



CHAIR ON ABORIGINAL CONDITION
Canada research chair on comparative aboriginal condition

Poverty in Nunavik

State of Knowledge

G rard Duhaime

May 2009



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ISBN : 978-2-921438-78-0

Legal deposit : Bibliothèque nationale du Québec, 2 quarter
National Library of Canada, 2 quarter

POVERTY IN NUNAVIK. STATE OF KNOWLEDGE.

Gérard Duhaime

SUMMARY

Based on currently available studies and data, this status report takes stock of knowledge on poverty in Nunavik. It concludes that:

- According to the most severe indicators and data available, poverty affects between 20 and 30% of private households in Nunavik.
- According to the least severe indicators and data available, 44% of private households in Nunavik live with less than a minimum-comfort budget.
- These proportions are up to three times greater than those observed elsewhere in Québec.
- Single-parent families are among the hardest hit by poverty in Nunavik. These families make up half of the households living below the poverty baselines measured in this status report.
- Elders whose sole income is federal pension benefits are also among the hardest hit by poverty in Nunavik.
- The poverty measurements calculated in this status report represent imperfect approximations. They are based on indicators that were not designed to report on the situation in Nunavik and on data produced from sums with major limitations.

Further to analysis of poverty measurements and an analysis of anti-poverty strategies around the world, this status report recommends:

- That a broad view of poverty be adopted in order to orient future research and to design an anti-poverty strategy for Nunavik.
- That future research designed to support anti-poverty strategy discussions systematically attempt to determine the importance of the conditions associated with poverty in Nunavik.
- That knowledge of the roots and manifestations of poverty in Nunavik and a qualitative investigation be used to shed light on this issue. An investigation would allow information to be collected from volunteer participants directly affected by poverty and those who work with them. It would lead to a picture of real experiences and would serve as a vital additional source of information for designing an anti-poverty strategy for Nunavik.
- That future research designed to support anti-poverty strategy discussions make adjustments to poverty indicators and baselines in cooperation with the *Institut de la statistique du Québec* (ISQ) and the *Ministère de l'Emploi et de la Solidarité sociale*, in addition to carrying out in-depth analysis of detailed Statistics Canada data in cooperation with Statistics Canada and the ISQ.

- That the development and adoption of an anti-poverty strategy be carried out through Nunavik-wide forums. Participants at initial forums would be presented with the results of the recommended research work. They would be able to provide the data needed to take stock of existing sectoral measures aimed at combating poverty, as well as identifying their benefits, effectiveness and limitations. The participants would also be called on to report on the reality of poverty in Nunavik and to provide input on tentative solutions. These contributions would subsequently be compiled in a summary report on the state of the situation that would propose an anti-poverty strategy for Nunavik. The strategy would be reviewed during major consultations and debated at a second general forum, before being adopted and submitted to the appropriate authorities.

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1. INTRODUCTION

What do we know about the state of poverty in Nunavik? This status report attempts to provide a methodical response to the question, based on available studies, indicators and data. It will moreover serve as the basis for a future examination to accurately measure poverty and to design an anti-poverty strategy that takes into account the distinctive faces of this phenomenon in Nunavik.

The status report is divided into three sections. The first section establishes an operational definition of poverty. It then presents the characteristics of different measurement methods for defining poverty that are applied later in this document to assess available data. The second section offers an overview of poverty throughout the world, in Canada and among Aboriginal peoples, as well as presenting the results of poverty measurement methods applied to the situation in Nunavik. Finally, the third section presents a few strategies tested in different parts of the world to fight poverty and attempts to draw useful conclusions for Nunavik.

2. DEFINING AND MEASURING POVERTY

2.1. Definitions

There are many definitions of poverty according to whether one's outlook is broad or narrow. Taking a broad view, the World Bank (2001) defines poverty as material deprivation, low levels of health and education, vulnerability and exposure to risk, as well as voicelessness and powerlessness. Similarly, poverty may be viewed as a state in which minimum standards of health, housing, food and education, as determined by current scientific knowledge, are not met (Harrington, 1963).

To their credit, these definitions take into account many aspects of poverty. Notwithstanding, they pose significant challenges in terms of measurement. Considerable resources would in fact be necessary to translate these definitions into valid poverty measurements; resources that we do not possess for this status report. Consequently, our definition will be limited to include current knowledge on the topic in Nunavik and to measure the phenomenon using existing indicators and data.

In this perspective, poverty will essentially be defined as an economic phenomenon. According to Frappier (1994), economic poverty means an inability to access goods and services that results in a standard of living appreciably lower than the societal level. This definition orients the measurement towards individual cash income.

2.2. Poverty measurement methods

Several methods exist for measuring poverty. Most of these methods are

described in two reference works produced by the Québec government (Morasse, 2005; Morin, 2006).

Some of these methods take a broad view of poverty, as mentioned above. The Human Development Index, created by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), classifies countries and regions on an ordered scale. But the score obtained is a composite measurement of "development", based on specific indicators: life expectancy, level of schooling, and per capita gross domestic product. In Canada, the First Nations Community Well-Being Index (CWB; Cooke, 2005) takes the same approach. It is also a composite measurement based on specific indicators: education, labour force activity and employment, income and housing. Neither index however directly measures poverty; instead, they identify regions where poverty is more or less significant, in comparison with results obtained for other regions or countries.

No official method for measuring poverty exists in Canada because there is no official definition of this reality. Notwithstanding, statistics agencies produce data that make it possible to measure comparable realities. The methods may be divided into two main categories.

In the first category, statistics agencies and researchers take the distribution of cash income in the population and divide it into uniform segments or brackets. For example, dividing the population into ten equal groups produces "deciles" that each contains the same number of persons; the individuals or households are placed in order according to their incomes. Next, the total, average or median income is calculated for each group, making it

possible to identify income from the most disadvantaged to the most advantaged. This method provides a glimpse of how wealth is distributed.

In the second category, statistics agencies and researchers establish a baseline for the cash income of individuals and households. For example, a “low-income cut-off” exists: households that receive less income than the baseline are deemed “low income”. However, different baselines exist. In most cases, they are determined on the basis of the cost of the goods necessary to live adequately, if not comfortably. Once a baseline is established, the proportion of the population that has a cash income below the baselines is measured.

2.3. Poverty measurement methods in Nunavik

No specific method exists for measuring poverty in Nunavik, and few studies have tried to establish such a method. Notwithstanding, this status report determines if it is possible to use existing methods and applies them to available data in order to identify, although roughly, the scope of poverty in Nunavik.

In most of the cases examined, the baseline method is utilized. For the purposes of this report, this approach is more useful than the simple cash-income distribution method since it allows the situation of households living below the baselines to be qualified in terms of each baseline. Subsequently, this report attempts to estimate the proportion of households in Nunavik that have cash incomes below the cut-offs, based on available data.

3. STATE OF POVERTY

3.1. Poverty around the world

According to the World Bank, poverty affects 1.2 billion people around the world and 2.8 billion people live on less than \$2 per day. Although poverty is retreating in certain regions, such as East Asia (where the number of poor has dropped from 420 million to 280 million), it continues to rise in Latin America, South Asia and sub-Saharan Africa. (World Bank, 2001).

Moreover, the spin-offs of improved living conditions and the increase in wealth over the last decade have not been distributed equitably. Consequently, infant mortality around the globe remains as high as 6% ; moreover 9% of school-age boys and 14% of school-age girls never attend elementary school. The World Bank has also pointed out that the gap between living conditions in have and have-not countries is continually growing: 50% of children in poor nations are undernourished while this is true for only 5% of children in wealthy nations.

Certain categories of individuals are more likely to be affected by poverty, due to their age, their ethnic or social origin, their sex, their geographical or family situation, and so on. For example, in Latin America, Aboriginal peoples are more vulnerable to poverty (Psacharopoulos et al., 1994). In Guatemala, 87% of all Aboriginal households live below the poverty line and, in Peru, 79% of Aboriginal persons are poor. There is also inequality between men and women. According to the 2005 *Human Development Report*, in India the infant mortality rate for children aged under five is 50% greater among girls (UNDP, 2005). And in Canada, the rate of poverty is always

greater among women than men.

3.2. Poverty in Canada

Although Canada has a ranking among the top nations in the Human Development Index, poverty nonetheless exists in the country. According to the National Council of Welfare (NCW), 4.9 million people were living in poverty in Canada in 2003 (NCW, 2006).

As well, income inequality is significant. In 2001, the 10% of families with the highest incomes took home 28% of all the income earned by Canadians, while the 10% of families with the lowest incomes took home only 2% of the Canadian total (Statistics Canada, 2003).

The poor in Canada are not starving as is the case in other regions of the world; rather, they are characterized by a dependency on food banks, substandard housing, less access to health care, limited schooling, and they are unable to obtain the goods necessary for their long-term physical well-being. Those that are most vulnerable to poverty in Canada are Aboriginal peoples, the disabled, seniors, single-parent families, children and new immigrants (Ross et al., 2000).

In 2003, the poverty rate was estimated at 16%. The type of household that had the least severe level of poverty was senior couples (5%), while the type of household that had the most severe level was single mothers (49%). The number of children living in poverty was determined to be 1.2 million (18%) (NCW, 2006). According to Campaign 2000, in Canada one out of every six children lives in poverty, and in Aboriginal communities this level is one in four.

Single-parent families in Canada, especially those headed by women are poorer than other families (Ross et al., 2000:70). In 1997, 56% of single mothers were poor (Phipps, 2003:9). These women tend to be young, less educated, and have more children who are often young. As well, in 1995, 31% of disabled people were considered poor (Phipps, 2003:10).

