

Low-income and Homeless Inuit in Montreal, Canada : Report of a 2012 Research

著者(英)	Nobuhiro Kishigami
journal or publication title	Bulletin of the National Museum of Ethnology
volume	39
number	4
page range	575-624
year	2015-03-03
URL	http://doi.org/10.15021/00003804

Research Information

**Low-income and Homeless Inuit in Montreal, Canada:
Report of a 2012 Research**

Nobuhiro Kishigami*

カナダ国モントリオールにおける低収入およびホームレスのイヌイット
—2012年モントリオール調査の報告—

岸 上 伸 啓

The Inuit live chiefly in the tundra areas above 55 degrees north latitude. Until the mid-20th century, the Inuit subsisted mainly on hunting and fishing. However, the results of the 2011 Canadian census indicate that more than one in four Inuit have left their Arctic homeland and migrated to urban areas. In addition, it is estimated that four in ten migrants live in large city areas.

In 1996, I began a cultural-anthropological study on the living conditions of urban Inuit in Montreal. Following two previous intensive interview studies in 1997 and 2004, I conducted a third interview study in Montreal in August 2012. The purpose of this paper is to report results of this most recent study, consider current problems faced by urban Inuit, and offer suggestions for solving these problems.

イヌイットは、北緯55度以北のツンドラ地帯におもに居住している。20世紀半ばまで狩猟と漁撈を中心的な生業としてきた。しかしながら、2011年のカナダ国勢調査の結果によるとイヌイットの4人に1人が極北の故地を去り、都市地域に移住していることが明らかになった。さらにその移住者の10人に4人は大都市に移動している。

1996年に、私はモントリオール在住イヌイットの生活状況について文化人類

*National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka, Japan

Key Words : urban Inuit, Canada, Montreal, homeless, low-income

キーワード : 都市イヌイット, カナダ, モントリオール, ホームレス, 低所得

学的調査を開始した。1997年と2004年に実施したインタビュー調査をフォローアップするために2012年8月に3回目のインタビュー調査を実施した。本稿の目的は、その調査結果の概略を提示することである。さらに、この結果に基づき、都市在住イヌイットが直面している問題を要約し、その改善策を提案する。

1 Introduction	Communication
2 Background and Methods of the Survey	3.11 Language
2.1 Studies of Urban Inuit	3.12 Self-impressions of Urban Inuit
2.2 Background of the Survey in 2012	3.13 Daily Life Needs
2.3 Study Methods	3.14 Organizations Used by Montreal Inuit, and Expectations for Such Organizations
2.3.1 Questionnaire and Interview Methods	3.15 Outlook on Future
2.3.2 Locations and Times of Interviews	3.16 Experiences in Prisons or Detention Centers
2.3.3 Problems with the Study	3.17 Punishment by Fine
3 Survey Results	3.18 Shortage of Housing
3.1 Characteristics of Montreal Inuit	3.19 Urban Inuit's Views on Themselves
3.1.1 Land of Origin	4 Discussion
3.1.2 Age, Gender and Homelessness	5 Conclusions and Suggestions
3.2 Reasons for Migration	5.1 Measures to Address Problems in the Arctic
3.2.1 Overall Trends	5.2 Measures to Address Problems in the Montreal Area
3.2.2 Gender Differences	References
3.2.3 Homelessness	Appendix I. Questionnaire on Urban Inuit in Montreal for 2012 Research
3.3 Duration of Stay in Montreal	Appendix II. Tables
3.4 Cash Income	Appendix III. Free Comments or Suggestions about Inuit in Montreal by Montreal Inuit
3.5 Diet	
3.6 Situation of Cohabitation	
3.7 Clothing	
3.8 Social Relationships in Montreal	
3.9 Contact with Other Inuit Living outside Montreal	
3.10 Living Area and Frequency of	

1 Introduction

The Inuit, whose native language is Inuktitut, live chiefly in the tundra region above 55 degrees north latitude. Until the mid-20th century, Inuit subsisted mainly on hunting and fishing. Today, they predominantly live in the Northwest Territories, Nunavut Territory, Arctic Quebec (Nunavik), and Labrador (Nunatsiavut). According to the Canadian census in 2011, the total population of Canadian Inuit is approximately 60,000. There are about 3,300 in Northwest Territories, 27,000 in Nunavut Territory, 10,750 in Arctic Quebec, 2,300 in the Labrador region, and

16,700 (approx. 28%) in other regions (Statistics Canada 2013a; b).

The results of the 2011 Canadian census indicate that more than one in four Inuit have left their Arctic homeland and migrated to urban areas. In addition, it is estimated that four in ten migrants live in large city areas. The majority of Inuit who migrated from Arctic regions to urban areas live in the following cities: Edmonton (1,115), Montreal (900), Ottawa/Gatineau (735), Yellowknife (735), and St. John's (680) (Statistics Canada 2013a; b).

Since 1996, I have reported the results of cultural-anthropological studies on the living conditions of urban Inuit in Montreal. These studies are based primarily on interviews and participant observation (Kishigami 1999a; 1999b; 2002a; 2002b; 2002c; 2004; 2006; 2008a; 2008b; 2013). Following two previous studies carried out in 1997 and 2004, I conducted the third study by interview in Montreal in August 2012. The purpose of this paper is to report results of the most recent field study. From these results, I summarize current problems faced by urban Inuit and offer suggestions for solving these problems.

2 Background and Methods of the Survey

2.1 Studies of Urban Inuit

The indigenous peoples of Canada are classified into three main groups: the First Nations, Metis, and Inuit¹). The number of First Nations peoples and Metis migrating to urban areas began to rise in the 1960s, while the increase in Inuit migrants began in the 1980s. A considerable amount of research has been done on First Nations peoples and Metis in urban areas (for example, Brody 1971; Dosman 1972; Fixico 2000; Gerber 1980; Goldman 2013; Howard and Proulx eds. 2011; La Prairie 1994; Lobo ed. 2002; Lobo and Peters eds. 2001; McCaskill 1981; Nagler 1970; Price 1975; Price and McCaskill 1974; Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples 1993; Ryan 1979; Sprott 1994), but very little study has been conducted regarding the situation of urban Inuit (Carpenter 1993; Fogel-Chance 1993).

In 1996 I began studying the reasons for Inuit movement to Montreal (hereinafter called "Montreal Inuit") and their living conditions in the city. In the summer of 1997, I interviewed approximately 50 Montreal Inuit as part of a study. This study revealed that a considerable number of Inuit were living in Montreal, coming from various areas and economic strata. I have participated in efforts to help improve their livelihood, and have conducted further research almost every year thereafter. I was also involved in the establishment of the Inuit Association of Montreal and have participated in its activities (Kishigami 1999a; 1999b; 2002a; 2002b; 2002c; 2004).

In 2004, at the request of the Inuit Association of Montreal, I studied the living conditions of approximately 50 Montreal Inuit. Staff members from the Association assisted me with my research. We found that rapid population influx of Inuit popu-

lation in the Montreal area was accompanied by a sharp increase in the number of Inuit facing economic and social problems. The Inuit Association of Montreal still exists, but essentially ended all activities in 2005. I have nevertheless been able to continue my studies (Kishigami 2006; 2008a; 2008b; 2013).

2.2 Background of the Survey in 2012

Donat Savoie is an anthropologist who served for many years in the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development Canada (today's "Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada") as the chief federal negotiator for Nunavik Inuit self-government. He retired in 2006 and currently serves as a special adviser to the president of Makivik Corporation, a political and economic organization that represents the interests of the Inuit in Arctic Quebec (Nunavik). In 2011, he asked me to investigate the living situation of Montreal Inuit, and specifically requested that I study those faced with social and economic problems. The purpose of this study was to ascertain their current living conditions, to collect and analyze fundamental data to help find ways to improve their livelihood, and to make policy suggestions to the Government of Canada, the provincial government of Quebec, the city of Montreal, Inuit political organizations, and Inuit-related government agencies.

I decided to carry out the study, with the support of the Makivik Corporation, as part of the Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research (B) "The Anthropological Study and Practice of Social Inclusion" (Head: SUZUKI Motoi, #23320196). After holding discussions with Makivik, they decided to hire an Inuk to assist me and provide monetary rewards to those who aided research including those who cooperated and provided information (informants received CAN\$20 per interview). Makivik also contacted some institutions and organizations related to Montreal Inuit and requested their assistance with my study. Makivik and I agreed the results of the study would be shared between us. According to this agreement, I was required to submit the results to Makivik, but allowed to publish part of the findings as academic research. After completing all the necessary preparations, I conducted the research from August 20 to September 1, 2012.

2.3 Study Methods

2.3.1 Questionnaire and Interview Methods

Prior to the study, I consulted with Donat Savoie and prepared a new questionnaire (Appendix I) based on those I used in 1997 and 2004. I also prepared a free-answer question that allowed them to speak freely. English was the primary language used in the interviews, but for informants who did not speak English, the Inuit assistant, Annie Pisuktie acted as interpreter or directly interviewed them in Inuktitut.

During interviews, I asked the questions and wrote down the answers. When

it was necessary to interview multiple informants at one time, the assistant and I conducted interviews separately and took notes. Many Inuit prefer not to have their interview video-taped or recorded, so I did not use any recording media such as a video or tape recorder. Handwritten notes were entered into a computer as quickly as possible in the evening after the interview.

In addition to conducting interviews, I also visited roads, parks, and other public places where Inuit gather in the morning or at night, to learn more about their conditions.

2.3.2 Locations and Times of Interviews

Previous study indicated that Inuit with regular incomes and steady jobs mainly lived in the residential areas of suburban Montreal or surrounding cities, while low-income and homeless Inuit lived in or near downtown Montreal.

Those with a regular job work at places such as Makivik, Air Inuit, and the Kativik School Board. The organizations used by low-income and homeless Inuit include the Native Friendship Centre of Montreal (NFCM), Chez Doris (shelter for women), Projets Autochtones du Québec (PAQ, a night shelter for aboriginal people), and Red Roof (a shelter run by the Evangelist St. Michael's Mission). In addition, many Inuit frequently visit Atwater Park (official name: Square Cabot) and Peace Park downtown.

I spoke with Annie Pisuktie, who is familiar with the status of Montreal Inuit, and decided to conduct interviews for the study at the NFCM, Chez Doris, PAQ, Atwater Park in downtown Montreal, and the Ivirtivik Center in Lachine near Montreal, which offers education programs for Inuit adults. The staff at Makivik contacted these organizations in advance to ask for their approval and assistance. Before each interview, I confirmed the approval of the respondent and let him/her know that he/she did not need to answer any questions he/she preferred not to answer. In addition, I promised them that the results would be published anonymously or in numerical form, and would not include any names or other information that might reveal their identity. I paid CAN\$20 in cash as a monetary token of thanks to those who participated in interviews, which ran between 40 minutes and one hour.

The period in which I actually conducted interviews was August 20 to 31, 2012. I interviewed 18 Inuit at Chez Doris, three at PAQ, 32 at the NFCM, two at Open Door Church, 14 at Atwater Park and its surroundings, and six at the Ivirtivik Center.

2.3.3 Problems with the Study

The primary focus of this study was the socially and economically vulnerable Inuit and thus did not target all Inuit living in the Montreal area. Likewise, the individuals who participated in this study were not selected randomly from the entire population of Inuit in Montreal or the actual population of vulnerable Inuit. As described above, I selected socially and economically vulnerable individuals

who visit specific locations. Some participants came to these locations after hearing that interviews were being conducted, while two Inuit declined to participate in the study after receiving a preliminary explanation regarding the study.

We ultimately interviewed 75 Inuit, but I cannot definitively claim that this study provides a significant statistical representation of the number of Montreal Inuit in precarious circumstances. Also, several Inuit took part in these interviews with the aim of receiving the cash payment. However, according to my assistant Pisuktie and staff members at the shelters and organizations, the Inuit who participated in the study provide a largely accurate representation of the current conditions of Montreal Inuit who are socially and economically vulnerable.

3 Survey Results

A full tabulation of results is provided in Appendix II. In the following text, I round off numbers lower than the first decimal point when citing data from tables in the Appendix.

3.1 Characteristics of Montreal Inuit

3.1.1 Land of Origin

A person's land of origin refers to the place he or she considers as home. In many cases, this indicates the place where a person was born and grew up.

Of the interviewees living in Montreal, 50 were from Nunavik, 17 from Nunavut, three from Labrador, four were born in Montreal, and one was from Yukon Territory. Most of the Inuit who migrated to Montreal come from Nunavik, which is in the northern part of Quebec province. There are also many migrants who come from Nunavut and Labrador.

