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Inuit Youth Migration from Iqaluit to Ottawa

by

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Abstract

With a public perception that Inuit youth are leaving the North, it is important to improve our understanding of migration in the Circumpolar North. The purpose of this pilot study is to identify, investigate and critically evaluate the different motivations behind youth migration, interpreting the problems, opportunities and effects that these trends will have on the youth, focusing primarily on movement between Iqaluit, NU and Ottawa, ON.

Through eight qualitative face-to-face interviews with youth (15 – 29 years old) in both Iqaluit and Ottawa, the motivations for migration are identified and discussed. The Ottawa component included a quantitative Census data analysis to compare migration trends between these regions, as well as provide statistical evidence to the aforementioned migratory motivations.

The interviews showed that the top five motivations for migration were education, employment, family-related reasons, to 'get away' and access to amenities. The Census data analysis supports these findings, while contradicting the popular belief that the Northern population is expanding rather than decreasing. With the Census data showing that adults between 30 and 44 years of age migrate more than youth, it negates the concern that out-migration from the North is a major social issue and shows that the idea of an aging Arctic population is inconsequential.

1. Introduction

Most contemporary sociological theories of change would have us believe that worldwide, people are becoming increasingly assimilated into one main model of behaviour. Whether they are theories of globalization or post-industrialism we are left with many of the same basic notions found in earlier forms of modernization theory: that there is an evolutionary pattern that all societies tend to follow. However, indigenous societies represent a challenge to these theories.

The Inuit of Nunavut represent an interesting challenge to contemporary theories of social change. As one of the last peoples to be subsumed by Western influences they represent an interesting case study of the ability of social theories to deal with changes that the Inuit are experiencing. Are they being assimilated, or is there a new global space for minority cultures that will allow them to continue to exist on the basis of their traditional cultures? One way of answering this question is to look at whether their general patterns of migration are changing. Are the Inuit still attached to their land and traditional activities or are they increasingly desirous of the "better life" offered by contemporary urban lifestyles? Not all Inuit generations see this in the same manner. For older generations their attachment to traditional activities is based on the fact that they were initially socialized into these activities and as such are more comfortable with them. The younger generation however, was not subjected to these same socialization forces. They are the most appropriate sub-section of the population to study in order to determine the degree to which the Inuit are being assimilated into mainstream Canadian culture.

Migration within the circumpolar North is not a new phenomenon, as nomadic lifestyles have been the norm for Arctic inhabitants for centuries (Grant & Vanderkamp, 1981). However, societal, environmental and global changes have affected the transition from migrant to village life, not only in Canada, but in other circumpolar regions as well. Growing trends of migration within and from the circumpolar North have attracted the attention of various academics across the world, leading to

international research projects such as the Boreas project whose goal is to analyze the movements of indigenous peoples living within the circumpolar North while improving the utility of Census data to more accurately depict the economic and social characteristics of these indigenous groups (Husky et al, 2006). The Boreas Project, "Understanding Migration in the Circumpolar North" involves academics from Lakehead University, University of Alaska Anchorage, University of Greenland and Umeå University in Sweden. As a part of this project, my research concentrates on one region, taking a comparative approach, describing similarities and differences across countries and regions. The range of different circumstances, environments, and policies can identify the factors that affect peoples' migration decisions, and consequently help predict population movements in response to future social, economic and environmental change in the North.

For reasons related to traditional subsistence living, mobility has always been a fact of life for the Inuit, but the transition from living out on the land to living in structured communities has created new motivations and opportunities for migration beyond traditional reasons. In a relatively short period of time, Inuit life itself has been transformed on account of acculturation into mainstream Canadian society, as well as the forced physical relocations that the Inuit have endured beginning in the 1950s. Because of this acculturation, values have changed, with new needs and desires arising that were not part of traditional Inuit culture, such as earning capital through employment. Northern mobility shifted along with these changes in values, creating new motivations for migration that only increased the division between elders and youth.

As an Aboriginal group, the Inuit have achieved solidarity through the creation of their own territory of Nunavut in 1999. With such a new territory, changes are to be expected and worthy of further research. Previous studies have looked at migration within Northern regions, southern regions, rural and urban areas, and also movement between Northern and southern communities (Rowley, 1985;

Southcott, 2002; Tremblay, 2001; R.A. Malatest & Associates Ltd., 2002), yet this new territorial boundary is worthy of academic research because of the rapid transformation that the Inuit have experienced and the effects of state interventions upon their lives.

This thesis seeks to contribute towards a better understanding of how the Inuit are affected by the above-noted changes, by focusing on the phenomenon of migration between the city of Iqaluit, Nunavut and the city of Ottawa, Ontario. Specifically, the thesis seeks to answer the following original research question:

What are the different motivations behind Inuit youth migration to and from Iqaluit, NU and Ottawa, ON? How do these differ between youth living in Iqaluit and Ottawa?

With a public perception that youth are leaving the North in great numbers, the importance of this research is inherent; by identifying youth motivations for leaving the North, future research can be conducted to make recommendations as to what can be changed in both the North and South to prevent population decline as well as cultural assimilation. The assumption that out-migration from the North is a potential social issue has guided the research. It has been identified in existing research, specifically with Inuit/Eskimo¹ youth (Condon, 1987; Dupuy et al, 2000; Hamilton et al, 1993; R.A. Malatest, 2002; Seyfrit et al, 1998), as well as through conversations and discussions with members of the territorial government, and researchers involved in the parent research project “Understanding Migration in the Circumpolar North.”

This thesis begins by examining existing literature, reviewing several Western theories of migration from the general ideas of Marx and Durkheim to specific push-pull theories and network theories, while also discussing the premises of step-wise migration. These theories are primarily based around labour market interactions and are generally not applicable to non-Western societies. The

¹ Term used in Alaska for Inupiat/Yupik

works of four earlier Arctic researchers (Boas, Stefansson, Jenness, and Rasmussen) are also used to gain a better understanding of migration in a Northern context. Coming from different disciplinary backgrounds, including anthropology, geography, and sociology, these researchers expand beyond Western theories of labour market interactions, to look closely at the environmental factors affecting Arctic migration. Their findings show that migration is based around the Northern environment and the availability and migratory habits of the animals upon which Inuit relied for food, clothing and fuel.

There is an additional examination of Arctic history demonstrating the role of migration, whether it is in the form of movement towards the eastern coasts for trade or coerced relocation into settlements by the Canadian government. As the analysis of research moves forward through history, the focus of existing studies begins to shift from ethnography to demography, with population shifts due to internal migration becoming more prominent. These studies regarding migration between internal boundaries are important to discuss because of their relevance to this thesis whose purpose is to examine inter-provincial migration (with a focus on Nunavut and Ontario). Through a review of studies by Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, the Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation and analysts such as Grant & Vanderkamp, it was found that factors such as age, family size and labour market characteristics affected migratory habits, as well as one's length of residence in a community and one's previous migration experiences.

In the review of literature, an important finding was that young people are more likely to migrate; since they are less likely to be married and more likely to be transient students. The phenomenon of youth migration was explored by focusing on movement between rural and urban communities, paying special attention to the motivations behind that movement. Through a review of research on Aboriginal migration it was found that Aboriginal people in Canada were less migratory between cities than other Canadian residents, although they had a much higher rate of residential

movement within a particular community. Additionally, migration is not as important to Aboriginal groups as non-Aboriginals, a finding identified by several studies analyzing Northern migration in North America. A concern raised by existing studies is that by opening up opportunities for youth, migratory movement results in out-migration of the promising youth, causing an intellectual impoverishment of the rural and remote communities that the youth leave behind. With such concerns, the importance of this thesis becomes evident, as although the existing studies analyzed Inuit youth (but not exclusively) (Seyfrit et al, 1998) they did not specifically reference rural to urban movement from Nunavut to Ontario.

Following the literature review, there is a discussion of research methods. This study uses qualitative methods by incorporating face-to-face interviews into the research. However, qualitative research methods have their limits, so in the style of demographic research, data from the 2001 Canadian Census were analyzed in order to understand migratory trends of youth in comparison to other age groups, as well as other categories such as ethnicity (trends of Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals), education (highest level of school completed), occupational category and more to see if they would influence one's decision to migrate. By combining the quantitative data analysis with the qualitative structured interviews, these mixed methods used the results of both types of analyses to help explain the motivations behind Inuit youth migration from Iqaluit to Ottawa.

The observations and findings of this research reflected the mixed methods used to collect them; a thematic analysis of the interviews used in conjunction with data analysis qualified the results while using the Census data to substantiate the ideas discussed in the interviews and existing research. Chapter four of this thesis presents the major findings and observations. Some of the major findings of this research were that certain variables such as Aboriginal identity, education, occupation, and age had effects on migration, while sex had no bearing on migrant behaviour. Through the analysis of data from

the 2001 Canadian Census, it was established that of the different independent variables tested, Aboriginal identity was the best indicator of migrant tendencies, with non-Aboriginal people being more likely to migrate than Aboriginals. Reasons such as close-knit families and communities keep the Inuit in the North, while non-Aboriginals (who are likely previous migrants) travel more because of a familiarity with moving (to be discussed in later sections) (Conway, 1980). Education was found to be the most apparent motivation according to the interviews conducted in both Iqaluit and Ottawa, but it may be attributed to an over-representation of students in the sample groups. However, through the analysis of Census data and existing research (R.A. Malatest & Associates), education was still found to be significant. The third strongest variable affecting migration was occupation, which was not as strong as education, but not as applicable to youth because of the weak relationships with the workforce due to their age.

Age was less important than occupation and a poor indicator of migration. However, it also revealed one of the most interesting details of the study: while conducting research under the assumption that youth were more likely to migrate than adults, the Census data revealed that people between the ages of 30 and 44 were more likely to migrate from Nunavut to a southern urban centre than any other age demographic. Although other motivations for migration were discussed in the interviews such as family-related reasons, access to amenities and a desire to 'get away', they were omitted from the quantitative discussion, only because of an inability to properly measure and assess them numerically.

The purpose of this study was to explore the topic of Inuit youth migration, adding to the greater body of knowledge and thereby expanding upon the understanding of migration in the circumpolar North. The study of Inuit youth migration is not an easy task, and there is much more data that remains to be collected and analysed. However, given the benefits and limitations of this study, the

understanding of Inuit youth migration has advanced, if only slightly, through interviews and Census data analysis specifically looking at migration from Iqaluit to Ottawa.

2. Literature Review

A proper understanding of whether the migration patterns of Inuit youth indicate assimilative tendencies requires an understanding of why migration takes place in contemporary societies. Our understanding of the issue begins with a review of existing theories of migration which emerged from new migratory patterns imposed by industrialism. Starting with a particular rationalistic explanation of human behaviour, other theories later emerged to challenge these economic theories while attempting to include non-economic explanations for migration.

Non-economic theories of migration were among the first used to explain Inuit migration patterns in Canada. Anthropological research starting in the 1880s tended to highlight environmental explanations that differed only marginally from the earlier economic theories (Boas, 1885; Stefansson, 1913; Jenness, 1928; Rasmussen, 1927). By the mid-20th century these early environmental theories were being challenged by those who found social explanations to be equally as important (Ravenstein, 1885; Massey et al, 1987; Conway, 1980). Environmental reasons were challenged by the changes affecting Inuit society in the 1950s as the Inuit began to be transformed from an isolated society based on hunting and fishing to an urbanized society. This eventually led to new explanations of Inuit migration and predictions of their inevitable assimilation (Irwin, 1989). However, in the 1970s a movement towards self-government with an increased importance placed on Aboriginal culture led to the possibility that assimilation could be evaded. This is particularly the case for the youth who have been exposed to these new motivating forces.

Yet, Inuit youth are migrating, and are increasingly found in the larger urban centres of the south. Does this represent a type of assimilation? Who is leaving, and in what numbers? Who returns, and why? What are the motivating reasons behind this youth migration? These are questions that must be answered in order to properly understand the influence of social change on Inuit society.

Sociological Theories of Migration:

Although not explicitly formulated as such, migration is one of the essential questions behind the development of sociology. Sociologists tried to understand the movement of people from rural areas into industrial urban areas and the impact that this had on society. From early economic theories of migration based on industrial urbanization to focused theories of international migration dependent on social networks; theories from different epochs will be discussed.

Marx and Durkheim

Although none of the more prominent historical sociological figures discussed theories of migration explicitly, they implicitly touch on areas that relate to migration. Karl Marx discussed urbanization as the result of peasants leaving their agrarian countrysides in order to become producers in the labour market in the cities. He attributed the movement from rural to urban areas to the pursuit of wages which was a direct result of industrialization and the rise of capitalism as the lower class attempted to become part of the bourgeoisie.

Emile Durkheim was concerned with the breakup of rural solidarity and the consequent migration to cities because of labour divisions and shifting forms of social solidarity (Durkheim, 1953). As society progressed with industrialization, society changed as well, moving from communal participation in traditional subsistence lifestyles (mechanical solidarity) to individualistic participation in specialized wage-labour activities (organic solidarity) (Giddens, 1972). As was the case with Marx's ideas on migration, this social transformation was described by Durkheim as being based on economic motivations.

Another similarity between Marxian and Durkheimian writings relevant to migration was the argument that the results of migration and urbanization would have consequences. Marx thought that

the movement of peasants to large centres would increase the size of the working class that was alienated from the means of production, eventually leading to revolution. Durkheim, on the other hand, argued that as individuals experienced the removal of social cohesion, they would experience a sense of 'normlessness' leading to anomic suicide (Giddens, 1972).

Push-Pull Theory

George Ravenstein is widely regarded as the earliest migration theorist, having developed seven 'Laws of Migration' in 1885. He concluded that migration was governed by a process of push and pull factors: unfavourable conditions in a community (such as oppression, limited resources, etc.) would 'push' people out, while favourable conditions in another community would 'pull' them away from their original location. Although Ravenstein felt that the primary reason for migration was for better external economic opportunities, his laws also acknowledged that variables such as gender, social class and age influence mobility. In summary, his laws stated that migration towards urban communities occurred because of commerce and industry, and simultaneously created currents which flowed from rural to urban areas (Ravenstein, 1885). However, as people flow from smaller to larger communities, gaps are left in the wake of this current that are filled by a counter-current which keeps rural and remote communities from disappearing completely (and sometimes demonstrating net gains in population size) (Ravenstein, 1885).

Ravenstein's laws analyze migration from a macro perspective, while other theorists look at migration emphasized by individual decisions. These instrumental perspectives on migration accept the prominent role of social actors in migration decision making, which leads into Massey et al.'s discussion of network theory.

Network Theory

In 1987, Douglas Massey et al. developed a series of three hypotheses regarding migration and networks in the book *Return to Aztlan*, which deals with the social processes of international migration into the United States from Mexico. The first hypothesis states that the probability of international migration should be greater for individuals who are related to someone who has prior international experience, or for individuals connected to someone (Massey et al., 1987). This relates to their second hypothesis that once someone has migrated internationally, they are likely to engage in repeated movements over time (Massey et al., 1987). Therefore, the likelihood of additional trips should increase with every trip made. The final hypothesis alludes to the future, stating that as social ties and international migrant experience develops over time, migration may become progressively less selective, spreading from the middle to lower segments of the socioeconomic hierarchy (Massey et al., 1987). These hypotheses focus on the relationships between individuals living in communities and abroad, creating networks that can affect desires to migrate between the two communities. Additional research by Dennis Conway also bases itself on repeat migrations, but does not focus exclusively on international movements.

Step-wise migration

Conway's 1980 article claimed that migration from remote communities to urban areas happens in step-wise patterns. An idealized pattern of migration has population moving up a place size hierarchy from the smallest communities to larger and larger communities. This pattern of migration has been called by a variety of names: stepwise migration, stage migration, and chain migration (Conway, 1980). Conway's article also includes diagrams depicting three different step-wise migration patterns: hierarchical, spatial, and hierarchical-cum-spatial. The first two are amalgamated into the third pattern,

with the only distinction between the first two being the proximity of the final urban centre to the previous migrant 'stops' (*Chart 2*) (Conway, 1980:5).

Conway drew upon Ravenstein's law that migration occurs more frequently over short distances. Ravenstein saw this migration as:

limited in range, but universal throughout the country [and] that the process of absorption would go on in the following manner: . . . The inhabitants of the country immediately surrounding a town of rapid growth flock into it; the gaps thus left in the rural population are filled up by migrants from more remote districts, until the attractive force of one of [their] rapidly growing cities makes its influence felt, step by step, to the most remote corner of the kingdom (Ravenstein, 1885:198-199).

Step-wise migration is the upward movement of people in the urban hierarchy, and depending on the spatial interpretation, movements toward large centres could either be in wave-like motions (Redford, 1926), or a series of short distance moves with replacement (Ravenstein, 1885). There have existed many different theories and subcategories of step-wise migration, but Conway has eliminated the confusion, reaffirming step-wise migration as a process of "human spatial behaviour in which individuals or families embark on a migration path of acculturation which gradually takes them, by way of intermediate steps, from a traditional-rural environment to the modern-urban environment" (Conway, 1980:8). He had hoped to include extensions to the concept, looking at generational movement, but the available data did not allow for comprehensive analyses on migration histories. With countless technical problems related to collection, processing and evaluating individuals' and families' life paths, Conway's article warns that step-wise migration is a difficult notion to explore, but concludes that his interpretations of existing theories and methods of measurement will help to further migration research in the future (Conway, 1980:11).

After reviewing ideas from sociological theorists and experts on migration and demography, we begin to understand the complexity of migration in both economic and social terms. However, a common problem with all of the aforementioned discussions is that they do not apply directly to non-

Western examples. For instance, migration in non-Western cultures is not affected by economic factors as readily as in Western communities, where interaction with the labour market holds more importance. In non-Western cultures, other values based on subsistence living have greater importance than the accumulation of capital, a foreign concept that only applies effectively to industrialized areas. The following section will focus on non-Western models, primarily those that either discuss Arctic Inuit exclusively or are otherwise relevant.

Migration and the Inuit:

After reviewing the neo-classical sociological theories of migration, a question remains: how do these theories of migration apply to non-Western situations? Naturally, there will be discrepancies, however the differences between modern and developing societal migration have not been thoroughly discussed by the major sociological theorists. Anthropological theories of migration tend to highlight the non-utilitarian aspects of migration, even more so than sociological theories. In the previous section one can understand that economics is not the only factor upon which migration is dependent, but that the environment plays a key role, especially for the inhabitants of the Arctic. By discussing the works of four Arctic researchers this importance of environmental factors on migration becomes evident. Beyond the work of Boas, Stefansson, Jenness and Rasmussen, there will also be additional discussions of historical theories of migration. In order to preserve the original works of these anthropologists, some outdated terminology will be included in this section, but presented in quotation marks in order to distinguish them from current politically correct nomenclature.

Franz Boas, born in Germany in 1858 was curious about the Inuit and their Arctic environment, an interest that grew out of wanting to know how environmental influences on human behaviour affect

spatial distribution (Ludger, 1983: 212). In 1883, Boas went on an expedition to Baffin Island to conduct geographic research on the impact of the physical environment on Inuit migrations. His research focused on environmental determinism, without really delving into any social motivators for migration, despite his strong interest in race, often attributed to his childhood experiences with growing up as a Jew in Germany (Ludger, 1983: 212). Boas' work not only advanced the discipline of anthropology in general, but contributed immensely to our knowledge of human-land relations and Inuit culture in the Canadian North. One particular claim Boas made was that the mode of life for all of the indigenous populations of the Arctic were uniform; dependent upon the distribution of food supplies throughout the different seasons. In *The Central Eskimo*, Boas also commented on the influence of geographic conditions upon the distribution of the settlements, finding that migration sometimes occurred because of a need for access to an extensive and smooth ice floe to facilitate hunting (Boas, 1964:53). Overall, these various descriptors of migration fulfilled his objective (as he described it), which was to investigate "the simple relationships between the land and the people" (Boas, 1885:62).

Vilhjalmur Stefansson was a Canadian of Icelandic descent, whose most infamous expedition on the *Karluk* ship included another anthropologist, Diamond Jenness. A large portion of Stefansson's work is contained within his book *My Life with the Eskimo*, but the bulk of the migration information within it focuses only on animal migration. With regard to social migration, Stefansson's research discusses the particulars of movement with reference to the Arctic environment, taking historical movement into account, while Boas' work took snapshots of Arctic culture which then discussed the effect of the environment on migration. However, Stefansson's discussion of animal migration does have its own application to social migration. On account of the varying migratory habits of caribou and other northbound animals such as muskrats and beavers, the hunting patterns of the Inuit changed, not only because of having to travel greater distances to hunt and trap, but also because of encroaching hunting activities of southern "Indian" groups that were also traveling northward to hunt and trap some of the

aforementioned animals (Stefansson, 1913:35-36). Stefansson did however comment on historical Inuit migration, primarily when trying to explain the presence of 'blond Inuit'. He suggested three different possible reasons for their existence in the Arctic: a result of mixed breeding with Greenlandic colonists; mixed breeding with European whalers; and ancient migration of European-like people from across the Bering Strait (Stefansson, 1913).

Diamond Jenness was an anthropologist from New Zealand who studied Arctic indigenous groups while traveling with Stefansson on the *Karluk*. Jenness studied the Copper Inuit, looking at the littoral Inuit of Victoria Island. He studied the historical migration of this particular cultural group, concluding (but not confirming) that their migratory behaviour was based on pressures from southern "Indian" tribes that had ventured Northwards for hunting, similar to remarks made by Stefansson (Jenness, 1923; Stefansson, 1913). Eventually these "Indian" tribes moved southward again, creating a space that the Copper Inuit now 'reclaimed'. Jenness discusses inland and coastal migration, citing mostly environmental reasons for the movement between the two. He was aware that his theories were useable to explain recent historical migration in an anthropological sense, but acknowledged that further research would be needed to confirm his findings and pave the way for larger issues (Jenness, 1923:551). In 1928, Jenness wrote *The People of the Twilight*, which is still regarded as one of the best sources of information on the life of a nomadic, indigenous people. However, in that particular text Jenness says that temporary migration of the Inuit was based around subsistence living. Their movement from the hinterland was seasonal, as caribou hunting ended in November, followed by migration towards the coasts in preparation for the upcoming seal hunting season (Jenness, 1928:23).

Knud Rasmussen was the fourth explorer, whose 'greatest achievement' was the massive Fifth Thule Expedition from 1921 to 1924 which was designed to "attack the great primary problem of the origin of the Eskimo race" (Rasmussen, 1927). During this expedition, Rasmussen traced Inuit migration

routes and observed their basic cultural unity. With regard to cultural unity, he thought that certain values inherent in the Inuit lifestyle and the idea of private property could be attributed to migration habits. Rasmussen explains that “just as nobody owns the seal in the sea and the reindeer on land, so it follows that nobody has a right to possess a house” (Rasmussen, 1976:25). Other authors have also commented that in tribal societies, property is not an object of care and desire (Ferguson, 1819:149). Through his expeditions, Rasmussen claimed that no Inuit would live for more than a year or two in one place before a longing for new conditions and to hunt on new ground stirs within them. “With every spring comes the wander-lust, and when Nature itself shakes the yoke of winter from its shoulders the desire arises to strike camp and follow the many birds of migration which herald summer’s arrival” (Rasmussen, 1976:25). However, the observations of Rasmussen and other non-Inuit must always be read critically. Having spent time with the Inuit, his understanding of their culture exceeds most, but he was still on expeditions studying the Arctic Inuit from Western traditions.

Rasmussen details one account of immigrants who migrated to the Cape York district, suggesting that this sheds light on the manner in which “all the tribal migration among the Eskimos must have been carried out in former times” (Rasmussen, 1908:23). In *The People of the Polar North* he writes of Merqusaq, an old man who was born while his parents were migrating, and who continued to live his life in transit, traveling hundreds of miles a year on fishing and hunting expeditions (Rasmussen, 1908). The story that Merqusaq told Rasmussen was of two migrations when he was younger, due to following a charismatic leader named Qitdlarssuaq who claimed to have spiritual powers. Qitdlarssuaq said that he had heard of distant Inuit, far away on the other side of the ‘Great Sea’, and eventually he was able to convince 38 followers to migrate with him. Over two years they traveled, in search of another tribe that he had heard of. Upon finding the new tribe, the remaining migrants’ faith in their leader was reaffirmed, and they stayed in what the English called Cape York for six years. Eventually, Qitdlarssuaq grew restless and wished to see his land again. This expedition was plagued with poor

hunting and fishing, and many deaths, starting with Qitdlarssuaq's death during the first winter. Five years later, the remaining travelers (Merqusaq included) returned to Cape York, living out the rest of their days without seeing their land again. This story is an example of Inuit migration for reasons other than the environment and economic factors, and it demonstrates the complexity behind migration and how the creation of 'one size fits all' descriptions can be problematic.

As Western influences on the Arctic continued to increase, new patterns were seen and introduced. The following will discuss theories about the history of Inuit migration, commenting on different patterns as they evolved over a span of thousands of years.

Historical Inuit Migration in the Arctic

The "Thule migration" theory (McGhee, 2005:121), about the first Inuit migrants to move into the Arctic, proposed that around 1,000 years ago, a warming trend occurred which allowed the whale-hunting Thule Inuit to spread to greater reaches of the Canadian Arctic. However, according to McGhee, this theory is no longer an adequate explanation: while the search for new whale-hunting areas can partly explain the movement of Inuit from Alaska into the Canadian Arctic, a more fitting explanation is the search for iron and other metals. Metals were historically important for trading, especially with China during what McGhee refers to as the "Old Bering Sea culture" of the Inuit. Within the Canadian Arctic, the Tuniit were settled, and had already exploited natural copper deposits. There were additional trade routes involving the Greenlandic Norse, who traded processed metals and more. McGhee believes that:

Such sources, in the hands of a relatively small, scattered, and poorly armed population, may have been attractive enough to motivate Inuit adventurers on journeys of exploration across the barren channels of the Central Arctic. These voyages would have provided the information that the Eastern Arctic had animal resources similar to those of Alaska; that the Cape York meteorites were a source of iron that was available for the

taking; and also that the area was visited by *qadlunaat*², blue-eyed strangers from whom smelted metal could be obtained either by trading or through attack. This knowledge may have been the trigger that launched the Inuit migration to the Eastern Arctic. (McGhee, 2005:123)

Eventually, the Thule Inuit displaced the Tuniit, and established permanent winter villages similar to those in Alaska, developing a lifestyle dependent on whale harvesting. However, 400 years ago this changed radically, as the Inuit abandoned the villages and developed small group migratory patterns, to be written about by future European explorers. These changes have been explained in several ways, including climatic cooling, the depletion of whales by Basque whaling operations during the 16th century, various diseases, and an attraction to European sources of metal, replacing the Norse (McGhee, 2005:127).

As previously discussed, several authors (Boas, Stefansson, Jenness and Rasmussen) recognized common seasonal migration patterns of the Inuit within certain territorial boundaries, but they also noted what Rowley refers to as historical migrations (Rowley, 1985). Rowley was able to summarize and isolate a total of 27 major Inuit migrations between 1750 and 1930. Seventeen of these could be determined based on archaeological evidence and oral histories, of which seven were identified as caused by environmental variables such as the depletion of a food source. Beyond environmental causes, Rowley determined that social factors were necessary to explain over half of these migration incidences. She identifies these as being dominated by community conflicts, whereby mobility played a part in 'cleansing' communities of unwanted individuals, ensuring survival. As Rowley argues:

Mobility played a crucial role in Inuit survival. Not only in the seasonal rounds and trading voyages but also as a means of escape from a region when resources became scarce or as a method of ridding the community of an undesirable individual or group of individuals (Rowley, 1985:17).

² See Qallunaat

Despite Rowley's highlighting of pull factors in traditional Inuit migration, research on migration in the 1990s tended to focus on push factors in the period following the Second World War. Research on the relocation initiatives of the federal government argues that the post-World War II Inuit migration patterns were the product of state coercion, and not environmental or social factors (Tester and Kulchyski, 1994). The relocation of Aboriginals from their original settlements into organized housing structures and communities was initiated by the Canadian government with the intention of assimilating and integrating Aboriginal people into mainstream Canadian culture (201). For the Inuit, this meant lifestyle restructuring, as populations began to drastically increase in size around certain Northern centres. Authors such as Rowley, Tester & Kulchyski, and others discussed the circumstances behind relocation, as well as its importance for contemporary Inuit culture. The coercion that the Inuit underwent meant that they were removed from their original settlements, which prevented them from maintaining nomadic lifestyles and forced them into culturally insensitive institutions such as residential schools.

Damas contradicted this perspective in 2002, when he proposed that the movement from isolated, indigenous camps to centralized, ethnically-mixed villages in the 1950s and 1960s was voluntary and not the result of forced migration. He claims that the Inuit migrants had made a rational choice to move to these new settlements for several reasons, including 'pull' factors such as employment, trading opportunities, access to services, and 'push' factors such as a collapsing fur trade and the depletion of wildlife (Damas, 2002). Until the 1950s, Damas notes that the federal government and the fur trade helped the Inuit maintain a pattern of settlement that was based on the dispersed communities that existed before European contact. The fur companies found this type of displacement to be ideal, as it allowed for greater access to furs. Even the Hudson's Bay Company had complained that one of the biggest issues they faced in the Arctic was breaking the Inuit habit of congregating in large camps, which was a habit blamed on the earlier whaling economy (Damas, 2002:30). Relocations

by the company took place during this period, but it is impossible to determine the extent of these migrations when compared to other patterns. The federal government supported the way that the fur trade had affected migration patterns up until then, because it helped to keep the Inuit in their original state as much as possible, and it aided the government in reaffirming Canadian sovereignty over the region.

In contrast to the perception in the United States that “the only good Indian is a dead Indian”, the Northern perspective of trading companies was that the only “good Indian” in the North was the live “Indian” who brought in furs to sell (Stefansson, 1962:37). In the United States, the indigenous populations were perceived as always in the way of agricultural development, mining and other economic developments, not letting “questions of mere humanitarianism and justice restrain [them] from taking possession of the valuable lands that the Indian had inherited from his ancestors” (Stefansson, 1962:36). In the Arctic, the land was regarded as valueless and the fur trading companies could only generate value through the perpetual exchange of furs with Inuit hunters, who maintained possession of the land.

In the 1960s the shift to village life began due to the federal government’s shift in attention from ‘preservationism’ to humanitarianism, through the implementation of its new “Welfare State Policy” (Damas, 2002:191). It was also due to the provision of new health care services, educational opportunities, and new housing. According to Damas, the reasons behind the Inuit shift to centralized living are varied, but can generally be explained by the gradual acquisition of urban preferences through acculturation (Damas, 2002:191). By the 1970s, this transition to villages was virtually complete.