3.3. Poverty among Aboriginal peoples in Canada

Compared to the rest of the population of Canada, Aboriginal peoples record one of the highest rates of poverty. In 1995, poverty among Aboriginal peoples was around twice the level for non-Aboriginals. In regions such as Manitoba and Saskatchewan, more than 50% of Aboriginal peoples were considered poor (Ross et al., 2000:82).

The report prepared by the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (1996) stressed the deplorable living conditions of Aboriginal peoples. The report indicated that 33% of Inuit households were living in substandard housing, affecting their health and safety. Poverty was also identified as one of the causes of domestic violence. These poor living conditions also contribute to delinquency and impact on the physical and psychological health of children and adults.

There are other inequalities between Aboriginal peoples and the rest of the population of the country. According to Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, Inuit earn less than other Canadians. In 2000, the income of Inuit women was 82% of the level of other Canadian women; the income of Inuit men was 60% of the level of other Canadian men (Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2007:4). Not only do Inuit earn less than other Canadians,

but they are faced with a cost of living that is higher in the North (Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2007:3). Finally, Inuit must support families that tend to be larger (Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2007:10).

4. POVERTY IN NUNAVIK ACCORDING TO AVAILABLE DOCUMENTATION

According to Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (2007), among Canadian Inuit those living in Northern Québec have the lowest incomes.

This assertion echoes earlier studies. In her detailed study at Kuujuaq, Chabot (2004:89) found that poverty affected 55% of households, 68% of the population, 74% of children and 71% of women. According to the author, women and children suffered the most from this situation (Chabot, 2004:64).

This study as well as that by Vanier and Grey (1998) and the report prepared by the Kativik Regional Development Council (2002) all showed that, in addition to women and children, the other groups most affected by poverty were elders, the disabled, young couples and adults enrolled in school.

Poverty has major impacts on the population of Nunavik. The Kativik Regional Development Council report (2002) revealed that the region's population faced food insecurity, material deprivation, indebtedness, critical housing needs, as well as specific health problems. Similarly, Chabot (2004) as well as Vanier and Grey (1998) showed that the supply of food was limited at Kuujuaq. At the time of their observations, some families were unable to feed themselves during certain periods; others relied on their extended family and the community freezer to access food. As well, some families experienced periods when their only source of food was locally harvested wildlife; their food supply was therefore not varied.

Most dwellings in Nunavik are overcrowded and those occupied by the poor often lack basic appliances and furnishings. According to Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (2004), taking into consideration all Inuit regions, the rate of overcrowding is highest in Nunavik. According to Statistics Canada (cited by Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami 2004), 68% of Nunavik Inuit were living in overcrowded dwellings in 2001. Overcrowding impacts on the health of residents, contributing to the transmission of disease and impeding recovery (Grey and Vanier, 1998:55). Material deprivation also affects the physical and psychological health of residents. It appears as anaemia and other malnutrition-related diseases that strike children, as well as psychological stress among adults. Furthermore, Nunavik Inuit have a lower life expectancy than other Canadians (idem:47). In 2001, life expectancy was 65.7 years in Nunavik, while it was 79 for all of Canada and 79.2 for all of Québec.

Overcrowded dwellings in Nunavik also generate many problems, according to Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (2004) and the report prepared by the *Commission des droits de la personne et des droits de la jeunesse* (CDPDJ) (2007). For example, the rate of tuberculosis is 25 times greater than the Canadian average; the infant mortality rate is higher; overcrowding produces adverse effects on education due to the lack of space and quiet needed to do homework; the lack of privacy exacerbates tensions, contributing to domestic violence and other types of crime; there is an increased risk of child abuse, especially in households where alcohol abuse and violence are present; social workers are in short supply due to the housing shortage.

The available studies moreover revealed some factors that help explain, at least in part, the state of poverty in Nunavik and the state of certain specific groups.

expensive.

Inuit's low level of schooling restricts their access to skilled, well-paid jobs, making it one of the major causes of poverty in Nunavik, according to Vanier and Grey (1998:39). These authors maintained that children and the disabled are most affected by poverty due to the neglect and violence they suffer (Vanier and Grey 1998:35). Poverty among elders was largely attributable to their low incomes (Bernard, 2005). Some elders were not properly informed of their eligibility for government allowances (Vanier and Grey, 1998). This situation was all the more serious for individuals whose only income is from government transfer payments and in light of the fact that these payments were not adjusted to take into account the higher consumer prices in Nunavik (Duhaime, 2006). Moreover, many elders were caring for several dependants. More than half of the households occupied by elders were overcrowded; on average, there were five occupants per dwelling (Bernard, 2005).

According to Chabot (2004), as well as Vanier and Grey (1998:35, 43), poverty was not only the result of inadequate income or the high number of dependents, but poor household budgeting sometimes related to gambling, drinking and drugs. The Kativik Regional Development Council (2002) also identified the high costs involved in the practice of traditional activities. Store-bought foods were also expensive: a standard food basket cost more in Nunavik in 2000 than in the Quebec City area, and in 2006 this standard basket was 57% more

5. POVERTY IN NUNAVIK ACCORDING TO AVAILABLE INDICATORS

5.1. *Research strategy*

The studies referred to in the preceding section have many limitations and do not produce valid measurements of the state of poverty for the entire region. But is it possible, with current indicators and data, to measure poverty in Nunavik? An attempt is made to answer this question below.

It must be noted at the outset that this attempt faces multiple obstacles. To begin, the approximate calculations carried out apply baselines that do not directly measure poverty, but are rather indicators of poverty. This initial limitation is not only true in Nunavik but in every region and country where they are applied, as explained earlier in this status report.

Secondly, given the limits of this status report, an in-depth review of the data bases of Statistics Canada and the *Institut de la statistique du Québec* (ISQ) could not be carried out in order to generate calculations that would be consistent with the selected baselines. We are forced to work with the income brackets established in previously compiled and available data. The bounds of these brackets are never precisely in line with the baselines applied and, for this reason, the results produced can only ever be indicative: sometimes the results underestimate the situation and other times they overestimate it, while the scope of these differences can not be known with accuracy.

It must therefore be reiterated that the calculations generated in this status report are not completely accurate

results, but rather imperfect approximations. Despite the limitations, these approximations may serve to orient future work aimed at producing scientifically valid measurements. In the meantime, they will portray “orders of magnitude” which, for lack of anything more complete, should permit the development of an anti-poverty strategy for Nunavik.

In light of the preceding, we adopted the following research strategy. First, sources of income data for the population of Nunavik are identified. Essentially, this data is drawn from Statistics Canada, specifically from the 2001 and 2006 censuses and from the post-census Aboriginal Peoples Survey and the Arctic Supplement, for which the questionnaire was prepared by the Canada Research Chair in Comparative Aboriginal Conditions in collaboration with Statistics Canada as well as national and regional Inuit organizations. Data from 2001 and 2006 is used for the following reasons. In 2001, the survey questionnaires were greatly improved regarding the measurement of Northern incomes; available poverty indicators are often based on the year 2000; at least one indicator that measures poverty is based on the year 2005; and finally, it is appropriate to retain the most recent measurement available in order to produce a picture that is as close as possible to current reality.

Another income data source is the ISQ. In the case of both Statistics Canada and the ISQ, most of the selected data may be found on the website www.nunivaat.org.

Next, the adopted research strategy examines various poverty delineation methods described in the *Inventaire des indicateurs de pauvreté et d'exclusion sociale* (Morasse, 2005) and in the

Recueil statistique sur la pauvreté et les inégalités socioéconomiques au Québec (Morin, 2006), both published by the Québec government. Large passages are in fact drawn from these publications, though they are not always dealt with fully, specifically in the broad descriptions of the selected indicators provided later in this section. The research strategy refers only to the indicators that were deemed to be applicable in Nunavik, taking into account available data.

Finally, the selected indicators are applied to available income data.

5.2. Available data sources

5.2.1. Institut de la Statistique du Québec

The ISQ has published tables concerning the number of persons living in low-income families and the rate of low income in Nunavik (which it identifies as “Kativik”). This data is reproduced herein in its entirety, based on the low-income measure, which is defined below.

5.2.2. Statistics Canada

Further to the 2001 and 2006 censuses and the post-census surveys for the same years on Aboriginal peoples, Statistics Canada published its data on income brackets and median income. This data is used herein.

Notwithstanding, a few cautionary remarks are required. According to Statistics Canada terminology in the *2001 Census Dictionary*, there are three types of households or families. First, the “private household” is composed of one person or a group of persons living in a same dwelling (Table 1). The income of a private household is the

sum of the income of each person living in the dwelling. This concept seems to be the most apt for describing the economic situation of households in Nunavik, based on the hypothesis that all the persons living in a same dwelling share their incomes. This data is available for 2000 and 2005, and the highlights appear in Table 2. Nonetheless, the results produced by this data are slightly underestimated since they do not include the incomes of persons living in collective households, such as elders homes.

The next type of household is the “census family”. The census family is composed of a married couple (with or without children belonging to one or both spouses), a couple living common-law (with or without children belonging to one or both partners) or a lone parent (regardless of matrimonial status) living with at least one child in a same dwelling. A couple living common-law may be of opposite or same sex. “Children” in a census family include grandchildren living with at least one grandparent with no parents present. Without completing a special compilation, this data is only available for 2000, and the highlights appear in Table 3. The census family may contain more members than a private household.