Of those from Nunavik, the majority (17) came from Kuujjuaq, five each from Quartaq and Kangirsuk, and four each from Kangiqsualujjuaq and Puvurnituq. Of those from Nunavut, seven came from Cape Dorset, and five from Iqaluit (Table 1).

A look at the land of origin shows that most of the migrants come from large towns or villages, while there are four Inuit who were born in Montreal (Table 1). In regards to gender, many of the Inuit women in Montreal come from Kuujjuaq and Cape Dorset (Table 2.1). This tendency applies to the native places of homeless Inuit living in Montreal (Table 2.2).

3.1.2 Age, Gender and Homelessness

The average age of all informants was 38.9 years old, while that of men was 38.0 and that of women 39.4. In this survey, the average age of women is approximately 1.5 years older than that of men.

Of the 75 informants in this study, 29 were men and 46 women. These figures confirm the observations made in 1997 and 2004 (Kishigami 1999a; 2008; 2013). In those years, the number of women also exceeded that of men in Montreal.

The total number of informants included 40 homeless, of which 23 (57%) were men and 17 (43%) women (Table 3). In the study overall, 79% of the 29 men and 37% of the 46 women were homeless. Although fewer men joined the survey, a larger percentage of men appears homeless than women. The totals suggest that a large number of Montreal Inuit who are homeless (but see discussion of survey method in section 2.3).

3.2 Reasons for Migration

The respondents were allowed to give multiple answers explaining their motives for moving to Montreal. Their responses have been classified according to the motives reported.

3.2.1 Overall Trends

Montreal Inuit offered more negative reasons (45) for moving than positive or neutral reasons (27). It seems that most of the Inuit interviewed in this study sought to “get away from their homeland”.

The negative reasons, describing homeland conditions, and listed in descending order, were as follows: physical abuse (12), social issues such as suicide, drugs, and alcohol (7), family or personal problems (5), forced relocation to a prison or detention center (4), sexual abuse (4), housing shortage (4), divorce or separation (2), easier access to alcohol and cigarettes² (2), fights (2), troubles in home villages (2), and a shortage of work opportunities (1) (Table 4). These reasons suggest that villages in the Arctic region suffer from serious social and economic problems. In contrast, the positive or neutral reasons for migrating, listed in descending order, were: accompanied family or partner (8), family or friends who live in Montreal (5), seek medical attention from a doctor (4), opportunities for education (3), accompany a sick person (2), vacations (2), and make a fresh start in life (2). Relatively few people migrate to Montreal seeking work (only one respondent) (Table 4).

The reasons described above differ considerably from those for First Nations peoples³. Many of them choose to leave the reserve to pursue employment opportunities (Goldmann 2013: 59).

3.2.2 Gender Differences

Men gave the following reasons for migrating to Montreal: social issues (4), forced relocation into a prison or detention center (3), personal problems (3), family or friends who live in Montreal (3), accompanied family or partner (3), escape from physical abuse (2), housing shortage (2) and ease of access to alcohol and cigarettes in cities (2) (Table 5). The main reasons women gave were: escape from physical abuse (11), accompanied family or partner (8), social issues (4), escape from sexual abuse (3), personal problems (3), seek medical attention from a doctor (3), and education opportunities (3) (Table 6).

Both Inuit men and women cited accompanying their family or partner as a reason for migration. When information obtained through the interviews is ana-

lyzed together with the figures in Tables 5 and 6, a number of interesting trends are revealed. Men acting as perpetrators often cause problems before moving to Montreal. On the other hand, while there are women who come to Montreal seeking medical treatment and education opportunities, many are the victims of problems that occurred in their homeland, and thus fled to Montreal wishing to escape these issues. Many Inuit men were expelled from their village or taken away by the police. In other words, not all men and women moved willingly to Montreal.

3.2.3 Homelessness

There appears to be no definitive reason for why the currently-homeless Inuit migrated to Montreal. However there is a high probability that those who left prison or a detention center became homeless. The perpetrators and victims of social problems, personal problems, or physical abuse are also likely to become homeless (Table 7).

3.3 Duration of Stay in Montreal

The 75 Inuit interviewed revealed how long they had spent in Montreal (Table 8.1). Thirty-six of the respondents (48%) had lived in Montreal for at least ten years, 17 (23%) for at least 20 years, 13 (17%) for one to five years, and 14 (19%) for less than six months. The average length of time spent in Montreal according to this study was 10.9 years, with the shortest period being one week and the longest 35 years. One out of two Inuit lived in Montreal for more than ten years, so it can be stated that the majority who come to the city stay for relatively long periods. However, there is a clear difference between men and women, with women generally living in the city longer (Table 8.2).

Among men, the most common answer given regarding length of stay was “less than six months” (9, 31%), with the second being one to less than five years (6, 21%) and 10 to 15 years each (6, 21%). Among women, the answer cited most often was “at least 20 years” (14, 30%), while the second was “five to ten years” (9, 20%) (Table 8.2). The average number of years women had lived in Montreal was 13.1 years, and that of men 7.6 years.

Among the homeless, 15 men and women (38%) lived in Montreal for at least ten years (Table 9). It is important to note, however, that the length of stay shown in Table 10 is not necessarily equal to the length of time they had been homeless in Montreal. These individuals were merely homeless at the time of survey.

3.4 Cash Income

The largest monthly income bracket for Montreal Inuit participating in this study was CAN\$500 to CAN\$1,000, accounting for 39 people (52%). The number of those with no income at all was 16 (21%) (Table 10). The average monthly income for all participants was about CAN\$655.

Looking at differences in income by gender, men who earned less than

CAN\$500 accounted for 43%, while women with an income of less than CAN\$500 accounted for 27%, indicating that men tend to be poorer than women. On the other hand, 18% of men and 16% of women with an income earned more than CAN\$1,000. For this particular income bracket the difference by gender was minimal (Table 11).

While 11 (28%) of the homeless Inuit had no income, 22 (55%) had an income of between CAN\$500 and CAN\$1,000 (Table 12). Quebec's Government provides social assistance (benefits) to eligible citizens who submit two documents or cards as proof of identity. These benefits are provided regardless of whether applicants have a fixed residence (fixed address), so even the homeless can receive benefits. The average amount of monthly benefits is CAN\$550. In addition, at times a number of the homeless beg on main streets in the city to obtain money or food. However, begging in public spaces is prohibited in the city of Montreal, so sometimes these homeless Inuit receive a warning or are arrested by the police.

Many Montreal Inuit find it difficult to procure steady employment. The chief reasons for this are their low level of education and the language barrier.

3.5 Diet

Montreal Inuit eat their meals in a wide variety of places (Table 13). The 183 answers to the multiple-answer questions are summarized here for each place in descending order: at home (26, 14%); the women's shelter Chez Doris (24, 13%); NFCM (22, 12%); the church-run facility Open Door (17, 9%); PAQ, the night shelter for aboriginal people (15, 8%); restaurants and from friends each (10, 6%); the church-run facility Red Roof (9, 5%); the church-run facility OBM (8, 4%); and Accueil Bonneau (7, 4%), etc.

By gender, women eat at Chez Doris (23%), at home (22%), Open Door (10%), food provided by friends (9%), NFCM (8%), PAQ (7%), and restaurants (7%) etc. Men eat at NFCM (18%), Red Roof (12%), PAQ (10%), Open Door (9%), OBM (9%), and Accueil Bonneau (8%). Both men and women take most advantage of the meals provided by NFCM, Open Door, and PAQ. Many women choose to eat at Chez Doris or at home, or eat the food they receive from their friends, while many men eat at NFCM, Red Roof, PAQ, Open Door, OBM, and Accueil Bonneau (Table 14).

For homeless women, Chez Doris accounts for 29%, Open Door 18%, PAQ 16%, NFCM 9%, and their friends 9% etc., while for homeless men, NFCM accounts for 19%, Red Roof 13%, PAQ 13%, Open Door 11%, OMB 8%, and Accueil Bonneau 8% etc. Both men and women use Open Door (14%), PAQ (14%), and NFCM (15%) (Table 15).

These figures indicate that low-income Montreal Inuit use a variety of charity and welfare organizations to secure meals and shelter⁴⁾.

3.6 Situation of Cohabitation

Of the 40 homeless Inuit, 38 lived alone, while two lived together with another person. For the other 35 Inuit with a place of residence, four lived alone, while the others lived with either their boyfriend, spouse (including common law spouse), friend, children, grandmother, cousin, sister, niece, aunt, or mother (Table 16).

When examining differences by gender in those with a place of residence, almost all men lived alone, while women tended to have one or more housemates. The homeless of both genders tended to live alone. There was a strong tendency for women with homes to live with their families, non-Inuit husbands, or non-Inuit boyfriends (Table 17).

3.7 Clothing

We obtained 106 responses (allowing each respondent check all the answers that applied) regarding how Montreal Inuit obtain their clothing. The responses in descending order were: 38 purchase their own clothes (36%), 25 receive clothes from Chez Doris (24%), ten from Red Roof (9%), eight from NFCM (8%), and five from Open Door (5%) etc. (Table 18).

Looking at responses by gender, both men and women are more likely to purchase their own clothes. Many women receive free clothes from Chez Doris, while many men receive clothes from Red Roof or NFCM. Compared to women, men obtain their clothes from a greater number of sources (Table 19).

Homeless men either purchase their own clothes or receive clothes from Red Roof or NFCM. In most cases homeless women obtain clothes from Chez Doris. Here again we see the same trend, with homeless men obtaining clothes from a wider number of sources than women (Table 20).

Thus, although we see a difference in the number of sources from which men and women obtain their clothes, there is little difference between the homeless and non-homeless (Tables 19 and 20).

3.8 Social Relationships in Montreal

Of the 75 participants in this study, 19 (25%) have no family or relatives in Montreal, while 56 (75%) do. Taking a look at the family relations of these 75 individuals, 26 (35%) have cousins in the city, 22 (29%) have sisters, 13 (17%) have aunts, ten (13%) have mothers, nine (12%) have daughters, eight (11%) have brothers, and seven (9%) have nieces etc. (Table 21).

There is very little difference by gender among Montreal Inuit in regards to family or relatives living in the city (Table 22). However, looking at the 40 homeless Inuit, 26 people (65%) have family and/or relatives in Montreal, while 14 (35%) have none. When compared to the average of the whole Montreal Inuit (25%) (Table 21), there is a larger percentage (35%) of homeless Inuit with no family or relatives in the city (Table 23).

Currently, there are larger numbers of Montreal Inuit who have family or relatives living in the city, but these Inuit do not seem to establish a close sense of community with each other in their daily lives. Montreal Inuit tend to act alone or in pairs, appearing to lead their lives separate from each other. If they want to meet certain family, relatives, or friends, in most cases they visit the NFCM, Chez Doris, and Atwater Park to seek them out.

3.9 Contact with Other Inuit Living outside Montreal

Montreal Inuit maintain social relationships with Inuit living outside of Montreal by communication through media or direct visits.

Telephone is the most common means used by Montreal Inuit to communicate with those living outside of Montreal (62%), followed by Facebook on the Internet (19%) (Table 24.1). Some people use both. While 14% of the respondents said they never communicate with Inuit living in Arctic region, the others indicated they do, even if it is not very often. About 23% communicate with Inuit in the Arctic region about once a week, around 18% twice or more a week, and 15% on a daily basis. Thus, one in two people communicate with those living in the Arctic region at least once a week (Table 24.2).

Approximately 46% of Montreal Inuit have never visited their hometown/homeland following their move to Montreal. Around 24% visit once every three years or more, and 8% visit at least once a year. Few people return home on a regular basis (Table 25), but many do go back to attend funerals.

Regarding the frequency of Montreal Inuit who return home, only a small percentage of people go home annually or semiannually due to the high cost of airfare, while 63% of men and 33% of women have never returned home, revealing a clear difference by gender. Those who fall outside this small percentage have gone home at least once. They are known to return home to attend the funeral of a family member, relative, or friend, though the frequency of this is not clear (Table 30).

The major means of communication for urban Inuit is telephone, while many Inuit also use the Internet, including Facebook. Fifty-seven percent of men and 65% of women use a telephone to stay in contact with those living in Arctic region. The percentage of men using Facebook is 17%, and that of women is 20%. Approximately 20% of men and 10% of women said they have no means of communication (Table 26).

Women communicate by telephone and the Internet more often than men. The percentage of men who communicate every day is 13%, while 18% of women make an effort to communicate on a daily basis. For both genders, one in two people communicate at least once a week. Twenty-six percent of men and 13% of women indicate they do not communicate at all (Table 27).