Janet Billson has managed to encompass the previously discussed Inuit history into three periods (as understood from a mainstream perspective): ‘free reign’ period, ‘contact period’, and ‘resettlement period’ (Billson, 1990). The ‘free reign’ period lasted for thousands of years, during which

the Inuit maintained a nomadic, hunting and gathering subsistence life, followed by the 'contact period' which lasted from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries (1990). This period saw the invasion of explorers, traders, whalers and missionaries who brought both Anglo- and Franco-European culture to the lives of Inuit (1990). This led to not only the political conquering of the Inuit by settlers, but also to the imposition of European cultural norms and values, as well as forceful coercion into societal structures that reflected the ideology of the dominant group rather than the needs and wants of the indigenous population (Tester & Kulchyski, 1994).

Some of those effects were seen starting in the 1950s, which was the beginning of the 'resettlement period': the most dramatic transformation of the three periods that changed Inuit lifestyles and culture, dreams and realities (Billson, 2001). At this time, the government moved the Inuit off the land and into settlements, at which point a slew of issues converged:

a tuberculosis epidemic, a canine encephalitis epidemic, the government's interest in centralizing health and welfare services, government pressure on families to send their children to school, and concerns about Canadian sovereignty in the Arctic (Billson, 1990).

This led to the people of these communities becoming almost completely reliant on government policies and support, leading to a variety of social problems stemming from the dramatic changes to their lifestyle and livelihood (Billson, 2001). Some of these included "changes in family structure and parent-child relationships; rising levels of education and diversity of occupation; increased rates of alcoholism, suicide, drug abuse, domestic violence and unemployment" (2001). Many Inuit believe that role reversal and male loss of the 'provider' role have been the cause of higher rates of substance abuse, depression, and violence among males, originally brought about by movement from small, isolated groups to larger communities (Skinner, 1989).

The Changing Situation in the Arctic

The period of resettlement has left its mark on what is still a young territory, leaving Nunavut as the “most fiscally dependent jurisdiction in Canada... [relying] on federal funding as much as 90 percent” (Hicks, 1999:46). The Arctic has changed and will continue to do so. However, others feel that by creating a new territory in 1999, they are not expecting to put an end to all of the issues based on over 50 years of oppression, but are looking towards the beginning of a new and different style of government (John Amagoalik, dialogue quoted in Fraser, 1999:45). They also hope to generate new strategies for personal and communal development, ameliorating some of the negative effects of resettlement (Billson, 2001). The leaders of the new territory and other associated forms of government have promised to engage in consensus decision-making (a traditional Inuit value), emphasize sustainable resource management, conduct transactions in Inuktitut, and approach issues with holistic views (Billson, 2001). This section looks at the modern Northern circumstance, while discussing how the Arctic is changing and what that means for migration, and examines key organizations that are likely to play large roles in the future of Nunavut.

The Nunavut government itself “will *attend* to Inuit culture, but it is not specifically directed toward *preserving* Inuit culture” [emphasis added] (Franks, 1997:21). There are other groups and organizations that have included cultural preservation as a priority and a part of their mandates. An example is Nunavut Sivuniksavut; a post-secondary educational program located in Ottawa, created in anticipation of Nunavut’s unique opportunities and challenges. Beginning in 1985, it was originally an eight month training program designed to spawn new leaders among talented Inuit youths (Billson, 2001). It prepares youth for the educational, training, and career opportunities that are being created by the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement (NLCA) and the Government of Nunavut (Rodon, 2008:48). As a post-secondary institution located in downtown Ottawa, it is affiliated with Algonquin College, giving participants a background in Northern studies, Inuit history, the Nunavut Agreement, and “other issues essential to their future careers in Nunavut” (Angus, 1999). By living outside of the North, students have

a chance to become acclimated to the 'world outside the North.' They need to find and maintain living accommodations, food, monthly bills, and become acquainted with other aspects of southern living that are not related to self preservation, such as using public transportation and coping with the culture shock that comes when living in a city infinitely bigger than where they originally came from. While living away from their home communities, students take college preparation courses that will help them perform well, whether they choose to pursue higher education or to work in the government (Billson, 2001). This may affect return migration, with youth returning to their original communities in the North after having lived abroad. The students are sponsored by Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated (NTI) and other regional Inuit economic development corporations, which provide financial support and allows them to travel between their communities and Ottawa twice a year, returning for Christmas holidays as well as at the end of the year (Angus, 2000).

Originally Nunavut Sivuniksavut was only offered as a one year program, but after taking into consideration the wishes of the graduates, an optional second year of the program is now being offered. Besides coursework and cultural performances at high schools and other public events, students also spend time fundraising for their annual class trip, which takes them to communities around the world, with the 2009 trip booked for Fiji. It is not a surprise that the students that attend Nunavut Sivuniksavut are aware of how others perceive them as the Inuit elite. With limitless opportunities, these students were not the first to experience Inuit elitism: in the book "Teach an Eskimo to Read," Peter Ittinuar, Canada's first Inuk³ Member of Parliament, details his role in what he refers to as the 'Eskimo Experiment'. In the 1960s, he and 3 other youth (around age 12) were brought down to Ottawa to attend school, to see if Inuit youth could compete with White youth in school, in order to establish whether or not a new curriculum should be set for the North or whether a southern curriculum should be imported (Rodon, 2008:60). After having excelled in their studies, this opened the gateway for more

³ Singular of Inuit

youth to be sent to Ottawa and Winnipeg for schooling, although none as young as Ittinuar and his cohort (65). In the case of Peter Ittinuar, the reason he was sent to Ottawa was not for his own gain, but as part of an experiment. Ittinuar identifies the Inuit elite as those who have secured good employment and are bilingual, stating that Inuit have now developed a class strata based on the elite (Rodon, 2008:212). These changes in interactions between classes are emulations of southern interactions, where a “‘suit’ walking down the street is not going to interact with some panhandler standing there on the sidewalk on an equal basis” (212). The students of Nunavut Sivuniksavut have experienced similar assimilation to Ittinuar; dressing the same, walking the same, and even wearing similar expressions on their faces (129). The biggest difference that he identifies between Nunavut Sivuniksavut students and their southern peers is their knowledge of Inuktitut, culture and history, as it even sets them apart from most Nunavummiut⁴ (129).

With regard to Nunavut, many see the future of the territory as uncertain. With an incredibly young population (55% of the population was below the age of 25 in 2001) Inuit leaders such as Peter Ittinuar have concerns with what the territory will do “with all those kids in ten years? Nobody has the answer...It’s scary!” (Rodon, 2008:201). Programs like Nunavut Sivuniksavut are attempting to provide ‘solutions’ for anticipated future issues, by educating and training citizens in the south who will then return to the North and contribute to both the society and economy of Nunavut (201). These ideas are common among those who attend the one to two year program, with many desiring to return to help improve and create their own territory (as shown by the results of this thesis). However, the successes that these students encounter are select, since “not everyone has the initiative or the family background to be successful. Families up North don’t put away money for their children’s post secondary education. That’s never been the case” (203). When looking at the future of youth that do not leave their Northern communities, whether it is to attend Nunavut Sivuniksavut or find work in another centre, the young

⁴ People of Nunavut.

people that remain will be living in overcrowded houses due to housing shortages, in communities that do not have all the amenities that are presented to them through southern media.

There are many problems in the North, with many of the social issues stemming from the fact that “Inuit are encouraged to remain marginalized and isolated from the global community” (Howard & Widdowson, 1999:59). According to Howard & Widdowson, the Inuit are dependent because they continue to retain cultural attributes that are better suited to an earlier historical period, (the opposite of Comte’s idea of a ‘progressive’ society) and as a result, they participate less effectively in Canadian society (Howard & Widdowson, 1999:59; Harris, 1968:64). Howard and Widdowson also state that since the Inuit are organized around a subsistence-type culture, they cannot even make credible political demands, since their withdrawal from the Canadian workforce would not threaten productivity in the slightest (60). By always looking towards the past in order to help ‘redefine’ Inuit populations, and to help establish and maintain Aboriginal identities, adverse effects are rippling through younger populations. By focusing on the traditions of elders rather than on the aspirations of the young, Inuit youth are being ignored in policy-making processes or are being encouraged to return to their roots of hunting and gathering, while still being denied intellectual stimulation in their settlements (60). Through the promotion of traditional skills instead of educational achievement, both the Nunavut government and community elders are restricting youth from achieving their own potential (60). By creating a lack of vision or comprehension of the future, social maladies such as substance abuse and suicide may be attributed to these Northern deficiencies (60). They conclude that Nunavut is “economically unviable and culturally isolationist, and therefore [the creation of Nunavut] cannot possibly solve Inuit problems” (61). However, self-determination is important for indigenous populations that have been oppressed, and despite the negativity of existing commentaries, the creation of Nunavut should be seen as a triumph for the Inuit. While some might regard it as isolationist and one of several steps towards mimicking the Quebecois quest for separation, the territorial

government should be able to prove itself over the first half of this century, despite the concerns that some people have that it would be supporting racial division, which contradicts the principles of Canadian Confederation (Rodon, 2008:181).

Although the descriptions and findings of Arctic explorers help to inform readers about Northern life while occasionally mentioning Inuit migratory behaviour, they do not tell us about modern motivations and current demographics. Even the historical discussions of Arctic colonialism are valuable when analyzing changes in the reasons behind migration from before and after the 1950s, yet without up-to-date research, there is no way to fully understand modern Inuit migration.

Research on Internal Migration

To this point the review of existing literature has identified environmental factors as well as standard labour market theories to explain migration; however, this section will look more closely at Canadian research studying interprovincial migration and rural-urban migration.

Recognizing a lack of academic research on multiple migrations in Canada, Grant & Vanderkamp decided to add to the literature and create their 1981 report. Their report uses a human capital tradition as their theoretical framework, whereby two concepts play important roles: information costs and location specific capital (Grant & Vanderkamp, 1981:2). Information costs are an explanation for multiple migrations because most migration decisions are made in uncertainty. This uncertainty may therefore lead to disappointment, and migrants experiencing this are likely to make a repeat move with an increased probability of returning to their original community (2). Location specific capital accounts for an individual's reluctance to migrate in the first place and the increased likelihood of a previous migrant to make a return move (2). Grant & Vanderkamp's expectations were that characteristics such as age, family size, labour market characteristics (occupation and industry) and more would affect the decisions and probabilities of multiple migrations. An individual's migratory experience dictates their

propensity to migrate again in the future, with the authors arguing that subsequent moves that attempt to correct an initial unsuccessful moves are likely to occur more quickly (9).

Grant & Vanderkamp commented on the spatial characteristics of repeat migration, finding that the Prairies, Western Canada and most of the Atlantic area had some of the highest rates of out-migration, while Ontario and Quebec had the lowest (16). The Atlantic and Prairie areas experienced net-outmigration, while most of the regions found in Ontario and Western Canada (particularly British Columbia) were characterized by net in-migration (16). They noticed several shifts in a few different regions from 1968-69 to 1969-70, with changes from net out-migration to in-migration, which they attributed to the increased importance of return migration due to unfavourable economic conditions (16).

The authors had several interesting findings, one of which was that the “length of residence appears to have a negative effect and previous migration experience has a positive effect on current migration decisions” (Grant & Vanderkamp, 1981:19). They also noted that migrants are typically younger than those who stay, with a smaller proportion being married and a larger proportion of them in the ‘student’ category. In addition, it was also discovered that all migrant groups started off with lower average incomes than non-migrants in 1967, but had higher incomes by 1971 (20). Regardless, they also concluded that there is “little evidence for any correlation between return migration propensities and rates of out-migration” (Grant & Vanderkamp, 1981:18).

Interprovincial migration research by the Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation not only expands into the territories, but also focuses exclusively on Aboriginal populations. Between 1986 and 1991, migration resulted in net interprovincial population shifts of roughly 7,145 Aboriginal individuals (CMHC, 1996:2). Overall, migration resulted in small increases to the Aboriginal populations of both Alberta and British Columbia, while all other provinces and regions reported population losses during

the time period (CMHC, 1996:2). When looking at the Northern context, the far North as well as southern Canada experienced small increases of less than 1%, while the mid-North reported Aboriginal population loss through migration (less than 2%) (CMHC, 1996:2). However, the regions of the 'far North' and 'Southern Canada' are all poorly defined.

Research by Jeacock looked at interprovincial migration. This research was based on the assumption that inter-provincial migration was influenced by economic conditions in each of the provinces, but concludes that "there are other factors that affect migration as well" (Jeacock, 1982:27). Therefore, Jeacock's findings can be used to support the previously discussed labour-related explanations of migration. However, the author acknowledges that the study does not test for novel hypotheses regarding 'causes' for migration, which is similar to research by Indian and Northern Affairs Canada that simply aimed to describe population movement.

Indian and Northern Affairs Canada conducted research using the 1981 Census to classify the Inuit populations' place of residence in 1981 and 1976, providing an overview of the demographic and socio-economic conditions of the Inuit living in Canada. At the time, Census data constituted the only usable source for Inuit migration studies, yet this data permit only an estimate regarding the exchange of migrants between regions (INAC, 1985:25). Through their analysis of Census data, INAC researchers found that the Inuit population has a lower proportion of migrants than the general population of Canada, varying between 10% and 15% across the Northern regions, while in Canada overall migrants constitute 23% of the population (INAC, 1985:25). The regions included in the analysis were Canada as a whole, Labrador, Northern Quebec, the Northwest Territories and the Yukon, and Southern Canada. These regions were chosen because of the prominence of Inuit in those regions. One of the findings was that migration involving Labrador only took place in exchange with Southern Canada, while Northern Quebec mostly had exchanges with the Northwest Territories (INAC, 1985:25). A surprising result of the

study was that the South showed a negative net migration relative to each of the three Northern regions (Quebec, Labrador, the Territories), considering that the growth in the Inuit population in the south from 1971 to 1981 was far too great to be attributed solely to natural increase (INAC, 1985:25). This finding was plausibly explained by improved Census coverage of Inuit in the south in 1981, resulting in an overestimation of the population increase between the two Censuses. Regardless, the maximum exchange involved a total of 300 Inuit from Southern Canada to the Northwest Territories (INAC, 1985:27). Researchers conclude that “these migrations among regions are so small that no clear trends are discernable,” showing that the usage of Census data does not portray accurate projections for the future, nor is it an accurate representation of current migration trends based on this INAC analysis (INAC, 1985:27).

Although Canadian internal migration is important to understanding the flow of migrants to and from the North, there still exists a gap. Using Census data and other sources of information, none of the previous research has looked exclusively at the migratory habits of a very important demographic (in regard to this thesis): youth.

Youth Migration

Over the last two decades, increasing numbers of studies have been completed on youth mobility patterns. Many of these focus on youth movements from rural to urban areas, with the purpose to “address the need for, and importance of, programs and services that promote youth living in rural Canada” (R.A. Malatest & Associates, 2002:ii). One of these that will be discussed is *Rural Youth: Stayers, Leavers, and Return Migrants* by R.A. Malatest & Associates⁵ who focused on Canadian youth. That particular study was designed to provide direction for the delivery of federal programs and services (R.A. Malatest & Associates, 2002:ii). One of the mandates that their research had was to “identify the

⁵ For the sake of brevity, hereafter referred to as ‘Malatest’

key motivators that influenced rural youth's decision[s] to leave and/or the key factors that might encourage former rural youth to return to smaller communities" (1). Malatest's study is divided into five sections: a description of who makes up the rural youth demographic; youth perceptions on rural life; youths' future plans and ambitions; what the community's views are on rural youth issues; and strategies for retaining and attracting youth to rural communities.

The study is based on extensive telephone surveys with 1,945 current and former youth, interviews with individuals associated with rural youth programs/services, focus groups and round table discussions, and Census data from Statistics Canada from 1986, 1991 and 1996. Through their reviews of existing data and literature, the researchers concluded that additional research was necessary and (similar to this Inuit study) decided to look at the key factors associated with rural youths' decisions to move (4).

The section regarding the future plans of youth is the most significant to this research, as some of the results gathered from Malatest were incorporated into the research design of this project. Therefore, these will be the most discussed results. Malatest's discussion paper provided an overview of the intent of youth and the influences on their migratory plans. They concluded: that a large number of rural youth (especially those between 15 and 19) are planning to live in urban centres; that youth move to urban centres to obtain post-secondary education and to find employment; youth move to rural communities for family-related reasons and for employment; and finally, that parents, friends, teachers and relatives are the individuals who most often influence youth in their decision to remain in (or relocate from) their communities (17).

According to Malatest, the 1,945 respondents identified education, employment and access to amenities as more important reasons motivating them to migrate from a rural community to an urban

centre, than family-related reasons and a desire to get away (the latter were more important to youth who are returning to a rural community) (see Appendix D, Chart 3).

Malatest found that most of the interviewed youth felt that rural communities afforded a safe environment as well a good place to raise a family, but that they lacked employment, education and social opportunities, all of which are “of prime importance to youth, particularly to those who are less than 25 years of age” (iii). Another interesting find was that in general, “rural youth hold fairly negative perceptions of their community relative to major urban centres,” where rural living is often equated with limited economic and social standing, and limited opportunities (iii). Despite issues of personal safety, they still found rural youth equating financial success, educational opportunity and high social status with urban living (iii).

The overall results of Malatest’s research suggest that for a relatively mainstream segment of the total population of Canadian youth out-migration from rural areas will likely continue, possibly accelerating in the near future (ii). Among the rural youth surveyed, “more than one-half (55%) indicate that they intend to move to an urban centre. Of the former rural youth still residing in an urban centre, only one third (37%) noted that they plan to return to a rural community” (ii). This provides us with five general migratory motivations as identified by the survey respondents, but does not give much information on Inuit because there was not a clear indication that Inuit had been sampled in the study. While the results cannot be directly extrapolated to Inuit populations, it is interesting to recognize their validity as descriptors of a relatively mainstream segment of the total population of Canadian youth.

Aboriginal Migration

Over the past 30 years there has been an increased interest in understanding new Aboriginal migration patterns. Several pieces of research have dealt particularly with the movement of Aboriginals into urban areas. This section will review studies and reports from the Canadian Mortgage and Housing

Corporation [CMHC], Linda Gerber, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada [INAC], and Nobuhiro Kishigami; all of which touch upon different areas related to Aboriginal migration.

The CMHC conducted a study examining key dimensions of Aboriginal migration and residential mobility patterns during the period from 1986 to 1991, using Canadian Census data and the Aboriginal Peoples Survey results, to find that more than 321,000 Aboriginal people had changed location during that time frame (CMHC, 1996:1). Although nearly 60% of Canada's Aboriginal identity population reported at least one change of residence between 1986 and 1991, most of the moves occurred within the same community (1). However, migrants who reported living in different communities during that time frame represented 22% of the total Aboriginal identity population (2). Overall, the migration rate of Canada's Aboriginal population during this period was slightly lower than that of the total Canadian population which was 23.5%. Census Metropolitan Areas (CMAs) experienced a net increase of 5,540 Aboriginal individuals through migration, which suggests that the longstanding process of urbanization of the Aboriginal population continued throughout the five year span (2). CMA's were not the only communities to gain in size, as "Indian" reserves gained 9,540 individuals as a result of migration during that same period (2). Roughly 20% of this population increase was associated with migration to reserves by individuals who either gained or regained Aboriginal status under the 1985 amendments to the Indian Act (Bill C-31) (2). With some communities gaining in population, others decreased in size, and the CMHC found that there were losses reported for smaller urban areas and rural areas because of migration (2).

The CMHC was able to identify several different characteristics among Aboriginal migrants such as the fact that women, young and single parent families were the most likely to migrate (2). Additionally, it was found that Aboriginal migrants possessed higher personal resources (in the form of educational attainment) and were more likely to be either attending school or participating in the local

labour market, than Aboriginals who did not migrate (2). However, Aboriginal migrants did experience higher rates of unemployment than Aboriginal non-migrants except in rural areas.

For Aboriginals moving to reserves, family issues or housing-related matters were more common reasons for migration, while migrants to off-reserve locations were more likely to report moving in response to employment (especially males) or community-related issues (in the case of females) (3). Other than motivations for migration between communities, the CMHC also looked at residential mobility (within the same community), highlighting its findings in major urban centres, noting that there were differences between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal groups in all urban areas studied, with Aboriginals being 1.8 times more likely to move (on average) (3). To demonstrate the spread, Toronto had the lowest rate of residential mobility among Aboriginal households at 47%, while Winnipeg had the highest rate at 72% (3). Regardless of these movements between or within communities, it was found that migration still had little impact on the geographic distribution of the Aboriginal population nationally and communally (3).

Regna Darnell explains that “people move around to the resources they wish to exploit, rather than recreating a full range of resources in a settled place” (Darnell, 2009:5). Having researched social mobility between London, ON and local Reserves, Darnell found that these resources are likely to involve education, employment and access to services (social and medical), further exemplifying the process of nomadic resource exploitation (5). Expanding on the CMHC’s results, Darnell’s results show that it is the “pattern of movement chosen by individuals within a context of family and community obligations” that reveals stronger familiar bonds within Aboriginal communities, regardless of their dispersion. Tradition is also discussed in Darnell’s keynote presentation and it is important to the understanding of regular return migration. As nomadic lifestyles changed through the 20th century, home became less a question of choice around resources rather than an imposed base from which

individuals could leave and return to (6). However, the sense of community in Aboriginal communities is much stronger than non-Aboriginal communities. Darnell describes the hunters that give 'country food' out to those who do not have access to it. This generosity provides a social capital which is "valued more highly by many than the monetary wages from other kinds of occupation" (6). When there are discrepancies between employment and the obligations of family and community, more often than not the latter will take priority (6). Although individuals leave and return to their home communities (Reserves and others), they still retain a relationship of continuity and territory.

Gerber, on the other hand, describes the variations in off-reserve residence levels in terms of the aggregate characteristics of Canadian Aboriginal bands. Her findings conclude that certain types of bands are more or less able to retain their members on reserve or maintain boundaries (Gerber, 1984:145-146). Similar to other existing studies that will be examined in subsequent sections, Gerber defines out-migration as movement away from the community for at least a year. However, in this study the focus is on migration away from the reserve. This is a crude index of out-migration, but it does have the advantage of being unaffected by short-term or seasonal movement (less than a year) (146).

Gerber's study looked at 516 of 536 bands in nine Canadian provinces (excluding Newfoundland, the Northwest Territories [which included what is now Nunavut] and the Yukon), choosing bands based on their availability (149). These bands had surveys administered to them as part of a survey of socio-economic conditions carried out by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development in 1969 (149). The dependent variable was off-reserve residence, but Gerber also identified different independent variables, which will be discussed individually below.

The first independent variable was communal values (or Prairie location) which Gerber hypothesized would be associated with lower levels of off-reserve residence, because "the fact remains that most Prairie bands were established on a communal basis, whereas those in the other provinces

were set up with more individual control of land and other assets" (147). Gerber had observed this previously, noting that communal values were associated with lower levels of out-migration. This leads into the second variable: urban proximity, where Gerber expected the distance from an urban centre to affect a number of community attributes including the ability to retain members (147). Good roads promote out-migration by encouraging the development of employment and education, but simultaneously reduce migration by making it possible for members to commute to nearby employment centres (158). The more isolated a community is, the greater the social and economic costs of migration and the weaker the pull or attraction of urban centres would be, leading to a lower level of out-migration. Her expectation was that off-reserve residence would vary inversely with distance from major urban centres (147). The third variable was the size of the band, where, theoretically "larger bands (or communities) should have more potential for development and therefore survival" (147). Because of the implied complexity of social networks and opportunity structures, Gerber decided that larger groups may be more successful in member retention (147). Institutional completeness (analogous to community development) was the fourth variable, and represents the organizational complexity of the community, which contributes to boundary maintenance in urban ethnic groups, which would consequently decrease the population of Aboriginals living off-reserve (148). Beyond the community, personal resource development (involvement in mainstream employment and education) is a fifth variable affecting migration.

"The assumption is that if a larger proportion of reserve residents have experience with off-reserve schooling and employment, the group as a whole will have considerable confidence in its ability to deal with mainstream society so that more members will be willing to live outside of the reserve" (Gerber, 1984:148).

While personal resources can be seen as contributing to community development, they are ultimately portable qualities valued in the outside world. Therefore, Gerber expected off-reserve residence to increase with personal resource development (148). While not considered a personal

resource, linguistic acculturation was seen as a sixth variable, hypothesized as increasing off-reserve residence through the use of the dominant group languages or linguistic acculturation (148). Income was seen as the seventh variable, affecting migration in a paradoxical way. Gerber stated that once the different local opportunities were fully exploited, then the surplus labour force from high-income bands would be well qualified to look for work elsewhere. This would mean that high incomes among reserve residents should eventually contribute to higher levels of off-reserve living, "since prior experience with wage labour is known to facilitate urban adaptation" (148). The eighth variable was the quality of housing existing on the reserves. It was expected that modern, quality housing would discourage out-migration; however, modern homes also suggest a degree of cultural assimilation which may then stimulate higher material aspirations on the part of the reserve members. Once the younger demographic can no longer be absorbed by the local opportunity structure, the experiences of living in modernized residences may actually stimulate movement away from the reserve (149). Since reserves generally have limited employment opportunities, a positive relationship between house quality and off-reserve residence was expected (149). The ratio of males to females is the ninth variable, and although males usually tend to migrate more readily than females, Gerber states that females can be more migratory under specific conditions: when distances are short and when the movement occurs from rural to urban areas (149). Since those conditions apply to many Aboriginal communities, female dominated out-migration does not come as a surprise. The tenth and final independent variable is fertility, which is expected to inhibit migration through the difficulties involved in moving large families. High fertility can also indicate the persistence of traditional values by raising large families on reserves which in turn would reduce off-reserve residence (149).

While some reserves (the smaller, individualistic, highly acculturated ones with minimal development potential) may be "threatened with boundary breakdown and population depletion,

others clearly are not” (159). Gerber concludes by foreshadowing that larger reserves are likely to persist well into the future.

Studies of the migration patterns of Aboriginals between reserves and other communities are not restricted to Gerber’s study. Different variables that affect migration are discussed further in the *Basic Departmental Data 2004* publication from INAC, which foresees increases in on-reserve populations with inverse effects for off-reserve populations. INAC projects that the total Registered Indian population could increase by 34%, from approximately 703,800 in 2001 to slightly less than 940,000 in 2021⁶, despite the trend of out-migration from reserves since the 1980s (INAC, 2004:8). However, this projected migratory trend does not consider the types of communities that these Aboriginal groups are migrating towards (other rural or urban communities), and therefore leaves a void in the literature.

INAC’s data does however shed light on Northern Aboriginals, citing statistics pertaining to Nunavut. Basic demographic information is given, such as population variations, with Nunavut’s population having risen sharply (21%) between 1994 and 2004, compared to the Yukon and Northwest Territories which increased by 5% over the same period⁷ (INAC, 2004:84). Moving beyond 2004, INAC projects population growth over the next 20 years, with all three territories increasing in size. Nunavut is projected to have the largest percentage increase (29%), while the Northwest Territories could have half that of Nunavut⁸ (14%) (INAC, 2004:86). A known motivator for migration, employment in Nunavut is not evenly distributed. With an Aboriginal majority of 85% in 2004⁹, there is a large discrepancy between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal employment in the North¹⁰. In Nunavut, 90% of the non-Aboriginal population is employed while less than 50% of the Aboriginal population is (INAC, 2004:92).

⁶ Appendix D, Chart 16

⁷ Appendix D, Chart 11

⁸ Appendix D, Chart 12

⁹ Appendix D, Chart 13

¹⁰ Appendix D, Chart 14

The difference in income in Nunavut is remarkable, with the average Aboriginal earning \$20,000 while the non-Aboriginal average is close to \$52,000 ¹¹ (INAC, 2004:94).

Employment was also an important motivator in a study by Nobuhiro Kishigami investigating why Inuit individuals move to Montreal (1999). Kishigami identified different migratory motivations, among different occupational categories: students, workers and jobless (Kishigami, 1999:224). He looked at Inuit living in Montreal who were originally from the Arctic, and he placed his participants into one of the three categories. He found that the motivation for students moving to Montreal was the pursuit of education, while workers commonly gave reasons for initially moving south such as attending school, following a relative, and seeking personal freedom (225). Inuit living in Montreal that were jobless at the time of the study had originally moved there for specific reasons, including those already mentioned with regard to students and workers. However, they had additional reasons, such as running away from social and family problems, following spouses/partners, as well as attending hospitals (226).

Kishigami conducted a follow-up study in 2006, exploring whether kinship was the main organizing principle of social networks and social activities for Inuit individuals living in Montreal (Kishigami, 2006:207). Again, he focused on Montreal because of the large number of Inuit migrants coming from Nunavik (Arctic Quebec), and he noted that Montreal used to be the most important service centre for Nunavut Inuit until the late 1990s (207), but is no longer. This is most likely because of the creation of Nunavut as an official territory, whereupon the most important goods, services and connections had to be made with the nation's capital: Ottawa.

When migrating to Montreal, Kishigami discovered that 65.5% of his respondents had migrated to another community from their home town before finally moving to Montreal, which supports Conway's theories of step-wise migration (Kishigami, 1999:224). Kishigami also noted that women were

¹¹ Appendix D, Chart 15

more likely to be 'pushed' out of their original communities due to factors such as alcohol and drug problems, sexual and physical violence, problems of human relations in a small village and a lack of housing and jobs. It seemed as though "they did not come to Montreal because there were resources available to them in the city, but because they wanted to run away from problems they encountered in the North" (225).

The study by Kishigami shows that "it is not the city's pleasant life or useful resources which pull most Inuit to remain there" (226). They do not wish to return to the North because of economic difficulties, social problems and sexual/physical violence. Kishigami expects the urban Inuit population to grow steadily due to the flow of Inuit into southern centres because of lack of improvement to the living conditions in Canada's North. This study was very important to this research project, as it is one of the few existing research projects focusing only on Inuit migration, while also having similar migration locations (the circumpolar North and a large urban centre in southern Canada) to this thesis.

The prevalence of literature on Aboriginal migration has been noted, however, there is more to be desired in terms of urbanization research that focuses exclusively on Inuit movements to urban areas. Kishigami's study directly discussed the same subject matter; however comparative studies do not exist, so the need for this thesis research is demonstrated once again.

Contemporary Inuit Migration Patterns

Several studies of Inuit migration patterns combine several different theoretical perspectives. However, not all focus exclusively on the Inuit. This section looks at the work of Stabler (1998), Seyfrit et al. (1998), and Hamilton and Seyfrit (1993), and further analyzes some of the findings of Malatest and Kishigami.