The third type of household is the “economic family”. The economic family is a group of two or more persons who live in a same dwelling and are related to each other by blood, marriage, common-law or adoption. Without completing a special compilation, this data is only available for 2005, and the highlights appear in Table 4. The economic family may contain more members than a census family.

The first cautionary remark is therefore as follows: only the data concerning

private households will produce conceptually identical measurements for the two years under study, while no comparisons can be made between 2000 and 2005 for the measurements concerning the two other types of families.

The second cautionary remark is: the measurements for the two other types of families will undoubtedly produce higher results since the number of these families is greater than the number of private households and, consequently, the incomes are lower. Analysis of these measurements is nonetheless presented for information purposes.

The third cautionary remark is more significant. While Statistics Canada has published the median income for all of Nunavik in 2000 and 2006, as shown in Table 5, this information is not available for private households, census families and economic families. Without completing a special compilation based on Statistic Canada's master file, it is necessary to work with the income-bracket data for each Northern village only. But this data does not correspond with actual results; it has been randomly rounded up or down to the nearest 5. In other words, in a given village for a given income bracket, \$0 to \$9999 for example, if the actual result is 7 households, the published result may be either 5 or 10. This represents a serious problem: when calculating the number of households by income bracket, the sum is the product of the randomly rounded-off data. Because the number of households by income bracket is relatively small, in most cases, the sums obtained may differ considerably from reality. To limit this blurring of sums, as best as possible, minimum and maximum values are calculated herein for each income bracket and for each type of household or family, as is the

case in tables 2, 3 and 4. Half of the maximum value was therefore added to (maximum value) or subtracted from (minimum value) the rounded-off data. Consequently, the results presented represent only approximations with an undefined margin of error.

5.3. Applicable indicators

5.3.1. Conditions

In general, the indicators developed to measure poverty are based on different characteristics, such as household size, age, place of residence (urban or rural) and so on. The baselines are most often presented as generally complex tables that require a narrowing of choices. Where applicable, the baselines with the following two characteristics were selected.

First, the baselines were selected according to a family of four. This choice was made in light of calculations of the average number of persons in a private household (tables 6 and 7). This average number was estimated in 2001 at 4.2 persons and in 2006 at 4.1 persons. By selecting baselines based on a family of four, the measurements obtained will produce systematically under-estimated results, the scope of which can not be determined exactly.

Secondly, the baselines were selected according to a family living in a rural area, which most closely matches the situation in the Northern villages. In general, the indicators developed to measure poverty are produced for a specific year. In most cases, the baselines selected are for either 2000 or 2005. This makes it possible to apply income data for 2000 to the baselines for the same year, and the income data for 2005 to the baselines for that year. Notwithstanding, one baseline in

particular is for 2002 and another is for 2003; in these two cases, income data for 2000 is applied to the baselines. In this manner, the measurements obtained produce under-estimated results, the scope of which can not be determined exactly.

In short, the general approach adopted is to produce results that are under-estimations instead of over-estimations, whenever possible. This makes it possible to conclude credibly that the actual situation is more severe than the results produced. This conservative approach is less risky than systematically over-estimating the results that, while creating a more dramatic picture of the reality, would be even more unreliable.

5.3.2. *Low income cut off (LICO)*

According to the Québec-government inventory (Morasse, 2005; Morin, 2006), the low-income cut-off is set according to the proportion of income spent by the average Canadian family for basic necessities plus 20 percentage points (as arbitrarily set by Statistics Canada) (Table 8). The cut-off is adjusted periodically further to the Survey of Household Spending.

Cut-offs are set for before- and after-tax incomes according to family size and place of residence (rural or urban of varying densities) for 2003.

5.3.3. *Low-income measure (LIM)*

The low-income measure is established as follows (Table 8). Median income is set according to family composition (couple or single-parent family) and size (number of members). Families with incomes of 50% or less of the median income are deemed low income. This measurement makes it possible to

identify not only the number of families and individuals living on low incomes but the types of families affected. This measurement covers the years 2000 and 2005.

5.3.4. *Low-income measure after-tax*

The low-income measure may also be calculated after tax (Table 8). This measure was set for 2002. Even though data is only available for private household, census family and economic family incomes before taxes, it is applied to the baseline. Using the baseline for 2000 instead of 2002 and employing income before taxes instead of income after taxes, this measure produces under-estimated results, the scope of which can not be determined exactly.

5.3.5. *Market basket measure (MBM)*

The market basket measure establishes available family income baselines for a reference family. The baselines take into account family structure and regional price indexes. They cover the year 2000. Nonetheless, the measure is not adapted to take into account prices in Nunavik. This issue is further discussed below.

5.3.6. *Sarlo baselines*

Sarlo baselines rely on a basic-needs index. They take into account family structure and available price indexes. Nonetheless, they are not adapted to basic-needs characteristics or consumer prices in Nunavik. They cover the year 2000.

5.3.7. *Montreal Diet Dispensary; subsistence budget; minimum-comfort budget*

The Montreal Diet Dispensary sets a subsistence budget that covers basic

needs. It is based on the Québec price index. According to Morasse (2005) and Morin (2006), several spending items are nonetheless out of date and do not take into account current realities. As well, the dispensary sets a minimum-comfort budget. These baselines cover the year 2000.

5.3.8. Acceptable standard of living

The acceptable standard of living was established for metropolitan Winnipeg. According to Morasse (2005) and Morin (2006), its method is similar to the method used by Sarlo although it incorporates poverty-related aspects in order to determine “well-being baselines”, rather than “survival baselines” (Sarlo). These baselines cover the year 2000.

5.3.9. Baselines applicable and consumer price discrepancies

All the baselines applied, either to data from 2000 or 2005, are established according to certain characteristics, as explained above. None of the baselines takes into account the cost of living in Nunavik.

This subsection therefore attempts to take this factor into consideration, not in order to obtain an exact measurement of poverty but to refine the orders of magnitude described in this status report.

Recent work by the authors of this status report on consumer prices in Nunavik has demonstrated significant discrepancies to Nunavik’s disadvantage for almost all budgetary items, except for housing. In 2005, a locally purchased food basket was 57% higher in Nunavik than in the Quebec City area, despite the various programs in place to correct as best as possible

these kinds of discrepancies: gasoline was 47% more expensive, snowmobiles 15% more expensive, household products 97% more expensive, and so on (Bernard, 2006). By applying these discrepancies to household consumer spending according to the distribution documented in detail for each budgetary item by Chabot (2001), an overall average difference of roughly 44% may be calculated between Nunavik and the Quebec City area. This difference may furthermore be considered the most valid approximation possible of the discrepancy in the cost of living in Nunavik.

This situation has two possible and concurrent impacts. First, the baselines for large aggregates, such as Québec and Canada, should be adjusted upward by 44% to take into account consumer prices in Nunavik. Secondly, Nunavik incomes should be lowered by 44% to take into account consumer prices in the region.

The data available for private household incomes is not subtle enough to permit the second suggested calculation. It is however possible to raise the selected baselines. To this end, a value equivalent to 44% of the baselines must be added. This operation was performed and the results are shown in Table 8. Notwithstanding, the cautionary remarks made earlier in this status report continue to apply: the data on private household incomes is not more accurate. This imperfect data, and the methodologies adopted for this purpose produce under-estimated results, the scope of which can not be determined exactly.

5.4. Results

5.4.1. Rate of low income

The ISQ publishes regional data on the rate of low income (tables 9 and 10, Figure 1). According to this data, the rate of low income in Nunavik was 20.2% in 2001, and 21.4% in 2005. These rates represented roughly 1520 families in 2001 and 1680 families in 2005. The proportions are more than two times greater than those published by the ISQ for the whole of Québec.

This data also indicates that, in 2001, 52% of persons in low-income families were single parents. In 2005, this proportion was 58% (Table 10).

Finally, this data indicates that, despite variations during this period, the rate and the number of persons were higher in 2005, compared with 2001. (Table 9, Figure 1).

These results are important. They are the only “official” results available for Nunavik and will therefore serve as a reference for comparing the results produced in this status report.

5.4.2. Baselines applied to 2000 data, without upward adjustment

Applied to data for 2000, the various baselines differ according to the “severity” of the measure and according to the minimum and maximum values. Detailed calculations are presented in Table 11 and summarized in Table 12.

The measures of acceptable standard of living and minimum-comfort budget produce the following results. The proportion of private households in Nunavik living below these baselines is likely between 22 and 30% (Table 12).

The most severe measures, which is to

say those that identify the worst poverty, produce the following results. The proportion of private households in Nunavik living in poverty is likely between 12 and 19% (Table 12). These minimum and maximum proportions are below the ISQ’s rate of low income, which is 20%. It must be understood that this discrepancy is the result of the anticipated under-estimations.

5.4.3. Baselines applied to 2000 data, with upward adjustment

Attempting to take into account the standard of living in Nunavik, the calculations produce the following results. The proportion of private households in Nunavik living below an acceptable standard of living or with less than a minimum comfort budget is likely between 33 and 44%.

The most severe measures, which is to say those that identify the worst poverty, produce the following results. The proportion of private households in Nunavik living in poverty is likely between 22 and 30% (Table 12).

5.4.4. Baselines applied to 2005 data, without upward adjustment

For 2005, the available baseline is the low-income measure (Table 12). The proportion of private households in Nunavik living below this measure likely varies between 12 and 19%. These minimum and maximum proportions are below the ISQ’s rate of low income, which is 21%. It must be understood that this discrepancy is the result of the anticipated under-estimations.