Telephone is the major means of communication for Montreal Inuit. On a whole, the largest percentage of phone calls (21%) are made to siblings, next is

family (19%), parents (12%), then other individuals (11%), and no one in particular (11%) (Table 28). Men most often call their siblings (28%), followed by no one (17%), parents (14%), and friends (14%). On the other hand, women most frequently make calls to family (25%), followed by siblings (16%), parents (11%), and other individuals (11%). The percentage of men who do not communicate with others is larger than that of women (Table 28). Both the homeless and those with a place of residence make calls to their parents, siblings, family and friends, although there is a difference between the two groups. The homeless have the higher percentage for calling no one (13%), siblings (27%), parents (16%), and family (13%) than those with a place of residence, while the latter exhibit a higher percentage of calls to others (15%), siblings (15%), friends (13%), and family (23%) (Table 29).

Approximately 64% Inuit stated that they use the Internet at the NFCM or Chez Doris (Table 31). In regards to their use of the Internet, Facebook accounts for 43%, email accounts for 20%, gathering information 17%, watching YouTube 7%, listening to music 5%, watching videos 5%, and playing games 2% (Table 32). Thus, two out of three Inuit use the Internet, although those who have never used it account for 37% (Table 31).

Use of the Internet was claimed by 66% of men and 62% of women claimed to use the Internet. The Native Friendship Center of Montreal and Chez Doris provide them with access to the Internet. On the other hand, the remaining 35% of men and 38% of women do not use the Internet, indicating there is no extreme difference by gender (Table 31). However, there is an interesting difference in men and women's respective uses of the Internet. Women are more inclined to use Facebook and send email than men, while men more frequently watch videos, view content on YouTube, and listen to music (Table 32).

There are differences in the means of communication used by the homeless and those with a residence. The percentage of homeless Inuit who use the telephone (65%) is slightly higher than that of non-homeless (59%). The percentage of non-homeless who use Facebook (27%) is higher than that of the homeless (9%). Approximately 24% of the homeless and 7% of non-homeless said they use no particular means for communication (Table 33).

Forty-four percent of homeless Inuit communicate with those living in Arctic region at least once a week, while 25% do not make any contact at all. On the other hand, 59% of non-homeless communicate with Inuit in the Arctic region at least once a week, compared to 10% who do not communicate with anyone (Table 34).

The homeless and non-homeless differ in how often they return home: 50% of homeless Montreal Inuit have never gone home, while the same is true for only 37% of the non-homeless. Although homeless Inuit sometimes go home to attend the funeral of a family member, relative, or friend, non-homeless return home more frequently than the homeless (Table 35). The expensive airfare to home villages in the Arctic region is considered to be one of factors underlying this difference.

Use of the Internet was reported by 71% of the non-homeless and 58% of the homeless. In short, one in two homeless Inuit are using the Internet (Table 36). Both the homeless and non-homeless use the Internet for the same reasons, which are predominantly to send emails or use Facebook. Both groups use the Internet for a wide variety of other purposes, such as playing games, watching videos, listening to music, gathering information, and viewing content on YouTube (Table 37).

3.10 Living Area and Frequency of Communication

The studies from 1997 and 2004 revealed that Montreal Inuit did not live together in a community but rather led separate lives. The present study indicated that there is still no closely linked Inuit community, but it seems that some members live within relatively close proximity to each other. Men tend to live downtown, with many in particular living near PAQ, NFCM, and Atwater Station along the Metro. Women are scattered all across Montreal, though there are many women living near Atwater Station, St. Henri, Verdun, and areas in eastern Montreal (Table 38).

The homeless and non-homeless Inuit also live in different residential areas. The homeless with no fixed living place account for the largest percentage (26%), but there are areas where they tend to congregate, namely the areas near PAQ, NFCM, and Atwater Station along the Metro. In contrast, the majority of non-homeless Inuit live outside the downtown district in areas such as eastern Montreal (20%), St. Henri (14%), Verdun (14%), and Lachine (14%) (Table 39).

3.11 Language

Out of all Montreal Inuit, 84% of the Inuktitut speakers speak it in Montreal every day. Seven indicated they do not speak Inuktitut at all, accounting for nine percent of all respondents. They were born and raised in Montreal, or adopted by a non-Inuit family at an early age and grew up in a region outside the Arctic. Frequency of use aside, 90% of Inuktitut speakers claim to use Inuktitut in Montreal (Table 40).

Speaking Inuktitut daily are 77% of all Inuit men, and 88% of Inuit women (Table 41). Homeless Inuit speak Inuktitut every day and more frequently than non-homeless Inuit. About eight percent of homeless Inuit speak English on a daily basis, and almost never use Inuktitut. Among Inuit whose mother tongue is Inuktitut, five percent of the homeless cannot, compared to seven percent of the non-homeless in daily life (Table 42).

3.12 Self-impressions of Urban Inuit

This study examined how Montreal Inuit (urban Inuit) view themselves. We asked them to describe their impression of other urban Inuit. Of all respondents, 31% indicated they have a largely negative impression of urban Inuit, citing reasons

such as trouble with alcohol or drugs, unemployment, or the large number of homeless Inuit. Those who have a mixed impression account for 23% of all Montreal Inuit, while 15% have a mostly positive impression, with some indicating they found other Montreal Inuit to be friendly. Approximately 19% made no comment or indicated they had no fixed impression of other Montreal Inuit. Based on these figures, on a whole it is clear Montreal Inuit have a predominantly negative impression of themselves (Table 43).

Gender differences can be seen in the impressions held by Montreal Inuit. Those who held a negative impression of other Montreal Inuit accounted for the largest percentage of both men and women, though this percentage was greater among women (37%) than men (31%). Also, 21% of men have a positive image, while only 11% of women do (Table 44).

There is also a difference in the impressions held by the homeless and non-homeless. As was seen by gender, those who viewed other Montreal Inuit negatively accounted for the largest percentage of both homeless and non-homeless Inuit, though the percentage of the non-homeless with a negative impression (40%) was greater than that of the homeless (30%). Twenty percent of the homeless have a positive impression of other Montreal Inuit, compared to only 9% of the non-homeless (Table 45).

3.13 Daily Life Needs

The main unmet, daily life needs indicated by Montreal Inuit are as follows: housing (27%), work (18%), education (9%), cultural activities (6%), health and medical treatment (4%), and recovery from alcohol or drug abuse (4%) (Table 46).

There is no significant gender difference regarding daily life needs. The top three needs indicated by both men and women are housing, work, and education. Both men and women are interested in cultural activities. Meanwhile, a large number of men think they need to stop drug or alcohol abuse, while women generally need health and medical treatment (Table 47).

The top three needs listed by both the homeless and non-homeless were also the same: housing, work, and education. However, a greater number of homeless persons desire housing, while more non-homeless people seek jobs. Non-homeless Inuit are also more interested in cultural activities, such as studying Inuktitut (Table 48).

3.14 Organizations Used by Montreal Inuit, and Expectations for Such Organizations

The organizations used by Montreal Inuit include the NFCM (30%), Chez Doris (22%), PAQ (8%), Open Door (7%), and Red Roof (7%). By gender, men generally use a wider variety of organizations, such as the NFCM (39%), PAQ (13%), Red Roof (13%), and Open Door (8%) etc. On the other hand, woman tend

to use Chez Doris (41%), the NFCM (23%), Open Door (7%), and PAQ (5%) (Table 49).

Both the homeless and non-homeless take most advantage of services provided by the NFCM and Chez Doris. These are the two organizations most commonly used by the non-homeless, although 31% of the non-homeless do not use them at all. In contrast, homeless Montreal Inuit use a greater variety of organizations, including the NFCM (27%), Chez Doris (15%), PAQ (14%), Red Roof (12%), and Open Door (10%) (Table 50).

The main reasons Montreal Inuit use these organizations are to obtain meals, food, clothes, and shelter.

Only 43 people (57%) indicated awareness of organizations in Nunavik, Quebec that support Inuit living in Montreal, while 32 (43%) claimed they did not know such organizations existed. In particular, there is a perception among Montreal Inuit from places other than Nunavik that they are not eligible to receive any benefits offered by those organizations.

Services desired by the Montreal Inuit are traditional country food (18%), housing (18%), education (15%), work opportunities (15%), airline tickets to travel back home (9%), and the provision of health appliances and healthcare (6%) (Table 51).

3.15 Outlook on Future

In this study, 52% of the Montreal Inuit interviewed expressed their wish to stay in Montreal, while 43% claimed they want to return to the Arctic. Those who said they were unsure accounted for 5%. Looking at gender, 48% of men indicated they wanted to stay, and another 48% stated they wanted to go back. For women, 54% wanted to remain in Montreal while 39% indicated they wanted to return to the Arctic. Although more women wish to remain in Montreal than men, the difference is not large (Table 52).

Regarding figures for the homeless and non-homeless, about 52% of both groups wish to stay in the south. For those wishing to go back to the north, the percentages were 46% among the homeless and 38% among the non-homeless. There is apparently a greater desire among the homeless to return to the Arctic but the difference is not large (Table 53).

Overall, among the Montreal Inuit, even those who wish to stay in the south wish to return home temporarily at some time. There are diverse reasons for remaining in the south. The main or most common reasons are escaping social or family problems back home, along with the shortage of housing and lack of jobs there.

3.16 Experiences in Prisons or Detention Centers

Among people interviewed in this study 12% indicated that they had been released from a jail or a detention center. One in four men and one in twenty women

had spent time in a prison or detention center. The percentage of men (24%) who had been imprisoned (in a prison or a detention center) was about five times higher than that of women (4%) (Table 54). About one out of five homeless people (20%) had spent time in a prison or a detention center, while less than one in thirty non-homeless had (3%) (Table 55).

The percentage of the homeless (20%) who had been imprisoned was six times higher than for the non-homeless (3%). Based on these figures, it appears that those released from jail are much more likely to become homeless (Table 55).

3.17 Punishment by Fine

When asked if they have any outstanding (unpaid) fines, nearly one in two (48%) of all respondents answered yes. By gender, 62% of Inuit men have outstanding fines, compared to 39% of Inuit women (Table 56). In addition, 62% of all the homeless Inuit have been fined in the past, while only 32% of the non-homeless have experienced the same punishment. The figures indicate that homeless Inuit have the highest probability of experiencing financial penalties (Table 57).

The major causes for incurring fines include fighting in a public place, drinking, drug use, intoxication, disturbing the peace (such as by yelling), and fare avoidance on the subway or bus.

3.18 Shortage of Housing

The shortage of housing in the Arctic is believed to be one of the primary reasons why Inuit migrate to urban areas. When asked about whether they would go back to their hometown if housing were available, 67% of the respondents said they would, while 31% said no. A comparison by gender revealed that 74% of men and 63% of women would go back if housing was available. Gender difference aside, it is clear the majority of Inuit would return to the Arctic if there was sufficient quantity of housing (Table 58). Seventy-one percent of the homeless and 66% of the non-homeless (a slight difference between the two groups) answered that they want to go back to the Arctic if the housing conditions in the region improve (Table 59).

The results of this study revealed that the housing environment is one of the main factors influencing the decision of Inuit to move to and settle in cities (see also Savoie 2012). However, as noted above (Reasons for Migrating), other reasons lead Inuit to migrate to cities, making it difficult to conclude that the shortage of housing is the most significant of all reasons.

3.19 Urban Inuit's Views on Themselves

Based on the free comments received, Montreal Inuit suffer from widespread poverty, drug and/or alcohol addiction, quarrels, homelessness, and health problems (Appendix III). They clearly need jobs, places of residence, food, shelter, and education. They also need more support from existing shelters, native support centers,

and Makivik. They are often aware of their own problems, pointing out that it would be best to go back to their homeland or never to have come to Montreal at all.

Based on the comments received in this study, Montreal Inuit have largely negative self-impressions.

4 Discussion

The studies in 1997 and 2004 revealed that diverse Inuit lived in Montreal. The 2012 study targeted the economically and socially vulnerable Montreal Inuit. Of the 54 individuals interviewed in the 2004 study, seven were no longer living, 14 had moved back to the north, and four had moved somewhere to the south, such as Ottawa. As of August 2012, 29 informants from the previous study were still in Montreal. These figures indicate that many people had either passed away, moved back to their villages in the north, or migrated to other places.

