboriginal women than men (no specific data existed for Inuit only).

Drug and alcohol addictions represent a more complex social motivation to move into southern urban centres. While about half of research participants stated that addiction played a role in their migration journey, only a few openly mentioned *access* to drugs or alcohol as a motivation to relocate. In fact, dealing with addiction issues was the most common reason for these women to leave or even flee their community. Ida described her own journey to Montréal:

> I did not "leave" my community, I "fled" it. I was running away from all the "drama" in my family. Like all the drug addictions and alcoholic problems… And I am not better than them; it's just that I decided to move away from that. And I am still struggling with all that.

During interviews and focus groups, women frequently mentioned constant struggles with addiction and the dilemma they faced in an urban environment with easy access to alcohol and drugs.

3.1.2 Need for services and institutional flow

Access to services was the second most common reason for women to move to the urban centres we visited. Some of them had no choice, but others chose to so that they could overcome personal problems. All cities visited are "health destinations" except for Toronto, meaning that airlines provide direct flights to northern communities on a regular basis, and Inuit-specific housing and support services exist. This means that the traffic of individuals seeking services forges connections between those cities and the north.

Many Inuit we met during the research had traveled for medical reasons (either for themselves or for a family member). These stays, whether short- or long-term (depending on the illness), involved being separated from family in an environment with limited possibilities. In particular, people seeking long-term medical treatment have extremely limited job prospects and have to remain at the boarding house. Moreover, the vast majority of this community is low-income.

Another category of women includes those who were "forced" to the city to access treatment or services. This category includes women who required mental health and

addiction services as well as those involved with the child welfare system and/or justice and correctional services. Lidia (a 22-year-old), whom we met at the Friendship Centre, had just completed an addiction treatment program:

> I am not sure what I'll do next. They [social workers] forced me to get into this program so I can get my child back. I am not sure what my options are now; if I go back home it's gonna be all the same again. I have no place for myself up there. So, I am thinking I'll stay here in the city, get an apartment and then get my child.

As Lidia described, addiction treatment and mental health support were common reasons for "being sent South"; routes back North often proved more convoluted. Another young mother came to a similar conclusion as Lidia, that no safe and easy path back North after completing treatment presented itself:

> Okay, so they [health workers] tell you now you are recovered, so you can go back home, but don't take anything [drugs]. But really… how do you think this is really possible! There is so much drama in the North. And this drama is never 'fixed'; no one is fixing it. It's like their [health workers] job is to 'fix' you but not fix the real problem: trauma.

Several women expressed similar concerns about the "drama" in their hometown. In all cases, the term "drama" was used to talk about traumatic experiences (past and present) that haunt families and communities and that impinged on both individuals' and collective well-being.

Throughout interviews, participants repeatedly described the child welfare system as a mechanism that pushed women into cities and sometimes kept them there, since they wanted to be close to their children. Indeed, according to a report published by Statistics Canada in 2016, 51% of Inuit foster children were living with non-Inuit and non-Aboriginal foster parents (Turner 2016). One service provider explained how this situation disproportionally affects women:

> Children are sent into foster care in the South because the welfare system has very strict rules on who can become a foster home. For instance, you need to be able to provide a room for each child (they can't share the same room if they are not the same sex). This makes it very difficult for Inuit families in the North; there is a housing crisis! So, what happens? Children are being sent South and the mother follows. In the South, she has no roots, no contacts, even for us trying to reach them is hard. Their journey in the city is often painful: losing their children, having no place to go and no one to reach out to; on top of that they need mental health support and they need to treat their addiction.

We met with two women who had been sent to correctional facilities and were on parole. Both their stories are rooted in similar intergenerational and personal traumas in which they experienced violence and abuse before becoming the abuser in what one director of

services for Aboriginal women referred to as "the cycle of violence". The lack of adequate services within northern communities often came up as the reason women had to stay in urban centres.

3.2 Push factors

Across all five cities, women repeatedly highlighted a series of factors that *pushed* them away from their community. They frequently mentioned the "situation at home" (referring to the North).

3.2.1 Lack of options / opportunities for self-actualization in northern communities

Female participants and southern service providers described the services, resources, and opportunities available across Inuit Nunangat as generally lacking. The lack of housing is paramount in understanding women's movement to urban centres. This issue has already received due attention. Numerous reports, research, and studies from across the spectrum (government, academic, private) have highlighted the "northern housing crisis" and its consequences on individual and collective well-being. For instance, in Nunavut nearly 1 out of 5 people aged 15 and over reported that they were on a waiting list for public housing (NBS 2011).

These data corroborate women participants' accounts of their journeys to urban centres. Common responses were: "I had no place anymore in my parents' house, with all my sister's kids", "I have been waiting for years to get a place, but when you have no children you are not a priority", and "I was moving from one house to another; from my mom's to my grandparent's to a friend's, and so on. When I was fed up with one place I'd move."

Female participants repeatedly mentioned that the high cost of living in the North had influenced their choice to relocate to the South. While none considered it the primary reason for leaving their hometown, about half (46%) emphasized that the cost of food and housing constrained northern life. Concomitantly, several interviews revealed that the search for better opportunities for their children motivated women's journeys. In particular, access to better-quality education compelled their moves:

> Every summer we go back home to the Northwest Territories. And my son sees his cousins and they talk about school. Even for him it's so obvious— the lack of good education; his cousins have no homework, teachers are there half of the time, and there is a lack of motivation. My husband and I moved because of our jobs, but in the end we are not going back because of our son's education; it's so much better here (woman, mid-forties, Edmonton).

3.2.2 Disintegrating social relationships in the North

Women participants described many dysfunctional social dynamics that led them to leave their home; paramount among them was the cycle of violence. Several studies have already shown the prevalence of domestic abuse and violence among Aboriginal communities and use past trauma to explain the dynamics of intergenerational violence. Here again, we found women in each city who had fled violence, women who sought refuge. Behavioral patterns emerged: they tended to escape alone, hoping to find a safe place in an anonymous large city and eventually to bring their kids with them; other women reported fleeing with their children, sometimes passing through multiple destinations before reaching urban centres in the South. In all circumstances, women tended to experience heavy trauma, remorse, and feelings of inadequacy as a parent.

Women often described relationship breakdowns as turning points in their lives. They frequently mentioned isolation, gossip, and being looked down on as factors contributing to their feelings of exclusion from their community. The stigma facing women who left relationships often ultimately led them to leave:

> He was blaming me and I was blaming him. But he started telling stories about me, personal stuff, so I would be ashamed. This went on for weeks and he wouldn't stop. At the end I was staying home, 'cause I didn't want to see anyone, the way they looked at me (Rebecca, mid-thirties, Montréal).

Beyond the domestic sphere, women talked about generally negative social dynamics in some northern communities. Mental health issues as well as emotional and social problems greatly contribute to the disintegration of social fabric, burning bridges between families and generations. Participants brought up the difficulty of maintaining healthy relationships with people who suffered from addiction or mental health issues, particularly when those people were marginalized by the community. At the same time, the lack of services to deal with these issues in the community constituted a reason for leaving their hometown. In this regard, women talked about the need for trauma-related healing programs *within* northern communities to better address mental health needs.