5.4.5. Baselines applied to 2005 data, with upward adjustment

Attempting to take into account the standard of living in Nunavik, the

proportion of private households in Nunavik living below the low-income measure likely varies between 19 and 28%. The minimum proportion is again below the ISQ's rate of low income, which is 21%. It must be understood that this discrepancy is the result of the anticipated under-estimations. This point is the all the more significant here because consumer prices in Nunavik are taken into account.

5.5. Results summary

The variations in the results, illustrated in figures 2 and 3, lead to the following comments. First, all the measurements that are below the ISQ's rate of low income must be considered under-estimations for all the reasons explained earlier in this status report: the basic data on private household incomes was randomly rounded up or down, making calculations less accurate; the differences between available data and the applicable baselines; and so on. Consequently, the minimal value retained will be that of the ISQ's rate of low income.

In this context, poverty affected at least 20% of households in Nunavik in 2000 or 2001, and at least 21% in 2005.

Moreover, the most probable maximum values are those produced by the most severe baselines for household incomes adjusted upward to take into account consumer prices in Nunavik. Specifically, poverty affected up to 30% of private households in 2000 and 28% in 2005. These values are three times greater than those produced by the ISQ for the whole of Québec.

Applying the least severe baselines for 2000 only (acceptable standard of living and minimum-comfort budget) with

upward adjustment, the most probable maximum value shows that up to 44% of households in Nunavik lived with less than a minimum-comfort budget in 2001.

Finally, using the other available data for 2001 (census family incomes) and for 2005 (economic family incomes), the maximum values with upward adjustment, presented in tables 3 and 4 and reproduced in figures 2 and 3, are as follows: poverty affected up to 56% of census families in 2000 (maximum value for incomes below \$40,000) and up to 29% of economic families in 2005 (maximum value for incomes below \$40,000). In our opinion, these results appear less credible than the preceding results for private households due to the cautionary remarks about methodology made earlier in this status report: the number of these families, which is higher than the number of private households, reduces incomes and increases the proportion of families deemed to be living in poverty. Moreover, even though it is not possible to perform a thorough comparison of the results from 2000 and 2005 (the analysis units are not the same for the two years), a significant discrepancy is revealed. The inconsistency of these results tends to support the authors' opinion that the results for private households are the most credible since, to the knowledge of the authors, no radical corrective measure was implemented between 2000 and 2005 that would explain the apparent drop suggested by the data.

5.6. Conclusions

5.6.1. Poverty in Nunavik

By applying the indicators to available data, by taking into account consumer prices in Nunavik, and by taking into account even the partial conclusions of

earlier studies, it is possible to assert that:

- a) It is difficult to determine the exact proportion of Nunavik's population affected by poverty.
- b) Notwithstanding, the most probable results place the proportion of Nunavik households affected by poverty at between 20 and 30% in 2001 and between 21 and 28% in 2005.
- c) These proportions are two to three times greater than those produced by the ISQ for the whole of Québec.
- d) Based on the observations produced by the ISQ, poverty was higher in 2005 than in 2001.
- e) It is impossible to draw similar conclusions from the calculations contained in this status report, taking into consideration the inaccuracy of data concerning private households and the conceptual difference between 2000 data for census families and 2005 data for economic families.
- f) Based on the ISQ's observations and available studies, it is possible to identify the segments of the population particularly affected by poverty. ISQ data and the conclusions of Vanier and Grey, as well as Chabot, identify single-parent families as especially hard hit by poverty. The analysis contained in this status report also identifies elders as especially hard hit, mainly those whose sole income is their federal pension.

5.7. Limitations of poverty measurements in Nunavik

Finally, this exploratory review also makes it possible to assert that:

- a) To develop a credible picture of poverty in Nunavik, the measures applied must be adapted to the context, in particular to scientifically take into account Nunavik's demographic structure, consumption patterns and consumer prices.
- b) That the measures can be adapted, given the developments made in recent years in the fields of demographics and prices in Nunavik.
- c) That measures adapted in this manner could be much further refined if it was possible, in a research context, to analyze the data contained in the master file for Census of Canada and the Aboriginal Peoples Survey for 2001 and 2006, available at the Québec Inter-University Centre for Social Statistics.
- d) That a similar study could clarify the measurement of poverty in Nunavik and the distribution of poverty based on specific characteristics of the population (family type, size and composition).

6. PUBLIC POVERTY-REDUCTION POLICIES

Poverty is a complex phenomenon, produced by a multiplicity of factors. Consequently, the goal of combating, reducing and even eradicating poverty is not simple either. In recent years, it has led to the development of several proposals, programs and measures.

In the following section, some of these proposals are listed and their underlying characteristics examined with a view to supporting efforts to design an anti-poverty strategy in Nunavik.

6.1. *International policies*

In September 2000, the United Nations adopted the Millennium Development Goals with a target date of 2015: to reduce extreme poverty and hunger, to deliver elementary education to all, to promote equality for women and their empowerment, to reduce infant mortality, to improve maternal health, to combat AIDS/HIV, malaria and other diseases, to foster a sustainable environment, and to establish an international partnership for development.

The same year, the European Union established a social inclusion process to make a decisive impact on the eradication of poverty by 2010. The “shared framework” for European countries includes three objectives that tie the problem of poverty to economic, political and social issues (NCW, 2007). Member states undertook to adopt action plans to eradicate poverty. According to the NCW (2007), the action plans of three countries are exemplary. Sweden adopted a universal social assistance policy and a related labour-market policy. The United Kingdom developed a strategy focussed in

particular on single-parent families, disabled persons, ethnic minorities and elderly workers. The proportion of children living in households at risk of poverty dropped from 27% in 1997 (the highest rate in Europe) to 22% in 2004–2005 (NCW, 2007:7). Finally, in Ireland the rate of persons living permanently in poverty fell from 15% in 1994 to 5% in 2001 (NCW, 2007:8).

Besides these policy statements, how did these countries succeed in lowering poverty indicators within their borders? What concrete measures were implemented with so much success? Which of these measures might be contemplated to reduce poverty in Nunavik? A precursory attempt is made to answer these questions below until such time as a comprehensive public discussion, like the one proposed later in this status report, identifies those measures with the greatest potential.

These public policies may be grouped into eight categories.

6.1.1. Education

Sachs (2005) advocates the elimination of tuition fees in developing countries to enable children from families living in poverty, especially girls, to go to school. Public revenue lost as a result of this policy would be replaced by more equitable and effective funding, in particular donations. Measures fostering economic access to education are already widely implemented in Nunavik. Notwithstanding, other social barriers that stand in the way of school success will eventually need to be taken into consideration.

The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) recommends that post-secondary education, in-house training and work

study be encouraged, as well as long-distance training for adults with new information technologies. Training policies should take into account difficulties related to access and participation, in addition to being properly targeted (OECD, 2001). Some such measures are already applied in Nunavik. Notwithstanding, there is still a need to expand the reach of these measures. Moreover, follow-up evaluation would be appropriate to verify their impacts.

6.1.2. *Employment*

Sweden has a policy aimed at creating conditions to extend career cycles and increase equality between men and women in the labour market. This country has also focussed on improving occupational health, long-term health care, improved access for disabled persons and the elimination of homelessness. The United Kingdom has implemented measures to facilitate access to work (NCW, 2007). Finally, the OECD recommends coordination between education and employment policies and the social safety net (OECD, 2001).

In this field, the challenges faced by Nunavik are immense. First, the rapid creation of jobs must be maintained to absorb all labour market entrants: this alone represents a major challenge. In the context of low life expectancy, high occupational mobility and numerous labour force entrants, it is far from certain that measures to extend career cycles will have any impact on efforts to reduce poverty in Nunavik. Finally, it would seem that growing homelessness and distress caused by food insecurity, for example, also represent major challenges in the region. If it is true, as suggested by ISQ data, that poverty is increasing in Nunavik, these challenges

will continue to grow in the coming years.

6.1.3. *Food insecurity*

One symptom of poverty is lack of food. For this reason, Sachs (2005) recommends that developing countries provide free meals for all school children as well as rations for them to take home, using locally grown food. At the same time, he recommends the implementation of community nutrition programs for pregnant and breast-feeding women. He also recommends improving access to locally produced food supplements, and to additional micro-nutriments for breast-feeding women and children under the age of 5 (Sachs, 2005:32–33).

Several such programs already appear to exist in Nunavik. An evaluation should nonetheless be completed to identify these programs, as well as their scope, implementation and impact.

6.1.4. *Health*

Developing countries have been encouraged to eliminate fees for basic health care and to make more information available on related services, including family planning (Sachs, 2005:32–33). Sweden has adopted a social assistance policy covering general health care and well-being, financial security in case of illness, disability insurance for seniors, and so on. Ireland also has a national policy to improve services in the sectors of health, education and lodging (NCW, 2007).

Again in this field, the challenges faced by Nunavik are immense. Despite the fact that health services are free, social assistance policies do not provide the basic income necessary to ensure good

health.

6.1.5. *Well-being*

To foster well-being, developing countries have also been encouraged to improve conditions in slums, to make use of unoccupied public lots for the construction of adequate low-rental housing, as well as to improve electricity, drinking water and sanitation especially for hospitals, schools and other social services (Sachs, 2005:32–33).

The OECD promotes the grass-roots organization of health care to keep seniors near their families and in their usual setting (OECD, 2001).

In Nunavik, major and sustained effort will be required to improve well-being, mainly through better housing and drinking water quality.