When we compare results of the three studies (1997, 2004, 2012), we see an increase in both the number and percentage of homeless Inuit. Of the 75 individuals who participated in the 2012 study, 40 are homeless and suffer from a poor diet, drinking, or drugs. There are also those who suffer from alcohol addiction or mental disease, and some cause public disturbances associated with drinking, such as fighting and yelling. There are homeless people in each gender, though the percentage of homeless men is higher. Once Inuit become homeless, it is extremely hard for them to escape this condition. The only choices left to Inuit are to go back to their villages in the north or find work in the south. There are reported cases of Inuit dying on the street or in traffic accidents every year.

The present study also revealed the main reasons Inuit women move to Montreal is to escape social, economic, and housing problems in their hometowns. In particular, many of the women were victims of domestic violence and sexual abuse who had escaped from their villages in the far north. Up until the last few years, the victims, their families, or neighbors did not attempt to share these problems with the public, but rather tended to keep these problems secret. Female victims have begun to speak up about these problems both in urban areas and villages in the far north. Based on what they say, these problems have existed for a long time.

This study found that many men had problems with drugs or alcohol, or were the perpetrators of fights, domestic violence, and sexual abuse in villages. Many of them had previously spent time in a prison or a detention center; and in a sense had been driven out of their villages.

This study revealed that one in three Inuit do not want to return home, even though nearly half of all Montreal Inuit live in dire straits. There are several reasons that prevent them from returning to their hometown or discourage them from wanting to go back. Although some studies indicate that the lack of housing in the far north is a major reason why Inuit leave, it is not the only reason. Most of men and

women said they would return home if there was sufficient housing in the far north, while a minority of them claimed they did not want to return. In my opinion, social and economic problems in the villages of the far north are the major factor that drives people to leave and move to cities. The fact that women are more inclined to stay in Montreal than men, along with the larger female Inuit population in the city, seems to reflect the situation in the villages of the far north.

Many Montreal Inuit use the Internet and telephone to communicate with their family, relatives, and friends, thereby allowing them to maintain their ties with those back home. Some homeless Inuit have cellphones, and many use the free Internet and telephone services provided by several shelters, the NFCM, and Chez Doris to communicate with family and friends living in their home area or other regions. There are also Inuit who began using Facebook in 2009.

This study demonstrated the importance of the various organizations that support the lives of Montreal Inuit. Impoverished Inuit are able to obtain food and clothing from charitable organizations, regardless of whether they are homeless or not. Women have access to women's shelters, such as Chez Doris, but no specialized shelter exists for men. Considering the social and economic circumstances of Montreal Inuit men, there is a need for shelters that can provide more effective support. Currently in Montreal there are special shelters for women, as well as support groups and shelters for First Nations peoples, but there are no shelters specifically for Montreal Inuit. What Montreal Inuit evidently need most are housing, work, and education. Many Inuit are also interested in traditional country food and cultural activities, and such interests could be suggested in more targeted shelters or Inuit centers.

5 Conclusions and Suggestions

The 2012 study indicates that the rise in the number of Inuit leaving their hometown to move south, and the rise in the homeless Inuit population are deeply connected to multiple factors, including social problems (drinking, drugs, sexual abuse, violence, fighting), economic problems (lack of jobs), and the housing shortage in the northern regions. As long as these problems in the far north remain unaddressed, the flow of Inuit to the south will continue to increase. In addition, as the population of Montreal Inuit without employment and/or kinship networks rises, the severity of the social and economic problems they face in Montreal will also grow.

To solve the social and economic problems of Montreal Inuit and other urban Inuit, I believe actions must be taken in both the Arctic and urban areas. In the following sections I will suggest several concrete measures that need to be pursued in each region.

5.1 Measures to Address Problems in the Arctic

This study again made it clear that many Inuit ran away or were banished from their home villages (Kishigami 2008a, 2008b, 2013). It is necessary to solve the social, economic, and housing problems that cause these negative trends in the Arctic. Problems such as sexual abuse, domestic violence, fighting, alcohol, and drugs have only recently come to the surface, and are much more serious than we previously thought. In addition, the economic problems, such as low income caused by lack of jobs, and the housing shortage, which is caused by rapid population growth, are also serious. To alleviate or solve these problems in Nunavik, the people of each village need to take the initiative and act in cooperation with the Kativik regional government, Makivik, the government of Quebec, and the government of Canada.

I propose training counsellors and holding counseling sessions for psychological and other issues on a regular basis in the arctic communities. This is because psychotherapy treatment or group counselling treatment is much more effective than other means to solve substance and physical abuse problems (for examples, Addington and el-Guebaly 1996; Campbell 1986; Friedrich ed. 1991; Hylton 2002; Walker ed. 1998; Yalom and Leszcz 2005). This measure would not only mitigate the problems each person faces, but reveal the true causes of special problems. To prevent the reoccurrence of these problems, we need to ensure that younger generations have positive opportunities and examples to follow. I suggest establishing a community-wide system of child care in each community.

5.2 Measures to Address Problems in the Montreal Area

In the Montreal area, we need to take measures to improve the current living conditions of Montreal Inuit, in particular those of the homeless.

First, outreach workers and counselors dedicated to helping the Inuit need to be dispatched to Chez Doris, the NFCM, and PAQ downtown. Many Montreal Inuit are confronted by multiple difficulties, such as homelessness, drinking, drugs, malnutrition, mental instability, sickness, and unemployment. There are also differences in the problems men and women face, as well as their respective needs. The appropriate deployment and utilization of human resources is needed to quickly and adequately address these problems. I also recommend dispatching medical doctors dedicated to serving the Inuit.

Secondly, there is a need to establish night shelters to accommodate Inuit suffering from alcohol and drugs. Shelters in Montreal run by the PAQ, churches, and charities refuse to accept the intoxicated, and as a result there are almost no shelters available for those who need support most. Thus, there is an urgent need to open wet shelters.

Thirdly, Montreal Inuit should be provided with traditional country food and Inuit feasts (dinner meetings with a large number of people that are often held in Inuit villages), like those once held by the Inuit Association of Montreal. Such mea-

tures will not only help the Montreal Inuit get to know each other, but also help them form a social network that encourages mutual aid and functions as a safety net.

Fourthly, unemployed Montreal Inuit need to be given jobs. To do this, there is a need not only for employment agents, but also schools to help them obtain the skills and knowledge required to gain employment. There is an educational institution for young and adult Inuit, the Ivirtivik Center, in Verdun near Montreal which offers job training and French lessons. These education systems and functions need to be improved and expanded, and similar facilities need to be established in downtown Montreal where they can be easily accessed by large numbers of Inuit.

Lastly, there is a need to establish a new multipurpose Inuit center that offers Montreal Inuit a wide variety of services. This center would provide Montreal Inuit with information, and serve as a place where Inuit can share information, enjoy opportunities to interact with each other, and participate in cultural activities. It would also act as an emergency shelter similar to a night shelter, a counseling center for law, medicine and welfare systems, and an educational and job-training institution.

Montreal Inuit face a diverse range of truly painful problems. To address these problems, Montreal Inuit must first be able to understand their problems, and actively work with Inuit economic and political organizations such as Makivik, the governments of Nunavut Territory and Kativik, the municipal government of Montreal, the government of Quebec, the government of Canada, supporting organizations such as the NFCM, Chez Doris, and PAQ, and finally the residents in Montreal and Inuit communities (villages) in the Arctic region.

Acknowledgements

This research project was financially supported by the Makivik Corporation and the Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research (B) “The Anthropological Study of Social Inclusion” (Head: Motoi SUZUKI, #23320196) in 2012. Without the generous support from them and kind cooperation of the Native Friendship Centre of Montreal (NFCM), Chez Doris, and Project Autochtones du Québec (PAQ), the project could not have been accomplished. I thank the following persons for their help and cooperation: Donat Savoie (Special Advisor to the president of the Makivik Corporation), Annie Pisuktie (Research Assistant for the Project), Allison Irqumia (Makivik Corporation), Sylvie Comez (Chez Doris), Judy Hayohok (Chez Doris), Joey Saganash (Native Friendship Centre of Montreal), Brett Pineau (Native Friendship Centre of Montreal), the director of the PAQ, and all participants in our interview research. Also, I thank Setsuko Ikuta and Marie Nakamura for checking the tables of this paper and anonymous reviewers of the draft for their comments.

Notes

- 1) “First Nations (peoples)” refers to the Indian peoples in Canada, both status and non-status originally under the Indian Act of 1876. They are neither Inuit nor Métis (Frederes 1998: 27). “Métis” refers to (1) “an Aboriginal people distinct from Indian and Inuit”, (2) “descendants of the historic Métis who evolved in what is now Western Canada as a people with a common political will”, and (3) “descen-

- dants of those Aboriginal peoples who have been absorbed by the historic Métis” (Frideres 1998: 38). “Inuit” refers to an Aboriginal group occupying the arctic region of Canada, whose mother tongue is Eskimo language.
- 2) Either of proper drinking or smoking is not illegal or not regarded as negative in daily life in Canada. However, these two Inuit had serious alcohol and smoking problems in their home communities. Also, they are still addicted to alcohol and cigarettes. Thus, I classified ease of access to them as one of negative reasons.
 - 3) See note 1.
 - 4) However, it is known that several Inuit who did not participate in this research do not use these organizations intentionally.

References

- Addington, J. and N. el-Guebaly
1998 Group Treatment for Substance Abuse in Schizophrenia. *Canadian Journal of Psychiatry* 43(8): 843–845.
- Brody, Hugh
1971 *Indians on Skid Row*. Ottawa: Information Canada.
- Campbell, J.
1986 A Survivor Group for Battered Women. *Advances in Nursing Science* 8: 13–20.
- Carpenter, M.
1993 Urban Inuit. *Inuktitut* 76: 62–69.
- Dosman, Edger
1972 *Indians: The Urban Dilemma*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.
- Fixico, Donald L.
2000 *The Urban Indian Experience in America*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Fogel-Chance, Nancy
1993 Living in Both Worlds: “Modernity” and “Tradition” among North Slope Inupiaq Women in Anchorage. *Arctic Anthropology* 30(1): 94–108.
- Frideres, James S.
1998 *Aboriginal Peoples in Canada: Contemporary Conflicts* (Fifth Edition). Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice Hall Allyn and Bacon Canada.
- Friedrich, W. N. (ed.)
1991 *Casebook of Sexual Abuse Treatment*. New York: Norton.
- Gerber, L.
1980 The Development of Canadian Indian Communities. *The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 16(4): 126–134.
- Goldman, Gustave
2013 A Study of First Nations and Métis Peoples: Living in Edmonton, Vancouver and Winnipeg. In Klaus-Dieter Ertler and Patrick Imbert (eds.) *Cultural Challenges of Migration in Canada* (Canadiana 12), pp.17–63. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- Howard, R.A. and C. Proulx (eds.)
2011 *Aboriginal Peoples in Canadian Cities: Transformations and Continuities*. Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press.
- Hylton, John H. with the Assistance of Murray Bird, et al.
2002 *Aboriginal Sexual Offending in Canada*. Ottawa: Aboriginal Healing Foundation.
- Kishigami, Nobuhiro
1999a “Life and Problems of Urban Inuit in Montreal: Report of 1997 Research” *Jinbun Ronyu* 68: 81–109.
1999b “Why Do Inuit Move to Montreal?: A Research Note on Urban Inuit” *Études/Inuit/Studies* 23 (1)–(2): 221–227.
2002a “Living as an Inuk in Montreal: Social Networks and Resource Sharing” *Jinbun Ronyu* 71: 73–84.