Many women in the North feel the weight of a strong pressure to provide for many different individuals. In small communities where few people have well-paid jobs, the social pressure to "help" and "support" relatives and friends can prove untenable. Despite a strong desire to stay in their hometown, some women felt that only moving away might free them from demanding relatives. A woman in her mid-thirties said:

> In the North I was home, but I was trapped. I earned close to 120,000$ a year, but I couldn't have more than others, that's not us Inuit. I shared. All the time, I shared. And at some point, you don't realize that you've been sharing all you had and you don't know anymore what's yours and what's not. I couldn't take it anymore: having to answer to everyone asking for this and that. I fled from trouble, because I knew if I stayed I would've turned out bad. It's a lot of frustration growing in you. You know it's so many things at the same time. Not

being able to have a place, no housing. Not being able to make your own choices, there are so many people that need you and you can't turn your back on them.

3.3 Chapter Conclusion

As illustrated by these women's stories, migration rationale is not a linear and logical sequence of events. In fact, multiple factors nearly always influence indigenous women's relocation to urban centres in the South. Rather, a combination of reasons both pulled them into cities and pushed them away from their hometowns. While some women actively seek better opportunities in southern urban centres, the cost of housing and access to poor-quality services in the North also push them into migration pathways. The various factors outlined above are framed within a social context that makes women's migration seem sometimes inevitable. Indeed, many interviewed revealed that living in the city was a "consequence" rather than a personal choice. Women's stories highlight a core need for public housing in northern communities as well as services to properly address social needs and health issues.

CHAPTER 4: Adaptation to the Urban Environment

Urban experiences differed greatly among female participants. Across the five cities, women reported similar challenges and opportunities as well as similarities in their coping strategies. Their experiences were divided into two broad categories: the material and the non-material experiences. The material category refers to the physical resources and services that women accessed or aimed to access in their urban journey. While housing was paramount in discussing urban experience, women also referred to employment and training programs and access to services as material experiences.

The non-material category typically included social networks, cultural practices, and identity. Fewer resources and services were usually available to women in this category. It is important to recognize that these two categories do not operate separately, but rather overlap in many ways. For instance, domestic violence involved both housing needs and culturally appropriate support, welding together both categories.

Section 4.1 explores women's material experiences in urban centres and 4.2 their non-material experiences. The integration of both categories frames a gendered approach to Inuit women in the city developed in chapter 5.

4.1 Women's Material Experiences in Urban Centres

4.1.1 Housing experience

As mentioned in the previous section, the housing crisis in Inuit Nunangat represents a push factor for women to migrate into urban centres. Consequently, participants identified having an apartment or a house as an important anchoring factor. Ana's story encapsulates many others:

> I had no place for myself in (my hometown). I had been for years on the waiting list, and my parents' house was getting really over-crowded. So, I moved to [the city] to try to get a place for myself. Honestly, I struggled a lot, even at some point I had no roof, like I was homeless. But now I have an apartment and I am slowly moving forward in my life. When you have a place, you don't move back North, because you know you won't find one up there.

While only two female participants stated that they were homeless – living in the streets and experiencing "absolute homelessness" (May 2009), several others had experienced temporary homelessness during their transition to urban centres. More importantly, when we offered an alternative definition of homelessness that encompassed "relative homelessness" experiences such as having a place to stay but lacking security and quality (Eberle, et al. 2009) or "hidden homelessness" where people live with others on a temporary basis (May 2009; Peters and Kern 2016), nearly all women had at some point been homeless. While most participants identified housing as an important challenge in

the urban environment, they positively associated having a house or apartment with stability, which played a key role in anchoring women in the city.

4.1.2 Employment, education and income

The vast majority of Inuit women who had positive experiences in the city were those whose initial choice was motivated by personal or family preference and decision. They usually had better knowledge of services available in cities prior to moving. Consequently, most of them were employed at the time of this research or were involved in higher education.

Being part of a learning program or engaging in the labour force clearly correlated to a positive experience in the urban centres and served as an anchoring factor. While the value of wage-work was consistently tied to money, and education to future possibilities, women emphasized the social context within which these activities were performed. Beyond immediate and future possibilities, work and learning environments offered a "place to go" and "people to be with". This was especially true for women who worked with other Inuit. Consequently, women with positive employment or learning experiences were more likely to state a desire to remain in urban centres.

Similarly, female students who had access to cultural space within their university or college mentioned how positively it had impacted their urban experience. One young student (early twenties, Toronto) said of her experience at her university's Aboriginal centre: "It's not an Inuit space, but it's closer to my culture. I feel I can be myself without being judged." While none of the institutions visited or contacted had specific Inuit-focused space, all acknowledged the importance of having Aboriginal cultures represented in their services. These centres offered services such as laptop rental, printing, free counselling, help with orientation and academic advising, as well as organized activities such as lunches, sewing and beading classes. Staff and advisors found that access to culturally appropriate services positively correlated with better educational outcomes.

4.1.3 Health and access to services

During interviews, participants frequently mentioned access to services as a barrier to a positive experience. They noted several reasons for this, but the main one was not knowing what services were available and where to access them. Many women recalled their first weeks in urban centres as being consumed by figuring out how to find everything: "I was at the Dorval airport and I remember asking myself, okay now where do you go. I didn't even know how to get to downtown Montréal. And when I finally got there… it was even worse, I had no place to go and no way of knowing where to ask."

Several service providers reported similar stories, where Inuit women finally knocked at their doors after many weeks or months spent on the streets or in unsafe places; they did not know where to go until they heard about their services, usually by word of mouth.

According to many service providers, if women received support earlier in their urban experience, they would experience fewer issues and might be less likely to encounter human trafficking, gangs, addiction, and sexual abuse and assaults. Recovery from these negative experiences, specific to urban migration, can last a long time.

One challenge that Inuit urban associations and other service providers in the five cities identified in their delivery of programs and services is access to regular and sufficient funding. As the president of one Inuit association mentioned,

> We are always on the edge of not being able to provide services at the end of the year. It takes a lot of energy to constantly be looking for funding and some of us just give up at the end, because it's like fighting over and over. Funding exists *but* everything is really underfunded. I know other Inuit organizations across Canada or Natives here and they do not *exist*, they barely *survive*.

