

# **MODERN TREATIES IN CANADA: THE CASE OF NORTHERN QUEBEC AGREEMENTS AND THE INUVIALUIT FINAL AGREEMENT**

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## **Abstract / Résumé**

Aboriginal Canadians are seeking a new place in the Canadian society. The settling of outstanding land claims is an important step in that direction. The era of modern treaties began with the signing of Northern Quebec Agreements and the Inuvialuit Final Agreement. This paper discusses the main features of these Agreements, provides a theoretical understanding to modern treaties and Aboriginal economic development, and examines the development status of Aboriginal communities in Northern Quebec and Western Northwest Territories.

Les peuples Autochtones du Canada sont à la recherche d'une nouvelle place au sein de la société Canadienne. La résolution de revendications territoriales est un pas important dans cette direction. L'ère des traités modernes a débuté avec la signature des ententes du Nord du Québec et de l'Inuvialuit. Cet article propose une revue des points majeurs de ces ententes. Il offre une explication théorique des traités modernes ainsi que du développement économique des peuples Autochtones. Cet article examine aussi l'état du développement des communautés Autochtones situées dans le nord du Québec et dans la section ouest des Territoires du Nord-Ouest.

## Introduction

Finding themselves on the margin of Canadian society, Aboriginal Canadians are seeking a new place within that society (Table 1). The settling of outstanding land claims is an important step in that direction (Saku and Bone, 2000; Saku *et al.*, 1998; Robinson *et al.*, 1989; Asch, 1988; Usher, 1982; Berger, 1977). The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) (1996c:30) attributed the poor state of economic development in the Aboriginal communities to the disruption of traditional lifestyle, displacement from a rich land and resource base, and restrictions on their development by the Indian Act. During the early 1990s for example, unemployment among Aboriginal Canadians averaged about 25% and was as high as 80-90% in some communities (Jamieson, 1993).

**Table 1: Socio-Economic Characteristics - 1996**

	Aboriginal	Canada
Education: % < 9th grade	26.1	8.2
Employment ratio	44.3	71.1
Per capita income	\$7,058	\$18,425
Housing: persons per room	0.74	0.43

Source: Armstrong, R. 1999

Through the process of Modern Land Claim Agreements (MLCAs), a new future is unfolding for some Aboriginal peoples. The question is, what are these Agreements? They represent a treaty between the Aboriginal claimants and the Crown as represented by the federal and provincial governments. Through negotiations, undefined Aboriginal Rights to land which is based on traditional use of land for fishing, hunting, and trapping is extinguished for defined Aboriginal Rights on a much smaller amount of land. Land allocated to Aboriginal people confirms legal ownership under the Canadian law. For lands allocated to the Crown, Aboriginal people may be given preferential right to hunt, fish and trap.

In addition to land ownership, Aboriginal people are compensated with cash and other benefits outlined in each Agreement. This arrangement marks another beginning in the relationship between Aboriginal peoples and the larger Canadian society. From the claimant's perspective, the most desirable outcome of negotiations is a land base that provides them with territorial rights, a basis for continuation of traditional activities, economic self-determination and spiritual satisfaction (Duerden, 1996).

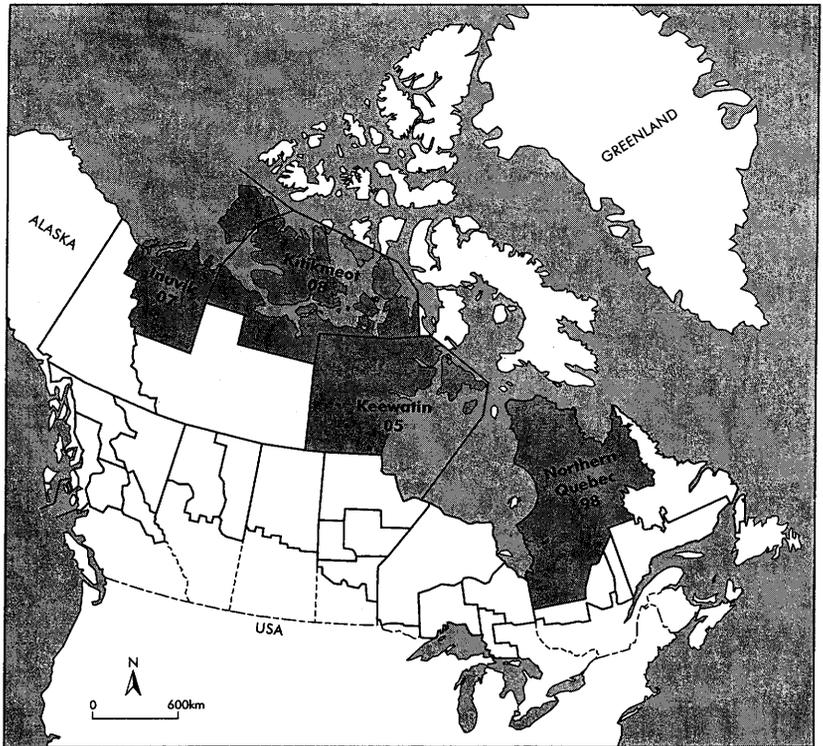
In this paper, we examine the Agreements that took place in Northern Quebec and the Western Arctic. Specifically, the paper focuses on the economic and social transformation of the two regions between 1981 and 1991. To make a meaningful comparison of these changes, the performance of these regions are compared to that of Kitikmeot and Keewatin census regions which did not achieve an agreement until 1993 as part of the Nunavut Agreement (Figure 1). These two regions were chosen for comparison because they exhibit similar socio-economic characteristics to Northern Quebec and the Western Arctic. While part one of the paper discusses modern treaties, part two examines the main features of the two Agreements. Part three focuses on the theoretical soundness of modern treaties in promoting community development in Northern Aboriginal communities. Part four measures the community development status of the study regions.