- 2002b “Inuit Identities in Montreal, Canada” *Études/Inuit/Studies* 26(1): 183–191.
- 2002c “Urban Inuit in Canada: A Case from Montreal” *Indigenous Affairs* 3–4 (2002): 54–59.
- 2004 “Cultural and Ethnic Identities of Inuit in Canada” In T. Irimoto and T. Yamada (eds.) *Circumpolar Ethnicity and Identity* (Senri Ethnological Studies 66), pp. 81–93. Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology.
- 2006 “Inuit Social Networks in an Urban Setting” In P. Stern and L. Stevenson (eds.) *Critical Inuit Studies: An Anthology of Contemporary Arctic Ethnography*. pp. 206–216. Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press.
- 2008a “Notes on Information and Food-resources Flow among the Urban Inuit in Montreal, Canada” *Jinbun Ronyu* 77: 235–246.
- 2008b “Homeless Inuit in Montreal” *Études/Inuit/Studies* 32(1): 73–90.
- 2013 “The Inuit’s Migration Patterns and Drastic Population Increase in Urban Centers of Canada”. In Klaus-Dieter Ertler and Patrick Imbert (eds.) *Cultural Challenges of Migration in Canada* (Canadiana 12), pp. 65–73. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- La Prairie, C.
1994 *Seen but Not Heard: Native People in the Inner City*. Ottawa: Department of Justice, Canada.
- Lobo, Susan (ed.)
2002 *Urban Voices: The Bay Area American Indian Community*. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press.
- Lobo Susan and Kurt Peters (eds.)
2001 *American Indians and the Urban Experience*. Walnut Creek: AltaMira Press.
- McCaskill, D. N.
1981 The Urbanization of Indians in Winnipeg, Toronto, Edmonton and Vancouver. *Culture* 1(1): 82–89.
- Nagler Mark
1970 *Indians in the City A Study of the Urbanization of Indians in Toronto*. Ottawa: Canadian Research Center for Anthropology.
- Price, John A.
1975 U.S. and Canadian Indian Urban Ethnic Institutions. *Urban Anthropology* 4(1): 35–52.
- Price, J. A. and D. N. McCaskill
1974 The Urban Integration of Canadian Indians. *Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology* 4(2): 29–45.
- Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples
1993 *Aboriginal Peoples in Urban Centers*. Ottawa: Canada Communication Group.
- Ryan, J.
1979 *Wall of Words: The Betrayal of the Urban Indian*. Toronto: P. Martin Association.
- Savoie, Donat
2012 “Report on Inuit Homelessness in Montreal, Canada” Presented to Front d’action populaire en réaménagement urbain in the context of the Popular Commission on Housing Right.
- Sprott, J. E.
1994 “Symbolic Ethnicity” and Alaska Natives of Mixed Ancestry Living in Anchorage. *Human Organization* 53(4): 311–322.
- Statistics Canada
2013a Aboriginal Peoples in Canada: First Nations People, Metis and Inuit. <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/nhs-enm/2011/as-sa/99-011-x/99-011-x2011001-eng.cfm#a5> (2014年3月15日閱覽)
- 2013b Figure 2. Distribution of the Inuit Population by Area of Residence—Inuit Nunangat, Canada, 2011. <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/nhs-enm/2011/as-sa/99-011-x/2011001/c-g/c-g02-eng.cfm> (2014年3月15日閱覽)
- Walker, L. E. A. (ed.)
1988 *Handbook on Sexual Abuse of Children: Assessment and Treatment Issues*. New York: Springer Publishing Company.
- Yalom, I. D. and M. Leszcz
2005 *The Theory and Practice of Group Psychotherapy* (5th edition). New York: Basic Books.

Appendix I Questionnaire on Urban Inuit in Montreal for 2012 Research

The purpose of the following questionnaire is to research the living conditions and ways of life of the Inuit people in Montreal. This information will be kept in strict confidence and used for statistical purposes or anonymously. This proposed research aims at understanding current situations and problems of Inuit living permanently or transitionally in Montreal. This research will help find possible solutions for the problems that are encountered by Inuit when moving to Montreal.

- (1) Full Name
- (2) Sex: male or female
- (3) Age: How old are you? or Birth Year
- (4) Birth Place: Where were you born? / Native Village: Where did you spend your childhood?
- (5) Parents: Who are your father and mother?
- (6) How long have you lived in Montreal?
- (7) Where was the last place you lived previous to Montreal? Where did you live in the past before arriving at Montreal?
- (8) How long did you live in each of the places?
- (9) Did you have any problems finding a job in Montreal?
- (10) What is your occupation? Or how do you earn money?
- (11) What is your monthly income?
- (12) Is this enough money for you to live comfortable with?
- (13) What are your reasons for coming to Montreal?
- (14) When you came to Montreal, were there any contact persons or organizations available to you to help you familiarize yourself with the city? If so, who were they?
- (15) Do you have a family in Montreal? Who are they? (age, gender, relationship)
- (16) With whom do you live in Montreal? Who are they?
- (17) How many relatives do you have in Montreal? Who are they?
- (18) How many friends do you have? Are they Inuit? Who are they?
- (19) How do you communicate to your family, relatives in different places within Montreal?
- (20) Do you have any family and friends in your home community? How did you communicate them? How often?
- (21) How often are you able to go to visit your home community?
- (22) What and where do you eat in Montreal? Please give me some examples.
- (23) How often do you eat Inuit food (from the north)?
- (24) Where can you find or eat Inuit food in Montreal?
- (25) What are the main differences between country food and food you eat in Montreal?

- (26) How do you get Inuit food in Montreal?
- (27) Who do you give food most often in Montreal?
- (28) To whom do you give food most often in Montreal?
- (29) If you find yourself in trouble or have no money or no food, who do you go to for help?
- (30) Did your family, relatives or friends in the north help you in need in Montreal?
- (31) Did you send some gift or money to the north?
- (32) Have you developed any health problems since living in Montreal?
- (33) Which area of Montreal do you live in?
- (34) How did you find your residence?
- (35) How much do you pay for a rent per month?
- (36) How do you consider your housing conditions?
- (37) How do you obtain your clothing and shoes in Montreal?
- (38) How often do you speak Inuktitut in Montreal?
- (39) Are you able to meet other Inuit in Montreal, if so where do you see them?
- (40) How often do you watch television programs?
- (41) How long do you watch the TV programs per day?
- (42) What are your favorite TV programs? Why do you like them?
- (43) How often do you listen to radio?
- (44) How long do you listen to the radio per day?
- (45) What are your favorite programs? Why do you like them?
- (46) How often do you read newspapers or/and magazines?
- (47) What are your favorite ones? Why do you like them?
- (48) Do you have your own telephone or mobile phone?
- (49) To whom do you make phone calls often?
- (50) From whom do you receive phone calls often?
- (51) When you want to know about current situations of your family in your home community, what will you do?
- (52) Do you use the Internet? If yes, for what purposes do you use it?
- (53) How is your life in Montreal different from that in the north?
- (54) What do you like to say to your families in the Arctic regarding your life in Montreal?
- (55) How do you see or think about Inuit in Montreal?
- (56) Do you find or have any serious problems with living in Montreal? How have you dealt with the problems?
- (57) Can you make a list of some good points and some bad points of living in Montreal or a big city?
- (58) Do you think what you need to improve your quality of life in Montreal?
- (59) Do you think that how Nunavik organizations such as Makivik Corporation, Kativik Regional Government and other organizations can help you? What

- kind of help do you expect to have from the Nunavik Organizations?
- (60) Which public organizations such as Chez Doris, PAQ Centre, NFCM, Welcome Hall, etc. do you use often? How do you use them? What kinds of service do you hope to have from them?
 - (61) Do you hope to go back to your home village or other Arctic places or hope to stay in the southern Canada? What is your plan for the future? Why do you decide to think so?
 - (62) If adequate social housing is available to you, will you move back to the North?
 - (63) How do you see Inuit youth in the North?
 - (64) Are you in Montreal after being released from a detention center and deciding not to return to the North?
 - (65) Why did you choose not to return to the North?
 - (66) Are you often arrested and detained? For what reasons?
 - (67) Do you have unpaid fines?
 - (68) Do you have any comments or suggestions about urban Inuit in Montreal? If so, please inform me.

I am hoping to contact some of the participants from this questionnaire in order to meet with them to complete my research. The interviews will be short and I am willing to compensate your time. If I can contact you, please tell your phone number or contact place.

Your participation in this research is greatly appreciated. Thank you very much.

Appendix II. Tables

Table 1 Native Place Names for the Home Regions and Communities of Montreal Inuit

Nunavik (50)	Nunavut (17)	Labrador (3)	Other Areas (5)
Kuujjuaq (17)	Cape Dorset (7)	Goose Bay (1)	Montreal (4)
Quartaq (5)	Iqaluit (5)	Hopedale (1)	White Horse (1)
Kangirsuk (5)	Arctic Bay (3)	Nain (1)	
Kangqsualujjuaq (4)	Hall Beach (1)		
Puvurnituq (4)	Bay Chimo (1)		
Salluit (3)			
Kuujjuaraapik (3)			
Ivuivik (2)			
Inukjuak (2)			
Chisasibi (2)			
Fort George (1)			
Umiujaq (1)			
Kangirsujjuaq (1)			

Table 2.1 Native Places of Montreal Inuit by Gender

Community Name	Male	Female
Kuujjuaq (17)	8	9
Cape Dorset (7)	2	5
Quartaq (5)	0	5
Iqaluit (5)	2	3
Kangirsuk (5)	3	2
Montreal (4)	1	3
Kangqsualujjuaq (4)	1	3
Puvurnituq (4)	1	3
Arctic Bay (3)	1	2
Salluit (3)	1	2
Kuujjuaraapik (3)	3	0
Ivuivik (2)	0	2
Inukjuak (2)	2	0
Chisasibi (2)	0	2
Fort George (1)	0	1
Umiujaq (1)	0	1
Kangirsujjuaq (1)	0	1
Hall Beach (1)	1	0
Bay Chimo (1)	1	0
Goose Bay (1)	0	1
Hopedale (1)	1	0
Nain (1)	0	1
White Horse (1)	1	0
Total	29	46

Table 2.2 Native Places of Homeless Inuit in Montreal

Community Name	Homeless
Kuujuuaq (17)	12
Cape Dorset (7)	4
Quartaq (5)	2
Iqaluit (5)	1
Kangirsuk (5)	1
Montreal (4)	0
Kangqsualujjuaq (4)	1
Puvurnituq (4)	2
Arctic Bay (3)	2
Salluit (3)	1
Kuujjuaraapik (3)	3
Ivuivik (2)	2
Inukjuak (2)	2
Chisasibi (2)	0
Fort George (1)	0
Umiujaq (1)	1
Kangirsujjuaq (1)	1
Hall Beach (1)	1
Bay Chimo (1)	1
Goose Bay (1)	1
Hopedale (1)	1
Nain (1)	0
White Horse (1)	1
Total	40

Table 3 Gender and Homeless/Non-homeless Inuit

	Homeless	Non-homeless	Total
Female	17 (42.5%)	29 (82.9%)	46 (61.3%)
Male	23 (57.5%)	6 (20%)	29 (38.4%)
Total	40 (100%)	35 (100%)	75 (100%)

Table 4 Reasons for Migrating into Montreal (multiple answers allowed)

Reasons	Number
Sexual abuse	4 (5.1%)
Sent to prison/jail/detention center	4 (5.1%)
Personal issues (including family problems)	5 (6.3%)
Physical abuse (DV)	12 (15.2%)
Fights	2 (2.5%)
Troubles in home village	2 (2.5%)
Not want to be up north	1 (1.3%)
Social problems (suicide, drug, drinking)	7 (8.7%)
Divorce or separation	2 (2.5%)
Want to come to Montreal, visiting	3 (3.8%)
For hospital, medical reason	4 (5.1%)

For study/education (NWT to Ottawa)	3 (3.8%)
No idea to go	1 (1.3%)
Because of family or good Inuit friends in Montreal	5 (6.3%)
Like Montreal	1 (1.3%)
Mother, husband, boyfriend or family moved to Montreal	8 (10.1%)
Accompanying sick person to Montreal	2 (2.5%)
For new life	2 (2.5%)
Lack of housing (Multiple answers 3)	4 (5.1%)
For job	1 (1.3%)
Lack of jobs	1 (1.3%)
For drinking and smoking	2 (2.5%)
For vacation	2 (2.5%)
No answer	1 (1.3%)

Table 5 Inuit Men's Reasons for Migrating into Montreal (multiple answers allowed)

Reasons	Number (%)
Sexual abuse	
Sent to prison/jail/detention center	3 (9.1%)
Personal issues (including family problems)	3 (9.1%)
Physical abuse (DV)	2 (6.1%)
Fights	1 (3.0%)
Troubles in home village	
Not want to be up north	1 (3.0%)
Social problems (suicide, drug, drinking)	4 (12.1%)
Divorce or separation	1 (3.0%)
Want to come to Montreal, visiting	1 (3.0%)
For hospital, medical reason	1 (3.0%)
For study/education (NWT to Ottawa)	1 (3.0%)
No idea to go	1 (3.0%)
Because of family or good Inuit friends in Montreal	3 (9.1%)
Like Montreal	1 (3.0%)
Mother, husband, boyfriend or family moved to Montreal	3 (9.1%)
Accompanying sick person to Montreal	1 (3.0%)
For new life	
Lack of housing (multiple replies)	2 (6.1%)
For job	
Lack of jobs	1 (3.0%)
For drinking and smoking	2 (6.1%)
For vacation	1 (3.0%)
No answer	0
Total	33 (100%)