The purpose of Jack Stabler's 1989 study, *Dualism and Development in the Northwest Territories*, was to improve the understanding of the effects of dual economies (administrative/processing/extractive activities versus hunting/fishing/trapping/traditional activities) on the Aboriginal inhabitants of that territory. Within his study, he examined at the territorial level how people interact with the modern and traditional economic sectors, even touching on whether individuals' likelihood of relocation was influenced by socioeconomic motivators. Stabler also contrasted the Northwest Territories to traditional economies in the Third World, noting that heavy urban in-migration from neighbouring rural areas has not occurred in the Northwest Territories, while it is a characteristic of developing nations. He explains that a possible reason for this difference is due to the availability of Canadian "income supplements that permit people to maintain a livelihood virtually any place they choose" (Stabler, 1989:810). He begins to explain some of the differences between the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal migration patterns, noting that Aboriginal people have not out-migrated southward in significant numbers, but rather "remain in the NWT during good times and bad, thus swelling the unemployed and job-wanted categories on a secular as well as a cyclical basis" (Stabler, 1989:816).

Stabler made some comparisons with the Alaskan experience finding that migration did not seem to have been as important for the Canadian Northern Native populations. When reviewing population change in the 1980s, Stabler found little movement by the Native population from the Northwest Territories. He found that migration of the non-Native population in the Northwest Territories was influenced by changes in economic conditions, but that these economic conditions had limited influences on the Native population. He concluded that the main differences between the Alaskan and Canadian experiences likely reflected differences in the costs and benefits of migrating, and not differences in migration preferences. Unlike the case in the Canadian Arctic, Alaska's cities and villages exist in relatively close proximity to each other, and they also have relatively larger Native

populations than in Canadian cities. These conditions make both the economic and social costs of rural to urban migration lower in Alaska than in Canada. Stabler also suggested that out-migration rates from rural areas would vary with levels of education. Limited education decreased the probability of getting permanent employment, and therefore decreased the benefits of migration (Stabler, 1989).

Other studies looking at Native youth in Alaska have shown that indigenous youth are migrating for similar reasons to those in the Canadian Arctic. Seyfrit et al. (1998) focus on Aboriginal populations in rural communities in Alaska. They analyze the aspirations of youth, primarily regarding education and whether or not they intend to attend college or not; an extension of earlier research by Hamilton & Seyfrit in 1993. Seyfrit et al. discuss a concept called the 'cultural tool-kit', whereby individuals have a collection of cultural knowledge and experience (habits, skills, stories and world-views) that have been acquired through everyday life in families, schools, social networks, and neighbourhoods. Beyond one's ethnic identity, the tool-kit shapes one's sense of a desirable future (aspirations). For some Alaska Natives (particularly those surrounded by elders who have not experienced formal education), ideas such as career, city life or post-secondary education may seem foreign. Other goals and outcomes, such as traditional skills or life closer to home, are valued more highly. Youth who decide to move away are stepping away from the familiar, demonstrating openness to acculturation; Seyfrit et al. hypothesize that this willingness has been affected by the individuals' family background and expectations; in essence, their 'cultural tool-kit' (Seyfrit et al., 1998: 346-7).

In 1992, Seyfrit and Hamilton surveyed students in 15 rural Alaskan high schools, to explore the impacts of rapid resource development on adolescents in remote Native communities (Seyfrit et al., 1998: 348). In 1995, the two researchers conducted a second survey to investigate questions raised by the 1992 study, and included modifications to the coding in order to facilitate tracking students in the years ahead (for future longitudinal studies). This created the possibility of learning how post-high

school outcomes relate to students' earlier expectations and aspirations. This time they had respondents from 19 different schools comprised of 9th to 12th grade students in four rural Alaskan districts. Seyfrit et al. focus on students' perceptions of their own ethnic identity and how this relates to migration and college aspirations (350).

Seyfrit and Hamilton collected 762 usable questionnaires from students who self identified with a particular ethnic group: Alaska Native, non-Native (mostly White, but includes Blacks, Hispanics etc.), or a combination of both, resulting with 62% of the respondents identifying only as an Alaska Native (Seyfrit et al., 1998: 351). In addition to analyzing the results by ethnicity, Seyfrit et al. also look at gender and language. They offer five different conclusions:

1. Ethnic identity affects aspirations indirectly. Young people acquire from their families concepts of what is educationally possible and desirable for them. Views favouring college are acquired more often, but not exclusively, in the context of mixed or non-Native families.
2. Gender difference in college aspirations remains significant, but cannot be explained by any of the other variables.
3. College aspirations decline with student age, even when grades and family encouragement were set as controls. This reflects increasing realism through age, discouragement or simply new non-academic goals, as students' high school careers progress.
4. Native languages exhibit an unexpected positive effect on college plans, because although some students learn these languages at home, there are new bilingual programs in the school systems that reinforce language skills, showing academic accomplishment, reflecting students' efforts or feelings of mastery at school.
5. The final conclusion was that grandparents' support for a college education is just as important as parents' support: the effect of parents' and grandparents' views is independent of how much education the parents themselves completed (358).

Seyfrit et al.'s (1998) study demonstrates that ethnicity does affect educational aspirations (but only indirectly through the cultural priorities of the individuals' family) and that gender does not have any significant effect on migration. With a focus on the situation in Alaska, their results are not directly applicable to the Canadian Inuit. As discussed later, this thesis found similar patterns.

Hamilton and Seyfrit looked at the differences between youth living in small villages in Alaska as compared to those living in larger towns in the same region. They focused only on adolescents because adolescent life choices and aspirations foreshadow the destiny of many Arctic villages. Before southern culture had an impact, a young man would “aspire to be a good hunter with a hardworking wife and healthy children. He would seek to be respected as a wise and knowledgeable member of the community. ... Beyond this, however, no other opportunities were possible” (Condon, 1987:171). However, as Euro-Canadian culture began to be influential, a myriad of choices became available to Inuit youth, and they gradually became “more like adolescents in the South for whom making future life plans assumes critical importance even before the completion of high school” (Condon, 1987:171).

The methodology in Hamilton & Seyfrit’s (1993) study is similar to that in Seyfrit et al.’s (1998) study, with several researchers in common and a similar timeframe. Also looking at Alaskan youth, Hamilton & Seyfrit’s research included a survey covering high school students in 15 rural Alaskan communities (10 in the Northwest Arctic Borough and 5 in the Bristol Bay region) (256). They mailed bundles of questionnaires to the school principals in those 15 communities, and the principals took responsibility for administering questionnaires to students in grades 9 - 12 during March and April of 1992 (258). The surveyed students were of mixed ethnic background, but because of their age they constitute a useful comparative group for this thesis research. “The high school surveys tell us what currently enrolled students expect to do after finishing high school” (259). In order to compare their expectations with actual postgraduate experiences, Hamilton & Seyfrit also collected data from people who graduated from these same schools between 1987 and 1991. After training six local residents to be interviewers, they conducted 144 interviews with Bristol Bay graduates and 68 Northwest Arctic graduates, obtaining 54% and 12% response rates respectively which were “too low, especially in the Arctic, to claim representative samples, though on major points the graduates’ data agreed with our

student survey results” (259). Therefore, by combining both quantitative and qualitative methods (surveys and interviews), they were able to reach various conclusions about youth out-migration.

The results from Hamilton & Seyfrit’s study show that out-migration opens up opportunities for those who choose to leave, while at the same time, it “impoverishes the communities left behind, as it draws off energetic young people” (1993:260). They also found that the likelihood of expecting migration increases curvilinearly with community size. Another finding in common with other migration studies is that young women and college - aspiring students disproportionately expect outmigration. However, with regard to gender there was one unexpected finding: female students more often reported that they hoped to move permanently out of their home region, and furthermore, female high school graduates were more likely to have actually moved away from their community post-graduation. With these differences among migration patterns within Alaska, the acculturation and life prospects of its inhabitants are affected by this differential migration, which in turn “shapes the demographic profile of Alaskan villages, towns, and cities” (255). This mixed-methods study was very important to the formulation of the methodology for the current thesis.

The situation in Alaska (and even that of the Alaskan Inupiat) is different from that of the Canadian Inuit. Therefore, even though the Alaskan studies dealt with similar subjects and demographics, the differences between the two groups are large; not only in terms of nationality, but also in terms of economic status, environment, physical proximity between communities, and more. This spectrum of micro and macro variations makes it implausible to project the results of these Alaskan studies onto the Canadian Inuit for purposes other than comparison.

There have been new projects that attempt to better understand the migration patterns of the Canadian Inuit as well as other circumpolar ethnic groups. An excellent example is the *Survey of living conditions in the Arctic* (referred to as SLiCA), which compares Inuit with other indigenous populations

living in the Arctic (Poppel et al., 2007). SLiCA is an international joint effort of research and indigenous people to measure and understand living conditions in the Arctic. In particular, it has three goals: to measure living conditions in a way that is relevant to Arctic residents; to document and compare the present state of living conditions among the indigenous peoples of the Arctic; and to improve the understanding of living conditions to the benefit of Arctic residents. The SLiCA survey includes questions about migration habits (discussed in detail in Chapter 2 of this thesis), as well as additional questions that attempt to address the motivations for movement between communities. While it does address issues of migration, the survey does not include a focus on Inuit youth, nor is it heavily explored.

There are many different issues that contribute to changes in the Canadian Arctic, and the following discussion will examine some of the push and pull factors felt by youth and adults alike, as well as community well-being. Community well-being not only affects those in the community, but also those living outside of the community, either increasing or decreasing one's desire to migrate. Both Iqaluit and Ottawa can be associated with push and pull factors, which affect and create or diminish community well-being.

The following push and pull factors have been identified by R.A. Malatest and Associates Ltd. (2002), and were found in relation to youth migration from rural to urban centres. The problem is that in the Maltest study most of the youth were from rural communities below the 60th parallel. Therefore, there are likely motivations to migrate particular to Northern communities that have not been illuminated in their study. According to R.A. Malatest, the top reasons for moving to an urban centre are based around education, employment, family-related issues, the need/want to 'get away', and access to amenities¹² (R.A. Malatest, 2002:16).

¹² Appendix D, Chart 3

Using Kishigami's research as well as the discussion paper by R.A. Malatest, we can identify and anticipate different push and pull factors specific to Iqaluit and Ottawa. Some of the reasons youth want to leave Iqaluit are related to violence, drug/alcohol abuse, both physical and social isolation, lack of housing, and problems with human relations in a small village (such as gossip) (Kishigami, 1999; Kishigami, 2006). Other possible reasons may be lack of access to educational opportunities, employment opportunities and important amenities such as health care and other limited resources. However, as discussed in previous sections of this thesis, this youth study may not be directly applicable to Inuit populations (R.A. Malatest, 2002). Ottawa has many of the amenities and services that the North cannot provide, such as post-secondary education, variety in employment opportunities, and other factors that are direct opposites of the Northern experience. Another reason for migrating to Ottawa would be accessibility: it is the nearest large urban centre accessible by plane, and according to the Census data from 2006, 725 Inuit were residing there, meaning that Ottawa had the largest number of Inuit people in the entire country outside of the Arctic (Statistics Canada, 2006). With Iqaluit being accessible only by plane, changes in the mechanics of migration have presented themselves in the form of transportation.

As discussed earlier with regard to Conway's theory of step-wise migration, different factors pull youth back towards rural and/or away from urban communities. These include the promise of a simpler life, safety, a unique climate, small and close-knit communities and the promise of developing community upon their return, all of which may come to appear attractive in comparison to factors in an urban centre, such as overpopulation in overwhelmingly large urban centres, or the threat of culture shock (R.A. Malatest, 2002:17; Pauktuutit, 1990:14).

There are pros and cons associated with both rural and urban communities, which can be applied to movement between Iqaluit and Ottawa. Rural youth equate financial success, educational

opportunity and elevated social status with urban living, which makes Ottawa a definite lure for rural migrants (R.A. Malatest, 2002:iii). Rural perceptions of urban communities vary as most believe that rural communities provide a safe environment and a good place to raise a family, yet are perceived as lacking in employment, education and social opportunities – all are of great importance to youth (ii-iii). According to Malatest, it is estimated that only one in four rural youth who leave their community will return to the same community within ten years (3). This estimated trend was confirmed by a survey of former rural youth, with 37% currently residing in an urban centre indicating that they planned to move back to a rural community in the future (3).

In contrast to what has been found in research on the Canadian situation, Seyfrit et al. consistently found a high proportion of students reporting that they “want or expect to spend most of the rest of their lives outside of rural Alaska” (1998:352). These hopes and expectations were more widespread among females, and residents in towns of less than 10,000 people. The significance of out-migration goals is that they “express how adolescents see the desirability of life in their rural communities, as compared with cities elsewhere” while forecasting potential problems for the future of towns and villages (352). However, similar to Malatest (2002), Seyfrit et al. acknowledge that there are many youth who return to their home communities in the North, “suggesting that there exist substantial discrepancies between what they anticipate and find in the cities” (Seyfrit et al, 1998:352).

Conclusion

The studies by Stabler (1989), Seyfrit et al. (1998), Malatest (2002), and Hamilton & Seyfrit (1993) have touched on Canadian migration, the Inuit and youth, but not necessary all these particulars simultaneously. Questions that remain unaddressed include: How does one account for Inuit youth migration? Do Inuit youth display different migration patterns? Do these patterns have different explanations? The objective of this thesis is to address these questions.

After reviewing different sociological theories of migration, placing them into historical and contemporary contexts within Inuit migration; looking over the specifics of recent research as well as studies focused on youth and Aboriginals the following research question was created:

What are the different motivations behind Inuit youth migration to and from Iqaluit, NU and Ottawa, ON? How do these differ between youth living in Iqaluit and Ottawa?

There is a lack of literature on Inuit youth out-migration from the North. However, as discussed in the next chapter, by combining the results and methods of various international studies focusing either on rural to urban migration or Inuit migration between other communities, a body of knowledge was assembled and drawn upon to create a new method useful for exploring the topic of this study. The purpose of the research question is to identify the key motivations behind Inuit youth migration, and provide background in order to identify factors that distinguish between Inuit living in different communities. The research question is answered by looking at Census data and conducting interviews with Inuit youth in both Iqaluit and Ottawa.

3. Methods

The purpose of this research was to learn about the motivations behind Inuit youth migration to and from Ottawa and Iqaluit, and the effects this migration may have on Inuit communities. This chapter reviews the benefits and limits of the research methods and how the study was assembled.

Research Design

A mixed methods approach was chosen to provide insight and answers to the research question. By combining qualitative and quantitative techniques, our comprehension of Inuit youth migration would be more rounded. It would maximize responses while quantifying face-to-face interviews and qualifying Census data.

Formal and informal face-to-face interviews were the primary source of data for this research project. During the fall of 2008, I traveled to Iqaluit and Ottawa, in order to talk with Inuit youth from Iqaluit. The formal interviews were semi-structured, allowing my own questions to be presented and answered, as well as having space for open ended questions which may lead to unexpected additional follow up questions. Because I interviewed youth, I felt that this type of interview setup would maximize the responses, because it would have the structure of an interview (question: response, question: response), yet it could also be as flexible as a conversation. The more interested the respondent is, the more likely they are to respond openly and fully to the questions being asked. The responses were audio-recorded and later transcribed in order to review, analyze and obtain the most relevant information from the conversations.

Informal face-to-face interviews were also a part of the research; however, they were not recorded, and were used strictly for my own personal understanding of the research issues. These

interviews helped me to familiarize myself with the circumstances prior to the formal interviews, as well as 'pre-test' the interview questions on Inuit youth, whose results will not be documented or published. These key informants were not sought methodically as the other participants were, but more haphazardly. Interview opportunities often arose unexpectedly, because I was immersed in the city life of Iqaluit. I was able to meet many individuals that held positions that would make them important key informants (such as a high school vice principal). These informal interviews occurred only in Iqaluit, and did not exclude youth that have migrated to Iqaluit from other northern communities, as their insight is still important to understanding migration. However, because of the two research locations, the focus of the research still remains on migration between Iqaluit and Ottawa, while acknowledging the experiences and motivations of migrants from other communities.

In-person, in-depth interviews with Inuit youth who were migrants were chosen in order to elicit meaningful and personable responses to open-ended questions. As discussed in the research methods literature, being able to communicate in person can allow for greater understanding, not to mention enhancing responses to open-ended questions. I am not proficient in Inuktitut and therefore a limitation existed should I have needed to conduct an interview with a non-English speaker. However, given the research demographic (not interviewing elders, many of whom do not speak English), the need for a translator was seen as minimal.

Originally, I hoped to establish connections with youth-based organizations in Iqaluit, allowing me to contact the community at large, explaining what the research was about and announcing when I intended to conduct the interviews. However, the Makkuttukkuvik Youth Centre was the only organization that responded, but was hesitant to commit until I could visit the actual centre. I used a combination of snowball sampling and quota sampling techniques (both are nonprobability samples) to collect the rest of my participants. Snowball sampling involves using referrals from participants to find

more participants, and then referrals from them, and so forth in a manner similar to a snowball rolling down a hill, gaining in size and momentum (Neuman, 2003:211). Quota sampling involves finding a preset number of cases in each of several predetermined categories that will reflect the population (such as age and gender) (Neuman, 2003:211). This is because of the expectation that it would not be easy to find youth willing to respond to a simple advertisement or posting at a variety of different youth related locations (such as sports camps, skate parks, Inuit organizations and private companies that hire youth) and word of mouth regarding a new study being conducted on social migration.

Secondary sources for this research came from statistics. In November, 2008, I had access to the COOL RDC (Carleton, Ottawa and Outaouais Local Research Data Centre), where I compiled quantitative information based on the 2001 census data from Statistics Canada. I aimed to discover if there exist correlations between age, gender, economic status, education and whether or not they have relocated to either Ottawa or back to Iqaluit. This information helped to support the qualitative research conducted in Iqaluit and Ottawa, giving quantitative support to the different motivations suggested by the research participants.

For the purpose of this study, migration is defined as relocation to another community for a minimum of one month, for reasons other than recreation and leisure. I broke up the age categorization into three: 15-19, 20-24, and 25-29 years of age. This is similar to other studies such as a Rural Youth Study conducted by Malatest (R.A. Malatest, 2002:iii; Dupuy, Mayer & Morrisette, 2000:3). The goal was to have a minimum of two (2) respondents for each subcategory. Of these two respondents, I aimed to have one of each gender. With three male respondents and three female respondents, it would ensure that I get equivalent responses from both genders, to eliminate any disproportionate bias. I also hoped to have an equal number of respondents from Iqaluit as in Ottawa. Equal sample sizes

between Iqaluit and Ottawa are essential, as they would be the basis of comparison between the two different groups.

After looking at the various ways of defining youth, I conclude that the chronological measurement (between the ages of 15 and 29) is the most practical for this particular research thesis. Although very important to the research, variations in the measurement of youth should not be the only description of the youth theme. Norms and values shape each individual through acculturation; whether it is exercised from within the individual, or imposed upon them by external forces (see discussion of colonialism). Society's expectations of youth must also be considered from both cultures' views: Inuit and Qallunaat¹³.

Decolonializing Methodologies

It is important to acknowledge the existence of issues that come with conducting research on Aboriginal populations. Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) examines the base of Western research, while also describing research projects focusing on particular indigenous groups, and sets an agenda for the decolonization of research methodologies. With Aboriginal peoples being viewed as a special group in terms of research ethics, the background information provided by Tuhiwai is important, despite her focus being on Maori tribes, with no mention of northernmost indigenous groups such as the Inuit.

Research practices based on positivism lead to explaining and understanding the natural and social worlds in terms of measurement (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999:42). By having our understandings of the world reduced to issues of measurement, the quest for operational definitions of phenomena that are reliable and valid increases in importance (42). Standardized research methods have enabled research to be conducted and validated across the world; however, these methods are based on Western

¹³ Qallunaat is defined as someone of origin other than Inuit, typically of European descent (Tester & McNicoll, 2004:2627).

practices and ideologies. Indigenous populations often refer to 'white research' or 'outsider research', when the researcher is trying to further academic knowledge on a particular group of 'Others' (42).

Western research is more than just research that is located in a positivist tradition. It is research which brings to bear, on any study of indigenous people, a cultural orientation, a set of values, a different conceptualization of such things as time, space and subjectivity, different and competing theories of knowledge, highly specialized forms of language, and structures of power (42).

In Canada's history, research has been conducted on indigenous groups without their consent, as well as without consideration for their needs and wishes. By decolonizing methodologies through objective research, it is hoped that academic research will become mutually beneficial for the researchers and their indigenous participants, while also developing indigenous people as researchers.

Ethics

In seeking ethical approval for the project, there were various steps that had to be considered: the territorial government needed to have input into the research project before they could approve it and all of the associated documentation (consent forms and cover letters). Several stages of the project were subject to revision and cooperative editing processes with members of the approving governing bodies. Additionally I needed approval from the Lakehead University Research Ethics Board. Having read the 'Ethical Principles for the Conduct of Research in the North' in preparation of the research, I applied for a Scientific Research Licence as put forth by the Nunavut Research Institute (NRI). Once both of those approvals had been obtained, then a research licence from the Nunavut Research Institute could be issued. Coordinating all of this required that I engage in repeated communication with the offices of Nunavut Tunngavik Inc. (NTI), and Nunavut Research Institute (NRI) over a period lasting several months. Consequently, the start date for this research was delayed from May 2008 until September 2008.

Outweighing risks with benefits was essential and although the benefits were not necessarily for the individual, but for the greater northern communities, the participants could still benefit from sharing their experiences, and having the opportunity to express their desires, and motivations for wanting to leave their communities (or wanting to return). The only anticipated risks were related to the age of the participants. Youth is a time when individuals are at risk from negative peer pressure, alcohol and drug use, as well as other phenomena such as depression and suicide. Because the interview questions inquired into their migratory decisions, the interviews carried the potential to stir up emotions that could make the respondents uncomfortable; for example, if the individual left their community because of physical abuse. Mindful of the vulnerability of the individuals being interviewed, the interviewer took every precaution to let the participants know that they were volunteers and could leave the study at any time without penalty. Additionally, information on counsellors and different groups was made available in order to assist any individuals that may have experienced negative effects from participating in the research. However, as expected, only positivity was expressed by the participants once the interviews had concluded. With regards to confidentiality, the names of the interviewees in this research have been replaced with pseudonyms, to ensure confidentiality and uniformity throughout the study. A cover letter informing the participant of the purpose of the study, as well as potential risks was issued, along with a consent form that had to be signed before the interview could begin. I also let him/her know that as a researcher, I adhered to the Tri-Council Policy Statement on Research Ethics involving humans, as well as the additional organizations (NTI, NRI) that I obtained approval from. I feel that the benefits of this research for the participants, the community at large and the advancement of knowledge strongly outweighed the potential for risk associated with this study.

Role of the Researcher

The researcher is supposed to be as objective as possible, leaving personal prejudices and biases behind when working on projects. However, human beings are still subjective no matter how hard they try, which is why it is important not to remove those pre-formed ideas, but to acknowledge them so that readers know that the study was conducted by researchers aware of their own misgivings. Bias is inevitable, so transparency in the research is important.

An interesting point to bring up is how both the interviews and statistics could be manipulated by the researcher. As shown in the observations, some respondents may have been misled into believing that youth migration is an issue, through diction used in the interviews, as well as the mere presence of a researcher. This gives additional weight to the idea that youth migration is an issue. With regard to the statistical data, the way that the data sets were constructed, and how the sample was chosen can show how the data could have been shaped by the researcher. The reasoning behind the construction of the data sets will be discussed in later sections, detailing why certain parameters were chosen. The hope of this study was to look at youth migration from multiple angles in order to improve the understanding of it, as well as to discuss some of the issues that came from this multi-faceted research project.

Some of the comments that participants like David Johns and others made are not only interesting as direct quotes from Inuit youth, but also to analyze as led responses. Researchers have the ability to shape an interviewee's response, by using particular diction, phrasing, and order of questions. This can be used in purposeful ways, such as by asking a participant what their motivations for migrating might be *before* prompting them with the existing motivations identified in existing literature. However, in the example of DJ there are certain questions which, although written in the interview guide in specific manners that were accepted by the treaty organization (NTI) were delivered in slightly different forms throughout the structured conversations. This shows the ability of the researcher to

unconsciously demonstrate their own assumptions, biases and points of view. One of the last questions asked of DJ was *“What changes do you see happening in the future to communities like Iqaluit and Rankin, because of youth leaving here to go to Ottawa? What do you think is going to happen to places up north?”* What is noticeable through this question is the researcher’s assumption that youth are in fact leaving Iqaluit for Ottawa, and through previous interviews with other community members in Iqaluit, similar guided responses were attained. Different community members (whose interviews were not transcribed) as well as the eight interviewees could have been led to the belief that Inuit youth migration is a significant issue (positive or negative), simply because of the existence of a researcher wanting to look into the topic. One reason for the researchers’ own assumption that Inuit youth migration was a marked issue was due to only having accessed the Research Data Centre (COOL RDC) in Ottawa to analyze the 2001 census data after having conducted most of the interviews in both Iqaluit and Ottawa. By reversing this, it would allow for greater knowledge of the topic at hand (that youth are not migrating from Iqaluit to Ottawa in a statistically significant way) as well as improve the methodologies of additional exploratory research on social migration.

Interview Guide

The in-depth interview took between 35 minutes and an hour and a half. The questions were open-ended in order to maximize participant response, allowing them to discuss and elaborate on their perceptions of migration and/or personal experiences. Besides basic demographic questions (age, sex, ethnicity, etc.), I explored topics such as migratory history as well as their views on migration, both northern/rural and southern/urban communities, and the potential effects of leaving or returning to their home communities. The participants could choose to talk about additional topics of their choice. The complete interview questionnaire has been attached as Appendix C. These questions were posed in order to add to the understanding of Inuit youth migration and the factors that affect the decision

making process. The questions were developed by the researcher in conjunction with Chris Southcott and the partner organization, NTI. All the groups would have their questions answered, and most importantly Inuit youth would be discussing an issue that they had not been asked about before. The additional topics beyond the questionnaire varied depending on who was being interviewed: youth or key informants. Certain candidates steered conversations to talk about some of the themes set out in the literature, discussing colonialism, Inuit history, as well as other more personal anecdotes that could not have been anticipated. These added areas of interest provide a broader picture, instead of the concepts and themes created by the researcher and partners. The interviews were all conducted in English; however, the cover letters, consent forms and other supporting documentation leading up to the interview were available in both English and Inuktitut. Since most youth are taught English through public schooling, an oral translator for the interviews was not deemed necessary.

Due to Iqaluit being the first location in which the interviews were conducted, all the interviews were conducted similarly, without pre-meditated revisions to the questionnaire. The interviews in Ottawa were structured slightly differently from Iqaluit, as some of the questions had been modified and reworded for clarity, as well as per recommendations and feedback made from the previous participants in the Iqaluit portion of the study.

Recruitment Process

Sampling: Iqaluit

In Iqaluit, I sought to recruit six participants (three male, three female) through Inuit organizations and centres within the city. Snowball sampling allowed me to find participants through key informants that were willing to volunteer to participate in the research. In Iqaluit I set up interviews with key informants; individuals who are completely familiar with the culture, and have lived

in the north long enough to be able to comment on the issues that this study wishes to discuss (Neuman, 2003:394). These conversations helped to ‘flesh out’ the statistical picture generated by the census data in Ottawa, while providing meaning and possible explanations for the results (Seyfrit et al, 1998:350). The time period in which I visited Iqaluit was just before the Canadian federal election in 2008, so I was fortunate to attend rallies and debates with the major political parties (Conservative, Liberal, NDP and Green parties), resulting in making an acquaintance that would later become an interviewee.

After arriving in Iqaluit with ethics approval and a research licence, I was able to find a few individuals who would prove to be interesting interviewees by connecting with the people at NTI who had helped review the questionnaire. I was introduced to the director of the Makkuttukkuvik Youth Centre, where I spent several weeks casually visiting with youth, participating in special activities and workshops. After several weeks of visiting the youth centre, only one youth older than 18 was willing to be interviewed (parental consent forms were given out to several others under the age of 18, but were never returned preventing me from interviewing them). We scheduled an interview at the youth centre, but on the scheduled interview date, he was unable to appear because he had been banned from the youth centre for gambling on site. NTI also helped by assisting me in compiling a list of individuals that would be good to connect with for interviews. Without access to a phone, I primarily found the people on the lists by visiting their workplaces such as the high school and social services organizations. I found some interviewees on my own as well, but often they were referrals from a key informant.

Sampling: Ottawa

I sought to recruit another six participants (three male, three female) through various Inuit cultural centres and Inuit organizations working within Ottawa. Similar to Iqaluit, I used snowball sampling to find participants through key informants. A difference was that I was pointed in the

direction of several organizations in Ottawa by recommendation from key informants and participants in Iqaluit. The most mentioned was Nunavut Sivuniksavut¹⁴, a post-secondary program for Inuit youth that includes cultural teachings as well as traditional university/college courses and programs. In Ottawa, I conducted three interviews there, as well as held an informal interview with the program coordinator. The program coordinator and my family share a connection, as we had both lived in Thunder Bay, ON. Because of this, I was shown around the facility and introduced to the students as an “old family friend”. These introductions led to participants at NS, as well as connections with other Inuit across the city (former NS students and graduates). I also visited the Tungasuvvingat Inuit Centre, where I volunteered at an Inuit feast that they hosted, and conducted one more interview with a regular visitor to the centre.

Participant Characteristics

All names used are pseudonyms, in order to ensure confidentiality and comply with ethics guidelines. English names were given, because of an unfamiliarity with Inuit names and how well they would protect the identities of the participants.

Iqaluit

David Johns

The first interview conducted in Iqaluit was with a 20 year old male, DJ, who was born in Churchill, MB, but raised in Rankin Inlet. He was a first year student attending the Nunavut Arctic College. Both his parents and his one younger sister reside in Rankin Inlet, with his mother working for the government in education. DJ was an interesting character because he was one of the only respondents that had traveled to Ottawa and Churchill (several times) for medical treatment, which in his case was a broken arm that had not healed properly. This was due in part to his excitement and anticipation in wanting to participate in sports, leading him to prematurely remove his cast against his

¹⁴ Hereafter referred to as NS, or the NS program

physician's orders. Both DJ and another respondent Natalie Portelance were the only ones that had not lived in Ottawa for a period longer than one month, however, both had traveled to Ottawa on more than one occasion.

Steven Jordan

The next interview conducted was with another 20 year old male, SJ, who was born in Northern Quebec [in the recorded interview the city name was inaudible], but was raised in Igloolik, NU. He had previously attended Nunavut Sivuniksavut in Ottawa as well as the optional 2nd year of the program. His family includes both his parents, two younger sisters, and two daughters, ages 1 and 3. SJ was an important respondent, because he was the only one that had children, as well as being a single male parent (which is inherently interesting in itself). He had been living away from his parents for 3 years, when he started the NS program, living with his first daughter (she was born on his high school graduation day, and only 2 months old when he moved to Ottawa). His parents worked as an air ticket agent for First Air and a manager of Northern Store, and his heritage is a blend of Inuit and Irish.