4.2 Women's Non-Material Experiences in Urban Centres

4.2.1 Identity

Identity was among the most important themes discussed during interviews. Women struggled with individual identity as well as with a sense of collective identity. At the individual level, participants reported feeling "disconnected", "invisible" or even "targeted" when they revealed their indigenous identity. One woman in her early forties in Ottawa reflected, "I have been struggling about my identity all my life. We all are disconnected, I think. We try to figure out how to fit in this society". In women's testimonies, urban centres functioned as sites of "identity shock":

> At first when I arrived in the university residences I was proud to say that I was Inuk. Or, I guess, I was just saying it because it felt 'normal' to say it. But didn't get a good reaction. Some people judged me, I think, for being an Inuk and stopped talking to me or looked at me very differently. It was weird, like, I never questioned my identity before that. Now I wait before identifying, I wait until I have made a good connection with the person. I've come to call that 'ignorant racism'. It's people who don't know how to behave or what to say with an Indigenous person, like, 'should I be sorry for her, should I apologize for history'. I don't know, it feels like they close off to me as soon as they know I am Inuk. (Woman, early twenties, Toronto)

Similarly, other women reported feeling invisible in the urban landscape. This contrasted with women's accounts of life in the North where they complained of feeling "too visible". Indeed, while a desire for more privacy and, indeed, anonymity often motivated migration, many participants admitted that they found not anonymity but rather a "careless invisibility". In fact, women talked about their need for increased control over their "visibility" in their own northern communities and less scrutiny: "I needed to feel in control over who knows what about my life. Up North, it's like everybody makes a big

deal of everyone's life, people gossip all the time and you can't hide anything from anyone." Another woman recounted, "I left because of all the drama in [my community]; one little thing becomes something huge and then you can't leave your house because people look at you in the streets, at the store, in school." In another story a young woman explained, "I left because I was pregnant and there was too much gossip about the father. Now I can't go back 'cause I lost the baby and it would be a drama and I can't face that; not now".

Struggling with identity strongly correlated with a lack of well-being. As one social counsellor summarized it, "You can't live a healthy life if you are not well with who you are." Participants as well as service providers repeatedly acknowledged the importance of an individual's well-being to be able to engage in a productive and healthy life in an urban centre and considered it the first step towards fully embracing one's identity:

> Most of our female participants [in a training program] are not ready to learn when they start the program. They are dealing with several domestic issues, from children in foster care to violence or just no stability in their housing situation. They register for the program so they can access social welfare; it's often not so much about the program, but our objective is to help them succeed, and so we need to focus more on their well-being. (Employment counsellor)

> I agree that identity is important. But this comes from further back. They often have low self-esteem, they feel powerless to deal with the [child welfare] system, they've never been told they are strong. They feel they don't deserve anything. When they arrive to our services it's a whole person and identity we have to rebuild. We should teach our children to be proud of who they are. (Family counsellor)

Healing from past trauma proves core to an individual's well-being. One former employee in an Inuit urban employment centre stressed, "we need to heal our people before they can go out there and work. There is no way [employment programs] can work if [Inuit] are not well inside first". Service providers across the five cities have reinforced this idea of healing before adjusting to the urban life. One counsellor from an Inuit organization explained that those who successfully complete training or employment programs are those with the greatest stability in their emotional and social life (i.e., in terms of housing, addiction, and relationships). While this may seem intuitive, employment and educational programs often fail to integrate healing principles into their work and pay limited attention to participants' well-being.

Consequently, many women who had been able to access services and to overcome the initial challenges that brought them into urban spaces (for example, addiction, homelessness, employment, and to care for their children) testified to the importance of "sustained support in navigating the very challenging urban environment" (woman, early forties, Edmonton).

More importantly, women participants mentioned particularly struggling with their identity when they had to access mainstream or First Nations and Métis services (with the exception of those in Ottawa, where more services for Inuit exist). In navigating those services, they reported "never fitting" or not being able to properly identify themselves as Inuit. As one woman reported:

> We [Inuit] have different values and practices. Because our history and culture is different we can hardly identify with First Nations' practices.
>
> We need to heal together in a safe place. Not out there in the streets, but in a proper place where our culture is being recognized. (Woman, late-forties, Winnipeg).

Not all cities had services for Inuit, or Inuit workers in Aboriginal services, and therefore participants repeatedly mentioned that finding a culturally appropriate place to heal in cities was key to their well-being.

Similarly, participants reported a struggle maintaining collective identity in an urban centre and that they felt both "marginalized" and "excluded" from the urban fabric. One woman (mid-forties, Edmonton), claimed, "When your culture does not exist around you it's like you don't exist as a people".

Nearly all participants stated that no space existed for Inuit identity and culture outside Inuit Nunangat. In fact, several women insisted, "in the street with other Inuit is the only place I feel Inuk." Outside those "urban pockets" where most Inuit hang out, the Inuit culture was nearly invisible. While no women directly expressed a desire to live in the streets, they attached great importance to maintaining their identity as Inuk, which necessarily involved being with other Inuit. With no designated institutional space for Inuit culture and identity to flourish and be displayed, some women, like Ida, chose to maintain their social network in the streets:

> I lived in the streets for a few months when I arrived in the city and it was rough, but at the same time it was good to be with other Inuit. Now this downtown area is where I come if I want to be around Inuit. I used to beg, to drink, and just have fun here. I know it's not a healthy place, but this is the only place I know where I can be myself.

In the cities we visited, cultural and identity struggles strongly correlated with "having no place"/infrastructure:

> I lived for over 20 years in Edmonton and never met any other Inuit. Only last year when they started the association and I became involved I realized that there were other Inuit! I know this is crazy, but it's like I suddenly feel proud to be Inuk. I used to be ashamed; like I would not say I was Inuk because people wouldn't understand. Now I feel I can say it, 'cause I am not the only one. But

> we need a place so people can come and see our culture. (Woman, mid-fifties, Edmonton)

Isolation was another major theme discussed during interviews. Inuit constitute a minority within the Aboriginal urban population. As a result, they suffer double cultural marginalization. As one woman put it, "It's tough to be Inuk in a First Nation-rich city." Services for Aboriginal people almost exclusively target First Nations and Métis, and only rarely did mainstream Aboriginal organizations provide counsellors or resources specifically for Inuit (this was especially true in Edmonton and Winnipeg). Consequently, most participants did not feel welcome or "at home" in those services; some reported encountering racism. Leena's story (forties, Winnipeg) emphasizes this feeling of cultural estrangement:

> I needed to apply for funding to help me with my training program at that time. Here in Manitoba Inuit are not recognized as a distinct category so many programs to support us are part of either First Nation or Métis organizations. But when I knock on their doors they didn't want to help me, they'd rather use that money to help one of them instead of an Inuk girl.

Leena was adamant about the necessity of culturally appropriate services and places for Inuit. Indeed, in northern communities, Inuit values frame the service landscape; that is, things are done among Inuit and for them. In contrast, the urban landscape reflects their marginalized situation. Participants described this as a shock, especially younger women who had not travelled frequently in the South, such as students. Inuit organizations and service providers working with Inuit students identified marginalization as a self-reinforcing cycle: marginalized people break off relationships with mainstream populations, behaviors, norms, and places, which, in turn, reinforces their exclusion and isolation. This behaviour pattern clearly poses a significant challenge for the small Inuit population in urban centres.