Table 6 Inuit Women's Reasons for Migrating into Montreal (multiple answers allowed)

Reasons	Number
Sexual abuse	3 (6.4%)
Sent to prison/jail/detention center	1 (2.1%)
Personal issues (including family problems)	3 (6.4%)
Physical abuse (DV)	11 (23.4%)
Fights	1 (2.1%)
Troubles in home village	
Not want to be up north	1 (2.1%)
Social problems (suicide, drug, drinking)	4 (8.5%)
Divorce or separation	1 (2.1%)
Want to come to Montreal, visiting	2 (4.3%)
For hospital, medical reason	3 (6.4%)
For study/education (NWT to Ottawa)	3 (6.4%)
No idea to go	
Because of family or good Inuit friends in Montreal	1 (2.1%)
Like Montreal	
Mother, husband, boyfriend or family moved to Montreal	8 (17.0%)
Accompanying sick person to Montreal	1 (2.1%)
For new life	
Lack of housing	2 (4.3%)
For job	1 (2.1%)
Lack of jobs	
For drinking and smoking	
For vacation	1 (2.1%)
Total	46 (100%)

Table 7 Homeless Inuit's Reasons for Migrating into Montreal by Gender (multiple answers allowed)

Reasons	Male	Female	Total
Sexual abuse	0	2 (10%)	2 (4.7%)
Sent to prison/jail/detention center	3 (13%)	1 (5%)	4 (9.3%)
Personal issues (including family problems)	2 (8.7%)	2 (10%)	4 (9.3%)
Physical abuse (DV)	1 (4.3%)	3 (15%)	4 (9.3%)
Fights	0	2 (10%)	2 (4.7%)
Troubles in home village	0	0	0
Not want to be up north	1 (4.3%)	0	1 (2.3%)
Social problems (suicide, drug, drinking)	3 (13%)	2 (10%)	5 (11.6%)
Divorce or separation	1 (4.3%)	1 (5%)	2 (4.7%)
Want to come to Montreal, visiting	0	3 (15%)	3 (7%)
For hospital, medical reason	0	1 (5%)	1 (2.3%)
For study/education (NWT to Ottawa)	1 (4.3%)	1 (5%)	2 (4.7%)
No idea to go	1 (4.3%)		1 (2.3%)
Because of family or good Inuit friends in Montreal	2 (8.7%)		2 (4.7%)
Like Montreal		1 (5%)	1 (2.3%)
Mother, husband, boyfriend or family moved to Montreal	1 (4.3%)	1 (5%)	2 (4.7%)
Accompanying sick person to Montreal	1 (4.3%)		1 (2.3%)
For new life	1 (4.3%)		1 (2.3%)

Lack of housing (Multiple answers)	2 (8.7%)		2 (4.7%)
For job			
Lack of jobs	1 (4.3%)		1 (2.3%)
For drinking and smoking	2 (8.7%)		2 (4.7%)
For vacation			
No answer	0	0	0
Total	23 (100%)	20 (100%)	43 (100%)

Table 8.1 Length of Stay in Montreal

Length of stay in Montreal	Number
Less than 6 months	14 (18.7%)
6 months to less than 1 year	1 (1.3%)
1 year to less than 5 years	13 (17.3%)
5 years to less than 10 years	11 (14.7%)
10 years to less than 15 years	10 (13.3%)
15 years to less than 20 years	9 (12.4%)
20 years or more	17 (22.7%)
Total	75(100%)

Table 8.2 Length of Stay in Montreal by Gender

Length of stay in Montreal	Male	Female
Less than 6 months	9 (31.0%)	5 (10.9%)
6 months to less than 1 year	0 (0.0%)	1 (2.2%)
1 year to less than 5 years	6 (20.7%)	7 (15.2%)
5 years to less than 10 years	2 (6.9%)	9 (19.6%)
10 years to less than 15 years	6 (20.7%)	4 (8.7%)
15 years to less than 20 years	3 (10.3%)	6 (13.0%)
20 years or more	3 (10.3%)	14 (30.4%)
Total	29(100.0%)	46(100.0%)

Table 9 Homeless Inuit's Length of Stay in Montreal

Length of stay in Montreal	Number
Less than 6 months	8 (20.0%)
6 months to less than 1 year	1 (2.5%)
1 year to less than 5 years	10 (25.0%)
5 years to less than 10 years	6 (15.0%)
10 years to less than 15 years	7 (17.5%)
15 years to less than 20 years	2 (5.0%)
20 years or more	6 (15.0%)
Total	40 (100%)

Table 10 Monthly Income

Monthly income	Number
\$ 0	16 (21.3%)
Less than \$500	8 (10.7%)
\$500 to Less than \$1000	39 (52.0%)
\$1000 to less than \$1500	4 (5.3%)
\$1500 or more	8 (10.7%)

Table 11 Monthly Income by Gender

Monthly income	Male	Female
\$ 0	8 (28.6%)	9 (20%)
Less than \$500	4 (14.3%)	3 (6.7%)
\$500 to Less than \$1000	11 (29.3%)	26(57.8%)
\$1000 to less than \$1500	3 (10.7%)	1 (2.2%)
\$1500 or more	2 (7.1%)	6 (13.3%)

Table 12 Homeless Inuit's Monthly Income

Monthly income	Number
\$ 0	11 (27.5%)
Less than \$500	4 (10.0%)
\$500 to Less than \$1000	22 (55.0%)
\$1000 to less than \$1500	2 (5.0%)
\$1500 or more	1 (2.5%)

Table 13 Places to Have Meals (multiple answers allowed)

Place to eat	Number
Chez Doris	24 (13.1%)
Open Door	17 (9.3%)
Welcome Hall	6 (3.3%)
Red Roof	9 (4.9%)
NFCM	22 (12.0%)
PAQ	15 (8.2%)
Banau or Bonneu or Accueil Bonneau or Panau	7 (3.8%)
OBM	8 (4.4%)
Soup Kitchen	1
Maison de la Charité	1
Benedict Labre House	3
Shelters (not specified)	2
Restaurants	10 (5.5%)
From friends	10 (5.5%)
Home	26 (14.2%)
From garbage bins	2
NFC Van	4 (2.2%)
Inuit Monthly Feast	1
Buying food	1

St. Patrick Church	1
St. James Church	1
FCNQ	1
Food Basket	1
Berri Park	1
McDonald	2
Dan La Rue run by school	1
At aunt's place	1
From people	1
From daughter	1
Outside	1
Ivirtivik Center	2
Total	183 (100%)

Table 14 Places to Have Meals by Gender (multiple answers allowed)

Place to eat	Male	Female
Chez Doris	0	24 (23.0%)
Open Door	7 (9.0%)	10 (9.6%)
Welcome Hall	5 (6.4%)	1
Red Roof	9 (11.5%)	0
NFCM	14 (18.0%)	8 (7.7%)
PAQ	8 (10.3%)	7 (6.7%)
Accueil Bonneau	6 (7.7%)	1
OBM	7 (9.0%)	1
Soup Kitchen	1	0
Maison de la Charité	1	0
Benedict Labre House	3	0
Shelters (not specified)	0	2
Restaurants	3	7 (6.7%)
From friends	1	9 (8.7%)
Home	3	23 (22.0%)
From garbage bins	1	1
NFC Van	1	3
Inuit Monthly Feast	0	1
Buying food	0	0
St. Patrick Church	1	0
St. James Church	1	1
FCNQ	1	0
Food Basket	0	1
Berri Park	1	0
McDonald	2	0
Dan La Rue run by school	0	1
At aunt's place	0	1
From people	1	0
From daughter	1	0
Outside	0	1
Ivirtivik center	1	1
Total	79 (100.0%)	104 (100.0%)

Table 15 Homeless Inuit's Places to Have Meals by Gender (multiple answers allowed)

Place to eat	Male	Female
Chez Doris		13 (28.9%)
Open Door	7 (11.3%)	8 (17.8%)
Welcome Hall	3	1
Red Roof	8 (12.9%)	
NFCM	12 (19.4%)	4 (8.9%)
PAQ	8 (12.9%)	7 (15.6%)
Accueil Bonneau	5 (8.0%)	1
OBM	5 (8.0%)	1
Soup Kitchen	1	
Maison de la Charité	1	
Benedict Labre House	2	
Shelters (not specified)		1
Restaurants		1
From friends	1	4 (8.9%)
Home		
From garbage bins	1	
NFC Van	1	2
Inuit Monthly Feast		1
Buying food		
St. Patrick Church	1	
St. James Church	1	
FCNQ	1	
Food Basket		
Berri Park		
McDonald	2	
Dan La Rue run by school		
At aunt's place		
From people	1	
From daughter	1	
Outside		1
Ivirtivik center		
Total	62 (100.0%)	45 (100.0%)

Table 16 With Whom Montreal Inuit Live

With whom he or she lives	Number
Homeless (alone)	38
Homeless (with somebody)	2
Non-homeless (alone)	4
Boy friend	9
Husband or common-in-law + children	5
Friend (Inuit)	3
Friend (non-Inuit)	3
Sons and/or daughters	4
grandmother	1
Cousin	2

Sister	1
Niece	1
Aunt	1
Mother	1
Total	75

Table 17 With Whom Montreal Inuit Live (by Gender)

With whom he or she lives	Male	Female
Homeless (alone)	23	15
Homeless (with somebody)		2
Non-homeless (alone)	2	2
Boy friend		9
Husband or common-in-law + children		5
Friend (Inuit)	2	1
Friend (non-Inuit)	2	1
Sons and/or daughters		4
Grandmother	1	
Cousin		2
Sister		1
Niece		1
Aunt		1
Mother		1
Total	30	45

Table 18 Places/Organizations to Get Clothing (multiple answers allowed)

To get clothing	Number
Chez Doris	25 (23.6%)
Buy	38 (35.8%)
Red Roof	10 (9.4%)
NFCM	8 (7.5%)
Accueil Banneau	1
Benedict Labre House	1
Welcome Hall	2
Open Door	5 (4.7%)
St. James Church	1
Salvation Army	3
From Inuit	2
From friends	4
Rue de femmes	1
From husband	1
From Amos	1
From daughter	1
No answer	2
Total	106 (100.0%)

Table 19 Places/Organizations to get Clothing (by Gender) (multiple answers allowed)

To get clothing	Male	Female
Chez Doris		21
Buy	12	24
Red Roof	10	
NFCM	9	
Accueil Banneau	1	
Benedict Labre House	1	
Welcome Hall	2	
Open Door	3	2
St. James Church	1	
Salvation Army	3	
From Inuit	1	1
From friends	2	2
Rue de femmes		1
From husband		1
From Amos	1	
From daughter	2	
No answer	2	
Total	50	52

Table 20 Homeless Inuit's Places/Organizations to Get Clothing (by Gender) (multiple answers allowed)

To get clothing	Male	Female
Chez Doris		13
Buy	6	4
Red Roof	9	
NFCM	8	
Accueil Banneau	1	
Benedict Labre House	1	
Welcome Hall	2	
Open Door	3	
St. James Church	1	
Salvation Army	2	
From Inuit	1	
From friend	2	1
Rue de femmes		1
From husband		
From Amos	1	
From daughter	1	
No answer	2	
Total	40	19

Table 21 Social Relationships Existing within Montreal (multiple answers allowed)

Relationships	Number
Father	3
Mother	10 (13.3%)
Sister	22 (29.3%)
Brother	8 (10.7%)
Uncle	2
Aunt	13 (17.3%)
Cousin	26 (34.7%)
Son	6
Daughter	9 (12.0%)
Children	2
Grandchildren	2
Niece	7 (9.3%)
Nephew	2
Sibling's kids	2
Husband	1
Ex-wife	1
None	19 (25%)

Table 22 Social Relationships Existing within Montreal (by Gender) (multiple answers allowed)

Relationships	Male	Female
Father	1	2
Mother	5	5
Sister	7	15
Brother	4	4
Uncle		2
Aunt	6	7
Cousin	11	15
Son	2	4
Daughter	3	6
Children		2
Grandchildren	1	1
Niece	3	4
Nephew	1	1
Sibling's kids		2
Husband		1
Ex-wife	1	
None	9	10

Table 23 Homeless Inuit's Social Relationships Existing within Montreal (multiple answers allowed)

Relationships	
Father	1
Mother	3
Sister	13
Brother	4
Uncle	1
Aunt	3
Cousin	10
Son	2
Daughter	2
Children	1
Grandchildren	
Niece	4
Nephew	1
Sibling's kids	
Husband	
Ex-wife	1
None	14