Cassie Kennedy

CK was a co-worker of SJ's, and had even attended Nunavut Sivuniksavut, although several years before. She was the first female interviewee, as well as the oldest overall at 27. She was both born and raised in Pangnirtung, NU. Her family consists of two older sisters and a younger brother, with all having significant age gaps between them. Regarding living situations, her case was interesting: her father (working in the film industry) and brother were living in Halifax, NS, while her mother (enrolled at the Nunavut Arctic College) was living as her roommate in her current residence in Iqaluit. She identifies as Inuk, but her ethnic background also includes Scottish, Black, Irish, Basque, and Hungarian ancestry. CK is the regional youth programs coordinator at the regional designated Inuit organization for the entire Baffin Region, and is no stranger to traveling, with family visits, artistic engagements (as far as Japan)

and additional work-related conferences and networking. She currently has a very select and close group of friends, while also maintaining relationships with acquaintances and other friends. Her reasoning for this divide is to remain positivity, as when she was growing up she “had a lot of enemies, and there was a lot of conflict, and I was very hard to get along with.” Small town northern living means that the inhabitants are more likely to encounter stressful interactions, because of living in close quarters in a limited number of overpopulated housing compounds. We will see through some of the interviews that drama between residents is not only a common occurrence but also a reason to ‘get away’.

Natalie Portelance

NP is a 20 year old female, currently living in Iqaluit, living in the residence of the Nunavut Arctic College, where she is in the first year of an Environmental Technology degree (the same as DJ). She was born in St Catharines, ON, but grew up in Taloyoak, NU. Her family consists of both parents as well as a twin brother, and as we will see with many of the other female interviewees, she gets along very well with her mother, considering her as a ‘best friend’. Her mother is employed by the school in Taloyoak (roughly 300 students enrolled), while her father works with the territorial development corporation. Her ancestry is English and Italian on her mother’s side, while Irish, Scottish and Inuk on her father’s side (the importance of her heritage will come into play in discussions later on). In terms of employment, her last paid job was working at a hotel in her home town of Taloyoak during summers, but she currently works as a full time volunteer with the National Inuit Youth Council, which she has been doing for 4 consecutive years. She worked her way up to the position, getting involved in youth groups, youth councils, and more starting at the school level, eventually working through community, regional levels until reaching the national level. As mentioned before, she is currently studying at the Nunavut Arctic College, but she did also complete the first year of the Nunavut Sivuniksavut program in Ottawa. She

hopes to graduate in April of 2009, potentially going on to study Business Management or Law in the south.

NP describes her relationships with peers and family to be very positive; although she does point out that her friendships with people in Taloyoak have changed, with her being less able to identify with her former peers because none of them attend school or work, and all of them have at least one child. She finds that her friends in Iqaluit share her goals and values, as they have not had children, and are still in school or recently out of school and in the workforce. She also comments that the parents of her friends in Iqaluit share similar values with her own parents, who suggest that “if you want to have kids, you have to have an education, you have to have money, you have to prepare.” Within her own family, it would have been unacceptable to be pregnant, living at home at age 17 with a ‘dead-end boyfriend’. NP cannot deny that she inherited a lot of her priorities from her parents, especially the desire/need to get an education. In her own words, “standards are definitely important ... can’t tell your kid that it’s OK, when you turn 16 you can get your own house, all you have to do is pay \$40 a month with social assistance. If you hear that long enough, then it’s going to happen.” Essentially, she felt that she should be prepared herself in terms of education, work and more before bringing another life into the world.

Ottawa

Jasmine Nicholls

The one interview that had issues was JN’s, and could not be used as data, only as background information. The reason for this is that throughout the interview, her responses were interspersed with statements like “I’m just kidding”, to the point where any of the responses she was giving could be taken as exaggerated or untruthful. She also continued to laugh throughout the interview and made additional comments such as “I’m sorry, this is so bad” and more that would show that her interest in

being a part of the research was lacking. Finally, halfway through the interview, a friend (and soon to be interviewee) LT joined in and started to respond to the questions on JN's behalf. The reason for JN's lack of interest can be placed on the fact that she wished that the interview be conducted in a common area of the Nunavut Sivuniksavut building. At the beginning of the interview, all of her peers were in classes, so the area was quiet, however, as the interview progressed, there were more and more distractions, including visits from other fellow students. One of which was MB, who was present for most of JN's interview. He would intermittently leave, but was there for the majority of the time. His reasoning for being present was that he wanted to know what the questions were, so that he could decide whether or not he wanted to be interviewed as part of this research as well. Through his own interview, it was discovered that MB was self-conscious of his English speaking abilities, which may have also contributed to his curiosity and his being present during JN's interview. JN's interview was not transcribed due to the aforementioned reasons.

Lauren Tootoo

LT's was the first usable interview conducted in Ottawa. She was a 20 year old female, born in Winnipeg, MN, but raised in Rankin Inlet. She was raised by both her parents, while living with her two older brothers. Her eldest brother was mostly raised by her grandparents, meaning that he speaks Inuktitut fluently as his first language. LT herself did spend time with her grandparents, but not the same extent. An interesting fact about her identity that she brings up is her namesake. Namesaking is of the deepest and most intricate naming systems in the world. As an important traditional practice, the system is based on sauniqu – a powerful form of namesake commemoration that some people describe as a form of reincarnation (Alia, 2007:94). These names are passed from one generation to another, regardless of gender (with the single exception of Polar Inuit, who developed separate male and female names) (Alia, 2007:17). An infant is often given the name of a person within the community who has

recently died, and the baby will from then on adopt the characteristics of that individual, carrying on their existence. LT was not named after someone recently deceased, but after a living relative; her aunt. LT's aunt originally felt uncertain about being named after, since she felt that she was 'too young' and undeserving, as was mentioned previously, most names are from deceased elders. Despite being the self-proclaimed 'baby' of the family, she is currently living in Ottawa, attending the second year of the Nunavut Sivuniksavut program. She still lives with family though, co-residing with a cousin and their partner. With friendly family dynamics, both of her fully Inuk parents are employed, with her mother working for the territorial government, and her father being self-employed as an electrician. Her own employment history had her working for Health and Social Services as a human resources officer in Rankin Inlet. Both LT and her parents have expectations of her regarding post-secondary education; despite not attending university her parents (particularly her mother) have expressed their wishes that LT continue with education, stating that the degree is what she will need in order to find both work and respect.

Matthew Brown

The second interview to be reviewed from Ottawa was with MB, a 20 year old male that was born in Yellowknife, NWT, but was raised in Gjoa Haven, NU. He comes from a slightly larger family than the other respondents, because he was adopted into a family with 3 sisters and 2 brothers, yet still stays in contact with his biological family, which includes 4 sisters and 1 brother. Throughout the interview, when he refers to his 'family', he is referring to his adopted family. His family is full Inuk, with Inuktitut being his first language, and his parents are elders, but still participate in the community by sewing clothing such as parkas, ski pants, mitts and more. MB's interests lie with traditional activities, such as hunting and camping, but he has also had jobs before in construction.

Patricia Neary

One of the most memorable interviews conducted was with PN, a 19 year old female living in Ottawa, but born and raised in Iqaluit, NU. Not only was the location of the interview different, but many of her characteristics and her story separated her from the other participants. The interview was conducted at Tungasuvvingat Inuit (TI). PN was the only participant that had not yet completed high school, yet was proud when referring to her siblings that were about to pass her own grade in school. She has four brothers and is the oldest child, but in Ottawa she only has two of her brothers and her mother. Her oldest brother lives in Iqaluit, and the other one not living in the south is an adopted sibling, and his whereabouts were not mentioned in the interview. Her two brothers living in Ottawa are currently under the care of the Children's Aid Society, but she still gets to visit them, although she still feels lonely, as she was responsible for them very often as they were growing up. She was previously living with her mother, but when she lost the house, PN then spent several months traveling from shelter to shelter. She managed to secure an apartment for herself with the assistance of a women's shelter, but sadly, will be losing it soon due to damages, a topic that she was not keen to discuss. Another difference between her and the other participants is the duration of her stay in Ottawa. Many of the other students that were interviewed had either been in Ottawa for 1 or 2 years, however PN had already been there for 4 years, having moved down when she was 15. Her reason for migrating was the most powerful of all the respondents as well, having fled Iqaluit because of her mother's current partner. PN and her brothers and mother would move to a new city/town in order to escape what turned out to be a 10 year abusive relationship, with the partner using Child Tax refunds to fuel gambling and drinking addictions, as well as molestation, which occurred to both PN and her siblings. PN was also responsible for sending him to prison through calling the police, and one of her brothers had to testify in court against him as well. However, he still kept coming back, and the family decided to leave Iqaluit with the assistance of a women's shelter, having withstood more abuse. Once in Ottawa, PN still carried the burden of taking care of her brothers, due to her mother's drinking and

drug habits, eventually culminating in Children's Aid becoming involved. PN herself was a previous hard drug user, but feels positive that she no longer is, and remarks that even her current partner is supportive of the fact that she stopped, detailing a very emotional moment for both of them when she decided to put it behind her. Another tribulation that both her and her partner went through was an aborted pregnancy, due to physical trauma brought about by PN's mother. "She knows that I don't really want to be around her ... she really wanted to kill the grandchild that was inside my stomach, and it really happened."

Danielle Quaid

The final interview was conducted with DQ, a 23 year old female that was born in Iqaluit, but considers Kimmirut, NU her hometown. She was raised by both parents, as the second youngest child with 3 sisters and 1 brother. Her father (now deceased) worked as a pilot, while her mother maintains various jobs, one of which is currently in counselling services in Rankin Inlet. She considers herself full Inuk, although she recently found out that her grandfather had Scottish blood. Because of her father's job, the family was able to do considerable amounts of traveling, such as a trip to Florida that she recounts. When asked how she gets along with her family, DQ responded similarly to most of the other interviewees: "we grew up pretty close, and we're just like a normal family, just like any other family." She currently works full time at the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation, as a producer for a youth television program. As for her education background, she only spoke Inuktitut until grade 4 (when English was introduced to her school), but completed high school as well as the first year of the Nunavut Sivuniksavut program (which is how she was contacted to be a part of the research project). While attending Nunavut Sivuniksavut, she was living with two other female Inuit, one of whom was her best friend from Kimmirut, but she currently lives by herself in an apartment with her pet dog. Although she enjoys socializing, she prefers to come home after work and relax, as she is "open to meeting new

people and stuff like that, but other than that, I just concentrate on my work and if I can, I like to go home and rest.”

Summary

The participants were all between the ages of 15 and 29, and while the intent was to have an equal number of males and females for each of the three age strata (15-19, 20-24, 25- 29) for a minimum of six participants per city, the variety in respondent characteristics was not as broad as anticipated.

There were five interviews recorded with youth in Iqaluit, however, one of them was not used as data since the youth was not an Inuk. The conversation that took place with him was still taken note of for background information, to help guide the researcher into new topics to explore and more, but the data was not transcribed, since it would not be used. The other four interviews were conducted with Iqaluit youth in various locations around Iqaluit. Of the interviews, two were male, and two were female, with three of them being 20 years old, while one was 27. Similarly to Iqaluit, there were five interviews conducted in Ottawa, one of which was not used in the research. Three of four respondents were female, all with ages of 19, 20 and 23.

All of the interviewees were Inuit (of Inuit descent), and 7 out of the 8 respondents had a connection to post-secondary education. There was one participant, Patricia Neary, who had not completed high school, and was at that time in search of work, with some opportunities on the horizon. Otherwise, 2 of the interviewees were attending the Nunavut Arctic College, while 2 were attending Nunavut Sivuniksavut. The remaining 3 were no longer attending school, but were graduates of the NS program in Ottawa. The particularities of each participant will be discussed in the chapter on findings.

Overall, with only three male interviews and five females, gender became disproportionate, as well as age, with only one person fitting in the 25-29 category.

Interview Process

Two of the four Iqaluit interviews conducted were with youth living at the Nunatta residence (of the Nunavut Arctic College) where I was also boarding, and the other two were with youth employed by a government organization that develops programs for youth in the territory. The interviews were conducted at a time and place convenient for the respondent. All the interviews occurred one-on-one in private rooms without additional people being present¹⁵. In the case of Natalie Portelance in the residence, the door to her room was left open upon request of the researcher, as well as her added comfort.

Ottawa was similar to Iqaluit, in that interviews were conducted at times and locations convenient for the participant. The difference was that because increased distances and transportation issues, interviews had to be scheduled after the initial introduction. Iqaluit was more relaxed with individuals agreeing to be interviewed “whenever”, instead of “Tuesday at 5:30 PM”.

There were issues of focus, as the interview is lengthy, but most participants had relatively long attention spans and were keen to be a part of the interview process. Sometimes the discussions would stray off topic, but because of the structure of the questionnaire, we would always return to the proper theme. However, digressions were accounted for and informative as they added detail to the discussions as well as brought up new ideas that had not been included in the questionnaire. Most of the interviews were conclusive, with the researcher feeling comfortable that the collected data could be used to help understand Inuit youth migration to a fuller extent, despite the occasional skipped question.

¹⁵ The exception to this was Jasmine Nicholls’ interview which was not transcribed due to a series of additional problems. This is discussed in detail in a subsequent chapter.

There were additional informal interviews with key informants that were familiar with youth issues, such as social services case workers, the vice-principal of the local high school, several staff from the youth centre and a youth that worked at the local skate park. They were conducted similarly to the transcribed interviews, with the exception that the questionnaire was more fluid, since the key informants were the first subjects to undergo the interview process. The questionnaire was then modified to include questions and issues that the key informants discussed, as well as made to flow better after having rehearsed the question sequences.

When I interviewed participants, I used clear, plain language, and as I am also a youth, I interacted with the participants as a peer, as opposed to a researcher. In cases of Inuktitut-only as well as those that speak English as a second (or even third) language it would be beneficial to have had access to a translator. Fortunately, even in the case of someone that spoke Inuktitut and French first, they were still proficient and very well spoken in English. Even still, some of the English speaking participants were not comfortable with their level of English and asked to sit in on other interviews to determine whether or not they would be able to respond appropriately. Participants were asked for permission to have the interview audio-recorded.

Overall, interviews with eight Inuit youth were transcribed. There was a ninth interview, but it was not transcribed due to several problems that occurred during it. The details of that and the other interviews will follow in the next chapter.

Statistical Data

I collected data from the Carleton, Ottawa and Outaouais Local Research Data Centre (COOL RDC), using cross-tabulations from the 2001 Census. Logistic regression analysis was used to test whether factors such as age, sex, ethnicity or occupation predict mover/non-mover status. Working with the COOL RDC, the above mentioned categories were chosen because of their importance and

relevance to the study, not only statistically, but in the fact that they were subjects discussed in the interviews or addressed in existing research studies. Qualitative analyses are important, but statistical information would allow the researcher to quantify the number of individuals migrating between Nunavut and urban centres in any Canadian province. This data was used to substantiate the responses given by the interviewees, adding to the validity of the research. Appendices D and E contain all of the charts and tables that resulted from the cross-tabulations from the COOL RDC.

Data Analysis

Qualitative Analysis

Once the interviews were conducted, they were transcribed. Demographic information was collected in order to have a better understanding of each individual and their circumstance regarding mobility. The transcribed interviews were then reviewed several times each, collecting descriptive passages that highlighted aspects of youth migration. Because of the nature of the open-ended questions, the results of the interviews were very difficult to compare. Certain questions asked the participants to rank certain motivations for moving, in the hopes that those results could be coded and given a numerical value so that they could be used to direct the quantitative portion of the research. Unfortunately, the participants did not respond in a uniform manner, with individuals only identifying a main motivation and refusing to rank additional ones instead of placing all of the motivations into an ordered list.

Despite the issues with certain questions, the participants answered most of the questions quite well, with no particular questions standing out as difficult. Important quotes and passages from the interviews are included in the findings chapter. Regardless, face-to-face interviews are not as concrete as statistical data, which was analyzed in order to confirm or refute the various motivations that were discussed by the participants in their interviews.

Quantitative Analysis

The quantitative analysis was based around cross-tabulation outputs from the 2001 Census. After identifying several different questions from the long-form survey, bi-variate data outputs were created at the COOL RDC that would help to identify correlations between variables such as ethnicity, education and age against location.

When originally starting to retrieve the appropriate sets from the 2001 census data, several problems presented themselves. First was the limited number of respondents. Instead of analyzing Nunavut to urban areas, the original methodology aimed more specifically at analysis of migration from Iqaluit to Ottawa. However, the cross-tabulations from that specific correlation could not be released from the Research Data Centre, because of low cell counts. When tabled, a minimum value of 10 is required for every cell of the table; otherwise there are potential risks of exposing respondents' identities. Because there were so few respondents migrating from Iqaluit to Ottawa, the sample population had to be increased, forcing us to include all of Nunavut which still yielded insignificant results. Once we had also expanded the southern variable (originally Ottawa) to include all urban areas in all ten provinces, then results were achieved that could be released, but not until they underwent a rounding process¹⁶. Once the data sets had been rounded to ensure confidentiality, analysis began on results that were as complete as possible, yet, not as precise as originally hoped. The results that came from Statistics Canada did not have weights applied to them, and therefore the results are strictly from the 20% sample and are not transferable to the entire Canadian population. This is the best that can be done with migration-related issues because there is no second weight that would concern the respondents' place of residence five years before the census was taken.

¹⁶ Notice all tabled results end in either 5 or 0 digit. All frequencies are rounded in accordance with the census disclosure rules.

The following section will analyze and evaluate the statistical data collected from the COOL RDC, beginning with explanations of the definitions of the terms and variables, the tests used, and an in-depth analysis of the data sets and associated tables.

Definitions

For people moving from urban areas towards Nunavut, the sample is comprised of all the individuals who were living in an urban area in one of the ten provinces in 1996. Those that moved toward Nunavut between May 15, 1996 and the census date in 2001 are labelled as movers, while those that did not are non-movers. For people moving from Nunavut to an urban area, the sample includes all the individuals who were living in Nunavut in 1996, with movers being those that reported living in an urban centre in 2001. The definition of an urban centre goes according to the Statistical Area Classification system within the census, which groups the various subdivisions according to whether they are a component of a census metropolitan area, a census agglomeration, or a metropolitan influenced zone. For the purpose of this study, all metropolitan areas (i.e. urban centres) and constituents within the Territories have been excluded, in order to ensure that any discussions of movement to an urban centre refer to southbound migration.

The census category “highest degree, certificate or diploma obtained through schooling” was used to create the Education variable. After simplifying the original census categories into those with high school graduation certificates and a ‘none’ category, a new amalgamation category was created: Post-secondary education. This category includes all forms of post secondary diplomas, certificates and degrees, either through Trades, University, non-university, medicine, dentistry, veterinary medicine, optometry, as well as studies at both the Master’s and Doctorate levels. Within the education cross-tabulations, the only category of the three that refers to a completed degree is high school, while there are ‘less than high school’ and ‘post-secondary education’ categories that have partial completions

included within them (post-secondary can have completions, while 'less than high school' cannot without becoming the next category of 'high school completed').

Occupation was defined according to the 2001 National Occupational Classification for Statistics (NOC-S 2001), where there are 520 occupation unit groups at the most detailed level. They have summarized these into 47 major groups, and even further, into 10 broad occupational categories. Naturally, by reducing all 520 occupations into 10 categories, the distinctions between occupational groups become distorted. An example of this is the Social Sciences/Government Services/Education/Religion category, which places social scientists in the same occupational grouping as clergy, making it quite difficult to pinpoint specific occupational traits of the sample population.

Understanding the data: Chi-square test

The chi-square (χ^2) test is a "measure of confidence that a relationship between two variables in a sample also would be found in the population" (275: Bryman & Teevan, 2005). For the p (probability) value of a chi-square test, the closer the number is to 1.00, the less significant it is. Therefore, the smaller it is (i.e. <.0001), the more significant the relationship between the two variables is. The problem with chi-square tests is that they are able to inform whether or not a relationship exists, but more information is needed to qualify and demonstrate the actual strength of that relationship. The chi-square test results can only be meaningfully interpreted in relation to its associated level of significance (Bryman & Teevan, 2005: 276).

Understanding the data: Coefficient of phi/Cramer's V

The coefficient of phi and Cramer's V helps to identify the strength of these relationships, and when used in tandem with the chi-square test, can help to better understand the data outputs from Statistics Canada. Both Chi-squared and coefficient of phi/Cramer's V are used for nominal variables. The

coefficient of phi value is always between 0 and 1. If the value is between 0.00 and 0.10, the relationship is weak; between 0.11 and 0.30 it is moderate; while any value greater than 0.30 is considered a strong relationship between the variables.

The difference between coefficient of phi and Cramer's V is that Cramer's V makes understanding tables larger than 2x2 easier, as the phi coefficient will exceed 1.00 making it difficult to interpret. However, the Cramer's V and phi coefficient values are identical because the formula for Cramer's V is

$$V = \sqrt{\frac{x^2}{(N)(\min r - 1, c - 1)}}$$

Where $(\min r - 1, c - 1)$ = the minimum value of $r - 1$ (number of rows minus 1) or $c - 1$ (number of columns minus 1). To calculate V, one would have to choose the lowest value of either $(r - 1)$ or $(c - 1)$. In the case of the data, there are two dependent variables (non-movers and movers), so the minimum value will always be 1. We can then prove that in the case of this data set, the Cramer's V formula is therefore identical to the coefficient of phi. (Healey, 2005: 343)

$$\varphi = \sqrt{\frac{x^2}{(N)}} \quad (\text{Healey, 2005: 342})$$

Throughout the rest of the analysis, this value shall be referred to only by coefficient of phi, and not Cramer's V simultaneously.

Limitations

This exploratory, pilot study was not designed to offer a truly in depth look into Inuit youth migration between all northern rural communities and southern urban centres. Instead, the study focused narrowly on migration between Iqaluit and Ottawa. There were also some additional limitations brought on by the statistical analysis.

The sample population of people migrating from Nunavut to Urban areas is comprised of all the individuals aged 15 and over who were living in Nunavut in 1996. Whether or not one has migrated is shown by the individuals' current city of residence. If it is in an urban centre outside of Nunavut in one of the ten provinces, then that person is effectively a 'mover', while those who maintain a static address (or at least remain in the same city) are labelled 'non-movers'. The cross-tabulations only include responses to the question "Where did this person live 5 years ago, that is, on May 15, 1996?" instead of also looking at the respondents' place of residence 1 year before the census on May 15, 2000 (Statistics Canada, 2001). The main reason for this decision is that with census data, there already exists a full description of the census population for 1996, while there are no data from 2000, only another set of census data from 2001, which was not available at the time of this research (Statistics Canada, 2001). Also, by using the respondents' place of residence one year previous, it is possible that the results would only be describing temporary migration, instead of the more permanent migration data that the other question would have provided. This brings several problems: it eliminates multiple migrations for short periods of time, and prevents the acknowledgement of respondents who may have migrated away and returned before the next census date. This is working on the definition of migration as relocation to another community for a minimum of 1 month (as seen in the face-to-face interviews). The data presented leave us unable to effectively 'track' migration patterns by using both the '5 years ago' and '1 year ago' census questions.

There are additional concerns with this method of measuring migration, mostly pertaining to the focused youth demographic. A main reason for migration is education, and for youth of any ethnicity, post-secondary at the university level is typically 4 years, while the exclusively Inuit Nunavut Sivuniksavut program lasts 2 years at most. This means that there are youth who have migrated to further their education, but if they return to their communities once their education is complete, they may not be counted as movers for the census (depending on the date on which they have moved

initially). Previous studies have discussed the motivations and the aspirations for migrating (Hamilton & Seyfrit, 1993; Inuit Tapirit Kanatami, 2007; Seyfrit et al, 1998), while others have looked at the actual reasons for migrating (Kishigami, 2006; R.A. Malatest, 2002). Both types of studies used sample groups that they collected themselves. Working with census data allows for greater sample size, while removing the detail and ability to analyze specific data at an individual level. Census data cannot be used for longitudinal studies (except for broader studies that extend beyond the individual), which prevents us from interpreting trends over time since we cannot follow certain individuals through various stages of life.

Another shortcoming of the Census is with its definition of Aboriginal identity. The Aboriginal identity of the respondents to the 2001 census refers to those who reported identifying with at least one Aboriginal group, such as North American Indians, Métis, or Inuit. It also includes people who were registered under the Indian Act of Canada and/or a member of an Indian Band or First Nation. With this in mind, the results gathered could signify a mix of any of those Aboriginal identities. Although the majority of Aboriginals living in Nunavut at the time of the study (and in 1996) were likely Inuit, the results cannot be conclusive in distinguishing migration patterns between Inuit and non-Inuit. Additionally, there are other issues, such as a total of 30 reserves and settlements that were incompletely enumerated by the census. The populations of these 30 communities are not included in the census counts.

Conclusion

The combination of qualitative and quantitative methods was appropriate for this study, as migration is difficult to track through interviews, but even harder to identify the underlying motivations simply by analyzing Census data. Having recruited all of my participants in both cities through snowball sampling and key informant referrals, I conducted all 8 in-depth interviews in accordance with research

ethics guidelines. The data was analyzed separately as interviews and Census tables, but then combined to form correlations between the different variables. The results are discussed in the following chapter.

4. Findings and Discussion

The observations will be divided into three different sections, analyzing both the interviews and the data from Statistics Canada separately, followed by a discussion of the different themes that presented themselves through both data collection processes.

Interview Analyses

The interviews included seven sections: the participants' demographic characteristics and other background information, general migration and motivation questions, specific migration and motivation questions, questions about 'life scripts', impacts on identity, the future effects of migration and feedback. The results of the 'life scripts' section will not be discussed, since it is based on a topic discussed in an article by fellow researcher Jack Hicks. However, his idea has not yet been fully explored, so the information gathered through this research will be used strictly to add to the researcher's own personal knowledge. The feedback section will also be omitted since its sole purpose was to improve upon the questionnaire design. Through the questionnaire, the following research question would hopefully be answered: what are the different motivations behind Inuit youth out-migration from the circumpolar north? How do these differ between youth living in Iqaluit, NU and Ottawa, ON, as well as youth and adults? There was also a secondary question that arose during the planning stages, after hearing concerns from the various groups involved in the project, wondering: what effects will this out-migration have on the communities, the youth and their motivations?

Iqaluit

David Johns

DJ's motivations for migrating focused heavily on family, friends and employment, as he was already planning on moving to Ottawa for work (within Wildlife or Fisheries and Oceans branches of the

government), where he had already discussed sharing a residence with a friend. He also touched on education because of his current student status, however, he did not feel as though it would influence future moves. DJ was raised in an environment where education was highly valued, which led to his eventual migration in order to pursue it. There had also been previous occasions when he had traveled for education through training for employment purposes with airlines and more. However, family was maintained as most important, "because they're my blood. I've got their back, they've got my back. Friends; they come and go." Besides closeness with his relatives, DJ also mentioned that the person to have had the most impact on his life was a relative, who he idolizes for having achieved national success as an athlete. Although he can understand friends and family, he cannot speak Inuktitut.

DJ's most interesting comments came in response to questions about the future of Nunavut and how the territory would change if youth moved from the north to urban centres such as Ottawa. He postulated that the territory might "...lose all the youth...they'll move for education or employment, but other than that, I think they just miss their family, etcetera, and friends. Most of them will probably head back." He also thought that the north might lose youth since "everyone's getting away from Nunavut", and although he expressed uncertainty in what kind of changes will occur, he ended with "there will be changes, always." These are positive changes for the youth, he feels, but the families may not see it the same way.

Steven Jordan

SJ grew up in the family-based, close knit community of Igloolik, but wanted to escape its slow, boring pace. He eventually left for school, mainly because he wanted to get out of Nunavut for a while, but quickly found what he was studying to be quite interesting. "I'm really glad I did it. I learned a lot about myself and about my territory, and now I kind of have a new pride in my territory and want to stay in Nunavut." He left Igloolik, 'taking over his own life', which is something that he says is "not really

too common. Most people stay with their parents ... for a long time. If not, they'll move into their older sisters' or brothers' place. Kind of more difficult with the housing problem and shortage of jobs, it kind of restricts people into staying with their families longer than people down south do." Sharing his home with his young daughter, SJ always shared accommodations with 6 different roommates (all Inuit) over the two year NS program. After studying political science in Ottawa and moving back to Iqaluit, SJ mentioned that he's considering returning to the south to continue with more political science as well as finish the 4th year of Aboriginal studies.

Besides education and family, SJ clarified that now that he is older, the most important reason for migrating would be employment. There are difficulties with finding work in smaller communities so once has to move to larger centres like Iqaluit or Ottawa to find decent wage paying employment. As a single father with 2 children, "it's pretty difficult to go to school and look after your kids at the same time. That's why I put employment first, so I could raise them healthily." He usually speaks Inuktitut only and hopes that his children will continue to speak the language as well. SJ's current job has him running and developing several projects for youth in the north as the regional youth coordinator for an Inuit organization.

In his current line of work, SJ gets to interact with youth and is generally surrounded by youth issues on a daily basis. For this reason, his responses to the questionnaire section regarding the future of Nunavut and its youth are quite significant. He stated that Iqaluit is aware of youth leaving, especially for education and just getting away, as "people get tired of this town pretty quickly." There is a growing trend, he states, as it is becoming more popular for youth to move away for education and other reasons. "I think parents, at first, weren't so accepting, or didn't really want their kids to move away so young, but it's been for a few years now, I think parents and communities are realizing its helping them more than hindering. It's more accepted now these days than it was." Despite Inuit youth migration

being more accepted than before, SJ is still somewhat tentative as to if migration is a good thing for future generations. He instead suggests that temporary migration is a positive thing, mainly because he doesn't believe that the territorial government has reached its full potential in being able to take care of its citizens. "I think right now it's kind of a good idea to go down south and learn something and bring it back to the north." He even jokes that the youth that stay in the north will feel the effect of their decisions when the people that do migrate southward for education return to be employers/bosses of the non-movers. Based on the Nunavut Sivuniksavut program, Nunavut has already been affected by migration, as a lot of alumni hold influential jobs positions around the territory, which SJ identifies as an advantage to youth migrating and then returning. However, with a very young population (56% under the age of 24 in 2006, and 55% under the age of 25 in 2001), it is often difficult to really notice youth out-migration until they return home (Statistics Canada, 2006:19; Rodon, 2008:201). Finally, SJ also discusses how not all the intentions of youth migrants are positive, as in some cases they contribute to an increase in drug and alcohol trafficking into the north, affecting both Iqaluit and the territory at large. However, he reiterates that "most people that do move to the south for a while to go to school and they come back and they're able to help their territory or their family." SJ even discussed Colin Irwin's ideas of the 'ghettoization' of the Arctic in his interview.

Changes to Inuit culture in the future are some things that both SJ and CK worry about in their lines of work. Together they're developing and improving elder/youth interaction, with elders teaching youth about Inuit culture and history directly. "It's my hope that what we're coming out with and also what other people are trying to do to keep the culture strong will be enough to preserve our culture for generations." In smaller communities, Inuit culture is the base, however, Iqaluit reflects southern values, colonial goals and approval of assimilation, "but hopefully it doesn't really spread out to the other communities. If all of us that want to keep Inuit culture alive work towards it I think it will be safe." In conclusion, he states that the effects of migration are both natural and expected.