Several women who had lived in urban centres for a long period (generally longer than 10 years) noted that identity issues among Inuit, First Nations, and Métis had somehow improved. Whereas decades ago, some would have been reluctant to openly identify as Inuit, today Indigenous culture has gained visibility in urban space, which has made them more willing to identify with it. One Aboriginal service provider noted,

> I feel things have changed a lot since I was young. There is better understanding of First Nations issues across the country, at least it's more visible. Aboriginal people are also less ashamed to be who they are. My grand-son is proud to be Native. I think Inuit feel the same.
>
> I think it's much easier today to 'be' and identify as Inuit than two or three decades ago. (woman, mid-forties, Toronto)

4.2.2 Social networks

Women's ability to connect with other Inuit in the city constituted another important non-material experience and major anchoring factor. Consequently, in almost every interview conducted in all five cities, participants mentioned the need for an "Inuit Centre". They imagined it as a place to gather, to organize activities, meetings, workshops, or events, as well as a place where newcomers could go, feel at home, and obtain information to help them navigate the city. They envisioned activities such as hunting and harvesting trips, sewing classes, and language instruction as key in creating a real Inuit community in urban areas. According to participants, an Inuit centre would also facilitate role modelling for healthy living in the South.

Participants stressed that without a specific Inuit gathering place, they found it difficult to create and maintain social networks. Social networks, naturally, played an important role in adjusting to urban life. For instance, women with the ability to participate in cultural activities and to connect with other Inuit mentioned that they had "found a place to be Inuk" or that they "had stopped wondering about their place" in the urban landscape. Being able to express their identity alongside others was linked to overall positive urban experiences.

Not surprisingly, family played an integral role in developing social networks and anchoring women into urban centres. Those with school-age children generally appreciated urban life more than those without; they felt a greater sense of social connection and could offer what they perceived as a better education to their children. One woman mentioned the importance of surrounding herself with family: "I moved here with my partner. I was lonely because I work from home, so I had limited social relationships. Then my sister moved here with her kids, and it started feeling like home" (woman, mid-forties, Edmonton).

Women tended to link feeling at home with being part of a group, ideally an Inuit group:

> I feel at home here in the city, but I feel more at home when I am around other Inuit— as long as I am around Inuit, it's home! It's very expensive to go home [to the North] so I don't go home frequently. My home now is with other Inuit here, because the only time that I go now is when I lose a family member. With me not having a regularly income I cannot afford [to].

Although homelessness fell under the material category, discussions around women's conception of "home" extended far beyond the material dimension of what it means to be at home (for conceptual discussions see Christensen (2013) and Peters and Christensen (2016)). Inuit women described "home" as a safe place where they could display their identity and culture—a place for friends and family, somewhere to develop and maintain relationships. As one service provider summarized, "Inuit women are very social, that has always been our role in our community. In the city it's much harder to keep this alive. We need to provide more space for women to meet and share."

Family and social networks proved vital to counteract the invisibility and isolation some women experienced in urban spaces. Social isolation constituted the primary barrier to a positive life in all five urban cities. Participants talked about the importance of social relationships in Inuit culture and the devastating effect of "having no roots" in the urban environment: "It's not only about not being with my family and relatives, it's about being all alone in another's culture" (woman, early twenties, Ottawa).

The importance which Inuit society places on family and community contrasts with mainstream Canadian values of individualism and accomplishment. Many newcomers to the urban environment reported having trouble "finding a sense of community", which reinforced their sense of social exclusion or marginalization: "At first, I was looking for other Inuit in the city, so I could feel at home and among my people. Being part of a community was really important to me; I didn't leave the North to be all alone in a city apartment."

The National Aboriginal Health Organization reports that social marginalization and demoralization are among the most common forms of mental illness among Aboriginal peoples (NAHO 2003).

4.2.3 Cultural practices

During interviews, participants repeatedly asserted that they wished to maintain their connection with Inuit culture and values, yet found it challenging. For instance, women consistently mentioned the importance of participating in cultural subsistence practices. Hunting, fishing, harvesting, and eating country foods were mentioned in nearly every interview as an important part of a woman's identity. However, women acknowledged multiple barriers to maintaining their land relationship: geographical distance from their homeland and transportation limitations to non-urban areas both posed significant hurdles.

A few women who were able to get out of the city to camp, harvest, or fish reported positive outcomes that helped them cope with the intensity of the urban pace. As one young woman in Montréal noted, "My homeland is way too far and I can't afford to go, but I have a [Native] friend and we go to her ancestors' lands and it makes me feel so much better; it's like finding my roots again." Women's "homesickness" often referred to their relationship to the land itself as well as the resources it contains, not only the social relationships that are enacted on the land, all of which builds a sense of identity (Dowsley 2014).

Inuit women who worked as service providers recounted stories of being in a rough place in their lives when they arrived in urban centres. A good contact (mentor) facilitated their inclusion as well as working for and with other Inuit has helped them to overcome the challenges of urban life. Participants repeatedly insisted that this connection to culture, without which women spoke of feeling disconnected and lost, was the best way to

"integrate" into southern society. A lack of attachment to community (sometimes both in the urban centre and hometown) often predicted bad outcomes:

> I left home because everything was going wrong, but sometimes I feel I have given up too fast. I don't really see this city as my home; there is nothing Inuit to this place and I can't access country food. But at the same time, I don't see how I could go back up North; it feels like I am disconnected from everywhere.

When talking about cultural activities and practices in urban spaces, women participants focused on access to country foods. Women with children felt especially concerned about maintaining cultural connections to give the next generation some roots into their culture: "I try to access our land food as much as I can. Sometimes my brother can send some. Or when I have family visiting or coming for medical treatment then I have some. But overall it's hard and I miss it so much."

While employment played a significant role in women's material experience, it also served as a non-material anchoring factor. Inuit women in cities placed a particularly high value on jobs that connected them with other Inuit. This fostered a sense of collectivity, community, and family and, again, aligned with Inuit values. In contrast, jobs in an environment that fosters competition, rewards individual accomplishment, and offers limited contact with others (for example, work in an assembly line) tended to alienate Inuit women. Because Inuit norms, values, and beliefs can seem alien or incompatible with the more individualistic approach of non-Indigenous Canadians, employment in urban cities often fails to match Inuit norms and values. While employment opportunity certainly plays a major role in Inuit women's success in urban environments, the employment structure, particularly in large cities, often proves inimical to Inuit norms, values, and beliefs, which makes it hard for women (and men) to adjust to their working environment.

Many women participants emphasized the challenge they faced to adapt to southern values, though they believed a better solution was to learn "how to live in the South without losing your values". For instance, participants and service providers pointed to work ethics as a site of challenging adaptations. While non-Inuit consider wage employment a key value and, indeed, a barometer for success, Inuit tend to place a higher value on self-reliance and independence. A working environment, with uneven expectations from employers and colleagues, can breed conflict. One woman reported:

> I had this job, like really boring job and minimum wage. You have to be there really early, you have a boss bossing around all the time, and you have to clean *shit* all day. That's it, for forty hours a week every week. That's not gonna make you happy. I'd rather be in the street than in that place. I know I can rely on myself— if I need something, I'll find it.