Table 24-1 Communication Means with Someone outside Montreal (multiple answers allowed)

Communication Means	Number
Phone	50 (61.7%)
Email	5 (6.4%)
Facebook	15 (18.5%)
None	11 (13.6%)
Total	81 (100%)
No reply	7

Table 24-2 Communication Frequency with Someone outside Montreal

Frequency	Number
Everyday	9 (15%)
Twice or more a week	11 (18.3%)
Once a week	14 (23.3%)
Once every two weeks	7 (11.7%)
Once or less a month	7 (11.7%)
Special occasions only	4 (6.7%)
None	8 (13.3%)
Total	60 (100%)
No reply	15

Table 25 Frequency to Visit Home Villages

Once a month	
Once an half year	3 (4.1%)
Once a year	3 (4.1%)
Once every two years	2 (2.8%)
Once every three years or more	18 (24.3%)
None	34 (45.9%)
Ambiguous	14 (18.9%)
Total	74 (100.0%)
No reply	1

Table 26 Means to Communicate with Someone outside Montreal by Gender (multiple answers allowed)

Means	Male	Female	Total
Phone	17 (56.7%)	33 (64.7%)	50 (61.7%)
Email	2 (6.7%)	3 (5.9%)	5 (6.2%)
Facebook	5 (16.7%)	10 (19.6%)	15 (18.5%)
None	6 (20.0%)	5 (9.8%)	11 (13.6%)
Total	30 (100.0%)	51 (100.0%)	81 (100%)
No reply	2	5	7

Table 27 Frequency to Communicate with Someone outside Montreal by Gender (multiple answers allowed)

Frequency	Male	Female
Everyday	3 (13.0%)	7 (18.4%)
Twice or more a week	5 (21.7%)	7 (18.4%)
Once a week	4 (17.4%)	5 (13.2%)
Once every two weeks	2 (8.7%)	10 (26.3%)
Once or less a month	2 (8.7%)	2 (5.3%)
On special occasions	1 (4.3%)	2 (5.3%)
None	6 (26.0%)	5 (13.2%)
Total	23 (100%)	38 (100%)
No reply	6	8

Table 28 Communication by Phone and Gender (multiple answers allowed)

	Male	Female	Total
Family	3 (8.3%)	14 (25.0%)	17 (18.5%)
Children	1 (2.8%)	5 (8.9%)	6 (6.5%)
Wife/husband			
Boy/girl friends		4 (7.1%)	4 (4.3%)
Mother/father	5 (13.9%)	6 (10.7%)	11 (12.0%)
Grandchildren		1	1 (1.1%)
Siblings	10 (27.8%)	9 (16.1%)	19 (20.7%)
Cousins/uncle/aunt	2 (5.6%)	3 (5.4%)	5 (5.4%)
Friends	5 (13.9%)	4 (7.1%)	9 (9.8%)

Kishigami Low-income and Homeless Inuit in Montreal, Canada

Others	4 (11.1%)	6 (10.7%)	10 (10.9%)
Nobody	6 (16.7%)	4 (7.1%)	10 (10.9%)
Total	36 (100%)	56 (100%)	92 (100%)
No reply or not adequate reply	1		

Table 29 With Whom Homeless/ Non-homeless Inuit Communicate (multiple answers allowed)

	Homeless	Non-homeless
Family	6 (13.3%)	11 (23.4%)
Children	3 (6.7%)	3 (6.4%)
Wife/husband	0	0
Boy/girl friends	2 (4.4%)	2 (4.3%)
Mother/father	7 (15.6%)	4 (8.5%)
Grandparents		1
Siblings	12 (26.7%)	7 (14.9%)
Cousins/uncle/aunt	3 (6.7%)	2 (4.3%)
Friends	3 (6.7%)	6 (12.8%)
Others	3 (6.7%)	7 (14.9%)
Nobody	6 (13.3%)	4 (8.5%)
Total	45 (100%)	47 (100%)
No reply, not adequate answer	1	

Table 30 Frequency to Visit Home Villages (by gender)

	Male	Female
Once a month	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Once an half year	2 (7.4%)	2 (4.4%)
Once a year		3 (6.7%)
Once every two year		1 (2.2%)
Once every three years or more	4 (14.8%)	15 (33.3%)
None	17 (63.0%)	15 (33.3%)
Ambiguous	4 (14.8%)	9 (20.0%)
Total	27 (100%)	45 (100%)
No reply	3	0

Table 31 Use of the Internet by Gender

Internet	Male	Female	Total
Use	19 (65.5%)	28 (62.2%)	47 (63.5%)
No use	10 (34.5%)	17 (37.8%)	27 (36.5%)
Total	29 (100%)	45 (100%)	74 (100%)
No reply	1		1

Table 32 Purposes for the Internet Use by Gender (multiple answers allowed)

	Male	Female	Total
Facebook	12 (30.8%)	24 (53.3%)	36 (42.9%)
Email	4 (10.3%)	13 (28.9%)	17 (20.2%)
Game	1 (2.6%)	1 (2.2%)	2 (2.3%)
Video, film, show	4 (10.3%)		4 (4.8%)
Music	4 (10.3%)		4 (4.8%)
Information	7 (17.9%)	7 (15.6%)	14 (16.7%)
You-tube	6 (15.4%)		6 (7.1%)
Unclear	1 (2.6%)		1 (1.2%)
合計	39 (100%)	45 (100%)	84 (100%)

Table 33 Communication Means of Homeless/Non-homeless Inuit (multiple answers allowed)

Means	Homeless	Non-homeless
Phones	22 (64.7%)	26 (59.1%)
Internet	1 (2.9%)	3 (6.8%)
Facebook	3 (8.8%)	12 (27.3%)
None	8 (23.5%)	3 (6.8%)
Total	34 (100%)	44 (100%)
No reply	5	1

Table 34 Communication Frequency of Homeless/Non-homeless Inuit

Frequency	Homeless	Non-homeless
Everyday	3 (9.3%)	7 (24.1%)
Twice or more a week	4 (12.5%)	7 (24.1%)
Once a week	7 (21.9%)	3 (10.3%)
Once every two weeks	5 (15.6%)	6 (20.7%)
Once a less a month	2 (6.3%)	2 (6.9%)
On special occasions	3 (9.4%)	1 (3.4%)
None	8 (25.1%)	3 (10.3%)
Total	32 (100%)	29 (100%)
No reply	7	6

Table 35 Frequency of Homeless/Non-homeless Inuit to Visit His/Her Home Village

	Homeless	Non-homeless
Once a month		
Once an half year	1 (2.5%)	3 (8.6%)
Once a year	1 (2.5%)	2 (5.7%)
Once every two years		2 (5.7%)
Once every three years or more	8 (20.0%)	9 (25.7%)
None	20 (50.0%)	13 (37.1%)
Ambiguous	10 (25.0%)	6 (17.1%)
Total	40 (100%)	35 (100%)
No reply		

Table 36 Internet Use of Homeless/Non-homeless Inuit

Internet	Homeless	Non-homeless
Use	23 (57.5%)	24 (70.6%)
Non-use	17 (42.5%)	10 (29.4%)
Total	40 (100%)	34 (100%)
No reply		1

Table 37 Purposes for the Internet Use of Homeless/Non-homeless Inuit (multiple answers allowed)

	Homeless	Non-homeless
Facebook	16 (42.1%)	21 (45.7%)
Email	6 (15.8%)	10 (21.7%)
Game	1 (2.6%)	1 (2.2%)
Video, film, show	3 (7.9%)	1 (2.2%)
Music	2 (5.3%)	2 (4.3%)
information	6 (15.8%)	7 (15.2%)
u-tube	3 (7.9%)	3 (6.5%)
Unclear	1 (2.6%)	1 (2.2%)
Total	38 (100%)	46 (100%)
No reply		1

Table 38 Place/Area to Live/Stay of Homeless/Non-homeless Inuit by Gender (multiple answers allowed)

Place	Male	Female
Homeless	8 (20.0%)	3 (6.5%)
Near NFCM (homeless)	2 (5.0%)	
Atwater (homeless)	3 (7.5%)	6 (13.0%)
Atwater area	11 (27.5%)	4 (8.7%)
Linel-Groux	1 (2.5%)	
Metro Geoges-Vanier	1 (2.5%)	
PAQ	5 (12.5%)	2 (4.3%)
OBM	1 (2.5%)	
St. Laurant/St. Cathorine	1 (2.5%)	2 (4.3%)
Metro Laurier	0	1 (2.2%)
Under highway near Atwater	0	2 (4.3%)
Saint Henri Metro station	1 (2.5%)	5 (10.9%)
Frontenac Metro, east end, Viau Metro	1 (2.5%)	5 (10.9%)
Verdun	0	6 (13.0%)
La sale, Metro Angrinon	1 (2.5%)	2 (4.3%)
Lachine	0	4 (8.7%)
Rene Leveque est	0	1 (2.2%)
Du Park/Sherbrooke	1 (2.5%)	
Mt. Royal Street/St. Laurent	1 (2.5%)	
Montreal North (Lacordaire)	0	1 (2.2%)
NGD	2 (5.0%)	
Little Burgandy	0	1 (2.2%)
No reply	0	1 (2.2%)
Total	40 (100%)	46 (100%)

Table 39 Place/Area to Live/Stay of Homeless/Non-homeless Inuit (multiple answers allowed)

Place	Homeless	Non-homeless	Total
No where	11 (25.6%)		11
Near Atwater	14 (32.6%)	3 (8.6%)	17
Lionel-Groux	1 (2.3%)		1
Metro Georges-Vanier		1 (2.9%)	1
St. Henri	1 (2.3%)	5 (14.3%)	6
East end (Frontenac metro, Viau metro)		7 (20.0%)	7
Rene Leveque est	1 (2.3%)		1
PAQ	7 (16.3%)		7
OBM	1 (2.3%)		1
Sherbrooke	1 (2.3%)		1
Around NFCM	2 (4.7%)		2
Du Parc/Sherbrooke	1 (2.3%)		1
Laurie metro		1 (2.9%)	1
St. Laurent/St.Cathorine	2 (4.7%)	1 (2.9%)	3
Mt. Royal/St.Laurent	1 (2.3%)		1
NGD		2 (5.7%)	2
La sale		2 (5.7%)	2
Verdun		5 (14.3%)	5
Vendome		1 (2.9%)	1
Lachine		5 (14.3%)	5
Little Burgandy		1 (5.7%)	1
Montreal North (Lacordaire)		1 (5.7%)	1
Total	43 (100%)	35 (100%)	78
No reply		1	

Table 40 Frequency of Speaking Inuktitut by Montreal Inuit

Everyday	57 (83.8%)
Often	3 (4.4%)
A few times a week	1 (1.5%)
Hardly or rarely	3 (4.4%)
Others	4 (5.9%)
Total	68 (100%)
Inuit who do not speak Inuktitut	7

Table 41 Frequency of Speaking Inuktitut by Montreal Inuit (by gender)

	Male	Female
Everyday	20 (76.9%)	27 (88.1%)
Often	2 (7.7%)	1 (2.4%)
A few times a week		1 (2.4%)
Hardly or rarely	1 (3.8%)	2 (4.8%)
Others	3 (11.5%)	1 (2.4%)
Total	26 (100%)	42 (100%)
Inuit who do not speak Inuktitut	3	4

Table 42 Frequency of Speaking Inuktitut by Homeless/Non-homeless Inuit

	Homeless	Non-homeless
Everyday	33 (86.8%)	24 (80.0%)
Often		3 (10.0%)
A few times a week		1 (3.3%)
Hardly or rarely	3 (7.9%)	
Others	2 (5.3%)	2 (6.6%)
Total	38 (100%)	30 (100%)
Inuit who do not speak Inuktitut	2	5

Table 43 Urban Inuit Images by Urban Inuit

Image	
Positive image	11 (14.7%)
Negative image	23 (30.7%)
Both positive and negative images	17 (22.7%)
No idea/no comments	14 (18.7%)
Other	10 (13.3%)
Total	75 (100%)

Table 44 Urban Inuit Images by Urban Inuit (by Gender)

Image	Male	Female
Positive image	6 (20.7%)	5 (10.9%)
Negative image	9 (31.0%)	17 (37.0%)
Both positive and negative images	7 (24.1%)	9 (19.6%)
No idea/no comments	3 (10.3%)	8 (17.4%)
Other	4 (13.8%)	7 (15.2%)
Total	29 (100%)	46 (100%)