Cassie Kennedy

Like most of the interviewees, CK still speaks Inuktitut fluently. However, there are differences between the smaller communities like Pangnirtung and the capital Iqaluit in terms of language; “living here, English is used on a daily basis and everything, so I can relate more to my peers here where we go back and forth between the two languages, whereas talking to people from back home it’s all Inuktitut...it’s just a different pace from what I’ve become used to.” Despite living in the south, she maintained a connection with Inuit culture through speaking Inuktitut at Nunavut Sivuniksavut. This was an important part of her decision to migrate, based on her own personal values and goals, wanting to study at NS because “I really value my culture, I wanted to learn more about our history here” as well as “visiting family and that, I wanted to keep in touch with my dad’s side of the family and be in my little brothers’ life.” Similar to SJ, she felt that her time in Ottawa was rewarding, and that “it’s only ever been enriching anytime I’ve left and come back.” However, it wasn’t only limited to Ottawa, as her travels most recently took her to Banff, where she felt inspired as she was “surrounded by mountains...meeting all sorts of people, it’s just a different pace and a different environment. And I crave that sometimes, just for a change.” Her decisions to migrate aren’t seen in a negative light, as “it’s not like I’m leaving to get out of Iqaluit, because there’s a lot for me here”, however Banff has other rewards, such as being surrounded by other artists and creative people. She does mention that these differences aren’t inherent, but stem from migration forcing you to create new friendships, relationships and more: in Iqaluit, CK was comfortable with her family, but after she left, she had to join a new circle of friends, and that’s when she became a part of the arts/culture clique in Banff. Different communities hold different activities as valuable, where the north might see traditional activities as most important, the group she was surrounded by in Banff found art and music to be important, something that she valued as well, creating a reason to leave the north.

With regards to Ottawa, CK considers it to be her 2nd home, having spent time there as a student as well as having traveled there since birth. On top of that, her two older sisters grew up mostly in Ottawa before her mother decided that CK herself should be born and raised in the north, knowing her culture and language. Still, at least once a year they would travel back down to Ottawa, and despite all the concrete, trees and tall buildings, her familiarity with the city and the knowledge that there are many Inuit there makes it easier for her to visit and live there. "It took leaving Iqaluit to realize how much there was up here, for me, that I loved."

In the interview we discussed the 5 motivations identified by Malatest, and in CK's case, she was able to relate to all of them, however, she specifically elaborated on three: education, family related and to 'get away'. Growing up, CK didn't take education very seriously. This is not to say that she was a poor student, as she had very high scores on tests and exams, but she would not do the work in between. That being said, education does not draw her southward, it is more for things such as training and development, and other short term learning that would cause her to leave. With family, her father and brother still live in the south so "traveling back and forth is very expensive...if it weren't for family, I don't know if I'd do it as much." Regarding the desire to 'get away', she describes how she travels often enough so that she never gets to the point of where she's "dying to get out of here or anything like that," she just wants a change of pace and scenery.

One final interesting point about the interview with CK was her response to the following statement (transcribed verbatim): "What I'm doing is exploring the motivations for leaving - not necessarily *for* leaving, because that implies a negative thing" at which point she interrupted with "No." She disagreed with the researcher's comment that the word 'leaving' had a negative connotation. This can therefore show that migration is an accepted part of Inuit culture, and even if it was not readily accepted, it's still not viewed as a negative issue or problem.

Natalie Portelance

NP has done her share of traveling, having been to several cities in southern Ontario, as well as having worked in other northern communities like Taloyoak and Cambridge Bay (as a cook at a hotel and as a receptionist/accountant, respectively). She grew up speaking English, but has recently decided to learn Inuktitut. She was given opportunities to visit the south as part of United Nations conventions and other events associated with the National Inuit Youth Council. Despite her father having recommended that she go to Cambridge Bay halfway through high school to get a different perspective on education, she still asserts that her decisions to migrate were her own. From being in Ottawa, NP realized that “you have to get out of your box to realize what’s in there.” Through the Nunavut Sivuniksavut program, she learned more and more about the north and Nunavut than she had while living in the territory. At this point there came an interesting realization: many of her fellow classmates were becoming involved with Canada World Youth, which did a lot of international volunteering, making her question what will happen to the north if people are more interested in helping others internationally instead of helping to ‘fix’ their own territory. This was what helped shape NP’s decision to move back north: the feeling that if no one wants to stay and help Nunavummiut, who will? “I want to help people strengthen themselves here in Nunavut before I decide I want to go to Rwanda and save people there... I’m not saying I want to save [Nunavut] or anything, but I want to help in any way I can.” The only reason why she would migrate out of the north is for school (which she has already demonstrated), after which she would return since she does not plan on living anywhere outside of Nunavut.

When discussing her main reasons for wanting to return to Iqaluit, she came up with: the comfort of Inuit, closeness to home, education and political closeness. When she was presented with the motivations identified by Malatest; employment, access to amenities and to ‘get away’ were the only ones that did not make it into her top five reasons for migrating in either direction. However, she

did bring up another issue, race, but did not include it as a reason for migrating. "I felt like there has to be more to this life than drugs and alcohol and small town drama and pregnant people and racism." NP has dealt with racism and discrimination throughout her life, not only from peers and community members, but even from members of government. A Nunavik senator once commented "I don't think you should be here...look at you", because of NP's ethnic appearance. According to her, he felt that she was not 'Inuk enough' to be a good representative for Inuit youth. This event markedly shaped her attitude in regards to striving to make changes for Inuit youth.

Ottawa

Lauren Tootoo

Through school LT traveled to various cities in Canada for school projects, but during the summers she would volunteer with Nunavut Youth Abroad, first being sent to Peterborough to participate in recreational camps as a counsellor, followed by work in an orphanage in Botswana, Africa. She even managed to travel to Fiji to spend two months visiting with another relative and their new husband. Although she keeps in contact with peers back home, communication changed slightly after traveling to other continents, as relating experiences became more and more difficult for someone that had seen so much more than just a small town. Those that live in Rankin have a "completely different lifestyle." In some situations, she says that "different can be seen as inferior...it's not. Different is not bad." LT is lucky to have been the recipient of funding (like most NS students) to attend school in the south, partly because the government recognizes that they need young professionals working for the territory. "I had the opportunity to travel right from when I was young, but people don't have that opportunity and sometimes when you grow up in small towns, their mind[s] [are] very limited. Because of the increased transportation costs that come with living in the north, many youth will not travel without funding, therefore the fact that LT has traveled as much as she has puts her into her own

category. By attending Nunavut Sivuniksavut, LT feels as though she is an ambassador for Nunavut, and sometimes treated as a member of an elite group. "Sometimes NS is portrayed [in an elite] way, and I really think so because the students that are here graduated high school, they've done high school and they've come and they want to learn... So I think in a way that we are [elite]." With high dropout, suicide and teen pregnancy rates back in Nunavut, it is easy to understand on what these ideas are based.

With regards to migration, she discusses family, work, school and a previously unmentioned motivation to explore as being her reasons for wanting to move either to or from a northern community. Within those four, however, she makes school the most important factor for southbound migration, due to her more recent experiences with traveling as well as the additional opportunities that her education has provided her to explore the world, having been to Peru and soon again to Fiji as part of class trips with her fellow Nunavut Sivuniksavut students. For northbound migration, family is the most important reason for returning. She does not see migration as a negative thing, stating that "Inuit have always moved around", giving examples of when Inuit migrated in order to follow animals for hunting, before they were forced to be in communities and receive formal education. Regardless, her experiences with traveling have been positive, as she was able to create a new persona for herself, while still being true to her Inuk identity. In the north, the entire community would know everything about you, and have certain expectations (or lack thereof in certain cases), but when "you go down south...you can rediscover who you want to be" rather than somebody that you grew up as.

The experiences of these relations between the Qallunaat and Inuit and the problems of self-esteem, self worth, personal and collective competence and cultural integrity have affected young Inuit who are now adults (Howard & Widdowson, 1999:218). In the case of Lauren Tootoo's mother, she grew up learning that it "was very shameful to be Inuk. You very much felt that the white man ruled,

the white man was on top.” Not only was it shameful to be Inuk, but in Churchill (where her mother was raised), First Nations Indians were seen as even lower than the Inuit. When her mother married, she was originally ashamed of being with an Inuk man, but years later, she overcame the oppressive attitudes that she grew up with, realized that it was acceptable to be Inuk and began to learn Inuktitut, how to sew, and other traditional activities. Other interviewees expressed that they did not learn Inuktitut as a first language at home because of their parents’ experiences in the residential schools, where they were prevented and discouraged from speaking their native language, leading them to refusing to teach their own kin that language. LT has learned to speak Inuktitut, but was not taught from birth.

One of the final questions asked to LT were regarding the future of Nunavut with respect to changes in youth migration habits, she feels that Nunavut can benefit from youth migration, with youth leaving the north because of aspects of northern life that they do not agree with or desire, they have the mobility to travel to a new place, living and learning the differences, as well as being able to bring that knowledge of how things are run/maintained in the south in order to apply them to circumpolar circumstances. However, at this point in time, LT does not feel that the number of youth migrating is significant, nor are there any significant impacts made by them on their respective communities, yet.

Matthew Brown

MB currently resides in Ottawa, attending the first year of the Nunavut Sivuniksavut program. However, because of family reasons, he will return to the north and will not complete his first year. Upon further questioning, MB explained that he hopes that he will return to school in the future, potentially leading up to work in long-term care for seniors citizens, elders and the mentally ill. Other than living in Ottawa, MB had not traveled very far from the north, having visited many communities such as Taloyoak, Spence Bay, Baker Lake, Iqaluit, as well as having been to Edmonton, AB on more than

one occasion. With regards to migration, he says that migration is not strange to youth, but it is for the elders and parents, saying “I don’t think it’s normal for their children to leave for education, because they didn’t grow up that way.” Before the 1950’s, education was not a priority, English was not mandatory, money was not a necessity and self-determination was never an issue. Since then, communities have been created, and priorities have been changed, and ‘living on the land’ has become more of a weekend retreat from the working world.

When discussing his motivations for migrating, MB identified family, love and respect for his elders, and education, in that order. He places family as most important while education is least important, shown by his future plans to forego graduating the Nunavut Sivuniksavut program in order to return to Gjoa Haven to assist his adopted father. He is a fluent Inuktitut speaker. When looking only at southbound migration, his main motivation would be education, yet returning (northbound) is based around family. This is similar to most of the participants in the study, potentially because of their current student status, or because of a more intimate family bond that exists among Inuit families. This will be discussed more in the section analyzing both interviews and statistical data.

The future of Nunavut will not be affected much, since MB does not believe that there are significant numbers of youth leaving the north, commenting that only the population size will see fluctuations for now. Although migration may not affect the territories or provinces, by living in Ottawa, MB feels more confident, having transformed from a shy, young Inuk to a person who was comfortable enough to volunteer to be interviewed for a research project.

Patricia Neary

Having formerly worked in construction, PN is currently applying for jobs in grocery stores, a task that is much more suitable for someone with back problems. When growing up, PN was teased for her condition, to the point of being beaten up and hospitalized, which was coincidentally a reason why

she stopped attending school in Iqaluit. She did move around a bit, having lived in Cape Dorset and Yellowknife. PN enjoyed northern living, and is quite excited to either visit or live in Igloolik, the community that her current partner is from. An interesting aspect of this regional migration is that she feels that because of the differences between each and every community, outsiders are looked down upon and told that “this is not your hometown, you should go back home.” It does not make sense to PN, since “we’re all Inuit.” Regardless, she is interested in learning more about her family, as well as learning how to hunt, and other traditional skills. When it comes to moving southward, a strong desire to ‘get away’ was very prominent, as well as a need for access to hospitals (having spent 8 weeks lying on her stomach due to a large metal rod being inserted into her back with seven screws on either side).

When talking about changes in Iqaluit because of migration, PN pointed out that there are a lot more immigrants arriving in the north, stating that they probably “heard that Iqaluit is nice, and some white and black people moved to Iqaluit because they like it, and they want to live [up] there.” When discussing the south, she mentions that she has only really noticed a large Inuit population coming southward for medical reasons, with a lot of them living in the Larga Baffin house (the temporary home for Inuit that are receiving medical attention). Her own motivations for migrating are detailed above, in relation to the abuse she suffered in Iqaluit at the hands of her mother’s partner. She still has a positive attitude though, as she is intrigued by Inuit culture, the various dialects of Inuktitut (one of which she speaks), and similar to LT, she’s interested in exploring (although at more of a regional than international level). It’s interesting to see how because of one’s surrounding, they notice different migration trends: PN notices more people traveling for health-related reasons, while all the other students that were interviewed can only comment on education and other students. For this reason, it would have been preferred if more interviews could have been conducted at Tungasuvvingat Inuit, instead of primarily students. The partner of PN was also interested in being interviewed, but because of scheduling issues, it did not happen as planned.

Danielle Quaid

DQ has not only lived in Ottawa, having also spent a year in Montreal with a partner, but without finding work, she moved out to Vancouver for over 2 years, only returning to Ottawa recently. Her story of how she moved away from Iqaluit initially is slightly different than the other Nunavut Sivuniksavut students: instead of being accepted into the post-secondary program and then moving down, she was given a ticket to Ottawa as a high school graduation present so that she could go and visit her sister who was in Ottawa at that time. After living there for several months, DQ then applied to Nunavut Sivuniksavut at 18 and was accepted and co-resided with the other two Inuit mentioned earlier. Her stays in Montreal and Vancouver were similar, having no preconceived plan or reason other than to visit, eventually becoming a more permanent resident. "I wanted to experience a different life, and a different lifestyle than the one that I had in Iqaluit," because back home there "wasn't anything else for me except the same thing that happens every day", congruent with the statements of most of the other participants.

When talking about staying in a community, DQ feels that career (employment) is the biggest motivator for not migrating, followed by starting a family. On the other hand, her biggest reason for leaving a community would be a lack of purpose: "I like to have a purpose, wherever I am, wherever I'm living... if I felt like there wasn't a purpose for me there, then I would leave." Beyond the concept of 'purpose' as well as opportunities for work and lifestyle, she simply states that she likes the city, an idea that she has romanticized since she was a child growing up watching tales of city life through film and television (which also played a part in her interest in being a television producer). Being an Inuktitut speaker was the main qualification, allowing her to work at her current job in Ottawa. Although she is still attached to her hometown of Kimmirut, she is not interested in moving back there, because it was her past "and I don't see a future there." When looking at the reasons for migrating in more detail, we

discover that DQ puts the idea of opportunity as most important, while career and employment are the least important of the identified motivations, primarily “because you could always change it” if need be. When prompted with the list of motivations discussed by Malatest, education came to the forefront, after explaining that her concept of ‘opportunity’ was based on the opportunity for education and employment. She places family last, not necessarily because she values her own family less, but due to the flow of the conversation, she may have been thinking of family in the sense of starting a family of her very own, which, as a young career woman, has been clearly stated as not a priority at this stage in her life.

Touching on priorities, DQ also mentions that youth migration is now an accepted part of Inuit culture, with more youth wanting opportunities and education and going to college and university, but, it is only those youth that are motivated enough to put in the time and work to get accepted into those institutions and so on. The youth that do not leave may not have a reason to, and in her example of Kimmirut, may feel content working at the grocery store. “For me, I just didn’t see anything in my community, unfortunately.” In the future, she feels that there will always be youth in the north. In her experience, “there’s probably a handful or less of people who actually move out of there to go pursue other things.” She reiterates that youth migration is not an issue, saying that the families and elders might miss those that move on, but nothing beyond that.

Analysis of Themes

The following analysis will look at the different themes that were brought up through the interviews. The first section will look at the 5 motivations identified by Malatest, followed by a section dedicated to the other motivations that were discussed but not previously identified as the most important reasons. Finally, there will be some analysis on the expectations the interviewees felt to

migrate, as well as some thoughts on how their family background may have affected their migratory habits.

There was no definite ranking system for Malatest's motivations within this study, as some participants were willing to place all 5 as well as any additional motivations that were discussed into a nominal ranking system (by importance), while others either mentioned only a portion of the motivations, or else failed to rank them altogether, due to inconsistencies with the conversational interview process. A table has been compiled with the results from the available ranking values (*Table 5.1 and 5.2*), showing that Education was the most important reason for migrating among the sample population. This result can be seen as biased, since most of the respondents were in school, and due to sampling errors, students were selected from more 'contained' environments, such as at Nunavut Sivuniksavut in Ottawa. In Ottawa, the staff of the NS program was very helpful in pointing me to specific youth that would be interested in being a part of the study. It appeared that many of the people that were approached to either be in the study or to help point the way to interested youth felt that someone that had attended the NS program would be a good choice. The reason for this could be twofold: either the people that have experience migrating at all have gone for the NS program, or those involved in the NS are seen to have experienced migration to a different degree than everyone else (not only by living in Ottawa but by traveling the globe with class trips and more). Regardless, Inuit and Qallunaat of all ages feel positively about the post-secondary program, just as SJ comments on how the educational experience of Nunavut Sivuniksavut is culturally rewarding as well: "The youth that go down just to move away kind of usually lose their culture more than those that just go for school, especially if they go to NS, they keep their culture pretty strong, or even learn a few things in Ottawa about Inuit." Although it was important to interview many youth at NS, it feels as though the group of Inuit living in Ottawa without post-secondary education have been excluded, and that their opinions and experiences have yet to be properly documented and analyzed. PN was the only one that had not attended a post-

secondary institution yet, and her circumstances for migrating were not based on education, but on avoiding abuse. It was an interview filled with heart-wrenching accounts of hardships and strife, which was very important to learn, since all of the interviewees up until this point had been from more or less stereotypically well-off families. By interviewing more youth through the Tungasuvvingat Inuit centre, the data might have been more representative of the entire Inuit population living in Ottawa.

Employment was the second most important reason for migrating according to the interviews, which seems very natural to follow education: once a degree or program has been completed, the youth are looking for workplaces to put their newly developed skills into practice. This could be either to assist the development of Nunavut (in the case of NP, LT and others to a lesser degree), to sustain one's own lifestyle (DQ the broadcaster, and PN, currently looking for work in order help herself off the streets), or to support their own family (SJ and his two young daughters). If the sample population had been more diverse, employment could have potentially been the most important motivator, since urban living is dependent on income, as well as remote living (with elevated costs of transport, food, goods and services).

The next most important reasons (almost on par with employment) were family-related. This reason was not as prevalent for southbound migration, but for 'returning' or northbound migration instead. This is because of homesickness, wanting to return to where one's family is, and because most of the respondents traveled down south for education at an age when traveling and living by oneself is both expected and accepted, leaving their parents (and sometimes siblings) in the north. MB was one interviewee that mentioned moving back to his home community was directly influenced by family. Although he did not wish to discuss details, he was forfeiting the second half of his first year at the Nunavut Sivuniksavut program to return to Gjoa Haven in order to assist his adopted father and mother (both Inuit elders). In the case of PN, she moved to Ottawa with her mother and brothers, but due to

her relationship with her parent, she did not cite family as being a reason for migrating, focusing more on the desire to 'get away' from the north and the abusive situations that were there. However, unlike the other interviewees, she migrated to the south at a younger age, moving down at 15, an age when living with one's own parents is still accepted and encouraged, meaning that although she had expressed a desire to leave the north to her mother, the decision to move was ultimately not hers. All of the other respondents had moved down independently, while PN had made the move as a dependent with her two younger siblings. SJ was also an interesting case, as he moved down to Ottawa with his oldest daughter (the younger one would be born later) to pursue education, but with the idea in mind that with this education he would be better able to provide for his new family. He then returned to the north so that he could raise his daughters in what he deemed a better environment. In his case, both southbound and northbound migration was inspired by family.

To 'get away' was not given as an important reason for migrating by any of the respondents, especially not by the youth that had attended Nunavut Sivuniksavut and felt very confident in themselves, stating that they left the north on their own accord, to pursue education, better their own lives as well as Nunavut and so on. The majority of the respondents did not mention issues in their hometown that had forced them to leave other than PN, who interestingly enough claimed that employment was her main reason for moving southward. This can be discredited however, judging by the age at which she moved down (15) and the fact that during the questionnaire, her responses were based on "what *would* make you want to migrate to another community" either now or in the future, not analyzing what had previously occurred. This is because of the larger gap between when she had arrived in Ottawa and the interview date in comparison with the students at Nunavut Sivuniksavut. Her priorities had shifted in the four years since she had originally moved down, in comparison to both LT and MB. DQ had conversely been in urban cities for several years, but her motivations for migration were even unknown to her, as she was traveling for leisure, either visiting friends or family, and then

ended up staying in those communities for a minimum of a year at a time. The problem with the 'get away' category is that it has a negative connotation: there was a problem in their home community that had forced them away, demonstrating push factors of the rural communities instead of emphasizing pull factors of the southern communities. DJ briefly mentioned a desire to "try out a city for a change," demonstrating a positivity that differs from Malatest's motivation of 'getting away', since DJ and several others described their ambitions for leaving as being drawn to the south, whether for lifestyle or as DQ described it; "I always knew that I wanted to move into the city when I was really young, so it just came natural when I was 18 to move to the city." Another issue that many of the respondents alluded to, but did not go into great detail was the topic of small town drama. Although they did not specifically mention that it played a part in their decision to migrate, they all agreed that by moving away, one could be able to re-create their own identity somewhere else instead of being pigeonholed forever in a community where everyone knows everything about everyone else, and gossip is a strong fact of life. Therefore, they concluded that they could understand how people could be motivated to 'get away' because of issues stemming from the size and location of their remote hometowns.

The final motivation identified by Malatest was access to amenities, and it was the least important of the five for the interviewees overall. While both PN and DJ touched on their needs for access to medical services, most of the other participants referenced either food or shopping and other materialistic goods and services. Again, if the sampling population had been different, there would have been a shift in motivations: for example, if interviews had been conducted with Inuit youth at the Larga Baffin house (a facility that houses Inuit in Ottawa for medical services), then access to amenities may have been a much more important factor in their decision to come to the south. However, not all amenities are as important to sustaining life. In CK's case, a reason to travel down south (although not to move for an extended period of time) is for shopping. "I haven't bought myself clothes or anything like that here, in Iqaluit, in over 15 years, I realized. I don't shop here at all. I wait until I go south."

There was a slight resistance from some of the interviewees to mention access to amenities at all, at the risk of being considered shallow and materialistic, so that could explain why that particular motivation was not as prevalent as the others. Also, most of the interviewees were unfamiliar with the term, asking for a definition which may have led them to avoid discussing a term which they were clearly unfamiliar with. However, given the participants' responses, it can be concluded that other than for health reasons, access to amenities was not a significant motivation for moving southward for a period of longer than one month.

There were other reasons for migrating that the participants discussed, but due to the sample size, there are not enough responses to be able to compile the terms into more comprehensive groups. Therefore, the 4 additional motivations will be discussed interdependently, as some are not mutually exclusive, and encompass other motivations within their 'definitions'. Several respondents talked about opportunities in their interviews, whether they were opportunities for education, employment, travel or something else; most of them felt that knowledge of opportunities existing outside of their own community helped motivate them to leave. Similarly, the motivation to explore was also found in several interviews. Both exploration and opportunities can be traced back to internet, television and other media. Through television they become aware of what exists outside of the north (as well as within Nunavut), and the internet allows for further exploration per the individuals' own interest level. Authors like Christensen have stated that while some believe that exposure to southern media can cause a lack of identification with traditional values, he feels that "contemporary Inuit are no less Inuit because of the technologies they use, the clothes they dress in, the hunting equipment they use or because they present themselves on a global arena such as the Web" (Christensen, 2003: 16). His argument of course is referencing using the internet for self-publication and interaction, whereas some of the participants were more passive while being affected by a medium like television, such as DQ who gets "inspired really easily ... I like watching movies, I just wanted to be where they are, see what they

see, and just be that person in that movie.” Beyond technology, people living in the north were made aware of opportunities such as the ones presented by Nunavut Sivuniksavut (education and travel) by educators and friends and family members that had attended the program previously. Unfortunately, the program does not have the capacity to expand, so within the NS program there will not be much growth in terms of the number of youth migrating southwards to attend.

This ties in to the next two motivations that may affect one’s decision to migrate: closeness/sense of community and familiarity/environment. Inuit living in remote rural communities are aware of the closeness that exists among its inhabitants, and this has been seen as both a positive and negative feature. With some respondents, they discussed the cons of living in tight quarters with family and the rest of the community who knows every detail about their lives, while other respondents mentioned the closeness of family, creating a ‘home’ atmosphere as being very desirable. Both closeness and a sense of community are motivations to migrate, but primarily for returning to the north, and not moving to Ottawa. The exception to this is CK, whose singing abilities and performing lifestyle have sent her around the world, most recently visiting Banff, AB, where she became enamoured with the artistic community there. In her example, moving to Banff would be leaving the north, in order to become a part of a new group of people. Familiarity and Environment on the other hand, were mentioned by most of the participants, with both being draws towards the north, but occasionally pull factors of the south as well. In the example of familiarity, many interviewees described the difference between walking down the street in Nunavut, where they know just about everyone, to walking in Ottawa, where the overwhelming number of strangers that neither greet nor acknowledge their existence is alarming for a new resident. There are even discrepancies between northern Nunavut and Iqaluit, with SJ commenting on the fact that despite being the capital of the territory, Iqaluit is the opposite: “[you] don’t see too many Inuit, although there’s still a lot. And everybody seems a bit more separated and worrying about themselves.” This is because Iqaluit has adopted many traits of more

urban communities, a topic that will be discussed in a following section. In summary, the north contains that familiarity that the participants grew up with and are accustomed to, becoming a motivation to return to the north. SJ liked living in Ottawa, but is not the only one who enjoys “the small town feel, “living in a small town where you know everybody. I would like to move to a smaller community and bring my kids there to grow up in a safer place.” The environment motivation is similar, with many Inuit missing their home communities if only because of the major differences between northern rural and southern urban environments; the existence of trees and tall buildings that obscure the horizon, visual, auditory and chemical pollution, and more. It would seem that environment is easily a reason to return to the north, with the ability to go out hunting on weekends or other cultural and traditional activities, but for some like DQ, the desire to live in a city has been with her since she was a young girl.

The questionnaire asked questions regarding whether or not the youth felt expected to migrate, and if so by whom, but several of the respondents mentioned a greater reason to migrating, despite not stating it outright. This reason is for the greater good of their hometowns, their territory, and all Inuit. SJ explains that there are many different expectations of youth, and they depend on how well the youth did in their academic life. Pressures increase as the individual achieves success, with SJ doing well in school; therefore he was expected to keep moving on to bigger and better things, even being asked to run for one of the MLA openings. “I definitely see that if you’re a smart kid in Nunavut, you’re expected to do everything you can to help as many people as you can. You can’t really keep your talents to yourself.” Most respondents felt pressure from their teachers, parents, siblings and friends to further their education in the south, but once they were there and attending school, many developed a new motivation to be educated: to bring back knowledge that could be applied to Nunavut to help address issues as well as build the newest Canadian territory.

With family pressures adding to migration decisions, it is important to address that family background may very well contribute to the fact that the youth attending Nunavut Sivuniksavut were there at all. Students attending school outside of the territory are eligible to receive funding towards their education, and with most, if not all of the students interviewed having parents with well paying jobs or careers related to education, it is clear that the parents are able to assist their children in their vocational pursuits. To a lesser degree, it can even be argued that the parents themselves are also putting pressure on their children to excel academically, although most of the parents of the interviewees did not continue past high school, if that. LT reminds us that her mother always said she had to “work towards that degree, because that diploma, that degree will prove so much.” Unfortunately, the questionnaire did not extensively inquire into the income of the respondents’ families, otherwise certain postulations could be made. Regardless, all of the respondents (with the exception of PN) grew up in families that had enough money to travel outside of the territory with their families on more than one occasion for vacations and other recreational reasons. These tie in with the ideas that LT puts forth about Nunavut Sivuniksavut students being considered the Inuit ‘elite’. In short, she feels that the students in the program are being showcased as Inuit role models, as well as deemed Nunavut’s ‘brightest and best’. Similar to education in the south, those without funding are less likely to attend post-secondary, but those from wealthier backgrounds have access to these educational opportunities. Regardless of financial situation, Seyfrit et al found that parents’ education level is an indicator of potential family support for higher education, and something that positively affects children’s ambitions and achievements (Seyfrit et al, 1998:356). Within their study, they inquired about parents’ encouragement as well as grandparents, because in Alaska (as in Nunavut), many adolescents are raised by their grandparents, or live in extended-family arrangements where grandparents figure prominently (356).

One final theme that arose through the interviews, albeit subliminally, was that Iqaluit is a stepping stone from the north to the south, from rural to urban life. Most of the participants were from other northern communities, but had either lived or spent time in Iqaluit at some point in their lives. The idea of Nunavut as a funnel, with the small communities feeding into the capital of Iqaluit, from there flowing into Ottawa (the first connection by plane) is interesting, and explains why Ottawa has the largest population of Inuit outside of the territories (see *Table 6*). People will leave rural communities, for any of the reasons identified (and more) by the respondents, arriving either in Iqaluit or a southern centre. Iqaluit is already a departure from small town life, and SJ explains that people move away from Iqaluit for school as well as just to 'get away' because they "get tired of this town pretty quickly". In future studies, analysis of criminal records might prove interesting, as this 'funnelling' of people from the rural communities to Ottawa via Iqaluit could show that criminals and outcasts from the north end up in the 'rougher' community of Iqaluit before ending up on the streets in Ottawa. Originally an idea from NTI, it should be explored more, despite the fact that it was not discussed in any of the interviews.

Statistical Analysis

Explaining the results

This section will explain the tabled results from the Research Data Centre in Ottawa, beginning with southbound migration, followed by an identical variable by variable, table by table analysis for northbound migration. Throughout this analysis, information from the interviews will also be used to help explain and either support or contradict the information being presented by the statistical data.

Movers from Nunavut to Urban areas

The first data set "movers from Nunavut to urban areas" is comprised of all the individuals who were living in Nunavut in 1996 and who lived in a different census sub-division in 2001. The total

number of people surveyed is then divided into two categories: those who moved to an urban area in one of the 10 provinces by 2001 and those who did not.