In fact, many women consider the "southern working environment" unhealthy or disconnected. For instance, one young woman reported that Inuit businesses were more

sensitive to Inuit values and therefore tended to have a higher retention rate of their employees.

Finally, language was identified as a challenge in women's experiences in urban centres. Those who did not speak English (or, in Montréal, French) well found that the language barrier hindered their integration. But women also struggled to find ways to pass on their language to their children. Many women suggested that a daycare in Inuktitut would help to keep their culture vibrant.

4.3 Chapter conclusion

Analysis of women's material and non-material experiences demonstrates that available resources and services tend to focus overwhelmingly on material needs while addressing non-material needs and challenges only superficially. As many women stated, healing from past trauma and maintaining connections with Inuit culture are of the utmost importance for women's well-being in urban spaces. Healing would allow them to engage in a more productive urban life. Moreover, a healthier North would mean that migrants would not find themselves in such desperate need for services:

> We need to heal the North too. Our northern communities need healing and housing, otherwise this pattern will never stop. (Woman, thirties, Ottawa)

> As long as Inuit (and other Indigenous people) will be suffering from the inside, there is limit chance they can establish constructive relationships in the outside. (Woman, mid-thirties, Montréal)

CHAPTER 5: Gendering the Urban Inuit Experience

The increased presence of Aboriginal women in Canadian urban centres has been part of mainstream discourse since the mid-1990s, and has given rise to a new field of investigation surrounding gender in the city. Inuit women, like Aboriginal women in general, face intersecting challenges: "[T]he realities of everyday life in which Aboriginality, female gender, racism, sexism and poverty are lived and experienced simultaneously, not sequentially" (Culhane 2009). Women's stories shared during this research highlight the intersectionality of their experience in urban centres. This last section explores how Inuit women make sense of, and use, the urban environment to carry out their distinct gender responsibilities and roles.

5.1 Family Responsibilities

Inuit women's family responsibilities deeply influenced their experiences in urban centres. While family plays a central role in Inuit society and women are vital to this institution, women participants face significant challenges from within the family unit. Some of the difficulties women face in northern communities (for example, trauma, domestic violence, abuse, and addiction) lead them to urban centres in the South. Other hurdles, such as the child welfare system and systemic racism and exclusion, emerge in the South and wind their way into the North.

According to Statistics Canada, in 2011, 17% of Inuit women aged 15 and above were heading families on their own, compared with 8% of non-Aboriginal women, with women heading about 8 in 10 Inuit single-parent families. Inuit children in census metropolitan areas (CMAs) were twice as likely to live with a single parent as were non-Aboriginal children, at 36% compared with 18%. These numbers suggest a highly gendered reality of parenting, in which Inuit women are more likely to be the primary caregiver, are overrepresented in single-parent families, and at the same time are more likely than men to migrate.

Many women met during the research were mothers and grandmothers. Their stories often revealed similar challenges and paths; a common refrain for why they ended up in cities was "for my children's well-being". Some had followed children who had been sent into foster care in the South, others left their home to provide a "safer place" or a "drug/alcohol-free environment", and many looked for "better opportunities for [their] children". Throughout the interviews, women acknowledged bearing the brunt of the responsibility for dealing with the child welfare system and supporting their families in cities.

Women participants repeatedly mentioned their family's well-being when asked about their roles and responsibilities. One participant (mid-thirties, Montréal) explained how hard she found it to adapt to the urban framework:

> It was hard to figure out how things have to be done in the South. If you were born here than you'd know those things. But when you are a northerner you're used to other ways. Like, I would always have people around me to support me and help me with the kids. If I need advice I can seek it from an elder or my mom. In [the city] I am on my own, having to know all the services available.

Service providers across the five cities agreed on the necessity to create space for Inuit women to share. Some organizations had implemented healing circles for Aboriginal women or instituted an exclusive schedule for women and their families to gather. As one counsellor mentioned,

> There was a strong need for healing circles for women to talk. A space for sharing good and bad experiences. So, we decided to allocate a space in the building only for women and their children. We try to have circles as often as needed, but at least twice a week. Including children in the process was instrumental because women are the ones managing the family. It needs to be recognized.

Very few places we visited offered healing circles for Inuit women specifically (the exception being Ottawa), but many wished they could implement one. The main reason they gave was usually the low number of Inuit women in the area.

While visiting university and college Aboriginal centres, service providers described a typical case they encountered with young Inuit mothers struggling to balance family and education:

> Inuit women start their family at a young age, so if we want them to graduate and succeed we have to facilitate that with daycare and appropriate support in the university environment. We don't have that many Inuit students, but I have seen two last year who dropped out just because they had no support for their children.

Other statistics reinforce the limiting potential of family responsibilities; for example, the primary reason Inuit girls do not complete high school is because of family obligations. In four of the five cities, participants mentioned access to affordable daycare as a hurdle; only women in Montréal, where a provincially-funded daycare system exists, did not mention it. Women in the labour force struggled to pay for daycare; as single mothers in a city where they had a very limited social network, they had few options.

The urban environment also hindered women's ability to pass on knowledge, culture, language, and livelihood. One participant recalled her feelings of guilt at not being able to impart land-based skills and cultural practices to her children:

> I feel I am only giving my children half of what they deserve. Like if I stayed in the North they would get a good Inuit culture, language, and connection to our land, they would learn with elders about our knowledge. But it would mean

> having a poor formal education; schools are really bad up North. On the other hand, being in the South, I see my children having this really good education and they love that, they have good grades I am really proud. But they are missing all their Inuit culture. When they were younger we would go back North every summer, so they'd go on the land, fish and camp. Now we don't go as often and I see my children losing their Inuktitut and connection with our homeland. This is hard for me, 'cause I made the choice for them in a way.

5.2 Gendered Roles in Urban Centres

Gendered roles and relationships shaped female participants' urban experiences. As many women mentioned during interviews and focus groups, home dynamics face a shakeup in the South. One woman who acted as a mentor for young female Inuit students mentioned that gender roles and expectations pose a challenge when they arrive in the city:

> I am mentoring this young woman and she is here with her three kids and she wants to complete her college degree. I know the dynamic at home is the main challenge; she and her partner are fighting on who should be doing what and when. The question is how to adapt northern gender roles to southern reality. At the moment, she bears all the family responsibilities and domestic chores, with little involvement from her partner. This is challenging for young women when they arrive here in the city.

Other women with similar experiences stressed that in the North, children are raised with the support of extended families. However, in the South, women find themselves isolated from that social network, which increases women's burden— especially that of those without a spouse's support. Women's responsibility tended to increase further the longer they had to travel between services, school, daycare, and home. While the small size of most northern communities makes transportation easy, in urban centres, public transportation can be time-consuming and cost-prohibitive for low-income women.

5.3 "Unsafe to be an Inuk Woman in the Streets"

Participants by and large described the urban space as unsafe. Studies have already shown that Aboriginal women are disproportionately the targets of violent crimes. The Sisters in Spirit final report indicated that 70% of missing women and girls disappeared from an urban area, and that 60% were found murdered in an urban area.