Table 45 Urban Inuit Images by Homeless/Non-homeless Inuit

Image	Homeless	Non-homeless
Positive image	8 (20.0%)	3 (8.6%)
Negative image	12 (30.0%)	14 (40.0%)
Both positive and negative images	9 (22.5%)	7 (20.0%)
No idea/no comments	4 (10.0%)	8 (22.9%)
Other	7 (17.5%)	3 (8.6%)
Total	40 (100%)	35 (100%)

Table 46 Problems or Needed Things for Montreal Inuit (multiple answers allowed)

Problems or needed things	
Job	19 (18.3%)
House, home, and apartments	28 (26.9%)
Education	9 (8.7%)
Money	2 (1.9%)
Clothing	1 (1.0%)
Inuit food	2 (1.9%)
Food	2 (1.9%)
Phone	1 (1.0%)
To quit addiction	4 (3.8%)
Cultural activities	6 (5.8%)
Inuit center	3 (2.9%)
Health/medical treatment	4 (3.8%)
Eye glasses	2 (1.9%)
Inuktitut staff/professionals	2 (1.9%)
Carving studio	1 (1.0%)
To go to church	1 (1.0%)
Computer	1 (1.0%)
Welfare	3 (2.9%)
Others	13 (12.5%)
Total	104 (100%)
No answer	8

Table 47 Problems or Needed Things for Montreal Inuit by Gender (multiple answers allowed)

	Male	Female
Job	6 (14.6%)	14 (22.2%)
House	9 (22.0%)	18 (28.6%)
Education	3 (7.3%)	6 (9.5%)
Money	1 (2.4%)	1 (1.6%)
Clothing	1 (2.4%)	
Inuit Food	1 (2.4%)	2 (3.2%)
Food	2 (4.9%)	
Phone		1 (1.6%)
To quit addiction	3 (7.3%)	1 (1.6%)
Cultural activities	2 (4.9%)	3 (4.8%)
Inuit center	1 (2.4%)	2 (3.2%)
Health/medical treatment	1 (2.4%)	3 (4.8%)
Eye glasses	1 (2.4%)	1 (1.6%)
Inuktitut staff/professionals		2 (3.2%)
Carving studio	1 (2.4%)	
To go to church	1 (2.4%)	
Computer		1 (1.6%)
Welfare	1 (2.4%)	2 (3.2%)
Others	7 (17.1%)	6 (9.5%)
Total	41 (100%)	63 (100%)
No answer	3	5

Table 48 Problems or Needed Things of Homeless/Non-homeless Inuit (multiple answers allowed)

	Homeless	Non-homeless
Job	10 (16.7%)	9 (20.5%)
House	20 (33.3%)	8 (18.2%)
Education	3 (5.0%)	6 (13.6%)
Money	2 (3.3%)	
Clothing	1 (1.7%)	
Inuit Food		3 (6.8%)
Food	2 (3.3%)	
Phone	1 (1.7%)	
To quit addiction	1 (1.7%)	3 (6.8%)
Cultural activities	1 (1.7%)	4 (9.1%)
Inuit center	1 (1.7%)	2 (4.5%)
Health/medical treatment	2 (3.3%)	2 (4.5%)
Eye glasses	2 (3.3%)	
Inuktitut staff/professionals	1 (1.7%)	1 (2.3%)
Carving studio	1 (1.7%)	
To go to church	1 (1.7%)	
Computer		1 (2.3%)
Welfare	2 (3.3%)	1 (2.3%)
Others	9 (15.0%)	4 (9.1%)
Total	60 (100%)	44 (100%)
No answer	4	4

Table 49 Organizations/Groups Used by Montreal Inuit (by Gender) (multiple answers allowed)

	Male	Female	Total
Chez Doris		18 (41.0%)	18 (21.7%)
Open Door	3 (7.7%)	3 (6.8%)	6 (7.2%)
NFCM	15 (38.5%)	10 (22.7%)	25 (30.1%)
PAQ	5 (12.8%)	2 (4.5%)	7 (8.4%)
Welcome Hall	2 (5.1%)		2 (2.4%)
Bonnea	1 (2.6%)		1 (1.2%)
Labbre House	1 (2.6%)		1 (1.2%)
Red Roof	5 (12.8%)	1 (2.3%)	6 (7.2%)
Women's native shelter		1 (2.3%)	1 (1.2%)
OBM	2 (5.1%)		2 (2.4%)
Salvation army	1 (2.6%)		1 (1.2%)
St. James Church	1 (2.6%)		1 (1.2%)
No use	3 (7.7%)	9 (20.5%)	12 (14.5%)
Total	39 (100%)	44 (100%)	83 (100%)
No adequate reply	9	11	20

Table 50 Organizations/Groups Used by Homeless/Non-homeless Inuit in Montreal (multiple answers allowed)

	Homeless	Non-Homeless
Chez Doris	8 (15.40%)	10 (31.3%)
Open Door	5 (9.6%)	1 (3.1%)
NFCM	14 (26.9%)	11 (34.4%)
PAQ	7 (13.5%)	
Welcome Hall	2 (3.8%)	
Bonnea	1 (1.9%)	
Labbre House	1 (1.90%)	
Red Roof	6 (11.5%)	
Women's native shelter	1 (1.9%)	
OBM	2 (3.9%)	
Salvation army	1 (1.9%)	
St. James Church	1 (1.9%)	
No use	3 (5.8%)	10 (31.3%)
Total	52 (100%)	32 (100%)
No adequate reply	14	5

Table 51 Things or Services Desired by Montreal Inuit (multiple answers allowed)

Jobs	8 (14.5%)
Country food	10 (18.1%)
Housing	10 (18.1%)
Food	2 (3.6%)
Beer	1 (1.8%)
Clothing	1 (1.8%)
Medical stuff/health care	3 (5.5%)
Air fares going back to home	5 (9.1%)
education	8 (14.5%)
Bus pass	1 (1.8%)
Inuit center	2 (3.6%)
Small church	1 (1.8%)
workshop	1 (1.8%)
Others	2 (3.6%)
Total number	55 (100%)

Table 52 Futures of Montreal Inuit and Gender

	Male	Female	Total
Hope to go back to the north	14 (48.3%)	18 (39.1%)	32 (42.7%)
Hope to stay in the south	14 (48.3%)	25 (54.3%)	39 (52.0%)
Not sure	1 (3.4%)	3 (6.5%)	4 (5.3%)
Total	29 (100%)	46 (100%)	75 (100%)

Table 53 Futures of Homeless/Non-homeless Inuit

	Homeless	Non-homeless	Total
Hope to go back to the north	19 (46.3%)	13 (38.2%)	32 (42.7%)
Hope to stay in the south	21 (51.2%)	18 (52.9%)	39 (52.0%)
Not sure	1 (2.4%)	3 (8.8%)	4 (5.3%)
Total	41 (100%)	34 (100%)	75 (100%)

Table 54 Detention Center or Jail and Gender

	Male	Female	Total
Released from a detention center or jail			
Yes	7 (24.1%)	2 (4.4%)	9 (12.2%)
No	22 (75.9%)	43 (95.6%)	65 (87.8%)
Total	29 (100%)	45 (100%)	74 (100%)
No reply	1		

Table 55 Detention Center or Jail and Homeless/Non-homeless Inuit

	Homeless	Non-homeless
Released from a detention center or jail		
Yes	8 (20.0%)	1 (2.9%)
No	32 (80.0%)	33 (97.1%)
Total	40 (100%)	34 (100%)
No reply		1

Table 56 Unpaid Fines by Gender

Unpaid fines	Male	Female	Total
Yes	18 (62.1%)	17 (38.6%)	35 (47.9%)
No	11 (37.9%)	27 (61.4%)	38 (32.1%)
Total	29 (100%)	44 (100%)	73 (100%)
No reply	1	1	2

Table 57 Unpaid Fines of Homeless/Non-homeless Inuit

Unpaid fines	Homeless	No-homeless
Yes	24 (61.5%)	11 (32.4%)
No	15 (38.5%)	23 (67.6%)
Total	39 (100%)	34 (100%)
No reply	1	1

Table 58 Housing in the North and Going Home by Gender

Housing in the north = going home	Male	Female	Total
Yes	20 (74.1%)	27 (62.8%)	47 (67.1%)
No	7 (25.9%)	15 (34.9%)	22 (31.4%)
Maybe or not sure		1 (2.3%)	1 (1.4%)
Total	27 (100%)	43 (100%)	70 (100%)
No reply/comments	3	2	5

Table 59 Housing in the North and Going Home by Homeless/Non-homeless Inuit

Housing in the north = going home	Homeless	No-homeless
Yes	25 (71.4%)	23 (65.7%)
No	9 (25.7%)	12 (34.3%)
Maybe or not sure	1 (2.9%)	
Total	35 (100%)	35 (100%)
No reply/comments	5	

Appendix III. Free Comments or Suggestions about Inuit in Montreal by Montreal Inuit

1. Don't drink too much, and don't do drug and unsafe sex.
2. I like to see Inuit to be sober and going back to school.
3. Go and stay home (Better life than here).
4. They should be sent Inuit food by the Makivik/ Kativik.
5. He hopes that shelters should open later (6:00PM in the evening) and close in the early in the morning (6:00AM). The facilities for days of snow and rain are needed.
6. To find jobs and teach Inuktitut
7. Stop fighting.
8. Take care of yourself.
9. Makivik helping Inuit is good. Homeless people need help. Needed wet shelter with doctors. Wet shelters are for Chronic alcoholic patients.
10. Too many homeless persons in Montreal.
11. I wish that the homeless Inuit would be given apartment and also make sure that they eat well at all times.
12. Take care and be happy. Love one another.
13. We should get more help. To get us back home.
14. Be careful what we do. Do what you like. Enjoy your life.
15. I want them to go for any kinds of meeting such as AAA, cocaine AAA, and gambling.
16. I like any Inuit people in Montreal, Ottawa, and Toronto.
17. I feel that there should be an Inuk worker to support them, like an outreach worker.
18. They welcome me go and do the same thing.
19. I want the Inuit to have more support, etc. Outreach worker, distribute country food, and for them to get off the street and get housing.
20. They need support to get out of their addiction.
21. Have more country food through NFCM.
22. Have a place before coming to Montreal.

23. He feels too much drinking. To go prison is boring.
24. I would like PAQ. Inuit are not kicked out from the shelters. Shelters should help Inuit and other natives more.
25. Need the Centre to handle the Inuit's problems.
26. I would like the Inuit feast to come back.
27. I want more culturally Inuit based gathering. Would be nice to have some country food. Go out more often together. Outings, traditional sawing, see elders and listen to their stories. More country food and be positive.
28. I wish they would help urban Inuit with low cost housing especially single parent.
29. They need native Inuit housing and help for the addicted Inuit. Need to have more feasts because there is no more.
30. They need help out of the street. They need housing and shelters.
31. Always complaining about being homeless. I try to help but I'm homeless, too. We need Inuit shelter.
32. I want them to help their all of the troubles.
33. Great needs more native support. Homeless or risky. Better services for cultural values and culture. Need more recognition (open discrimination, racism, negative views on Inuit)
34. They need housing and for Nunavik Inuit to provide country food to Chez Doris, NFCM and other Inuit organizations.
35. Don't start smoking crack.
36. I am proud to be living in Montreal, but getting kicked out from home is not good. I would like to see an Inuit cultural center where we can gather to eat and do art.
37. Start to smoke cracks. Drinking, fighting, yelling, prostitution.
38. They need help from Makivik. More food and social housing.
39. She has a hearing problem.
40. Help themselves to get better. Get treatment.
41. I think that they (we) need help. But I do not know how.
42. We need proper help. Jobs: hire Inuit people.
43. Not give up themselves easily. Try to stay connected with each other.
44. Problems at Puvurnituq (suicide, murder, etc). She was sexually abused by her grandfather, gymnastic teacher, and neighbors when she was 4 to 12 years old. She does not want that sexual abuse happens to her daughter. Good in Montreal. But she misses nature, language and family.
45. I hope that we get proper resources for Inuit needing help and have facilities with Inuit workers. ①housing, ②solving problems of drinking and drugs, ③childhood counseling.
46. I feel so sad. Living homeless. Ending up drug deals. Socked in Montreal (losing all the documents, ID card, etc.)

47. Wish to have Inuit feasts. Have an Inuit center. Shelter for the homeless. Bigger school for adult education. Mothers need daycare.
48. I hope get better education to get jobs.
49. We need affordable housing close to the city or in the city where we have access NFCM and all the other services.
50. I 'm new. No idea.