## Modern Treaties

Aboriginal land claims in Canada are based on the notion of original occupancy, that is, Aboriginal peoples have rights to lands traditionally used by them at the time of contact (Elias, 1989:1). The Royal Proclamation of 1763 serves as a formal foundation of Aboriginal rights to land in Canada. Aboriginal rights have two other legal bases for recognition—international and common law. While Canadian courts have acknowledged these rights, they have avoided a comprehensive definition of them (Usher *et al.*, 1992). From a legal perspective, Aboriginal rights are common law governing the Crown's assumption of sovereignty and its relations with Aboriginal people (Slattery, 1987:732).

Since the 1970s, the nature of Aboriginal rights has evolved from hunting and fishing rights on Crown lands to a share of wealth on "traditional lands". The 1973 Calder decision marked the beginning of a remarkable period of evolution of Aboriginal rights (Peters, 2000). The major steps in this evolution are: (1) the Constitutional Act of 1982 which confirmed Aboriginal rights but did not define them; (2) the 1990 Sparrow case in which the Supreme Court of Canada ruled that governments must have "a valid legislative objective" before they can compromise Native hunting or fishing rights on Crown lands; and (3) the Delgamuukw ruling by the Supreme Court on December 11, 1997 which defined Aboriginal title, that is, the particular kind of ownership that Canada's Native peoples may claim was expanded from hunting/fishing rights to all forms of natural wealth found in the area designated as "traditional lands".

Modern treaties involve "trading" undefined Aboriginal rights for defined rights. Through the process of modern treaties, negotiation between a group



**Figure 1: Census Divisions of Study Communities**

of Aboriginal peoples and Canada (federal government in the territories and both federal and provincial governments in the provinces) leads to a land claim agreement (Saku *et al.*, 1998). These Agreements allocate a limited amount of traditional lands to Aboriginal claimants with the remainder going to the Crown. Modern treaties define types of land ownership, that is, land owned as fee simple, surface land ownership, and subsurface land ownership. They also define the right to use land, that is, some land may be used exclusively for hunting and trapping purposes by the claimants while other lands are used for the same purpose by both the claimants and other Canadians.

Until the 1970s, few treaties had taken place in northern Canada, largely because the land was not desirable for commercial use and federal government's refusal to recognize Aboriginal rights through its White Paper

of 1969. Under those conditions, Aboriginal peoples continued to practice their hunting and trapping life style on land owned by the Crown. Resource exploration and development in the Canadian north created conflict between Aboriginal people and the Crown in terms of land and resource ownership. As observed by Cozzetto (1990:41), economic activity in the Canadian north is characterized by a dichotomous relationship between wage-based and traditional economies. Modern treaties provide a mechanism for resolving the conflict. The James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement (JBNQA) was the first modern treaty signed in 1975. Three years later, the Northeastern Quebec Agreement was reached with Naskapi Indians in 1978. In this paper, we refer to the two Agreements as Northern Quebec Agreements (NQAs).