When discussing their experience navigating urban space, female participants noted several recurring themes: racial profiling both by police and by gangs, racism, sexual harassment and abuse, and a general feeling of exclusion all characterized their time in southern cities. One woman who had been living in the same city for over 25 years reported: "Me and my husband we travel a lot for his job in almost all Canadian cities. We stay in hotels all the time. Still, every time I show up at the front desk, they would

ask for my ID. This is racial profiling! I am being consistently reminded that this is not my place." Similarly, another woman noted:

> If my husband and I are in our car and we get stopped by a policeman, as soon as he sees me, they would ask for my ID and what am I doing here, and is he my husband. My husband is *qallunaat*, so they'll think, 'he probably got that Inuk girl from the streets'. I've lived for nine years now in this city and I am not used to that; I mean I don't think I should get used to such discrimination.

Women participants felt strongly that non-Inuit people perpetuated the stereotype that "Inuit girls belong in the streets". Several key informants working with the homeless population or with criminalized youth echoed this sentiment:

> We've clearly seen an increase in the female Aboriginal population over the last decade. We had a few Inuit females, not as many as First Nations. But they often fall into the same cracks; they have no place to go, so they hang out in the streets, they are offered drugs and then get involved in human trafficking to pay their debts.

Other service providers mentioned similar situations, with a significant increase in the visibility of Aboriginal and Inuit female populations. The context of this recent visibility is complex, but rests mainly on the rapid growth of the Aboriginal population combined with the much slower increase in services and related investment.

While most organizations and centres visited had limited contact with the female Inuit population, as it is much smaller compared to First Nations and Métis, many informants noted that they had only recently begun to see a notable increase in that population. Typically, women tend to be overrepresented in the invisible homeless population, as they employ informal strategies to avoid sexual harassment and abuse in the streets. They are therefore more likely to stay in unsafe houses or stay in a relationship in exchange for shelter. Inuit women's marginalization in the urban environment renders them more vulnerable to abuse, violence, and sex trafficking. Because of spatial and social exclusion, women remain highly vulnerable to all forms of abuse and present an easy target for traffickers or abusers.

CHAPTER 7: RECOMMENDATIONS

The findings of this study lead to the following recommendations, which aim to improve Inuit women's well-being in urban centres.

Creating designated Inuit space in urban environments: One of the most common needs we heard was to create specially designated Inuit space in all five cities. Participants envisioned a physical place where Inuit could meet, share, and display their culture. Such place was deemed particularly essential for women's healing. In Ottawa, however, not as many women expressed the need for such a place, since some already exist.

Childcare and/or daycare for Inuit (like in Ottawa): Many Inuit parents experience profound stress about their ability to transmit Inuit culture to their children and grandchildren in the urban environment. Parents want to provide their children with better education, yet worry that by placing them in southern schools, they sacrifice cultural knowledge and heritage for formal education. They are worried particularly about depriving their children of language and food habits.

Mentoring programs: Mentorship in schools and the workplace would benefit migrants in many aspects of urban life: navigating health services, employment, transportation, and education, to name a few.

Creating a distinct Inuit organization: in many cities, Inuit are grouped within another group or category that does not necessarily reflect their distinct culture, and they cannot access Inuit-specific funding. Having an organization in charge of managing money for Inuit people in urban centres would facilitate their access to these funds and improve their opportunities for education, employment, and health services.

Policies should take into account the **gender and identity profile** of targeted populations to serve them better – this is part of decolonizing methodologies and policy-making in Canada as well as part of the reconciliation process.

Implement Inuit-focused shelters in urban centres: Inuit women repeatedly said that cities desperately needed women-only shelters with culturally appropriate services. Even where these types of shelters exist, demand over the past decade has overwhelmed their capacity.

Developing and implementing culturally appropriate services: Participants and services providers alike recommended mandatory cultural training for all service providers working with Inuit women, men, and children. As part of the decolonizing methodologies and reconciliation process, many services providers emphasized the importance of culturally-specific healing and suggested that successful interventions were largely rooted in culturally-based services.

A child welfare system that reflects Inuit values and culture. An Inuit-specific approach to child welfare and family support is essential both in the North and in the South in order to reflect the distinct Inuit culture and history. At a minimum, this system ought to ensure the transfer of Inuit children into other Inuit families.

Many First Nations or mainstream organizations that provide services to Inuit mentioned that collaboration is sometimes difficult because each organization closely guards its own funding. As such, **mechanisms to facilitate the exchange of information and foster collaboration** between organizations would help disseminate best practices, share success stories, and foster a feeling of community. The various indigenous organizations also ought to improve their information-sharing systems.

Implement policy to **facilitate access to country food**.

Support traditional Inuit practices: Participants particularly advocated for formal recognition of Inuit custom adoption, even in urban centres.

Promote healthy living through role-modelling within the Inuit community. The approach of role-modelling has been proven to better integrate Inuit into the work force. Many participants in all cities raised the issue of role-modelling—they asserted the need for more role models in the northern communities as well as in the south, so young Inuit can draw from healthy examples.

Address social and economic inequalities in northern communities: many women were pushed away from their communities because of the lack of resources and opportunities, as well as social problems. Addressing the root problems would avoid undesired or "forced" migration. For example, mental health counselling *in Inuktitut* and available in a timely manner is needed for women, men, and children.

Develop family shelters (not limited to one individual in situation of crisis, but focusing on the whole family) as well as treatment centres and healing programs focused on the whole family, not the individual. As pointed out in this report, women bear the primary family responsibilities, but few services available to them in urban centres acknowledge that reality. Since Inuit culture values family over the individual, the healing process must address and focus on the entire family as well. Women have repeatedly mentioned that being cut off from their family is no way to heal; being isolated in a treatment centre reinforces the feeling of disconnection and isolation and does not foster healing.

Support more initiatives that focus on the non-material needs of Inuit women. These include healing from past trauma and experiences, identity building, and empowerment.

REFERENCES

Anderson, Alan B., and Cara Spence

2008 Social Indicators in Surveys of Urban Aboriginal Residents in Saskatoon. Social Indicators Research : An International and Interdisciplinary Journal for Quality-of-Life Measurement 85(1):39-52.

Baker, Elizabeth H.

2014 Socioeconomic Status, Definition. *In* Encyclopedia of Health, Illness, Behavior, and Society. W.C. Cockerham, R. Dingwall, and S.R. Quah, eds. Pp. 2210–2214.

Belanger, Yale, Gabrielle Weasel Head, and Olu Awosoga

2015 Assessing urban aboriginal housing and homelessness in Canada: Urban Aboriginal Knowledge Network.

Budach, Gabriele, Donna Patrick, and Teevi Mackay

2015 Talk around objects: designing trajectories of belonging in an urban Inuit community. Social Semiotics 25(4):446-464.

Canada

1993 Aboriginal Peoples in Urban Centes: Report of the National Round Table on Aboriginal Urban Issues. Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples.