6.1.6. *Equality and empowerment for women*

Developing countries have also been encouraged to reform – or enforce – legislation that guarantees women the right to own and inherit property, as well as to give women a meaningful role in developing and implementing poverty-reduction strategies, specifically at the grass-roots level (Sachs, 2005:32–33).

For its part, the European Union recommends fostering social cohesion, equality between men and women, as well as equal opportunity through policies that ensure an adequate, accessible, economically viable, adaptable and effective social safety net and social inclusion (NCW, 2007). To this end, Ireland has adopted a national integration policy based on the principles of equality and social and political inclusion in order to improve the

socio-economic conditions of women, their well-being and their participation in the decision-making process and civil society (NCW, 2007).

In Nunavik, several initiatives have targeted or still target equality between men and women. Problems related to violence, especially violence against women and children, but also violence between men, require major and sustained effort.

6.1.7. *Family protection*

In order to improve the protection of families, countries have agreed to increase tax assistance, to make working hours for parents more flexible and to strengthen communities for the raising of children (OECD, 2001). To this end, the United Kingdom provides tax credits to families with children and has increased basic government allowances. Ireland has a policy that emphasizes child development, improved education and family income support (NCW, 2007).

In Nunavik, there are already some tax measures that help families, such as universal tax credits for children and reimbursable tax credits for Northern residents. Notwithstanding, it seems that the effectiveness of these measures should be evaluated since the context in Nunavik – high consumer prices – might limit their impact.

6.1.8. *Governance*

The European Union has asked its members to promote good governance, transparency and the participation of stakeholders in the design, implementation and monitoring of its social inclusion process (NCW, 2007). Sweden plans to increase coordination between local, regional and national

authorities. For this purpose, it created a commission to focus on “vulnerable” public-service users and to set up government accountability mechanisms (NCW, 2007).

Efforts to enhance regional political autonomy will shortly lead to the creation of a Nunavik government. It would nonetheless be naive to believe that the transformation of the decision-making structure will have immediate impacts on the socio-economic situation of Nunavik residents. A review of the jurisdictions of the new institutions and the tools at their disposal should be carried out to evaluate the potential impact of the new government on poverty.

6.1.9. Conclusion

In summary, several measures proposed by international institutions and implemented by various countries, including some developing countries, already exist in Nunavik. Notwithstanding, no complete inventory has ever been completed of the poverty-reduction measures in effect in the region. And, to our knowledge, no systematic or joint plan to combat poverty is in place, although some measures do exist that are more or less autonomous and structured, and that sometimes take into account the regional context.

This summary review nonetheless suggests that the strengthening of current practices aimed at reducing poverty in Nunavik, in fields such as education, employment, food insecurity, health, well-being, equality for women, family protection and governance, represents a necessary first step in the design of an anti-poverty strategy.

6.2. Plan of action for combating poverty in Canada

Canada does not have a national strategy for fighting poverty and only two provinces have adopted such strategies: Québec and Newfoundland and Labrador. Only the Québec strategy is examined below because it is fairly well documented and has been subjected to assessment. The documentation on the Newfoundland and Labrador strategy only describes a basic blueprint.

6.2.1. Québec

In 2002, Québec adopted legislation to combat poverty and social exclusion. Its goal is to reduce poverty by 2013 to among the lowest levels in any industrialized society. The legislation provided for the creation of an action plan, released in 2004, based on four main themes including 47 measures.

The first theme involves improving the well-being of individuals living in poverty: by making annual adjustments to employment-assistance benefits; by relaxing accounting rules related to assets under the employment-assistance program; by protecting the benefits payable to individuals under the same program; by offering all families a partial exemption for child support payments under the same program; by providing funding for Québec’s community credit network; by carrying out an annual revision of minimum wage according to up-to-date average remuneration data; by offering low-income workers a working premium; by increasing the minimum allowance for employment-assistance recipients; by fostering the rapid “advancement” of new employment-assistant applicants who are capable of work; by increasing participation in and improving access to employment-assistance measures for

clienteles affected by poverty; by fostering the socio-occupational integration of immigrants and visible minorities; by establishing an income support regime for persons with significant employment limitations; by expanding and accelerating social and affordable housing; by providing rent supplements to 5276 households to diminish the consequences of housing shortages; by adapting the housing of more than 6000 disabled persons; by adopting an integrated management framework for community support services in social housing; by promoting community housing development initiatives; by improving the services available for the homeless and those at-risk of homelessness; by encouraging the efforts of community organizations; by continuing to support food supply projects in communities and in economically disadvantaged neighbourhoods; by continuing support for ad hoc food aid measures, especially for children; and by improving access to prescription drugs for low-income individuals.

The second theme involves preventing poverty and social exclusion: by developing the potential of individuals; by setting up support for the children of low-income families; by fostering the development of children from economically disadvantaged neighbourhoods, facilitating their access to quality childcare services; by delivering integrated perinatal and early childhood services for at-risk families; by promoting the innovation and integration of prevention activities for young children (aged 0 to 6); by testing a family, school and community program, known in French as *Famille, école et communauté : ensemble pour la réussite scolaire*; by fostering early reading and writing programs in economically disadvantaged

neighbourhoods; by helping schools to develop homework assistance and tutoring projects; by helping schools to develop mentoring projects for high school students; by ensuring skills development among young people from youth centres; by supporting troubled youth through CLSCs; by adapting training and coaching services to the needs of youth, school drop-outs and the under-educated aged between 16 and 24; by encouraging the acquisition of skills through work study; by offering alternative solutions to employment assistance for youth under the age of 25 who are capable of work; by signing an inter-departmental agreement concerning youth development; by adopting a "youth commitment" for youth aged between 16 and 24 who are under-educated or unemployed; and by providing support for socio-community initiatives that foster the participation of low-income seniors in society.

The third theme involves fostering the commitment of society: by investing in local initiatives through the *Fonds québécois d'initiatives sociales*; by identifying priority sectors and territories and supporting regional actions; by supporting the development of local strategies to combat poverty and social exclusion in priority territories; by coordinating government departments and agencies to devote resources to priority territories identified in cooperation with the regions and communities and setting objectives; and by combating prejudice against persons living in poverty.

Finally, the fourth theme involves ensuring the consistency and coherency of actions: by evaluating the potential impact of proposed legislation and regulations concerning the incomes of those living in poverty; by ensuring effective and coordinated inter-

departmental leadership; by intensifying related discussions with the Government of Canada; and by intensifying related discussions with Aboriginal communities and supporting the development of strategies for villages and reserves.

According to the *Third Year Progress Report*, published by the Québec government in 2007, all these measures are being implemented and are jointly contributing to the reduction of poverty. Notwithstanding, a detailed review of the data contained in the Report suggests that the effects of the action plan are more mitigated.

6.2.2. *Conclusion*

The themes under the Québec strategy include many measures that are relevant to the Nunavik context. These are so numerous however that their adoption and implementation would require *considerable and coordinated collective effort* that mobilizes public and private organizations as well as individual citizens. In particular, the third and fourth themes described above are especially relevant to the Nunavik context. According to the results obtained to date concerning poverty, Nunavik should be designated a priority territory for action. Moreover, the initiatives to be implemented and the practices to be enhanced must be developed in a *consistent and coherent manner*.

7. PROPOSED MEASURES TO COMBAT POVERTY IN NUNAVIK

The few studies specifically concerning poverty in Nunavik have included certain recommendations that are described below.

7.1. Measures proposed by Vanier and Grey (1998)

The study by Vanier and Grey contained a series of recommendations based on a broad view of the causes of poverty. The study proposed: to create an anti-poverty advisory committee; to develop training programs that are in line with Inuit culture to combat school drop-out; to foster the integration of Inuit into the labour market and their promotion; to recognize the vital role of traditional activities and to increase support for harvesters; to develop cultural training for non-Inuit; to control rising prices in the region; to make tenants aware of the importance of paying their rent regularly; to teach good family budgeting skills; to implement school drop-out prevention measures; to increase grants for adult education; to develop a childcare network for adult students; to integrate adults into schools with coaching and orientation services; to make education more accessible; to deliver self-esteem, self-confidence and self-assertiveness courses to fight school drop-out and to prepare students for the labour market; to study the causes of school drop-out; and finally to involve parents in educational activities.

7.2. Measures proposed by Chabot (2004)

Further to her 2004 study, Chabot prepared a series of proposals aimed at combating poverty in Nunavik. In

general, Chabot promotes a broad view like Vanier and Grey; however, most of her proposals are distinct because they place emphasis on food supply.

The proposed measures are: to reduce wage inequality by adjusting it to the cost of living and promoting parity between men and women; to increase women's awareness of their rights; to recognize the vital role of traditional activities and to increase assistance for harvesters; to increase access to social housing; to encourage early childhood learning programs; to promote eating habits adapted to the local context and tastes; to promote locally produced foods; to foster local food and other aide initiatives and evaluate them; to encourage research and evaluation; to establish a regional low-income cut-off by redefining poverty according to the cost of living in the region; to increase the number of resources dedicated to combating poverty so that this issue is not the sole responsibility of the health sector; and finally to monitor food insecurity in Nunavik.

Some of the proposals made by these authors are already being implemented, in part or in whole. For example, childcare services have been set up throughout the region. Or still, assistance for harvesters under the Inuit Hunting, Fishing and Trapping Support Program has been improved; in recent years, the Kativik Regional Government has employed contributions from the Québec government, as well as the Makivik Corporation, to reduce the costs of harvesting equipment.