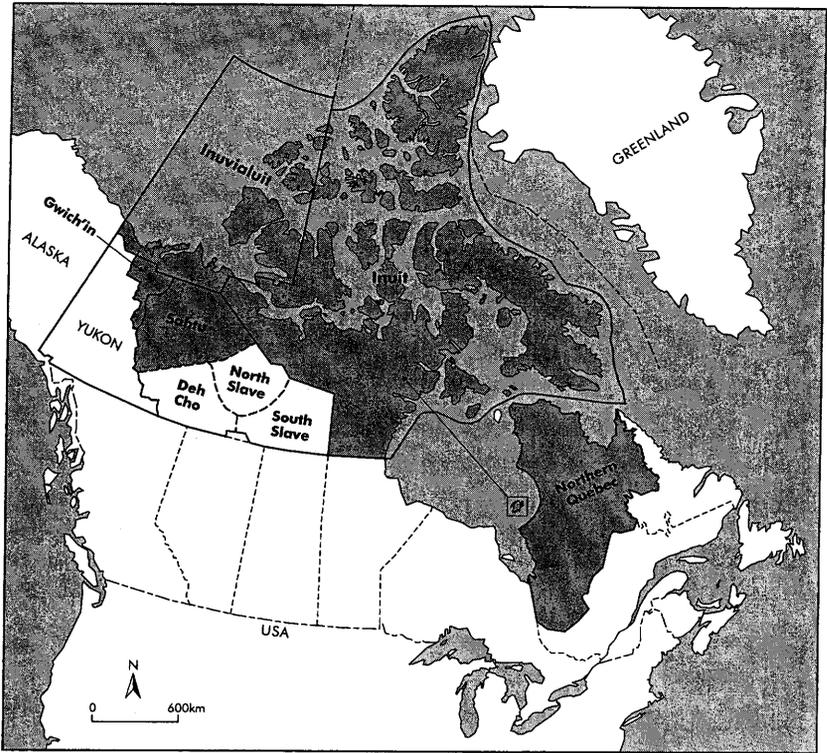
Following the NQAs, the federal government announced a revised policy of its comprehensive land claim in 1981 entitled "In All Fairness". This policy, while insisting on extinguishment of Aboriginal rights, did provide title to lands (fee simple) and specified rights to other lands (such as hunting and fishing rights). Aboriginal peoples and critics of the policy, including the Coolican Report (1985), objected strongly to the notion of extinguishing Aboriginal rights. Based on these criticisms, the federal government proposed an alternative extinguishment policy that allows only Aboriginal rights to be extinguished and grants beneficiaries defined rights within the entire settlement area (RCAP, 1996a).

After these revisions, in 1984, the Inuvialuit Final Agreement (IFA), was signed. While the NQAs influenced the nature and content of the IFA and other Agreements including Nunavut (Figure 2), there are still significant differences between them. These differences have had considerable implications for the development of the two regions.

### **The Northern Quebec Agreement**

Three distinct groups of Aboriginal people were involved in Northern Quebec Agreements. They include the Cree, Inuit, and the Naskapi. Before the announcement of the James Bay Project, the Cree, Inuit, and Naskapi of Northern Quebec were largely isolated from the socio-economic events occurring in southern Canada. The economic isolation from Canadian society began to change when they moved into settlements in the 1950s. Relocation into settlements marked an important step in the process of integration into the Canadian society.

In 1971 when Premier Bourassa announced the James Bay Project, the Cree and Inuit still lived on the land. At that time for example, about 80 percent of Cree families were engaged exclusively in hunting, fishing and trapping (Salisbury, 1986). Their participation in the market economy was



**Figure 2: Modern Treaties in Northern Quebec and Northwest Territories**

extremely limited. Robinson *et al.* (1989) observed that the majority of the Cree were marginally involved in the cash economy in the early 1970s.

Economic isolation from southern Quebec and the rest of Canada was largely due to geography. In particular, the natural transportation consists of rivers flowing westward to Hudson and James Bays rather than southward to the St. Lawrence Valley, the heartland of Quebec. From this perspective, geography made access to the populated areas of southern Quebec both difficult and infrequent.

Prior to the James Bay project, only two Cree Bands lived close to the Quebec highway system. The other five Bands continued to follow a hunting and trapping life-style. The geographic location of Northern Quebec prevented Cree and Inuit from participating in the industrial economy. By these circumstances, they remained in a world far from the industrial society of

Canada. One exception was the Naskapi, who, having been relocated from Fort Mackenzie to Schefferville in 1948, lived near the iron mines of Northern Quebec and Labrador. Yet, they were little involved in mining activities. They were, in fact, marginalized within their own homeland, that is, physically present but not involved in these mining activities.

Northern Quebec began to change with the announcement of the James Bay hydro-electric project. While Premier Bourassa saw the project as a key to stimulating the Quebec economy and promoting the industrialization of southern Quebec, the Cree and Inuit feared the loss of their hunting habitat. This threat united the Cree and the Inuit. In 1971, the Cree and Inuit held a meeting with the aim of stopping the construction of this mega-project. They submitted a resolution to the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development to stop it. When the federal government failed to act, the Cree and Inuit went to court.

On 15 November 1973, Judge Malouf of the Quebec Superior Court ruled that work on the project be suspended because Aboriginal claims had not been settled in northern Quebec (Peters, 1989). Within a week, the Quebec Court of Appeal overturned this ruling based on "the balance of inconvenience argument", that is, the interests of six thousand people should not take precedents over those of six million. As a result, construction recommenced, but the Quebec government announced its willingness to negotiate a land claim settlement to all Aboriginal peoples living in northern Quebec.