Christensen, Julia

2012 They want a different life: Rural northern settlement dynamics and pathways to homelessness in Yellowknife and Inuvik, Northwest Territories. The Canadian Geographer / Le Géographe canadien 56(4):419-438.

—

2013 "Our home, our way of life": spiritual homelessness and the sociocultural dimensions of Indigenous homelessness in the Northwest Territories (NWT), Canada. Social & Cultural Geography 14(7):804-828.

Cooke, Martin, and Danièle Bélanger

2006 Migration Theories and First Nations Mobility: Towards a Systems Perspective. Canadian Review of Sociology/Revue canadienne de sociologie 43(2):141-164.

Dahl, Jens, and Marianne Jensen

2002 Indigenous peoples in urban areas. Indigenous Affairs 3-4.

Denton, T.

1972 Migration from a canadian indian reserve. Journal of Canadian Studies 7:54-62.

Deprez, Paul, and Glen Sigurdson

1969 The economic status of the Canadian Indian: a re-examination. Centre for settlement studies, University of Manitoba.

Dion Stout, Madeleine, and Gregory D. Kipling

1998 Aboriginal Women in Canada: Strategic Research Directions for Policy Development. Status of Women Canada.

Dowsley, Martha

2014 Identity and the evolving relationship between Inuit women and the land in the eastern Canadian Arctic. Polar Record:1-14.

Dowsley, Martha, and Chris Southcott
2017 An initial exploration of whether 'female flight' is a demographic problem in Eastern Canadian Arctic Inuit communities. Polar Geography 40(1):1-18.
Eberle, Margaret , Deborah Kraus, and Luba Serge
2009 Results of the pilot study to estimate the size of the hidden homeless population in Metro Vancouver. Homelessness Partnering Secretariat, Human Resources and Skills Development Canada (HRSDC).
Fogel-Chance, Nancy
1993 Living in Both Worlds: "Modernity" and "Tradition" among North Slope Inupiaq Women in Anchorage. Arctic Anthropology 30(1):94-108.
Gerber, Linda M.
1984 Community characteristics and out-migration from Canadian Indian reserves : Path Analyses. Canadian Review of Sociology 21(2):145-165.
Groves, Robert
1999 Re-fashioning the dialogue : urban aboriginal governance in Canada. Ottawa: National Association of Friendship Centers.
Hamilton, Lawrence C. , et al.
1996 Outmigration and Gender Balance in Greenland. Arctic Anthropology 33(1):89-97.
Hamilton, Lawrence C., and Carole L. Seyfrit
1994 Coming out of the Country: Community Size and Gender Balance among Alaskan Natives. Arctic Anthropology 31(1):16-25.
Hawthorn, H. B.
1966 A survey of the contemporary Indians of Canada : a report on economic, political, educational needs and policies. Ottawa: Indian Affairs Branch.
Janovicek, Nancy
2009 "Assisting our own" : urban migration, self-governance, and Native women's organizing in Thunder Bay, Ontario, 1972-1989. *In* Keeping the campfires going : native women's activism in urban communities. S.A. Krouse and H. Howard-Bobiwash, eds. Pp. 56-75. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
Kariya, Paul Hideo
1989 Native socio-economic development in Canada : change, promise and innovation. Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies, University of Winnipeg.
Kelly, E. McShane, et al.
2009 Examining Evidence for Autonomy and Relatedness in Urban Inuit Parenting. Culture & Psychology 15(4):411-431.
Kirmayer, Laurence, Cori Simpson, and Margaret Cargo
2003 Healing traditions: culture, community and mental health promotion with Canadian Aboriginal peoples. Australasian Psychiatry 11(s1):15-23.
Kishigami, Nobuhiro
1999 Life and problems of urban Inuit in Montréal : report of 1997 research. Hakodate, Hokkaido, Japan: Jinbun-Gakkai.
—
2002 Urban Inuit in Canada: A case from Montréal. Indigenous Affairs 3-4:54-59.
—

2008 Homeless Inuit in Montréal. Études/Inuit/Studies 32(1):73-90.

Kishigami, Nobuhiro, and Molly Lee

2008 Les Inuit urbains / Urban Inuit. Études/Inuit/Studies 32(1):5-11.

Lawrence, Bonita

2003 Gender, Race, and the Regulation of Native Identity in Canada and the United States: An Overview. Hypatia: A Journal of Feminist Philosophy 18(2):3-31.

—

2004 "Real" Indians and others : mixed-blood urban Native peoples and indigenous nationhood.

Lee, Everett S.

1966 A Theory of Migration. Demography 3(1):47-57.

Lee, Molly

2002 The Cooler Ring: Urban Alaska Native Women and the Subsistence Debate. Arctic Anthropology 39(2):3-9.

Mason, K. G.

1996 Aboriginal Women and Housing in Urban Canada. Women and Environment (39/40):38-39.

May, J.

2009 Homelessness. *In* International encyclopedia of human geography. N.J. Thrift and R. Kitchin, eds. Pp. 185-190. Oxford Elsevier.

McShane, K. E., et al.

2006 Guiding health promotion efforts with urban Inuit: a community-specific perspective on health information sources and dissemination strategies. Canadian journal of public health/Revue canadienne de santé publique 97(4).

Mills, Sara

2005 Gender and colonial space. Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press.

Native Women's Association of Canada

2007 Culturally relevant gender based analysis : an issue paper. Native Women's Association of Canada.

Newhouse, David

2012 Well-being in the urban Aboriginal community : fostering biimaadiziwin, a national research conference on urban Aboriginal peoples. National Research Conference on Urban Aboriginal Peoples, Toronto, 2012. Thompson Educational Pub.

Norris, M.J., et al.

2004 Registered Indian mobility and migration: Patterns and Implications. *In* Population mobility and indigenous peoples in Australasia and North America. J. Taylor and M. Bell, eds. London; New York: Routledge.

Nunavut Bureau of Statistics

2011 Nunavut Housing Needs Survey - Fact Sheet.

Patrick, Donna , et al.

2011 "Regaining the childhood I should have had" : the transformation of Inuit identities, institutions, and community in Ottawa. *In* Aboriginal peoples in

Canadian cities : transformations and continuities. C. Proulx and H.A. Howard, eds. Pp. 69-85. Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfrid Laurier University Press.

Patrick, Donna, and Gabriele Budach

2014 "Urban-Rural" Dynamics and Indigenous Urbanization: The Case of Inuit Language Use in Ottawa. Journal of Language, Identity, and Education 13(4):236-253.

Patrick, Donna, Gabriele Budach, and Igah Muckpaloo

2013 Multiliteracies and family language policy in an urban Inuit community. Lang Policy Language Policy 12(1):47-62.

Peters, Evelyn

1996 Aboriginal people in urban areas. *In* Visions of the heart : Canadian aboriginal issues. D.A. Long and O.P. Dickason, eds. Toronto; Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace & Company Canada.

—

1997 Challenging the geographies of indianness: The Batchewana case. Urban Geography 18(1):56-61.

—

2005 Indigeneity and marginalisation: Planning for and with urban Aboriginal communities in Canada. Progress in Planning Progress in Planning 63(4):327-404.