Notwithstanding, almost all of the proposals made by Vanier and Grey and by Chabot seem to be suitable and could serve as inspiration for designing an anti-poverty strategy for Nunavik. It is remarkable to note that Chabot had

already identified the need for a regional low-income cut-off, five years before the authors of this status report arrived at the exact same conclusion.

discussions involving all regional stakeholders in a coordinated collective effort like that referred to earlier in this status report.

7.3. Measures proposed by the Commission des droits de la personne et des droits de la jeunesse (2007)

The measures proposed by the CDPDJ do not directly target poverty but are aimed rather at correcting the situation of youth protection in Nunavik. Some of these should nonetheless be considered when designing an anti-poverty strategy for Nunavik, since several of the proposed measures relate to poverty.

The CDPDJ proposed: that CLSCs establish detection and prevention programs for the neglect of children aged 0 to 5; that CLSCs establish or maintain, as applicable, social services for children aged 0 to 18 and their families, as required by their mandate; that the Kativik School Board, in cooperation with the Nunavik Regional Board of Health and Social Services and the Makivik Corporation, ensure that social services are introduced into schools; that the Nunavik Regional Board of Health and Social Services implement specialized treatment programs for drug and alcohol addiction, physical and sexual abuse, and mental health; that the Nunavik Regional Board of Health and Social Services set up mechanisms for regional coordination and partnerships focussing on the improvement of parenting skills, the prevention and treatment of drug addiction, the prevention of situations of neglect, physical and sexual abuse, as well as behavioural problems.

The pertinence of integrating these proposals into an anti-poverty strategy for Nunavik should be part of

8. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1. Poverty definitions

Throughout this status report, only the economic aspect of poverty has been measured. Yet, poverty is much more complex than the simple measure of household income. Such measurements only allow households to be classified as “poor” when their incomes fall below one or another of the applicable baselines. The review of poverty around the world and strategies to combat it, presented earlier in this status report, demonstrates that it is important to consider, in addition to household income, the conditions associated with poverty, such as health, education, housing, inequalities between men and women, age, ethnic origin, not to mention subjective aspects like feelings of deprivation, and so on.

Consequently, we recommend that a broad view, like that proposed in the definitions by the World Bank (2001) and Harrington (1963), be adopted to orient future research and to design an anti-poverty strategy for Nunavik.

8.2. Poverty around the globe and in Nunavik

Poverty is widespread in the world and it affected more than one billion people in 2001. This number has undoubtedly climbed dramatically since the onset of the current global economic crisis.

In many third-world countries, poverty reaches extreme levels and rears its ugly face through famine, disease outbreaks and forced relocation, among other phenomena, that can not be compared with the levels and

occurrences observed in developed countries.

In Canada, poverty nonetheless exists. At the beginning of the current millennium, it affected roughly 16% of Canadian households and between 9 and 10% of Québec households.

The current study shows that, in Nunavik, the rate of poverty is higher – up to three times higher – than in either Québec or Canada. According to the years and the most severe baselines applied to available data, poverty in Nunavik affects between 20 and 30% of private households. With the application of minimum comfort budget baselines, this proportion climbs to roughly 44% of private households.

But poverty in Nunavik, at least according to the observations contained in this status report, does not present specific characteristics. In Nunavik as elsewhere in Canada and Québec, Aboriginal peoples and single-parent families, for example, are particularly hard hit. In Nunavik as elsewhere, households living in poverty suffer from dietary deficiencies and inadequate housing (which is to say a shortage in Nunavik), as well as a suspected poor level of education. Moreover, the number of cases of poverty in Nunavik hovers around the same level as in certain economically disadvantaged Montreal neighbourhoods, for example.

What is perhaps unique about Nunavik is the scope of certain conditions of poverty, such as the low level of education, the proportion of household budgets dedicated to food, the proportion of single-parent households, the high rate of unemployment, the statistically lower remuneration paid to Inuit compared with non-Inuit, the demographic structure, and so on.

Notwithstanding, in this field it is only possible to speculate since the results contained in this status report do not represent solid conclusions or even valid comparisons, regarding the specific realities of poverty in Nunavik.

Consequently, we recommend that future research designed to support anti-poverty strategy discussions systematically attempt to determine the importance of the conditions associated with poverty in Nunavik.

This picture of the region's realities will not however be enough to orient an effective regional anti-poverty strategy. In our opinion, a clear understanding of the roots of the phenomenon and its manifestations in Nunavik must also be obtained.

Poverty has multiple roots and may be summarized in two main theories. The "structural" theory suggests that social forces –class, gender, ethnic origin, occupation, level of education and so on– determine how resources are distributed in a given society and are the source of poverty. For its part, the "cultural" theory suggests that poverty is passed down from one generation to the next as a "culture of poverty". Accordingly, this theory considers that social assistance measures can never completely succeed in eradicating poverty because the culture of poverty breeds a "culture of dependence". For the supporters of the structural theory, the culture of poverty/dependence is not a cause of poverty, but a consequence of the inequitable distribution of resources.

Recommendations made by Vanier and Grey, Chabot and the CDPDJ regarding poverty propose a variety of actions in response to these "social forces", including the culture. They refer to the

need to control consumer prices, to strengthen food security, education, health and housing conditions, and the exercise of rights, as well as to support local culture and related community initiatives, among others. They reinforce our firm conviction that it is critical to understand the roots and concrete manifestations of poverty in Nunavik in order to generate an appropriately broad response to the circumstances.

For example, the poverty experienced in Nunavik is not extreme poverty, which is to say a situation where individuals and families suffer from chronic malnutrition due to a lack of food. If such was the case, an anti-poverty strategy would necessarily need to stress material survival. The poverty experienced in Nunavik may best be described as a relative poverty, referring to a measure of inequity that classifies as "poor" individuals and families who lack the basic resources necessary for adequate living conditions, specifically regarding housing and health. In this case, the strategy must be different.

To what extent are the poor effectively deprived of food, clothing, means of transportation, standard consumer goods and appropriate housing conditions? What is the relationship between persons living in poverty and education in a situation of overcrowded housing? Are today's poor reproducing the same conditions for future generations? In what way are these conditions produced and experienced? Or are there individuals and families that remain poor despite their best efforts to earn a living? How can it be explained that, despite the stated respect for elders, a large proportion lacks money, food and support?

Consequently, we recommend that the knowledge of the roots and

manifestations of poverty in Nunavik be improved. We recommend that a qualitative investigation be carried out to shed light on these questions. Such an investigation would allow information to be collected from volunteer participants directly affected by poverty and those who work with them. It would lead to a picture of real experiences and would serve as a vital additional source of information for designing an anti-poverty strategy for Nunavik.

8.3. Limitations of the results obtained

As already stated in this status report, the results obtained to date are the most realistic approximations that can be achieved with available indicators and data. The minimum rates are drawn directly from the ISQ. They are nonetheless approximations since the ISQ's methodology for setting low-income cut-offs does not take into account high consumer prices in Nunavik. For this reason, these rates are considered in this status report as minimum rates, in addition to taking into account that the lower results produced by the calculations in this status report are under-estimations. The maximum rates described herein are also approximations since they are based on the sums of randomly rounded-off data prepared by Statistics Canada (that could equally result in either under- or over-estimations) and since they are based on measures that do not correspond to available income brackets (producing under-estimated results), even though they take into account approximately consumer prices in the region.

But these limitations can be overcome. First, a revision of the indicators would permit the selection of those that are

most appropriate to the context and lead to scientifically valid measurements between Nunavik and Québec for the most recent period possible. This revision could be carried out in cooperation with the ISQ, the *ministère de l'Emploi et de la Solidarité sociale* and their respective specialists (Morasse 2005, Morin 2006).

Secondly, in-depth analysis of available data could be carried out with Statistics Canada and the ISQ. This analysis would need to focus on the data collected during the 2006 census and the post-census Aboriginal Peoples Survey and the Arctic Supplement. "Tailored" compilations from master files would lead to accurate measurements in line with the revised indicators.

Consequently, we recommend that future research designed to support anti-poverty strategy discussions make adjustments to poverty indicators and baselines in cooperation with the ISQ and the MESS, in addition to carrying out in-depth analysis of detailed Statistics Canada data in cooperation with Statistics Canada and the ISQ.

8.4. Public policies and a strategy for Nunavik

All the strategies reviewed in this status report take a broad view of poverty. And underlying each is the firm conviction that poverty can not be beaten uniquely through economics, which is to say by increasing the incomes of vulnerable households.

We believe that an increase in income is a necessary element in the fight against poverty in Nunavik. For example, it is critical that old age and social assistance benefits paid to Nunavik residents be improved to permit

households to face consumer prices that are recognized as being higher than in other regions.

Notwithstanding, these kinds of initiatives will not eradicate poverty without further initiatives that address the other major factors associated with poverty, such as health, education, housing and consumer prices.

The review presented earlier in this status report of the strategies that have been adopted around the world to combat poverty demonstrates that most of the basic factors found in third-world countries are not the same as those present in Nunavik, where there is no famine, where girls are not systematically prohibited from going to school, and so on. The review of these strategies, and of that of the Québec government, also demonstrates that a myriad of initiatives already exist or are being launched in Nunavik. The starting point for the region is therefore not an empty page. But for these to be most effective, the review concludes that concerted and coherent effort is essential, not to mention further initiatives based on future research. Concerted effort will need to include all stakeholders who experience poverty on a daily basis, who know households living in poverty, and who work with the poor: public administrations, citizen groups, private businesses and others.