In *Table 1.1*, the sample size was 2015, of which only 255 (12.7%) were movers from Nunavut to urban areas. Of this sample group, 1300 were Aboriginal, meaning that there are 715 non-Aboriginal people included in the data sets (see *Table 1.2*). With a chi-square test result of $<.0001$, the Aboriginal Identity variable is significant in how it affects the dependent variable of mobility. This will be discussed further, as correlations with the northbound migration data sets will show that Aboriginal identity is linked to a lower likelihood of migration. The phi coefficient shows us that there is a strong relationship between the two variables, meaning that Aboriginal identity will have an effect on one's likelihood to move from Nunavut to an urban centre. This could be explained by the larger number of Aboriginal respondents in Nunavut. This is contrasted with sex, which *Table 1.3* shows that there is an insignificant relationship between migration and sex, as well as a weak association. This is common sense (but still important to note) as migration habits are not typically dependent on one's sex. Even the number of movers is close: 125 females and 130 males.

Age Group is the most important category when analyzing youth movement in comparison to other age groups (see *Table 1.4*). The chi-square test identified that the relationship between the two variables is significant; however, the association is only moderate. The total number of movers for each age category show that people between the ages of 30 and 44 moved more (860), while youth aged 15 to 29 came second (750). This contradicted the data presented by Inuit Taipiriit Kanatami, which suggested that due to the incredibly young population of Nunavut, youth were expected to move more than adults (Inuit Taipiriit Kanatami, 2007). Outside of the 15 to 29 youth category, the other values make sense when compared to the population percentages of Nunavut; as the number of people in an age category increases/decreases, so does their likelihood of migrating (Inuit Taipiriit Kanatami, 2007).

People between 45 and 59 were even less likely to migrate (335), while seniors 60 and over moved the least (70). The values for 45-59 and 60+ are not surprising: the older an individual gets, the less likely they are to relocate to another community. This is for a multitude of reasons such as career placement, family life, and access to goods and services, not to mention those that are living in retirement homes. This point is important, because the total number of people 60 and over in Nunavut as shown by the data is only 55, which is 2.7% of the sample population, meaning that there are not many elderly people living in the north to begin with. The fact that the 15-29 age category had fewer movers (a difference of 110 people, or 6.8%) is vaguely surprising. However, the additional tables and data sets will be able to explain this difference (see *Chart 6*).

Education was one of the main motivations described by both Malatest as well as the interview respondents. Education as a variable proved to be very significant; however its association with migration is only moderate, with a phi coefficient of 0.1635. Some aspects of *Table 1.5* that are of note are that post-secondary education had the highest numbers in both non-mover and mover categories. Within the mover category, we can further explain that people with post-secondary education are more likely to be movers, with a value of 200, in comparison to those with less than a high school education which only had 40. What is most interesting about this data set is that people that have completed high school are least likely to migrate. This could be explained by the fact that the dropout rate for high school students is very high, with 57.7% of Inuit adults not having completed their high school studies, as shown by demographic analyses of the entire Nunavut population (Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2007:8). Therefore, there are fewer youth in Nunavut that are attaining their high school diploma, leaving them unable to find work in the north, where employment is already scarce, with the few jobs that do not require education already taken, the former students are left with little option but to relocate to try to find work or a place to live with family/friends. Similarly, students that have completed post-secondary education were likely already in an urban setting for school and have migrated in order to take

advantage of other opportunities for education, work or lifestyle related options (hobbies, friends, family, etc.).

Occupation is more complex than the other tables because of the greater variety of columns, and the way that they were categorized (see *Table 1.6*). For example, it does not seem to make much sense by combining various occupations into one group such as people working in the Social Sciences/Government Services/Education/Religion fields. Similarly, it also seems counterintuitive to group such seemingly distinct occupations while isolating others such as Supervisors in Trades and Transportation into their own category. With chi-square results and phi coefficient values almost identical to *Table 1.5* (Education), occupation is also significant when it comes to migration, yet only had a moderate association (phi coefficient of 0.1600). The occupation with the highest number of movers falls under Sales and Services at 50, with Social Sciences/Government Services/Education/Religion coming next with 40. This could be explained by the fact that both 'categories' are so broad that a multitude of different occupations and careers fall within their broad categorizations. Sales and Services makes more sense as there are generally more jobs available within the Sales and Services areas, with examples given by the interview respondents who stated that the only jobs available in their home communities were at the local grocery store or gas stations. Therefore, by growing up with those as the only options, individuals are more likely to seek out those types of employment opportunities once they arrive in an urban community. Match that with the fact that the odds of a good education are not high, migrating Inuit are more likely to have credentials that only apply to jobs within the Sales and Services categories. Finance and Administration jobs had 30 movers, with Supervisors in Trades and Transportation coming in next with 25. Management, Natural and Applied Sciences, and Health all had 20 movers, while Arts/Culture/Sports and Manufacturing both had 10. Finally, the only occupation to have 0 respondents is Natural Resources, while 30 people did not move. This can easily be explained by the abundance of natural resources already being developed in the north, that people in that profession

would have absolutely no reason to leave their communities for work when it already exists in relatively close proximity. It has already been shown through previous research that young rural workers are more likely than urban youth to be employed in agriculture, forestry (irrelevant beyond the tree-line) and mining, where natural resources are predominant (Dupuy et al, 2000:4).

Movers from Urban areas to Nunavut

The 'movers from urban areas to Nunavut' set is comprised of all the individuals who were living in an urban area in one of the ten provinces in 1996. Similarly to the southbound data set, the dependent variables are those who moved to Nunavut by 2001 and those who did not.

Because of the now substantially larger sample population, the percentage of people from urban communities in Canada moving to the Arctic is not very large in comparison. Had we looked at movers from any of the ten provinces, from any community (not just urban areas), these values may have been more representative. The sample population is 4,693,700 people, of which only 1520 moved to Nunavut, or 0.03% (see *Table 2.1*). Of that migrating population, only 225 identified themselves as Aboriginal, meaning that the other 1295 were non-Aboriginal (see *Table 2.2*). The chi-square test shows that similarly to the southbound migration data, these variables are significant, but still weak in association. Of all the 1520 movers, there is close to an even split between males and females; 770 and 750 respectively (see *Table 2.3*). Although the chi-square test result is smaller than the southbound sex data set, it still shows that the variables' relationship is insignificant, and has a very weak association.

When comparing Age Groups, *Table 2.4* is different from all three other data sets in that youth between the ages 15-29 are the largest group of movers. This matches the initial idea that youth are more likely to move due to various factors that grant them mobility, such as expectations of traveling for education, as well as a lack of things that would make them more likely to stay in one location, such as raising a family. However, these points are not congruent with the data, as this set of data is still looking

at northbound migration. Even then, the difference between 15-29 and 30-44 is only 15 respondents. Similarly to southbound migration, the 45-59 and 60+ categories showed fewer movers than the other two, with 350 and 45 movers, respectively. As the chi-square test result shows, the relationship between age and moving is significant, but the association remains quite weak.

Table 2.5 (Education) again shows very similar trends to southbound migration, with those with post-secondary education having substantially more movers than the other two categories (1225). Also in likeness of the southbound data sets, those without a high school diploma moved more than those that did complete high school. The biggest difference between this northbound data set and the previous southbound one is the strength of association between education and moving: in the southbound sets there was a medium strength association, but when looking at the northbound data, it is very weak (0.0099). However, both directional data sets had equivalent chi-square results, indicating a significant relationship between education and moving.

Occupation shows some similarities between southbound and northbound migration (see *Table 2.6*). Both data sets show similar patterns in which occupations have most and least movers. Those with the least are Natural Resources (0), Manufacturing (10), and Arts/Culture/Sports (40), while the occupations with the most movers are Social Sciences/Government Services/Education/Religion (325) and Sales and Services (285). Chart 7 shows the similarities between the two mover data sets and shows that while Sales and Services had the most movers in southbound migration it came second in northbound migration. Another interesting note is that both data sets have identical values for both natural resources and manufacturing. With a much larger sample size for northbound migration, it truly is odd to find values of 0 (natural resources) and 10 (manufacturing) when the non-mover values are well above 100,000. A lack of migrants within manufacturing can easily be explained by the lack of manufacturing plants and facilities in the north, due to higher costs of shipping, supplies, raw materials

and labour. It was mentioned in the southbound discussion that the occupation group of natural resources showed no out-migration due to developments of natural resources in the north, however with this new northbound data we can see that there is no one coming into the north for this occupational category. Therefore, either the category definition is too narrow, or the few that remain in that field (all 30 of them, see *Table 1.6*) have not had to make any changes, such as hiring or transferring. Finally, the chi-square results tell us that the relationship between occupation and moving is significant, but once again the phi coefficient shows that it has a weak association.

Data Summary

Chi-square tests found significant differences between movers and stayers, with respect to all variables except sex. This holds true for both the southbound and northbound data sets. When analyzing the phi coefficients, we see that all of the northbound tables show weak associations between all of the variables and moving, while in the southbound data, Aboriginal Identity has a strong association, sex has a weak association, and all the other variables (age group, education, occupation) display moderate associations to moving. This supports the interview data, where sex is not a contributing factor to migratory decisions, yet non-Aboriginals are more likely to move southward, even though they make up a smaller percentage of the population. This is because as non-Aboriginals, they are likely to have been born and raised outside of Nunavut, therefore migration southward will not be their first move. Exposure and familiarity with moving makes the individual more susceptible to migrate, especially if they are currently away from their hometown, or wherever that person decides 'home' is.

With regard to sex, it is interesting how other research has shown marked differences between gender and migration. According to Seyfrit et al.'s research on Alaskan youth and their aspirations including migration, female students more often reported that they hoped to move out of their home

region permanently (1998: 349). Also, female high school graduates were more likely to have actually moved away (349). According to the data obtained for this research, males show greater numbers of movers, although only slightly (see *Table 1.3*). These numbers are similar in both southbound and northbound migration, whereby overall women make up a slightly larger percentage of the sample population. This difference between Seyfrit et al. and the most recent Statistics Canada data outputs can be explained by age: the results from Seyfrit et al. were from high school students, placing them either within the 15-29 age group or just under, while the Statistics Canada data contained all ages, with no youth focus. It could be, therefore, that female youth are more likely to migrate for reasons such as education, while males are more likely to migrate at an older age, either for education or other reasons. This is supported by the comments made by the interview data, which showed that there were far more females attending the Nunavut Sivuniksavut program in Ottawa than males. It is, however, important to remember that the data put forth by Seyfrit et al. only focus on students' intent, and that their actual choices and outcomes will often be different (1998: 354).

Seyfrit et al. have suggested that the causes of female outmigration include cultural and structural factors. First, that "education, and the jobs that require education...are often perceived to fit more closely with traditional female roles and behaviour than with those of males" (Seyfrit et al, 1998: 361). Secondly, the job and recreation opportunities available in these communities appeal most strongly to males (i.e. temporary construction, hunting and fishing), while thirdly they discuss that because of the lack of opportunities in the north, most women are likely to choose an urban lifestyle (361). The fourth point was that the in-migrants are predominantly male, which therefore creates opportunities for marriages/coupling of local females, who may then potentially migrate southward with their partners (362). While interesting, this point still does not help to explain why there are more males out-migrating from Nunavut. From the interviews conducted with Inuit youth, marriage was not a concern for any of them, regardless of gender, although females admitted to feeling scrutinized for not

being married at a young age. It is also important to point out that it is far easier to leave Alaska than Nunavut or the North West Territories (generally) because of transportation, and that most women do not have the resources required in order to leave the North. Something more prevalent than young marriage would be pregnancy, which has not been identified as a significant motivation for migration, despite the prevalence of evacuation for medicalized childbirth (Douglas, 2006).

The second strongest coefficient of phi was for education. Education was the most apparent motivation for moving according to the interviews that were conducted, however, as has already been discussed, this may be because of the interviewee sampling, where 7 out of 8 respondents had either completed or enrolled in post-secondary institutions (5 of whom had attended the Nunavut Sivuniksavut program in Ottawa).

The third strongest association was Occupation, which was only slightly weaker than Education (0.1600 in comparison to 0.1635). What *Table 1.6* describes is the occupations of people currently living in urban areas that had lived in the north 5 years before. Therefore, it is difficult to interpret these results as meaningful for Inuit youth migration. Some of the occupational categories would only apply to youth in their late 20's, after having attended school or training for their career position. A lot of the occupations would not be open to youth still in high school, therefore, there should be larger numbers of youth in the Sales and Services category, because of the limited skills and knowledge needed to apply for work in that category.

Age had a moderate association with moving (0.1158), which placed it fourth, meaning that it was not as important as Aboriginal identity, education or occupation when affecting migration. This is not to say that age does not play an important role in whether or not an individual migrates or not, but according to the data collected, people between the ages of 30 and 44 were more likely than all other age groups to migrate southward, while youth between 15 and 29 were more likely to migrate

northward. Age still has a significant effect on migration, but only more detailed analysis will really show the effects that it has on one's migratory habits.

Unfortunately, it is very difficult to compile data for the other motivations put forth by Malatest, such as family-related reasons, access to amenities and to 'get away', so those motivations have been omitted from the statistical data discussion.

5. Conclusion

The purpose of this research was to explore the different motivations behind Inuit youth migration, focusing primarily on movement between Iqaluit Nunavut and Ottawa Ontario. As a part of “understanding migration in the circumpolar north”, the SSHRC funded international project whose goal is to develop a better understanding of the patterns, causes, and consequences of migration in the Arctic through interdisciplinary comparative research. It was decided to narrow the research focus from the entire Canadian Arctic to Iqaluit, Nunavut, looking at only one ethnic group, one age demographic, and initially at migration in only one direction: southward. Southbound migration was chosen to be the focus of the research because of existing popular opinions and concerns over northern depopulation and what the future may hold for communities that are ‘losing their youth’. Iqaluit was chosen because of its accessibility, population size and because it is the capital of Nunavut. Ottawa was selected because it has the largest population of Inuit outside of the territories, it has many Inuit based organizations and resources, and it is the home of the COOL Research Data Centre where 2001 Census data output information was obtained.

Methods

The methodology of this study was exploratory in nature, and did not have an agenda, since it was not looking to affect policy directly. Its intent was to help further understand issues of migration in between the Arctic and the rest of Canada, beginning with Inuit youth. Although there were opportunities to create recommendations for municipal and territorial governments, the researcher abstained due to limited experiences in academic research, as well as to prevent misconstrued perceptions of himself as a typical ‘southern academic’ that has come to analyze the north and influence decision making, which would in effect be hindering Inuit self-determination and self-actualization. The research itself combined qualitative and quantitative methods involving face to face interviews as well

as Census data analysis to support the findings of the interviews. I was fortunate to have been able to travel both to Iqaluit and Ottawa for several weeks each to familiarize myself as well as begin the data collection process. A questionnaire was developed in cooperation with Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated, and the territorial government of Nunavut, to ensure that all the different groups involved in the research had their own input into the project. The questionnaire asked questions related to migratory history to provide context (whether or not they had moved around before) as well as what did and would motivate them to move to another community. With this questionnaire I interviewed eight youth, with four in Iqaluit and four in Ottawa.

There is not much existing research on Inuit youth migration, however, as shown in the literature review, there have been several studies looking at rural to urban migration. The interviews that I conducted were based on some of these existing studies, but initially I would purposely ask vague questions about migratory motivations in order to get the respondents' initial thoughts. This was followed by mentioning the top five reasons for migrating as identified by others such as Malatest, to see if those reasons helped to explain or add to the interviewee's list of motivations. For the quantitative portion, I used data collected in the 2001 Census, based on where the individual resided and where they lived five years prior to that date. Using logistic regression, I was able to identify the relationships between certain variables on whether or not a person decided to migrate.

Findings

In summary, the interviews showed the following top five motivations for migrating: education, employment, family related reasons, to 'get away' and access to amenities (all of which are collections of other reasons, i.e. access to a hospital becomes a part of 'access to amenities'). Education did not come as a surprise, considering seven of the eight respondents were full time students. Employment was understandable, as the modern world is driven by money, and employment not only builds

economies, but also allows individuals to maintain their basic human needs, such as food and shelter. Family related reasons were whether or not the interviewee was leaving to follow a family member or returning to be with family. In the case of one student, he was not going to be able to complete his first year of post-secondary education in Ottawa because his family had requested that he return home. Another interesting aspect of family related reasons that was more evident in Iqaluit than in Ottawa (and more apparent in Inuit than non-Inuit) was homesickness, where individuals would begin to feel depressed, longing to return to their home communities. The fourth motivation was 'getting away', exemplified by a need to escape from physical, emotional or substance abuse, or even to experience something new in the south. Access to amenities refers to the different goods and services that are not available in the north, ranging from health care to fresh produce. These five motivations are identical to Malatest's findings, who also found education to be the most important motivator. This answered the first research question, by identifying the different motivations behind migration as well as showing that the motivations were often area specific, depending on the need/demand of those motivations. For example, education was a big priority for youth in Iqaluit and Ottawa, but most youth would only be interested in moving southward for education, rather than northward. Conversely, most youth in Iqaluit felt a strong connection with their families, but only when they were in Ottawa were family related reasons becoming apparent for migration.

Beyond the interviews, the data analysis had various highlights. Adults between the ages of 30 and 44 were twice as likely to move as youth, which was interesting as youth were assumed to be more mobile and transient than adults. This means that while education plays a big role in youth migration, employment is important to the 30-44 category, which is again demonstrated by the fact that education is a youth priority, regardless of its motivational force with regards to migration. Through the interviews it was also discovered that the population of Nunavut as well as its ethnic diversity is changing, with many people coming to the north in search of work and a Northern Allowance.

Based on assumptions made throughout the research process, youth migration was thought to have been a significant issue worthy of critical study. However, the most important finding was that youth out-migration from the north is not an important issue, because the population of the north (50% under the age of 25) is increasing (*Appendix D: Chart 8*). By looking at the net migration of people moving from Nunavut to any urban centre and vice versa, it was found that there are more people (both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal groups) moving northward. This means that many of the youth that do leave the north are also returning. This helps to answer the second research question, proving that the basic assumption of an aging Arctic is not as consequential at this time as popular opinion had thought. However, certain areas should be further explored, such as criminal behaviour, and how deviance also experiences the same 'funneling' effect as it travels from smaller communities to larger northern centres, similar to what Colin Irwin described in his theories on the 'ghettoization of the Arctic'.

Seyfrit et al suggest that there are substantial discrepancies between what young Alaskan Natives anticipate and find in the cities by returning to their rural communities (Seyfrit et al, 1998:352). An argument for this is that in-migration to northern communities is not necessarily caused by disappointment with southern urban centres, but by Inuit youth already having basic ideas in mind. When asked if they would consider moving back to the north to raise a family, a majority of the interviewees said yes, and if not to raise a family then either for work, to be of service to Nunavut or to be more connected with their families. Cassie Kennedy admitted to thinking about it often, and wondering "whether I'd want to raise my kids here and a huge part of me says yes, only because a lot of my own personal strengths, with how grounded I am, it's because I do have that foundation in my culture, in my language, and I really have a strong sense of who I am. And I'd want my kids to have that. I feel like if I raised them in the south, that they wouldn't have that." Two respondents openly stated that they did not want to return to their hometown to start a family, but left other northern communities as options. With this information in mind, youth are already expressing their desires to

migrate back to the north, without having experienced disappointment in southern urban centres. For the interviewees that were students and living (or had lived) in Ottawa, a return to the north was often seen as selfless and triumphant: by returning they would be assisting Nunavut by using their newly acquired skills and talents to improve living conditions, policies, and programming and much more for all Inuit. Many are aware that they are seen as the future of Nunavut, and feel that they have a responsibility to be involved in shaping Canada's newest territory.

Future Research

This study has opened up various topics for future research consideration, and while not necessarily improving upon migration data analysis techniques, it has reaffirmed that there are shortcomings to the options currently available through Census data from Statistics Canada. Other suggested means of collected migration data that were discussed at presentations and through conversations included using tax information from Revenue Canada. However, this too would have shortcomings as not all people living in the north are employed or receive tax benefits from Revenue Canada. The long form questionnaire from Statistics Canada has the largest amount of raw data available, yet despite having various questions devoted to mobility on the questionnaire, it still has gaps through which migrants can slip. We live in an age of paper trails and accountability, but some options that could be explored to improve measuring migration contain serious ethical considerations, such as using credit cards, phone calls, and even provincial government issued health cards to track location. Not only would these results be inconsistent, incomplete and unsubstantial in proof, but it would also create more issues regarding Canadians' already mounting suspicions about 'big brother' and overall panopticism which could even lead to changes in migratory patterns in order to avoid having relocations 'observed'. Using particular questions from the long form questionnaire, migration research can be conducted, but certain specific populations will prove to be difficult to truly represent through the data

analysis process. A suggestion for other academics would be to cross reference Census Data with other surveys in order to enhance understanding of smaller groups and populations.

Population changes because of the flow of in and out-migration, but also due to birth and death rates. This thesis looked primarily at migration, without discussing the effects of birth/death rates on population change in depth. In Nunavut (as in Alaska and Greenland), the birth rate exceeds the death rate, resulting in a natural increase and a very young population. Net migration may affect these discrepancies in rates, demonstrating stability, decline or growth at a variety of speeds. An examination of the interplay between birth and death rates and in and out-migration would yield some interesting results, allowing future studies to create a more accurate depiction of population variation in the North.

Beyond recommendations related to the data collection process, another point for future study is how migration affects both the source and destination communities. The departure of youth (and young adults with families) could create qualitative problems that cannot be measured through Statistics Canada survey results. If the departing youth are more ambitious and energetic, then the source community may become more stagnant, while larger centres experience both a population growth and an increase of young minds that can influence the destination community. This concept creates more questions, which would have to be answered similarly to this thesis, through a combination of both quantitative and qualitative methods.

In short, the results from Statistics Canada are the most accurate that were available at the time of this study, and with that data as well as interview responses, I was able to identify and expand upon the different motivations behind Inuit youth migration from Iqaluit to Ottawa, while also adding to the greater body of knowledge that will spawn future research projects, improving our understanding of migration in the circumpolar north and its effects at both the community and individual levels.

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Appendix C: Interview Guide

Research Questions:

1. What are the different motivations behind Inuit youth out-migration from the circumpolar North? How do these differ between youth living in Iqaluit, NU and Ottawa, ON?
2. What effects will this out-migration have on the communities, the youth and their motivations?

Interview Outline:

The interview will include seven sections:

- A. Participant characteristics:** basic demographic questions that will help to give context and background information about the participants.
- B. General migration/motivation questions:**
 1. Migratory history
 2. Migration plans
 3. Explore motivations behind their past/future migration decisions
 - i. Motivation behind migration to/from *any location*
 - ii. Motivation behind migration to/from Iqaluit/Ottawa
 4. Compile a 'top 3' current motivations for migration for the participant
- C. Specific migration questions:** after having identified what the participant deems to be the most important motivator behind migration, the interview will carry on and see if any of the previously identified motivations are also relevant to the explanation.

State the five main motivations for youth migration to the situation of migration to/from Iqaluit/Ottawa.

- i. Education
 - ii. Employment
 - iii. Family Related
 - iv. To Get Away
 - v. Access to Amenities
1. Compare the above list with the participants' earlier list, and compile a new combined list with all 8 motivations.
2. Address how the participant copes with these different motivational pressures/draws
3. Should these pressures/draws be addressed by communities themselves? If yes, how, and if not, then by who (if anyone)?
- D. Life Scripts**
 1. Relate back to migratory history:
 - i. Is migration an accepted part of Inuit youth culture? "at some point in your youth, you will move away"...etc.
 - ii. Is there a pressure to migrate because of your age? Why?
- E. Impact on Identity:** these questions are for the Boreas project, and not the MA thesis.

1. Discuss attachment to Inuit culture
2. How are connections and contact maintained?

F. Effects

1. What will the effects of youth migration have on:
 - i. The communities
 - ii. The youth
 - iii. The motivations behind migration
2. Where do the participants see the trends heading?

G. Feedback

1. Comments/Questions/Concerns

Section A: Participant Characteristics

Name:

Sex:

Age:

Current place of residence:

Origins

1. What is your hometown?
2. Were you born there?

Family life

3. How many people are in your immediate family?
4. How many siblings do you have and what is the birth order?
5. Do you live with your parent(s)? If not, with whom do you live?
6. Describe your current living situation.
7. Describe your relationship with your immediate family.
8. What is/are your parent(s)/guardian(s) occupation(s)?
9. Who were you raised by?
10. Describe your family background (ethnicity, spirituality, religion, socio-economic status, health)
11. Describe the people who have had the most significant impact on your life in a positive or negative way.

Employment

12. Do you have a job? (If *Yes* go to 13; if *No* go to 14)
13. Describe what you do at your current job.
14. Describe your previous job if applicable.
15. Is your job a paid position or a volunteer position? (If *paid* go to 16; if *volunteer* go to 17)
16. Is it formal wage-paid labour or informal work?
17. Did you study for the position/career you work in?

Education

18. What is the highest level of schooling you have completed?
19. Describe your scholastic history:
 - a. Where were you educated?

- b. Where did you reside during your education, with your family or in a boarding situation?
- 20. Are you in school now? (Yes go to 21; No go to 22)
- 21. What level of school are you attending?
 - a. High School/University/College?
 - b. Do you expect to graduate? When?
- 22. Do you have future plans for education? If so, what are they?

Peers

- 23. Describe your relationships with your peers
 - a. Do you have relationships with peers in your home community?
 - b. Do you have relationships with peers in your current community?
 - c. What are the differences between the two peer groups? Describe.

Section B: General Migration Questions

Iqaluit

1. Migratory history

- 1. Have you ever left Iqaluit* for reasons other than recreation/leisure? (Yes continue; No go to Part 2)
 - i. How many times?
 - ii. For each time:
 - 1. Where did you go?
 - 2. How old were you?
 - 3. How long were you gone for?

2. Explore motivations behind their past/future migration decisions

- 1. Why did you leave on all of those occasions? Elaborate.
- 2. Did you have a choice in your decision to migrate? (If Yes go to 3; if No go to 4)
- 3. What influenced your decision? (skip to 6)
- 4. Why not?
- 5. Who/What made the decision for you?
- 6. Are you happy with the result?
- 7. Describe any plans you may have for leaving your community in the future.
 - i. Will they be subject to the same issues you experienced in your previous migration experiences?

3. Motivation behind migration to/from any location

- 1. What factors/motivations would make you want to stay in your community?
 - i. What would make you want to leave?

4. Motivation behind migration to/from Iqaluit/Ottawa

1. What factors/motivations would make you want to leave Iqaluit for Ottawa?
 - i. What would make you want to leave Ottawa for Iqaluit?
2. Of all the reasons for migrating that we have discussed so far, which would you consider to be the most important?
 - i. Choose top 3, 4, 5, etc., and put them in order from most important to least important.
 - ii. Why are those motivations the most important to you? Elaborate for each.

5. Conceptions of 'Home'

1. How would you define 'home'?
2. Where is your home?
3. How long did you live/have you lived in Iqaluit?

**If participants have never left Iqaluit, but have migrated to Iqaluit from another community, base all questions around that community.*

Ottawa

1. Migratory history

1. Have you ever left Ottawa for reasons other than recreation/leisure? (Yes continue, No go to 2)
 - i. How many times?
 - ii. For each time:
 1. Where did you go?
 2. How old were you?
 3. How long were you gone for?
2. Have you ever left Iqaluit* for reasons other than recreation/leisure? (Yes continue; No go to Part 2)
 - i. How many times?
 - ii. For each time:
 1. Where did you go?
 2. How old were you?
 - iii. How long were you gone for?

2. Explore motivations behind their past/future migration decisions

1. Why did you leave on all of those occasions? Elaborate.
2. Did you have a choice in your decision to migrate? (If Yes go to 3; if No go to 4)
3. What/who influenced your decision? (skip to 5)
4. Why not?
5. Are you happy with the result?
6. Describe any plans you may have for leaving your community in the future.

- i. Will they be subject to the same issues you experienced in your previous migration experiences?

3. Motivation behind migration to/from *any location*

1. What factors/motivations would make you want to stay in your community?
 - i. What would make you want to leave?

4. Motivation behind migration to/from Iqaluit/Ottawa

1. When did you migrate to Ottawa?
2. Why did you move?
3. How long have you been living in Ottawa?
4. How long did you live in Iqaluit?
5. In your case, what made you leave Iqaluit?
6. What factors/motivations would make you want to leave Ottawa for Iqaluit?
 - i. What would make you want to leave Iqaluit for Ottawa?
7. Do you want to return to Iqaluit?
8. Of all the reasons for migrating that we have discussed so far, which would you consider to be the most important?
 - i. Choose top 3, 4, 5, etc., and put them in order from most important to least important.
 - ii. Why are those motivations the most important to you? Elaborate for each.

5. Conceptions of 'Home'

1. How would you define 'home'?
2. Where is your home?
3. Do you consider Ottawa your home now?

**If the participant has moved to Ottawa from another Northern community other than Iqaluit, base all questions around that community.*

Section C: Specific Migration Questions

According to previous studies, there are five (5) main motivations for youth migration from rural to urban communities. They are:

- Education
- Employment
- Family-related
- To get away
- Access to amenities

1. Do these motivations help to explain your reasons for migrating? Indicate and elaborate for each one.

2. With all of the motivations we discussed (5 + __), which are most important and why?
 - i. Please rank all of them from most important to least important.
3. What do you think about these different pressures?
 - i. How do you feel about them?
 - ii. How do you cope with them?
 - iii. Are they good or bad?
4. Is your community aware of these pressures/reasons for leaving?
 - iv. Do you think that the community should address these issues?
 1. If Yes, then explain how.
 2. If No, then who (if anyone) should address them?
 - a. Do you as an individual feel that you have a responsibility to address these issues?

Section D: Life Scripts

1. As a youth, do you feel as though there are certain roles and activities that you must go through that are expected of you?
 - i. What are they? Describe.
 - ii. Whose expectations are these?
 - iii. Are they different for youth in Iqaluit in comparison to youth in Ottawa?
2. Is migration an accepted part of Inuit youth culture? ("at some point in your youth, you will move away"...etc)
3. Are you expected to migrate from your community and why? If yes, by who and if no, why not?
4. Do you plan to return to your home community to raise a family? Why or why not?
5. Would you suggest that migration to urban communities would be beneficial and desirable for future generations (your own family, siblings or others)? Why or why not?
6. The researcher Jack Hicks has used the term 'Life Script' to explain how certain demographics have different 'scripts' (similar to a film or play) that they must follow throughout different stages in life.
 - i. Do you feel that you are following a 'Life Script'?

Section E: Impact on Identity

1. Do you feel attached to Inuit culture?
2. What are some of the problems you face by living outside of your community?
 - a. What were some of the gains/losses?
 - b. Were the gains greater than the losses?
3. Do you maintain connections/contact with your culture, and if so, how do you maintain it?
4. Has your identity changed through living in another community?
5. How has this affected your relationships with people in your own community?
 - a. How were your relationships affected upon returning?
6. If you travel back and forth often, are your relationships/ties with your community strained? How or how not?
7. Do you have any obligations/duties that follow/remains with you WHILE living in another community? (Such as sending money home, supporting others, etc.)