Peters, Evelyn, and Julia Christensen

2016 Indigenous Homelessness: Perspectives from Canada, New Zealand and Australia. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press.

Peters, Evelyn J.

2000 Aboriginal people and Canadian geography: a review of the recent literature. Canadian Geographer / Le Géographe canadien 44(1):44-55.

—

2012 Urban Aboriginal policy making in Canadian municipalities.

Peters, Evelyn J., and Selena Kern

2016 The Importance of Hidden Homelessness in the Housing Strategies of Urban Indigenous People. *In* Indigenous homelessness: perspectives from Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. E.J. Peters and J. Christensen, eds. Pp. 49-66. Winnipeg, Manitoba: University of Manitoba Press.

Reeves, W., and J. Frideres

1981 Government Policy and Indian Urbanization: The Alberta Case. Canadian Public Policy / Analyse de Politiques 7(4):584-595.

Sanderson, Frances, and Heather Howard-Bobiwash

1997 The meeting place : aboriginal life in Toronto. Toronto: Native Canadian Centre of Toronto.

Seltzer, Carly

2012 Examining the increasing rates of homelessness amongst inuit women within Montréal. *In* Study in Action 2012. Montréal.

Simonet, Fabienne, et al.

2010 Urban Living is Not Associated with Better Birth and Infant Outcomes among Inuit and First Nations in Quebec. The Open Women' s Health Journal 4(2):25-31.

Statistics Canada
2007 2001 Census Profile for Canada. Ottawa: Statistics Canada.
—
2016 Aboriginal Identity (8), Age Groups (20), Area of Residence: Inuit Nunangat (7) and Sex (3) for the Population in Private Households of Canada, Provinces and Territories, 2011 National Household Survey. Ottawa: Statistic Canada.
Stirbys, C. D.
2007 Gender-Based Analysis and Differing Worldviews. Canadian Woman Studies 26(3/4):138-146.
Tomiak, Julie-Ann , and Donna Patrick
2010 Transnational migration and indigeneity in Canada : a case study of urban Inuit. *In* Indigenous cosmopolitans : transnational and transcultural indigeneity in the twenty-first century. M.C. Forte, ed. New York: Peter Lang.
Turner, Annie
2016 Living arrangements of Aboriginal children aged 14 and under. Statistics Canada.
Walker, Ryan
2006 Interweaving Aboriginal/Indigenous Rights with Urban Citizenship: A View from the Winnipeg Low-Cost Housing Sector, Canada. Citizenship Studies 10(4):391-411.
—
2008 Social housing and the role of Aboriginal organizations in Canadian cities. Institute for Research on Public Policy.

APPENDIX 1

QUESTIONNAIRE & DISCUSSION THEMES
Research: Understanding the needs of urban Inuit women

Interview date:_____
Interview location:_____

SECTION 1: Current socio-economic & demographic data

1) Name:
2) Age:
3) Number of years in urban areas:
4) Relationship status:
    a) Single
        i) Divorced or separated
        ii) Widow
        iii) No relationship
    b) Married or partnered
5) Living arrangements:
    a) Own apartment (alone)
    b) Own apartment (with children)
    c) Own apartment (with partner and children)
    d) Apartment (with other people): nature of the relationship:
    e) Homeless (no residence or *couchsurfing*)
6) Activity status:
    a) Employed (part-time or Full-time)
        i) How long have you been at this job?
    b) Unemployed
    c) Student

SECTION 2: Migration data and urban experience

7) When did you arrive to this city?
8) What are the reasons for migrating to _____ urban centre?
9) Do you have relatives in the city? What relationship do you have with them?
10) Do you visit your hometown: sometimes? How frequently? Why?
11) How would you describe your social network in the city?
12) What activities do you mostly do/enjoy doing in the city? Are these mostly Inuit cultural activities?
13) Where do you mostly spend your time in the city? (Geographical location) and Why?
14) Have you feel threatened in the city? Experienced fear? When and why?
15) How would you describe your experience in the city when you arrived?
16) How would you describe your experience in the city now?
17) Did/are you experience(-ing):
    a) Homelessness
    b) Violence
    c) Poverty
    d) Isolation/exclusion
18) How did you cope with these experiences? What services, programs or help did you get?

SECTION 3: Services in urban centres

19) What are the services available? Name all those that you know.
20) What services do you mostly use?
    a) Health care
    b) Family (daycare, youth program, etc.)
    c) Education
    d) Culture and social events
    e) Community centre
    f) Related to employment/jobs
21) How would you describe your experience with those services? Do you feel they are adequate?

a) Services for Inuit
b) Services for Aboriginal peoples
c) Services for anyone

22) Are there programs, activities and space just for Inuit women in the city? What? Where? Do you participate/enjoy?
23) What services would you like to have that are not currently offered?

SECTION 4: Well-being and identity in urban centre
24) Overall, do you enjoy living in the city?
25) With whom/where do you spend most of your time?
26) Describe what is home for you?
a) Do you feel that the city is home in any ways?
b) Where is home for you?
27) Do you feel Inuit in the city?
a) How do you express your Inuitness (your identity as Inuk woman) in the city?
b) Is there a place/or a time where you feel to most Inuit in the city?
28) What would you like to change to feel better/ safer in the city?
29) What do you think needs to change so you can feel (fully) well in the city?
30) What is your main challenge in your day-to-day life in the city?

SECTION 5: Closing remarks/ questions
31) On the long term, do you want to stay/leave the city? Why?
32) Is there anything else that you would like to tell the people who are doing this research?

APPENDIX 2

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR SERVICE PROVIDERS
Research: Understanding the needs of urban Inuit women

Interview date:_____
Interview location:_____

SECTION 1: Current socio-economic & demographic data

Name:

1) Age:
2) Inuit/Aboriginal identity? _____ Number of years in urban areas: _____
3) How many years have you worked for this organization?
4) What is your role, responsibilities?
5) Do you interact directly with Inuit women in the city?

SECTION 2: Questions & Discussion themes

1) **Socio-economic perspective**
How would you qualify the economic situation of most Inuit women using the services here? What are the main challenges in employment? In accessing income/social assistance?

2) **Social capital**
How would you qualify Inuit women's social network when they arrive in the city, and after one year and on the long term? Do you see many women isolated? What works best to avoid social isolation among the female Inuit in the city?

3) **Cultural challenges**
What are the main cultural challenges for Inuit women in the city? Language? Food? Connection to the land? What are the needs expressed by women?

4) **Housing and homelessness**
Is housing an issue? What are the resources for housing available for Inuit women? What proportion of Inuit women has experienced homelessness?

5) **Health, security and food security**
What are the main health needs? What are the services available and are they used by women? What do you think about women's safety and security in the city? What are the challenges and issues? Is food security an issue in the city? What are the resources available for women who are food insecure?

SECTION 3: Closing remarks/ questions

1) What would you need to better help Inuit women in the city? What resources?
2) Is there anything else that you would like to tell the people who are doing this research?