Even if the work recommended up to this point makes it possible to obtain valid measurements of poverty in Nunavik and a more in-depth knowledge of the segments of the population that are most affected, as well as of the

phenomenon's roots and concrete manifestations, all this knowledge will remain inadequate without the general mobilization of the region to combat the situation.

Consequently, we recommend that the development and adoption of an anti-poverty strategy be carried out through Nunavik-wide forums.

Representatives of all public and parapublic organizations, citizen groups, charity, ethnic and interest groups, occupational orders, churches and private businesses that regularly deal with poverty should be asked to participate. Through initial forums, they would be presented with the results of the recommended research work and, based on their experience, they would provide the data needed to take stock of existing sectoral measures aimed at combating poverty, as well as identifying their effectiveness, benefits and limitations. These representatives would also be called on to report on the reality of poverty in Nunavik and to provide input on tentative solutions.

These contributions would subsequently be compiled in a summary report on the state of the situation (impacts, roots and manifestations) that would propose an anti-poverty strategy for Nunavik. The strategy would be reviewed during major consultations and debated at a second general forum, before being adopted and submitted to the appropriate authorities.

9. TABLES AND FIGURES

Table 1 Data sources for estimating poverty in Nunavik, 2000 and 2005

Source	Concept	Definition	Year
Statistics Canada, 2001 and 2006 censuses	Private household	A person or group of persons living in a same dwelling	2000 2005
Statistics Canada, 2001 Census	Census family	A married couple (with or without children belonging to one or both spouses), a couple living common-law (with or without children belonging to one or both partners) or a lone parent (regardless of matrimonial status) living with at least one child in a same dwelling. A couple living common-law may be of opposite or same sex. "Children" in a census family include grandchildren living with at least one grandparent with no parents present.	2000
Statistics Canada, 2006 Census	Economic family	A group of two or more persons who live in a same dwelling and are related to each other by blood, marriage, common-law or adoption. The economic family may contain more members than a census family.	2005

Source: • Statistics Canada. *2001 Census Dictionary*.

Table 2 Private household incomes, according to selected income brackets, obtained, maximum and minimum values, Nunavik, 2000 and 2005 (%)

Income bracket \$	2000			2005		
	Obtained value	Maximum value	Minimum value	Obtained value	Maximum value	Minimum value
Less than 10,000	3,69	5,07	2,30	2,43	3,64	1,21
Less than 20,000	13,59	16,36	10,83	7,89	10,32	5,47
Less than 30,000	26,27	30,41	22,12	15,18	18,83	11,54
Less than 40,000	38,25	43,78	32,72	23,48	28,34	18,62

Source: • Calculations derived from: Profile of Income of Individuals, Families and Households, Social and Economic Characteristics of Individuals, Families and Households, Housing Costs, and Religion, for Canada, Provinces, Territories, Census Divisions and Census Subdivisions, 2001 Census. Statistics Canada, consulted on the Internet on May 7, 2009: <http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/products/standard/profiles/RetrieveProfile.cfm?Temporal=2001&PID=56200&METH=1&APATH=1&IPS=95F0492XCB2001001&PTYPE=0&THEME=0&FREE=0&AID=0&FOCUS=0&VID=0&GC=0&GK=0&SC=1&CPP=99&SR=1&RL=&RPP=9999&D1=0&D2=0&D3=0&D4=0&D5=0&D6=0&GID=428082>; and from: Profile for Canada, Provinces, Territories, Census Divisions and Census Subdivisions, 2006 Census. Statistics Canada, consulted on the Internet on May 7, 2009: <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/english/census06/data/profiles/release/RetrieveProductTable.cfm?TPL=RETR&A LEVEL=3&APATH=3&CATNO=&DETAIL=0&DIM=&DS=99&FL=0&FREE=0&GAL=0&GC=99&GK=NA&GRP=1&IPS=&METH=0&ORDER=1&PID=94533&PTYPE=89103&RL=0&S=1&ShowAll=No&StartRow=1&SUB=0&Temporal=2006&Theme=81&VID=0&VNAMEE=&VNAMEF=&GID=773524>.

Note: • A private household is composed of one person or a group of persons living in a same dwelling. Source: Statistics Canada, *2001 Census Dictionary*.

Table 3 Census family incomes, according to selected income brackets, obtained, maximum and minimum values, Nunavik, 2000
(%)

Income bracket \$	Obtained value	Maximum value	Minimum value
Less than 10,000	7,93	9,38	6,49
Less than 20,000	23,32	26,20	20,43
Less than 30,000	36,30	40,63	31,97
Less than 40,000	50,00	55,77	44,23

Source: • Profile of Income of Individuals, Families and Households, Social and Economic Characteristics of Individuals, Families and Households, Housing Costs, and Religion, for Canada, Provinces, Territories, Census Divisions and Census Subdivisions, 2001 Census. Statistics Canada, consulted on the Internet on May 6, 2009:
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Note: • The census family is composed of a married couple (with or without children belonging to one or both spouses), a couple living common-law (with or without children belonging to one or both partners) or a lone parent (regardless of matrimonial status) living with at least one child in a same dwelling. A couple living common-law may be of opposite or same sex. "Children" in a census family include grandchildren living with at least one grandparent with no parents present. Source: Statistics Canada, *2001 Census Dictionary*.

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Table 4 Economic family incomes, according to selected income brackets, obtained, maximum and minimum values, Nunavik, 2005
(%)

Income bracket \$	Obtained value	Maximum value	Minimum value
Less than 10,000	1,50	3,00	0,00
Less than 20,000	6,50	9,50	3,50
Less than 30,000	14,00	18,50	9,50
Less than 40,000	23,25	29,25	17,25

Source: • Profile for Canada, Provinces, Territories, Census Divisions and Census Subdivisions, 2006 Census. Statistics Canada, consulted on the Internet on May 7, 2009:
<http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/english/census06/data/profiles/release/RetrieveProductTable.cfm?TPL=RETR&LEVEL=3&APATH=3&CATNO=&DETAIL=0&DIM=&DS=99&FL=0&FREE=0&GAL=0&GC=99&GK=NA&GRP=1&IPS=&METH=0&ORDER=1&PID=94533&PTYPE=89103&RL=0&S=1&ShowAll=No&StartRow=1&SUB=0&Temporal=2006&Theme=81&VID=0&VNAMEE=&VNAMEF=&GID=773524>.

Note: • The economic family is composed of a group of two or more persons who live in a same dwelling and are related to each other by blood, marriage, common-law or adoption. The economic family may contain more members than a census family. Source: Statistics Canada, *2001 Census Dictionary*.

Table 5 Median family income, Nunavik, 2000 and 2005
(\$)

Year	Median income	50% of median income
2000	39 328	19 664
2005	54 528	27 264

Source: • Statistics Canada. Families and Households, Communities Profile, 2006; Statistics Canada. Families and Households, Communities Profile, 2001; drawn from Nunivaat.org. The calculation does not take into account the composition of the family or the weighting that should be applied to establish the low-income measure.

Table 6 Number of private households, of persons in private households and average number of persons in private households, according to village, Nunavik, 2001
(N)

Villages	Number of private households	Number of persons in private households	Average number of persons in private households
Akulivik	95	470	4,9
Aupaluk	45	155	3,6
Inukjuak	290	1 290	4,5
Ivujivik	60	300	5,0
Kangiqsualujjuaq	135	710	5,1
Kangiqsujuaq	115	535	4,9
Kangirsuk	100	440	4,4
Kuujjuaq	560	1 910	3,4
Kuujjuarapik	160	555	3,4
Puvimituq	280	1 275	4,7
Quaqtaq	75	305	4,1
Salluit	230	1 065	4,7
Tasiujaq	50	230	4,1
Umiujaq	75	345	4,7
Total	2 270	9 585	4,2

Source: • Total average: calculations based on data. All other data: Statistics Canada, Profile of Marital Status, Common-law Status, Families, Dwellings and Households, for Canada, Provinces, Territories, Census Divisions and Census Subdivisions, 2001 Census. Cat. no. 95E0487XCB2001001.

Note: • Due to the random rounding of data, it is possible that the average for each village, provided by Statistics Canada, differs from the result that would have been calculated based on the number of households and the number of persons by household. The total average was calculated according to the total number of households and the number of persons in households, and this calculation could be different if it were to be produced by Statistics Canada, again because of the random rounding.

Table 7 Number of private households, of persons in private households and average number of persons in private households, according to village, Nunavik, 2006

(N)

Villages	Number of private households	Number of persons in private households	Average number of persons in private households
Akulivik	100	505	4,9
Aupaluk	45	175	3,4
Inukjuak	330	1 425	4,3
Ivujivik	60	350	5,4
Kangiqsualujuaq	165	735	4,6
Kangiqsujuaq	140	605	4,5
Kangirsuk	115	465	4,0
Kuujuaq	695	2 115	3,0
Kuujuarapik	165	570	3,5
Puvimituq	290	1 430	4,9
Quaqtaq	75	315	4,2
Salluit	250	1 240	4,9
Tasiujaq	60	250	4,2
Umiujaq	85	390	4,3
Total	2 575	10 570	4,1

Source: • Total average: calculations based on data. All other data: Statistics Canada, Profile of Marital Status, Common-law Status, Families, Dwellings and Households, for Canada, Provinces, Territories, Census Divisions and Census Subdivisions, 2006 Census.

Note: • Due to the random rounding of data, it is possible that the average for each village, provided by Statistics Canada, differs from the result that would have been calculated based on the number of households and the number of persons by household. The total average was calculated according to the total number of households and the number of persons in households, and this calculation could be different if it were to be produced by Statistics Canada, again because of the random rounding.