Section F: Effects

1. Do you think youth migration between Iqaluit and Ottawa will have an effect on:
 - a. Inuit youth?
 - b. Ottawa?
 - c. Iqaluit
 - d. Nunavut
 - e. The motivations discussed previously
 - f. Describe what these effects are for each.
2. Do you think youth migration within Nunavut (not to a southern urban centre) will have similar effects? Why or why not?
3. What changes do you see happening in the future to Northern communities because of youth migration?
 - a. What changes do you see happening in southern communities?
 - b. How do they differ?

Section G: Feedback

1. What did you think of the interview/questions?
2. What did you like/dislike?
3. Comments? Questions? Concerns?

Appendix D: Charts

Chart 1: (R.A. Malatest, 2002:15).

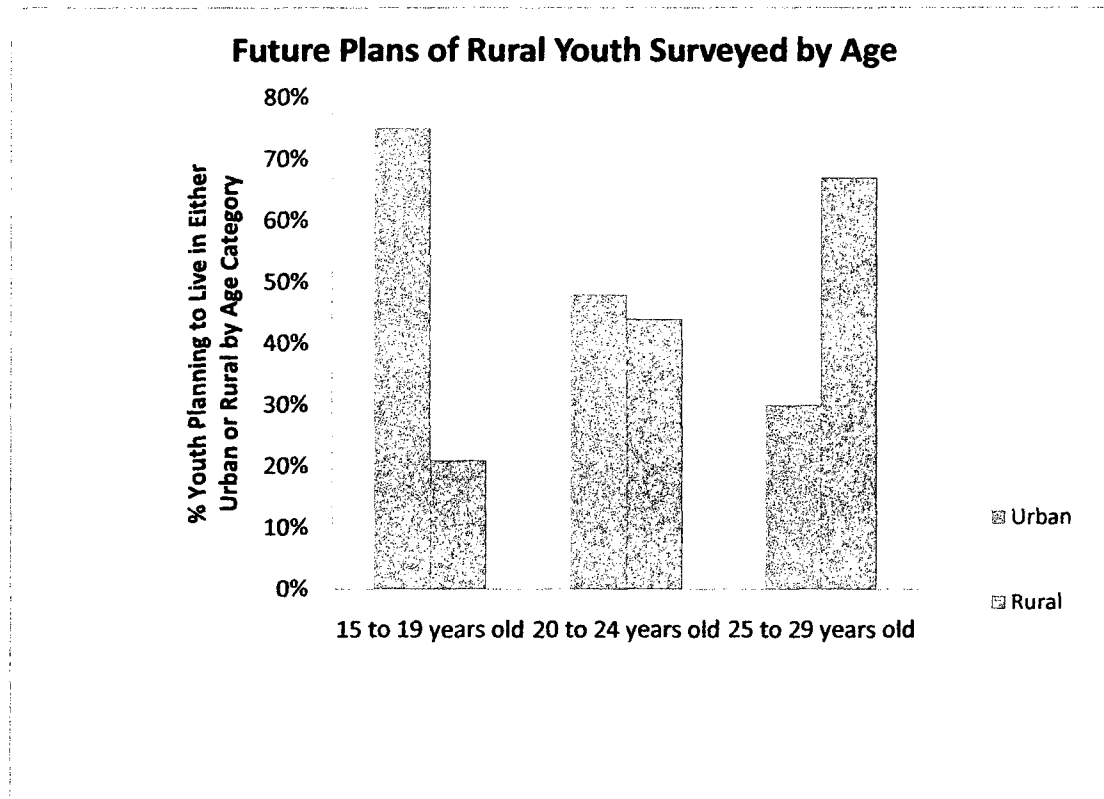


Chart 2. 3 forms of step-wise migration (Conway, 1980:5)

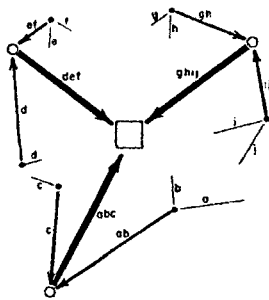
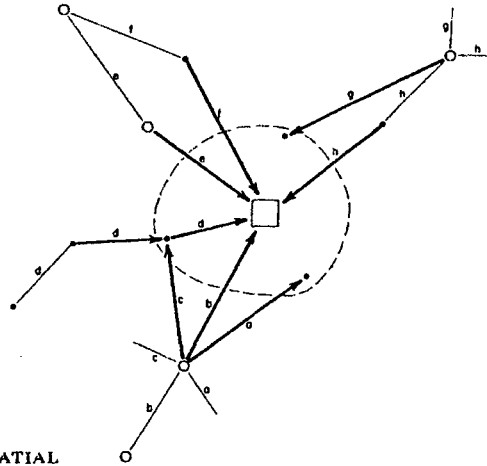
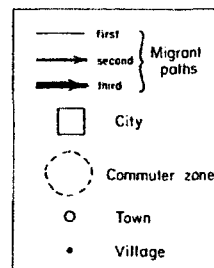
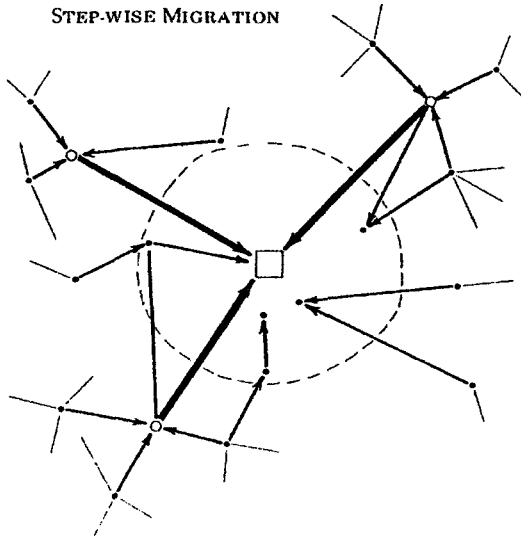
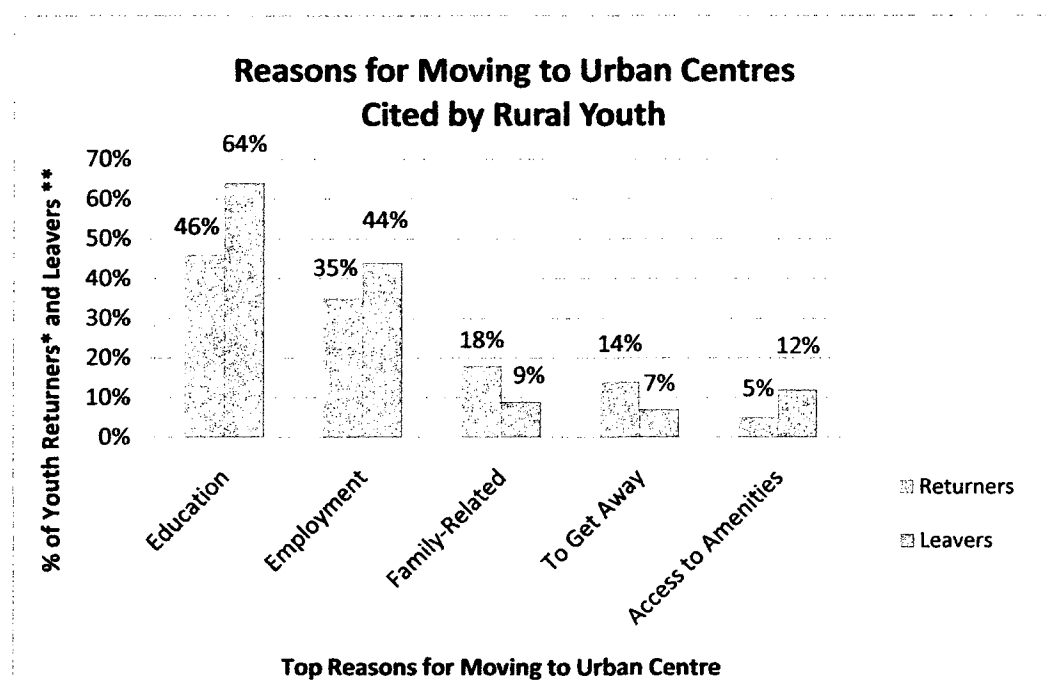
A. HIERARCHICAL STEP-WISE
MIGRATIONB. SPATIAL STEP-WISE
MIGRATIONC. HIERARCHICAL-CUM-SPATIAL
STEP-WISE MIGRATION

Chart 3: (R.A. Malatest, 2002:16).



Note: Percentages may add up to more than 100% due to multiple responses.

*Returners are youth who lived in a rural community, moved to an urban centre and then returned to a rural community.

**Leavers are youth who have migrated to an urban centre where they currently reside.

Chart 4: Selected reasons why Arctic Inuit would consider leaving their community, 2001 (Inuit Tapirit Kanatami, 2007:10).

Reasons	Male [%]	Female [%]	Total [%] (men and women combined)
School, Education opportunity	19	22	21
Job Opportunities	46	30	38
Family moved, to be closer to family	13	18	16
To travel, see other places, get away, want change	23	22	22

Chart 5: Selected reasons why Arctic Inuit stay in their community, 2001 (Inuit Tapirit Kanatami, 2007:10).

Reasons	Selected Inuit communities in Labrador [%]	Nunavik [%]	Nunavut [%]	Inuvialuit [%]	Total Arctic [%]
Job Opportunities	43	20	20	27	23
Family is here	82	56	69	60	67
Friends are here	34	18	22	15	22
Home town	33	39	34	22	34

Chart 6: Movers from Nunavut to Urban areas by Age Group (based on 2001 Census data from Statistics Canada)

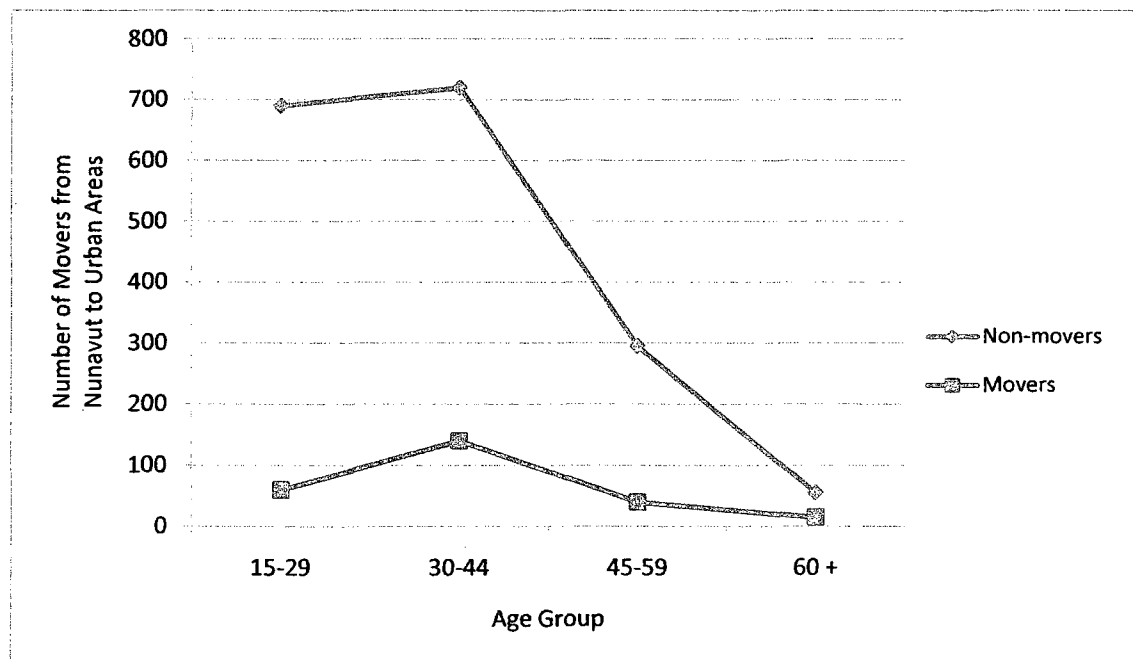


Chart 7: Comparison of Movers by Occupation (based on 2001 Census data from Statistics Canada)

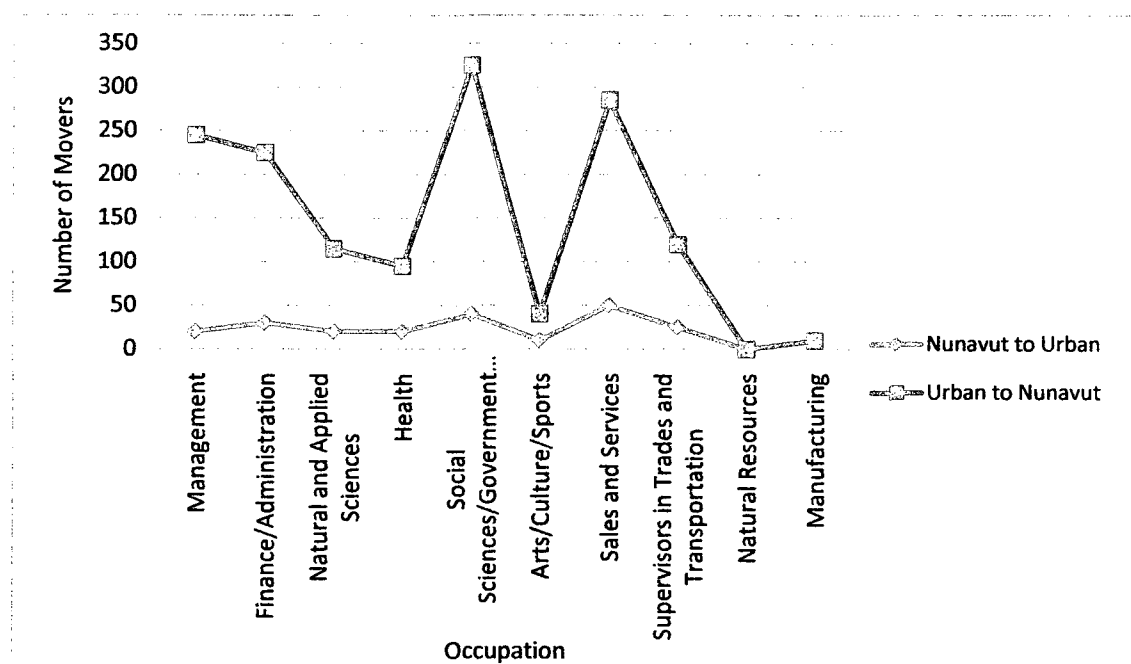


Chart 8: Number of Movers out of Nunavut by Aboriginal Identity

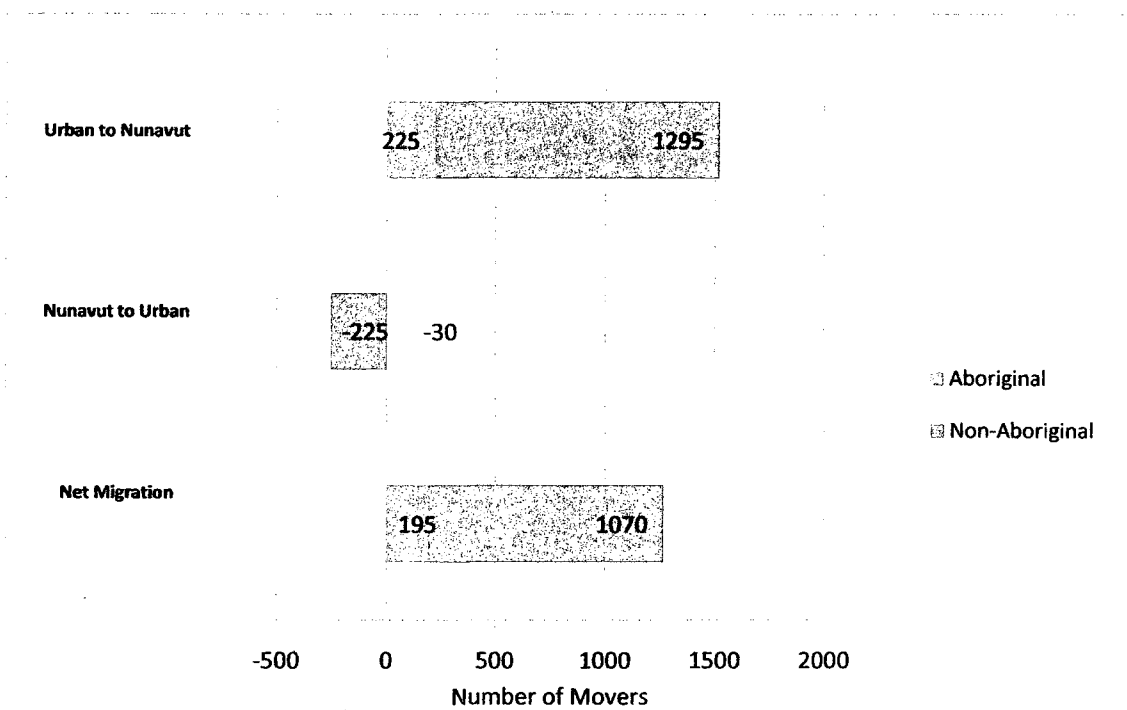


Chart 9: Percent of students expecting to live most of their lives outside the region, by gender and ethnic self-identification (Seyfrit et al, 1998: 353)

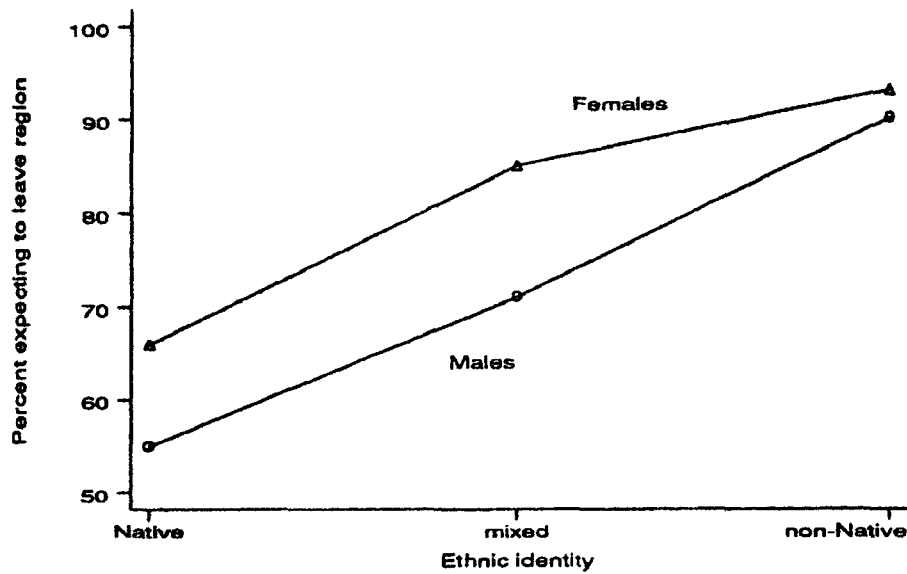


Figure 3
Percent Students Expecting to Live Most of Their Lives
Outside the Region, by Gender and Ethnic Self-Identification

Chart 10: Percent of students planning to attend college, by gender and ethnic self-identification in Alaska. (Seyfrit et al, 1998: 354)

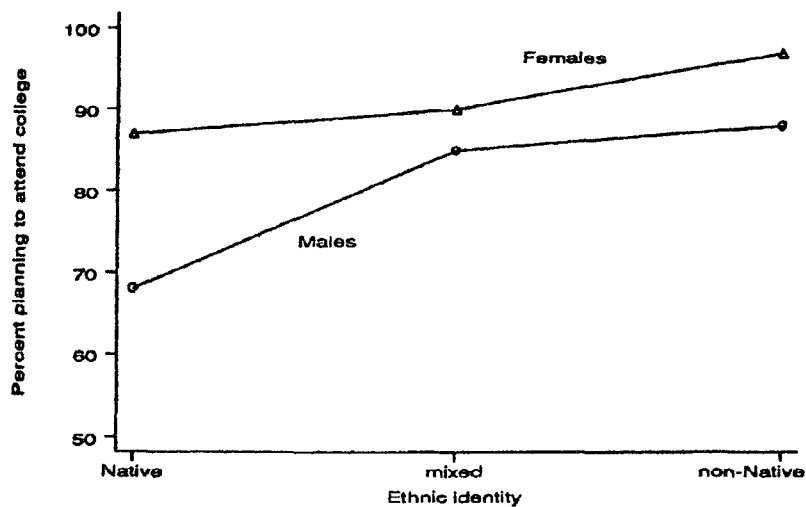


Figure 4
Percent Students Planning to Attend College, by
Gender and Ethnic Self-Identification

Chart 11: Population Yukon, Northwest Territories and Nunavut, 1994 to 2004 (INAC, 2004: 84)

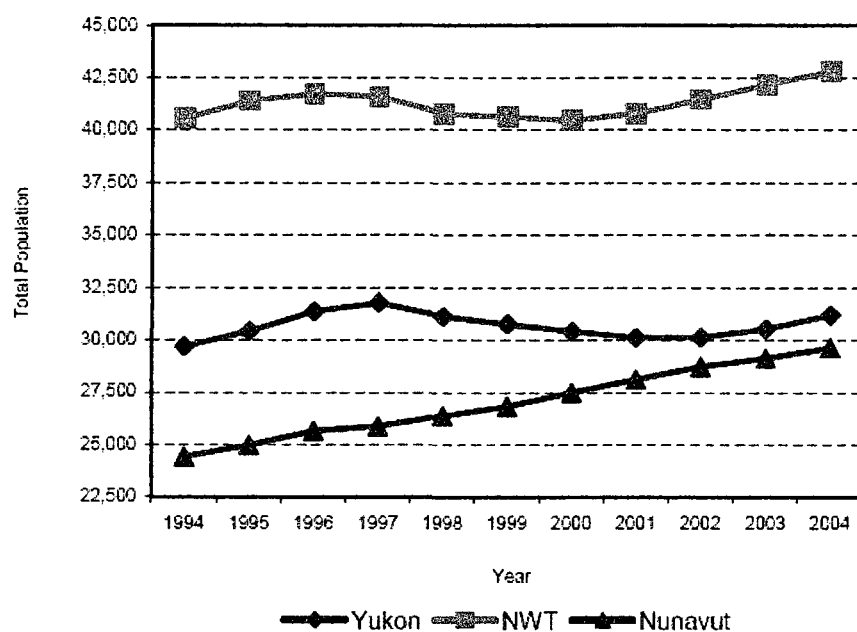


Chart 12: Population Projections (000), Yukon, Northwest Territories, and Nunavut, 2005, 2010, 2015, 2020 and 2025 (INAC, 2004:86)

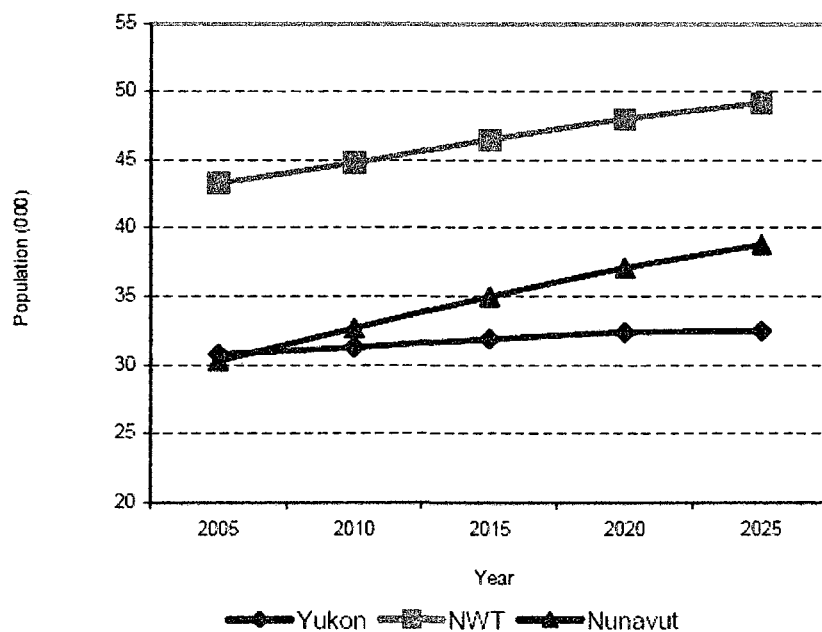


Chart 13: Total Population, Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal, for Yukon, Northwest Territories, and Nunavut, 2001 Census (INAC, 2004:90)

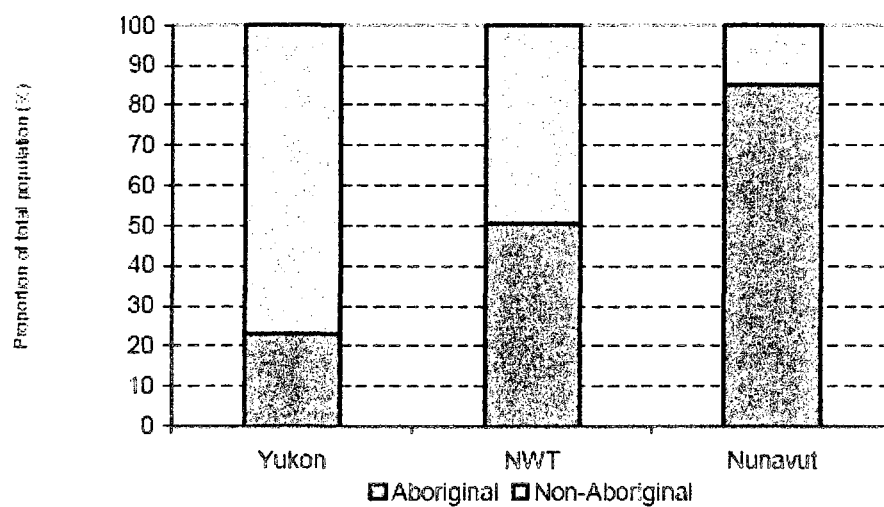


Chart 14: Employment, Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal, for Yukon, Northwest Territories and Nunavut, 2001 Census (2000 Labour Force Activity) (INAC, 2004:92)

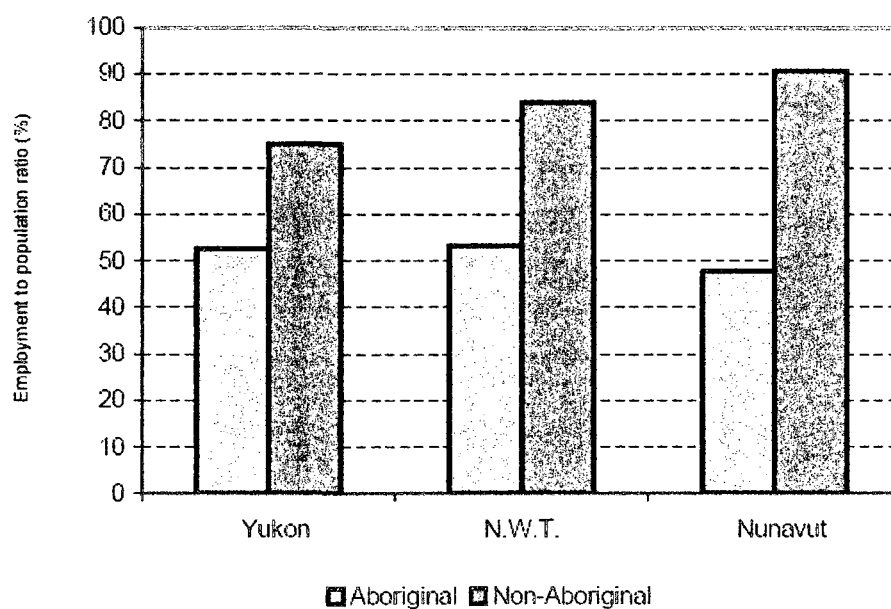


Chart 15: Employment Income, Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal, for Yukon, Northwest Territories and Nunavut, 2001 Census (2000 Employment Income) (INAC, 2004:94)

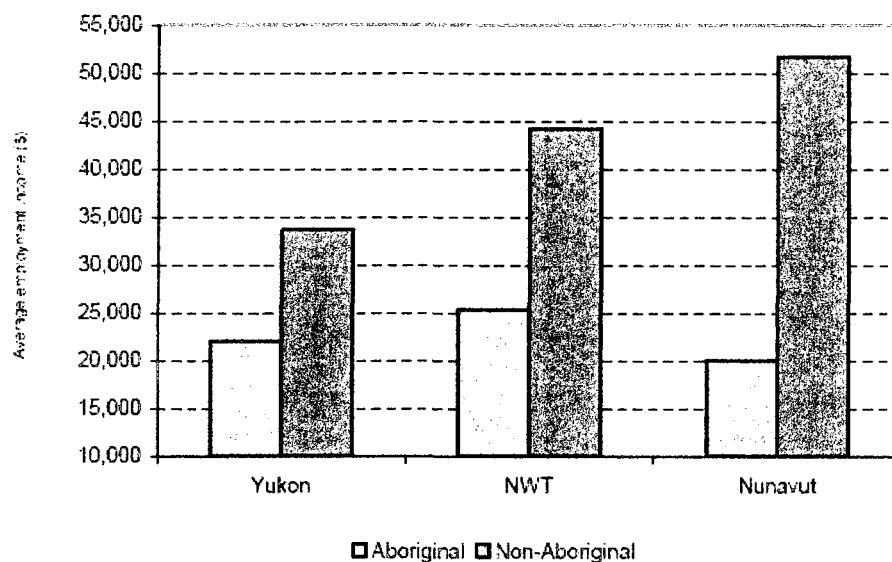
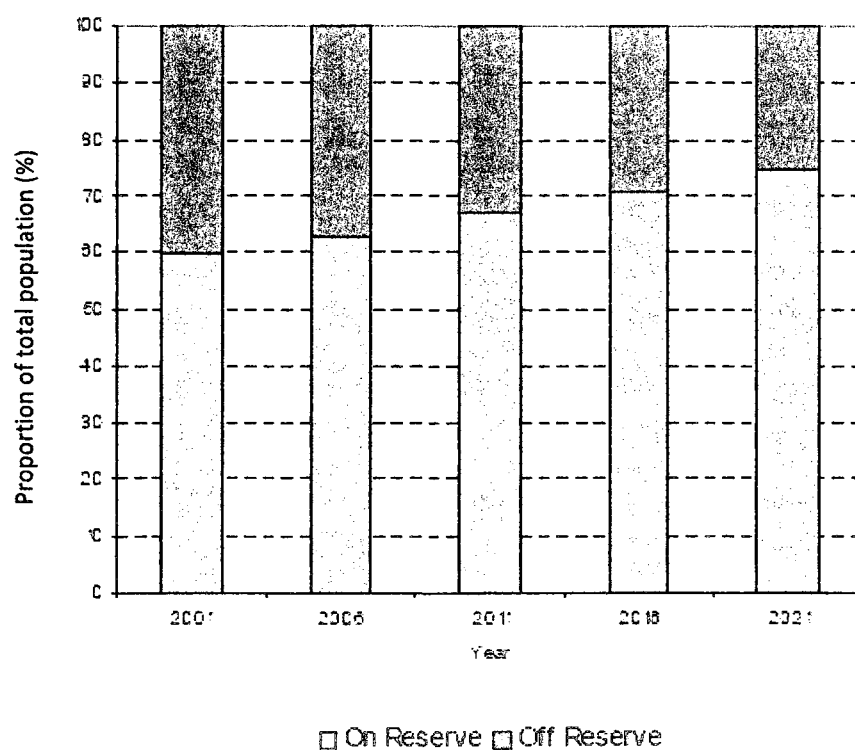


Chart 16: On and Off-Reserve Registered Indian Population by Residence, Canada 2001, 2006, 2011, 2016, and 2021 (INAC, 2004:4)



Appendix E: Tables

Table 1 series: Nunavut to Urban Areas

Table 1.1: Total movers from Nunavut to Urban areas using 2001 Census sample data (n=2015)

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Freq.	Cumulative Percent
Non-movers	1760	87.30	1760	87.30
Movers	255	12.70	2015	100.00

Table 1.2: Movers from Nunavut to Urban areas by Aboriginal Identity using 2001 Census sample data (n=2015)

	Aboriginal		Non-Aboriginal		TOTAL
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	
Non-movers	1270	97.7%	490	68.5%	1760
Movers	30	2.3%	225	31.5%	255
TOTAL	1300	100.0%	715	100.0%	2015
Chi Square	<.0001				
Phi Coefficient/Cramer's V	0.4210				

Table 1.3: Movers from Nunavut to Urban areas by Sex using 2001 Census sample data (n=2015)

	Female		Male		TOTAL
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	
Non-movers	920	88.0%	840	86.6%	1760
Movers	125	12.0%	130	13.4%	255
TOTAL	1045	100.0%	970	100.0%	2015
Chi Square	0.2583				
Phi Coefficient/Cramer's V	0.0252				

Table 1.4: Movers from Nunavut to Urban areas by Age Group using 2001 Census sample data (n=2015)

	15-29		30-44		45-59		60 and over		TOTAL
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	
Non-movers	690	92.0%	720	83.7%	295	88.1%	55	78.6%	1760
Movers	60	8.0%	140	16.3%	40	11.9%	15	21.4%	255
TOTAL	750	100.0%	860	100.0%	335	100.0%	70	100.0%	2015
Chi Square	<.0001								
Phi Coefficient/Cramer's V	0.1158								

Table 1.5: Movers from Nunavut to Urban areas by Education using 2001 Census sample data (n=2015)

	Less than High School		High School completed		Post-Secondary Education		TOTAL
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	
Non-movers	690	94.5%	80	84.2%	990	83.2%	1760
Movers	40	5.5%	15	15.8%	200	16.8%	255
TOTAL	730	100.0%	95	100.0%	1190	100.0%	2015
Chi Square	<.0001						
Phi Coefficient/Cramer's V	0.1635						

Table 1.6: Movers from Nunavut to Urban areas by Occupation using 2001 Census sample data (n=2015)

	TOTAL		Non-movers		Movers		TOTAL	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Manufacturing	15	60.0%	15	60.0%	10	40.0%	25	100.0%
Natural Resources	30	100.0%	30	100.0%	0	0%	30	100.0%
Supervisors in Trades and Transportation	185	88.1%	185	88.1%	25	11.9%	210	100.0%
Sales and Services	390	88.6%	390	88.6%	50	11.4%	440	100.0%
Arts/Culture/Sports	80	88.9%	80	88.9%	10	11.1%	90	100.0%
Social Sciences/ Government Services/ Education/Religion	235	85.5%	235	85.5%	40	14.5%	275	100.0%
Health	45	69.2%	45	69.2%	20	30.8%	65	100.0%
Natural and Applied Sciences	65	76.5%	65	76.5%	20	23.5%	85	100.0%
Finance/Administration	215	87.8%	215	87.8%	30	12.2%	245	100.0%
Management	165	89.2%	165	89.2%	20	10.8%	185	100.0%
Chi Square	<.0001							
Phi Coefficient /Cramer's V	0.1600							

Table 1.7: Logistic regression of mover/non-mover status on background variables, showing regression coefficients, odds ratios and confidence intervals for odds ratios. Analysis of 2001 Census sample data – Movement from Nunavut to Urban areas (n=2015)

Predictor Variables	Description	Coefficients	Odds Ratio	95% Wald Confidence Limits	
Intercept		-1.08**	-		
Sex	Female	0.17	1.186	0.820	1.715
Age (ref=30-44)					
Age Group	15-29	-0.008	0.992	0.644	1.529
Age Group	45-59	-0.59**	0.553	0.360	0.850
Age Group	60 and over	-0.22	0.799	0.302	2.114
Aboriginal Identity	Aboriginal	-2.88***	0.056	0.035	0.089
Education (ref=High School Completed)					
Education	Less than High School	0.078	1.081	0.452	2.586
Education	Post-Secondary Education	0.68	1.968	0.931	4.160
Occupation (ref=Sales and Services)					
Occupation	Management	-0.97	0.381	0.208	0.698
Occupation	Finance/Administration	-0.47*	0.628	0.356	1.107
Occupation	Natural and Applied Sciences	-0.055	0.946	0.485	1.845
Occupation	Health	0.28	1.324	0.646	2.714
Occupation	Social Sciences/Government Services/Education/Religion	-0.61**	0.545	0.320	0.928
Occupation	Arts/Culture/Sports	0.48	1.623	0.733	3.595
Occupation	Supervisors in Trades and Transportation	-0.025	0.976	0.529	1.801
Occupation	Natural Resources	-0.34	0.710	0.185	2.719
Occupation	Manufacturing	1.39**	4.010	1.346	11.944

*** - very significant

** - significant

* - moderately

significant

no stars - insignificant

Table 2 series: Urban Areas to Nunavut

Table 2.1: Total movers from Urban areas to Nunavut using 2001 Census sample data (n=4,693,700)

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Freq.	Cumulative Percent
Non-movers	4692180	99.97%	4692180	99.97%
Movers	1520	0.03%	4693700	100.00%

Table 2.2: Movers from Urban areas to Nunavut by Aboriginal Identity using 2001 Census sample data (n=4,693,700)

	Aboriginal		Non-Aboriginal		TOTAL
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	
Non-movers	292430	99.9%	4399750	100.0%	4692180
Movers	225	0.1%	1295	<0.1%	1520
TOTAL	292655	100.0%	4401045	100.0%	4693700
Chi Square	<.0001				
Phi Coefficient/Cramer's V	-0.0064				

Table 2.3: Movers from Urban areas to Nunavut by Sex using 2001 Census sample data (n=4,693,700)

	Female		Male		TOTAL
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	
Non-movers	2405125	100.0%	2287055	100.0%	4692180
Movers	750	<0.1%	770	<0.1%	1520
TOTAL	2405875	100.0%	2287825	100.0%	4693700
Chi Square	0.1720				
Phi Coefficient/Cramer's V	0.0006				

Table 2.4: Movers from Urban areas to Nunavut by Age Group using 2001 Census sample data (n=4,693,700)

	15-29		30-44		45-59		60 and over		TOTAL
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	
Non-movers	1146760	100.0%	1402230	100.0%	1178005	100.0%	965185	100.0%	4692180
Movers	570	<0.1%	555	<0.1%	350	<0.1%	45	<0.1%	1520
TOTAL	1147330	100.0%	1402785	100.0%	1178355	100.0%	965230	100.0%	4693700
Chi Square	<.0001								
Phi Coefficient/Cramer's V	0.0087								

Table 2.7: Logistic regression of mover/non-mover status on background variables, showing regression coefficients, odds ratios and confidence intervals for odds ratios. Analysis of 2001 Census sample data – Movement from Urban areas to Nunavut (n=4,693,700)

Predictor Variables	Description	Coefficients	Pr > Chi Square	Omitted Categories	Odds Ratios	95% Wald Confidence Limits	
Intercept	-	-9.3088	<.0001	-	-	-	
Sex - Female	Female	-0.2224	0.0001	Male	0.801	0.715	0.897
Age Group	15-29	0.5294	<.0001	30-44	1.698	1.503	1.919
Age Group	45-59	-0.1807	0.0090	30-44	0.835	0.729	0.956
Age Group	60 and over	-0.7324	<.0001	30-44	0.481	0.341	0.677
Aboriginal Identity	Aboriginal	1.0969	<.0001	Non-Aboriginal	2.995	2.569	3.492
Education	Less than High School	-0.4211	0.0009	High School Completed	0.656	0.512	0.842
Education	Post-Secondary Education	0.4951	<.0001	High School Completed	1.641	1.359	1.981
Occupation	Management	0.7770	<.0001	Sales and Services	2.175	1.819	2.600
Occupation	Finance/Administration	0.1330	0.1442	Sales and Services	1.142	0.956	1.366
Occupation	Natural and Applied Sciences	0.3005	0.0085	Sales and Services	1.351	1.080	1.689
Occupation	Health	0.4816	<.0001	Sales and Services	1.619	1.272	2.060
Occupation	Social Sciences/Government Services/Education/Religion	1.1336	<.0001	Sales and Services	3.107	2.631	3.670
Occupation	Arts/Culture/Sports	0.0295	0.8633	Sales and Services	1.030	0.736	1.441
Occupation	Supervisors in Trades and Transportation	-0.3668	0.0011	Sales and Services	0.693	0.556	.0864
Occupation	Natural Resources	-4.0016	<.0001	Sales and Services	0.018	0.003	0.130
Occupation	Manufacturing	-2.4514	<.0001	Sales and Services	0.086	0.038	0.194

Table 3 series: Territories to Provinces**Table 3.1:** Total Movers from Territories to Provinces using 2001 Census sample data (n=7430)

- Table data not available.

Table 3.2: Movers from Territories to Provinces by Aboriginal Identity using 2001 Census sample data (n=7430)

	Aboriginal		Non-Aboriginal		TOTAL
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	
Non-movers	2875	86.3%	1600	39.0%	4475
Movers	455	13.7%	2500	61.0%	2955
TOTAL	3330	100.0%	4100	100.0%	7430
Chi Square	<.0001				
Phi Coefficient/Cramer's V	0.4813				

Table 3.3: Movers from Territories to Provinces by Sex using 2001 Census sample data (n=7430)

	Female		Male		TOTAL
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	
Non-movers	2275	61.1%	2200	59.4%	4475
Movers	1450	38.9%	1505	40.6%	2955
TOTAL	3725	100.0%	3705	100.0%	7430
Chi Square	0.1608				
Phi Coefficient/Cramer's V	0.0163				

Table 3.4: Movers from Territories to Provinces by Age Group using 2001 Census sample data (n=7430)

	15-29		30-44		45-59		60 and over		TOTAL
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	
Non-movers	1575	65.8%	1880	59.3%	840	55.6%	180	50.7%	4475
Movers	820	34.2%	1290	40.7%	670	44.4%	175	49.3%	2955
TOTAL	2395	100.0%	3170	100.0%	1510	100.0%	355	100.0%	7430
Chi Square	<.0001								
Phi Coefficient/Cramer's V	0.0898								

Table 3.5: Movers from Territories to Provinces by Education using 2001 Census sample data (n=7430)

	Less than High School		High School completed		Post-Secondary Education		TOTAL
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	
Non-movers	1415	69.5%	265	50.5%	2795	57.4%	4475
Movers	620	30.5%	260	49.5%	2075	42.6%	2955
TOTAL	2035	100.0%	525	100.0%	4870	100.0%	7430
Chi Square	<.0001						
Phi Coefficient/Cramer's V	0.1228						

Table 3.6: Movers from Territories to Provinces by Occupation using 2001 Census sample data (n=7430)

TOTAL		3745	2505	6250	
Manufacturing	%	36.4%	63.6%	100.0%	
	Frequency	40	70	110	
Natural Resources	%	52.3%	47.7%	100.0%	
	Frequency	115	105	220	
Supervisors in Trades and Transportation	%	59.5%	40.5%	100.0%	
	Frequency	580	395	975	
Sales and Services	%	62.4%	37.6%	100.0%	
	Frequency	955	575	1530	
Arts/Culture/Sports	%	63.4%	36.6%	100.0%	
	Frequency	130	75	205	
Social Sciences/ Government Services/ Education/Religion	%	68.7%	31.3%	100.0%	
	Frequency	570	260	830	
Health	%	44.4%	55.6%	100.0%	
	Frequency	100	125	225	
Natural and Applied Sciences	%	53.3%	46.7%	100.0%	
	Frequency	245	215	460	
Finance/Administration	%	59.7%	40.3%	100.0%	
	Frequency	600	405	1005	
Management	%	59.4%	40.6%	100.0%	
	Frequency	410	280	690	
		Non-movers	Movers	TOTAL	
Chi Square		<.0001			
Phi Coefficient Cramer's V		0.1225			

NOTE: 1178 observations were deleted due to missing values for the response or explanatory

Table 3.7: Logistic regression of mover/non-mover status on background variables, showing regression coefficients, odds ratios and confidence intervals for odds ratios. Analysis of 2001 Census sample data – Movement from Territories to Provinces (n=7430)

Predictor Variables	Description	Coefficients	Pr > Chi Square	Omitted Categories	Odds Ratios	95% Wald Confidence Limits	
Intercept		0.4417	0.0008	-			
Sex - Female	Female	0.1882	0.0071	Male	1.207	1.053	1.384
Age Group	15-29	0.2308	0.0022	30-44	1.260	1.087	1.460
Age Group	45-59	-0.0665	0.3802	30-44	0.936	0.807	1.085
Age Group	60 and over	0.0958	0.6098	30-44	1.100	0.762	1.590
Aboriginal Identity	Aboriginal	-2.3663	<.0001	Non-Aboriginal	0.094	0.081	0.108
Education	Less than High School	-0.1542	0.2274	High School Completed	0.857	0.667	1.101
Education	Post-Secondary Education	-0.1748	0.1234	High School Completed	0.840	0.672	1.049
Occupation	Management	-0.3207	0.0032	Sales and Services	0.726	0.586	0.898
Occupation	Finance/Administration	-0.0418	0.6720	Sales and Services	0.959	0.790	1.164
Occupation	Natural and Applied Sciences	0.00938	0.9400	Sales and Services	1.009	0.791	1.289
Occupation	Health	0.2408	0.1453	Sales and Services	1.272	0.920	1.759
Occupation	Social Sciences/Government Services/Education/Religion	-0.4984	<.0001	Sales and Services	0.609	0.492	0.750
Occupation	Arts/Culture/Sports	0.1120	0.5300	Sales and Services	1.119	0.789	1.587
Occupation	Supervisors in Trades and Transportation	0.2510	0.0154	Sales and Services	1.285	1.049	1.575
Occupation	Natural Resources	0.6511	0.0002	Sales and Services	1.918	1.366	2.691
Occupation	Manufacturing	1.3548	<.0001	Sales and Services	3.876	2.437	6.165

Table 4 series: Provinces to Territories

Table 4.1: Total movers from Provinces to Territories using 2001 Census sample data (n=4,841,310)

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Freq.	Cumulative Percent
Non-movers	4833650	99.84%	4833650	99.84%
Movers	7660	0.16%	4841310	100.00%

Table 4.2: Movers from Provinces to Territories by Aboriginal Identity using 2001 Census sample data (n=4,841,310)

	Aboriginal		Non-Aboriginal		TOTAL
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	
Non-movers	305065	99.6%	4528585	99.9%	4833650
Movers	1185	0.4%	6475	0.1%	7660
TOTAL	306249	100.0%	4535059	100.0%	4841310
Chi Square	<.0001				
Phi Coefficient/Cramer's V	-0.0150				

Table 4.3: Movers from Provinces to Territories by Sex using 2001 Census sample data (n=4,841,310)

	Female		Male		TOTAL
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	
Non-movers	2478310	99.9%	2355340	99.8%	4833650
Movers	3775	0.1%	3885	0.2%	7660
TOTAL	2482084	100.0%	2359224	100.0%	4841310
Chi Square	0.0005				
Phi Coefficient/Cramer's V	0.0016				

Table 4.4: Movers from Provinces to Territories by Age Group using 2001 Census sample data (n=4,841,310)

	15-29		30-44		45-59		60 and over		TOTAL
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	
Non-movers	1202065	99.8%	1445450	99.8%	1202675	99.9%	983660	100.0%	4833650
Movers	2855	0.2%	3030	0.2%	1535	0.1%	240	<0.1%	7660
TOTAL	1204920	100.0%	1448280	100.0%	1204210	100.0%	983900	100.0%	4841310
Chi Square	<.0001								
Phi Coefficient/Cramer's V	0.0198								

Table 4.5: Movers from Provinces to Territories by Education using 2001 Census sample data (n=4,841,310)

	Less than High School		High School completed		Post-Secondary Education		TOTAL
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	
Non-movers	1571430	99.9%	665105	99.9%	2597115	99.8%	4833650
Movers	1170	0.1%	745	0.1%	5745	0.2%	7660
TOTAL	1572600	100.0%	665850	100.0%	2602860	100.0%	4841310
Chi Square	<.0001						
Phi Coefficient/Cramer's V	0.0172						

Table 4.6: Movers from Provinces to Territories by Occupation using 2001 Census sample data (n=4,841,310)

TOTAL		3399910	7200	3407110
Manufacturing	%	100.0%	<0.1%	100.0%
	Frequency	231040	65	231105
	%	99.9 %	0.1%	100.0%
Natural Resources	Frequency	172525	120	172645
	%	99.8%	0.2%	100.0%
	Frequency	495205	795	496000
Supervisors in Trades and Transportation	%	99.8%	0.2%	100.0%
	Frequency	830930	1695	832625
	%	99.8%	0.2%	100.0%
Sales and Services	Frequency	97655	225	97880
	%	99.6%	0.4%	100.0%
	Frequency	269775	1195	270970
Social Sciences/ Government Services/ Education/ Religion	%	99.8%	0.2%	100.0%
	Frequency	167795	415	168210
	%	99.7%	0.3%	100.0%
Health	Frequency	206325	660	206985
	%	99.8 %	0.2%	100.0%
	Frequency	589710	1100	590810
Natural and Applied Sciences	%	99.7%	0.3%	100.0%
	Frequency	338950	930	339880
	%	99.7%	0.3%	100.0%
Finance/Administration	Frequency	338950	930	339880
	%	99.7%	0.3%	100.0%
	Frequency	338950	930	339880
Management	%	99.7%	0.3%	100.0%
	Frequency	338950	930	339880
	%	99.7%	0.3%	100.0%
Non-movers				
Movers				
TOTAL				
Chi Square		> .0001		
Phi Coefficient		0.0209		
Cramer's V				

NOTE: 1434193 observations were deleted due to missing values for the response or explanatory

Table 4.7: Logistic regression of mover/non-mover status on background variables, showing regression coefficients, odds ratios and confidence intervals for odds ratios. Analysis of 2001 Census sample data – Movement from Provinces to Territories (n=4,841,310)

Predictor Variables	Description	Coefficients	Pr > Chi Square	Omitted Categories	Odds Ratios	95% Wald Confidence Limits	
Intercept		-6.4213	<.0001	-			
Sex - Female	Female	-0.1539	<.0001	Male	0.857	0.814	0.903
Age Group	15-29	0.3331	<.0001	30-44	1.395	1.322	1.473
Age Group	45-59	-0.3878	<.0001	30-44	0.679	0.637	0.723
Age Group	60 and over	-1.0605	<.0001	30-44	0.346	0.292	0.411
Aboriginal Identity	Aboriginal	1.0762	<.0001	Non-Aboriginal	2.933	2.741	3.140
Education	Less than High School	-0.2312	<.0001	High School Completed	0.794	0.719	0.876
Education	Post-Secondary Education	0.3564	<.0001	High School Completed	1.428	1.318	1.547
Occupation	Management	0.3836	<.0001	Sales and Services	1.468	1.350	1.596
Occupation	Finance/Administration	-0.0264	0.5076	Sales and Services	0.974	0.901	1.053
Occupation	Natural and Applied Sciences	0.3463	<.0001	Sales and Services	1.414	1.287	1.554
Occupation	Health	0.2404	<.0001	Sales and Services	1.272	1.138	1.421
Occupation	Social Sciences/Government Services/Education/Religion	0.7144	<.0001	Sales and Services	2.043	1.890	2.208
Occupation	Arts/Culture/Sports	0.0703	0.3239	Sales and Services	1.073	0.933	1.234
Occupation	Supervisors in Trades and Transportation	-0.2361	<.0001	Sales and Services	0.790	0.723	0.863
Occupation	Natural Resources	-0.9975	<.0001	Sales and Services	0.369	0.306	0.444
Occupation	Manufacturing	-1.8960	<.0001	Sales and Services	0.150	0.117	0.193

Table 5 series: Interview Summary Data**Table 5.1:** Top reasons for migrating, according to respondents in qualitative interviews (n=8)

	DJ	SJ	CK	NP	LT	MB	PN	DQ
1	Education	Employment	Taking Opportunities	Family related	Education	Education	Employment	Education
2	Family	Family related	Employment	Home	*No actual list	Family related	Health care	Employment
3	To 'get away'	Education	Education	Education		Employment	Sharing Inuit culture	To 'get away'
4	Family related	Access to amenities	Family related	Comfort of Nunavut				Access to amenities
5	Access to amenities	To 'get away'	To 'get away'	Political Closeness				Family related
6	Employment		Environment	Employment				
7	Friends		Access to amenities	Access to amenities				
8			Familiarity	To 'get away'				
9			Large Inuit population					

Table 5.2: Top 5 motivations as identified by interviewees – summary of Table 5.1

Education	29
Employment	21
Family related	20
To 'get away'	8
Access to amenities	5

#1 = 5 points, #2 = 4 points ... #5 = 1 point

Table 6: Top 5 places of origin and destination for Nunavut Territory, 1996-2001 (Statistics Canada)

Nunavut Territory	# of migrants	%
Largest inflows		
Northwest Territories	300	11.9
Nfld.Lab. Non-CMA areas	220	8.7
Ottawa-Hull (1)	200	7.9
Ontario non-CMA areas	160	6.3
Nova Scotia non-CMA areas	160	6.3
Total inflow	2,510	

Largest outflows		
Northwest Territories	415	14.6
Ottawa-Hull (1)	245	8.6
Edmonton	195	6.9
Alberta non-CMA areas	185	6.5
B.C. Non-CMA areas	180	6.3
Total outflow	2,840	

Net migrants (2)	-330
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(1) Now known as Ottawa-Gatineau

(2) Difference between the number of incoming and outgoing migrants from internal migration

Table 7: The relationship between the value of nominal-level measures of association and the strength of the relationship (Healey, 2005: 342)

Value	Strength
<i>If the value is</i>	<i>The strength of the relationship is</i>
between 0.00 and 0.10	weak
between 0.11 and 0.30	moderate
greater than	strong

Table 8: Chi Square and Phi Coefficient values for all variables – Descriptions of the strength of the association between the independent variables and the dependent variable (mobility) - Southbound

Nunavut to Urban

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Chi Square</u>	<u>Significance</u>	<u>Phi Coefficient</u>	<u>Strength of Association</u>
Aboriginal Identity	<.0001	Significant	0.4210	Strong
Sex	0.2583	Insignificant	0.0252	Weak
Age Group	<.0001	Significant	0.1158	Moderate
Education	<.0001	Significant	0.1635	Moderate
Occupation	<.0001	Significant	0.1600	Moderate

Table 9: Chi Square and Phi Coefficient values for all variables – Descriptions of the strength of the association between the independent variables and the dependent variable (mobility) - Northbound

Urban to Nunavut

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Chi Square</u>	<u>Significance</u>	<u>Phi Coefficient</u>	<u>Strength of Association</u>
Aboriginal Identity	<.0001	Significant	-0.0064	Weak
Sex	0.1720	Insignificant	0.0006	Weak
Age Group	<.0001	Significant	0.0087	Weak
Education	<.0001	Significant	0.0099	Weak
Occupation	<.0001	Significant	0.0143	Weak

Appendix F: Conceptual Definitions – Youth

Youth has been defined by Southcott as individuals between the ages of 15 and 29 (Southcott, 2006:39; Malatest, 2002:7; Dupuy et al, 2000:3), despite earlier research measuring youth between the ages of 15 and 25 (UNESCO, 1969:5). This modern definition is relevant, yet problematic for the social and cultural constructions of youth. The easiest way to define this demographic is by age, however, there are many other options for defining youth which vary between Inuit cultures and the rest of Canada. The focus of this study will be on Inuk¹⁷ individuals, acknowledgement that there are differences between definitions of youth in the north and south is necessary. These cultural differences are relevant to the research as Inuit are leaving their communities to live in larger urban centres in the south, where there are fewer cultural similarities. In my personal experiences working for a corporation that provided summer programming for youth between the ages of 13 and 19, I found a variety of different definitions of youth coming from the parents of participants. To a parent, their child may be quite mature for their age, and have characteristics of a 'youth' instead of a child under the age of 10. This brings up several issues, such as the fact that youth can be defined not only by age, but whether or not they have reached puberty (discussed later under Life Scripts), if they are attending high school, if their maturity (and responsibility) is at a certain level, or by certain cultural practices, such as marriage or walkabouts (an example from Australian Aboriginal peoples), and more. These have problems, such as differing ages of reaching puberty between all individuals, varying intelligence levels and different access to resources that can influence education and the environment that the individual grows up in can affect one's maturity (for example having to help provide for siblings at a young age in a single parent household). Defining youth in chronological terms is common, however it is inadequate in providing a common denominator for the "eminently disparate problems specific to each of the

¹⁷ Singular of Inuit

multitudinous categories of individuals that make up this age group, even in a single country” (UNESCO, 1969:5).

Another way to define youth is as a ‘state of mind’, therefore including all of those who are distinguished by “a certain quality of the imagination, courage rather than timidity, and a preference for adventure over comfort” (UNESCO, 1969 6). The problems with this type of definition are endless: how does one measure imagination, courage or sense of adventure? Are some senior citizens not similar because they share some of these same qualities upon retirement, where they can then ‘reinvent’ their lives, goals, aspirations and more? What about small children? How could one ever begin to distinguish between a courageous and creative 6 year old with an artistically expressive 35 year old in terms of imagination? If that definition were used all of the results would be biased, as the participants would not only be from an incredibly broad age range, but their motivations would not be representative of any particular age category. For example, if all of the participants are to be courageous Inuit youth, then I might not get the chance to interview those youth that fit the ‘timid’ description, and have migrated from Iqaluit in order to get away from family pressures and more. The final result of the research might then suggest that more youth are leaving for Ottawa from rural northern communities because of a plan to boldly step out and into an urban community, while ignoring a lot of the social/environmental/economic pressures that may influence the average Inuit youth’s migratory decision. Finally, this definition does not factor in cultural differences, whether it is between northern and southern Canada, or Australia and Zambia. Different cultures display qualities such as courage and imagination in a variety of manners so responses to an interview would yield a myriad of results that would be incredibly taxing to categorize with inconclusive results.

In an article on youth published by UNESCO, another potential definition of youth is presented; placing it in terms of its educational, social and family situation, including any person that is attending

school, has not started work nor started their own household (1969:5). Published in 1969, the article shows evidence of bias through the description of gendered activities ('*he* who has not started *his* own household'), however, the overall concepts are still relevant despite the different student ages due to changes in educational curricula as well as different roles that youth participate in once they graduate and join the workforce. This leads to another problem in definition: because of changes in educational expectations students must graduate high school then pursue a University/College diploma in order to obtain work due to the inflation of academic credentials.

One final option for definition is defining youth by what it is not. By listing and identifying all of the qualities that do *not* describe youth, we would thereby be able to create a working model of youth. However, this would be unnecessarily broad, and ineffective in relation to this research. Certain studies simply do not have youth as a category. For example, the statistical profile of Inuit in Canada only has adults and children, with adults having assimilated the youth category, defined as anyone over the age of 15. In that study, children were defined as those aged from 0 – 14 (Inuit Taipirit Kanatami, 2007).

Within the concept of youth, there are two different sets of characteristics that must also be explored, and have more literature available. These are Rural and Urban youth. UNESCO refers to rural youth as having a role in rural economies, traditional structures while typically suffering the effects of partial or latent unemployment (UNESCO, 1969:7). According to the same article, the urban young are sometimes under- or unemployed and a good proportion of them have not been able to find their place in a social or cultural context, therefore they are reduced to living by their wits on the fringes of society, leading to "delinquency, dissatisfaction or malaise" (7). With both rural and urban definitions put together, youth becomes its own category, with its own dynamics affecting social transformation (8). Despite the fact that this article was written at a very volatile time for youth movements and protests

(1969), many of the points and definitions suggestions are still valid. Those activities were related to the Western world, whereas Inuit have not experienced the same kind of violent movements.

Appendix G: Conceptual Definitions - Migration

This is based on questions regarding migratory history asked in the Survey of Living Conditions in the Arctic (SLiCA):

Have you ever lived outside of this community for a year or more?

- If yes why did you live somewhere else and why did you move back?

Have you ever considered moving away from this community in the last five years?

- If yes, why have you considered moving away?
- If no, why did you choose to remain in the community?

During the past 12 months have you been away from the community for one month or more?

- Reasons: work, education, illness, camp or cabin, vacation, family, participate in traditional activities (hunting, fishing, trapping, gathering), other. (Huskey et al., 2006)

The difference between the SLiCA survey and my own questionnaire is that my interviews will be based on the previous research of R.A. Malatest & Associates (2002), using the top five motivations from that particular study on rural to urban migration. The similarity between the two surveys is the open ended nature of the questions that will allow for Inuit youth to voice their own opinions about their motivations for migrating to another community before being prompted with the top five reasons for migration put forth by R.A. Malatest's study. Disparities in definitions of migration are certainly an issue; however, my definition is a combination of the one presented in the SLiCA and other definitions suggested by other existing surveys.

It is important to acknowledge that there are different types of population movements that are considered migration. Social migration is not necessarily one event, but often a series of events with people migrating to more than one location. As the SLiCA survey suggests, the minimum amount of time that will be considered as migration will be travel that exceeds one month, as this will allow for the greatest variety in responses. The minimum of one month will allow individuals involved in seasonal and traditional activities to participate in the study, while also including students and other migrants

who leave for several months at a time. Also, migration depends on how the regions are examined, for instance, migration between towns may not be counted when analyzing Census data that focuses on migration between Nunavut and other provinces. Similarly, the Northwest Territories, the Yukon and Nunavut were often analyzed together, partially because of their northern similarity, but in the case of Nunavut also because of its only brief history, having previously been included in the Northwest Territories (INAC, 1985). Therefore, it depends on whether the community itself is the unit of study. With Census data, one can get values for net migration; however this is less informative than information regarding the population flows to and from the region. Census data also typically underestimates migration flows as return migration, while not identifying other multiple moves (Grant & Vanderkamp, 1981:1).