Table 8 Summary of indicators for estimating poverty, according to increasing value, upward adjustment of values to take into account the cost of living, and year of application, Nunavik, 2000 and 2005

Year of application	Year covered	Indicator	Value	Applicable category	Adjustment (value + 44%)
2005	2005	Low-income measure	\$27 264	50% of adjusted median family income; 2 adults and 2 children	\$39 260
2000	2000	Sarto baselines	\$19 662	Family of 2 adults, 2 children aged 11 in Canada	\$28 313
	2000	Low-income measure	\$19 664	50% of adjusted median family income; 2 adults and 2 children	\$28 316
	2003	Low-income cut-off after tax	\$20 460	Rural region family of 4 persons	\$29 462
	2000	Montrel Diet Dispensary	\$21 939	Subsistence budget for a family of 4 persons	\$31 592
	2000	Market basket measure	\$23 161	Rural household of 2 adults and 2 children	\$33 352
	2002	Low-income measure after tax	\$25 253	Family of 2 adults and 2 children aged less than 16	\$36 364
	2000	Acceptable standard of living	\$29 504	Family of 4 persons with 2 children aged 7 and 10	\$42 486
	2000	Montrel Diet Dispensary	\$29 602	Minimum comfort budget	\$42 627

Source: • Morasse, J.-A., 2005, *Inventaire des indicateurs de pauvreté et d'exclusion sociale*. Québec, Ministère de l'Emploi et de la Solidarité sociale. Calculations of 50% of median income for 2005 and 2000: refer to Table 5.

Table 9 Rate of low income, according to family type, Nunavik (Kativik) and whole of Québec, 2001–2005
(%)

Type of family	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Kativik					
Low-income families	20,2	21,2	22,1	21,6	21,4
Families composed of a couple	12,2	12,8	12	11,9	11,8
Without children	18,8	13,3	11,8	17,6	15
With 1 child	16,7	16,7	16	16,7	12,5
With 2 children	13,3	13,3	10,7	9,7	9,4
With 3 or more children	8,6	12,5	11,1	11,3	10,3
Single-parent families	34,2	35,8	38,2	36,6	36,2
With 1 child	37,8	37,8	38,5	41	43,5
With 2 children	27,8	31,6	37,5	32	31,8
With 3 or more children	34,8	36	38,5	37,9	30,8
Persons outside a low-income family	26	28,8	29,8	26,3	29,2
Whole of Québec					
Low-income families	9,7	10,2	10,1	10	9,6
Families composed of a couple	6,3	6,8	6,8	6,8	6,1
Without children	6,2	6,6	6,4	6,2	6,4
With 1 child	5,9	6,4	6,5	6,6	5,5
With 2 children	5,4	5,8	6	6,1	4,8
With 3 or more children	10,4	11,2	11,4	11,5	8,9
Single-parent family	26,9	27	27,1	27,2	28,2
With 1 child	23,2	23,1	23,1	23,3	25,1
With 2 children	29,1	29,2	29,3	29,1	30
With 3 or more children	44,5	45,3	45,6	45,7	43,2
Person outside a low-income family	23,2	23,4	23,2	23,4	23,6

Source: • Institut de la Statistique du Québec. Compilation of tables *Taux de faible revenu, selon le type de famille, territoires équivalents du Nord-du-Québec, 2001-2005* and of the table *Taux de faible revenu, selon le type de famille, Nord-du-Québec, 2001-2005*.

Table 10 **Number of persons in low-income families¹, according to type of family², Nunavik (Kativik), 2001–2005**
(N)

Type of family	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Kativik					
Total persons in low-income families	1 520	1 750	1 830	1 810	1 680
Persons in families composed of a couple	720	840	780	750	710
Without children	60	40	40	50	60
With 1 child	120	110	120	110	100
With 2 children	150	140	120	130	120
With 3 or more children	390	550	490	470	430
Persons in single-parent families	800	910	1 050	1 060	970
With 1 child	280	280	310	310	390
With 2 children	150	180	260	230	210
With 3 or more children	370	450	480	520	370
Persons outside ³ a low-income family	130	140	170	150	190

Source: • Institut de la Statistique du Québec, Statistics Canada, Small Area and Administrative Data Division, *Family Data*.

Notes: 1. According to the low-income measure based on 50% of median family income after tax in Québec.

2. According to the census family concept.

3. Person not belonging to a family composed of a couple or a single parent.

Table 11 Results of poverty approximations based on private household incomes, value of baselines used, income brackets used, minimum and maximum proportions, without and with upward adjustment, Nunavik, 2000 and 2005
(\$ and %)

Indicator	Year of application	Approximation without upward adjustment				Approximation with upward adjustment			
		Value	Data used	Proportion of private households		Value (+ 44%)	Data used	Proportion of private households	
				Minimum	Maximum			Minimum	Maximum
Low-income measure	2005	\$27 264	-\$30 000	11,54	18,83	\$39 260	-\$40 000	18,62	28,34
Sarlo baselines	2000	\$19 662	-\$20 000	10,83	16,36	\$28 313	-\$30 000	22,12	30,41
Low-income measure	2000	\$19 664	-\$20 000	10,83	16,36	\$28 316	-\$30 000	22,12	30,41
Low-income cut-offs after tax	2000	\$20 460	-\$20 000	10,83	16,36	\$29 462	-\$30 000	22,12	30,41
Montreal Dietary Dispensary-subsistence budget	2000	\$21 939	-\$20 000	10,83	16,36	\$31 592	-\$30 000	22,12	30,41
Market basket measure	2000	\$23 161	-\$20 000	10,83	16,36	\$33 352	-\$30 000	22,12	30,41
Low-income measure after tax	2000	\$25 253	-\$20 000	10,83	16,36	\$36 364	-\$30 000	22,12	30,41
Acceptable standard of living	2000	\$29 504	-\$30 000	22,12	30,41	\$42 486	-\$40 000	32,72	43,78
Montreal Dietary Dispensary-minimum comfort budget	2000	\$29 602	-\$30 000	22,12	30,41	\$42 627	-\$40 000	32,72	43,78

Table 12 Summary of results of poverty approximations based on private household incomes, without and with upward adjustment, minimum and maximum proportions of all private households, Nunavik, 2000 and 2005
(%)

Indicator	Year of application	Approximation without upward adjustment		Approximations with upward adjustment		Average approximation
		Minimum proportion	Maximum proportion	Minimum proportion	Maximum proportion	
Low-income measure	2005	11,54	18,83	18,62	28,34	19,33
Sarlo, LIM, LICO after tax, subsistence budget, market basket, LIM after tax	2000	10,83	16,36	22,12	30,41	19,93
Acceptable standard of living and minimum comfort budget	2000	22,12	30,41	32,72	43,78	32,26

Figure 1 Number of persons in low-income families, and rate of low-income, Nunavik, 2001 to 2005. (% and n)

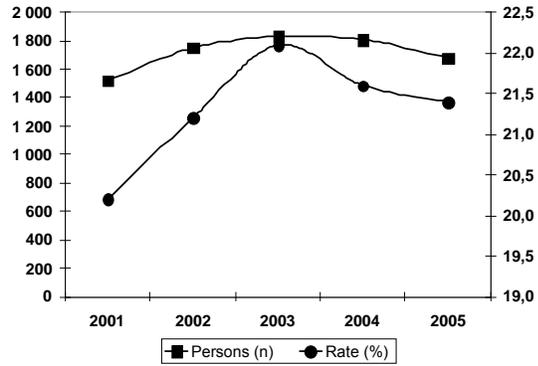


Figure 2. Distribution of private household and census family incomes, according to selected income brackets, in proportion to households or families, Nunavik, 2000 (% and \$)

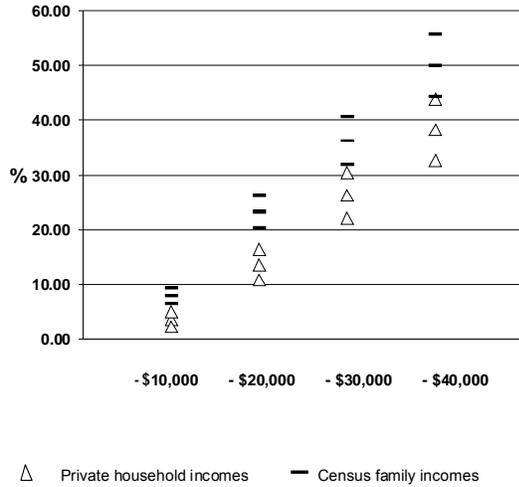
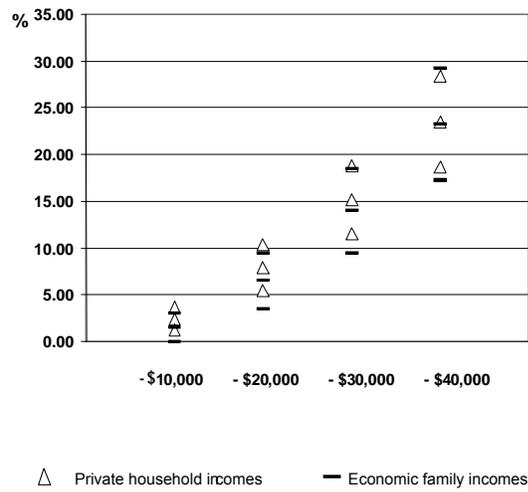


Figure 3 . Distribution of private household and economic family incomes , according to selected income brackets , in proportion to households or families , Nunavik, 2005
(% and \$)



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