The goals of the Cree and Inuit during negotiation included (1) the opportunity to continue with hunting and subsistence economy; (2) setting land aside for the protection of land base activities including hunting, fishing and trapping; (3) transfer of administrative power with extensive local autonomy and funded by provincial or federal government; (4) adequate monetary compensation for economic development in the region; (5) project modification to reduce the impact of hydro-electric development and environmental control over further development (see Peters, 1999 and Feit, 1988 and 1980). Under a stressful condition, the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement (JBNQA) was signed in 1975. Three years later, a similar agreement (the Northeastern Quebec Agreement) was reached with the Naskapi Indians.

### **The Inuvialuit Final Agreement**

Unlike Northern Quebec, the Western Arctic was more closely linked to the Canadian, American, and global economies. The Western Arctic attracted military, public, and private development prior to 1984. These involved the Inuvialuit in the modern economy. One powerful reason is the

geographical position of the Western Arctic and the relative ease of access to it from the outside world. The Western Arctic is accessible by river transportation along the Mackenzie River and by ship from the Pacific Ocean to the Beaufort Sea. By the 1970s, this region, through a combination of air, river and road transportation systems, was closely tied to southern Canada. While air transportation began in the 1920s, the national highway system reached Inuvik, the main settlement in the Western Arctic, in 1979 when the Dempster Highway was completed.

The Inuvialuit land claim was originally part of the larger claim submitted by Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC) in 1976 on behalf of all Inuit people living in the Northwest Territories. Like northern Quebec, this claim was an attempt to resolve conflict in land and resource ownership. After several months of intense negotiation between ITC and the government of Canada, negotiations between the two groups collapsed. Both parties were displeased with the trend of negotiation. While the Inuit were dissatisfied with the proposal because it reflected the ideas of non-Inuit, the government of Canada was hesitant with the initial proposal because of the desire by the Inuit of Eastern Arctic to create a new territory (Nunavut).

After the collapse of the Inuit Tapirisat claim, the Committee for Original Peoples' Entitlement (COPE) assumed the responsibility of representing the Inuvialuit of the Western Arctic on their land claim. COPE was formed in the 1970s as a volunteer organization with no governmental funding. The objectives of COPE at the time was to safeguard the interests of First Nations of Delta/Beaufort Sea region on environmental and economic issues. For example, COPE was an active participant in the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry and National Energy Board Hearings.

Based on an earlier proposal submitted by ITC, COPE submitted the Inuvialuit Nunangat claim in 1977. The goals of the Inuvialuit during negotiation were to achieve four objectives. These included (1) preservation of Inuvialuit cultural identity and values; (2) opportunity to be equal and meaningful participants of northern economy; (3) protection and preservation of Arctic wildlife, environment and biological productivity, and (4) provision of Inuvialuit with specific rights and compensation in exchange for existing land rights.

The IFA was signed on 5 June 1984 by representatives of COPE, the Government of Canada, the Government of Northwest Territories and the Yukon Government. Parliament passed The Western Arctic (Inuvialuit) Claims Settlement Act on 28 June 1984. At that time, the Inuvialuit beneficiaries were about 2500. Most resided in six communities including Aklavik, Inuvik, Holman, Paulatuk, Sachs Harbour and Tuktoyaktuk.

## Differences Between the Two Agreements

The NQAs and the IFA represent a modern version of the long-established procedure of treaty-making between Aboriginal peoples and the Crown. A unique commonality of today's Agreements is the extinguishment of Aboriginal Land Rights in exchange for "legal" ownership of some parcels of land and cash compensation. Additionally, each of the Agreements created political and economic institutions responsible for the management of the land and cash payments (Table 2). Notwithstanding these similarities, a number of significant differences exist between the Agreements.

The most striking difference is the circumstances under which the negotiations took place. At the time of negotiation, the Cree, Inuit and Naskapi were reacting to the intrusion of an industrial project. On the other hand, the Inuvialuit negotiated for land and resources in a more amicable forum, that is, they did not face a court imposed deadline and the construction of a major industrial project about to take place. The Inuvialuit, however, did feel some urgency because of oil exploration in the Western Arctic.

A second difference was that the Inuvialuit obtained more land on a per capita basis than the Cree, Inuit and Naskapi. In terms of total land surface, there is a significant difference between the IFA and NQAs. While per capita land allocation to the Inuvialuit was about 32.38 km<sup>2</sup>, the Cree, Inuit and Naskapi received only 0.83 km<sup>2</sup>, 1.86 km<sup>2</sup> and 1.79 km<sup>2</sup> respectively.

A third difference is that the Inuvialuit obtained subsurface rights on some of their land. The Inuvialuit sought vigorously to obtain a share in the oil and gas wealth, thereby participating fully in the resource economy. The Inuvialuit were therefore granted mineral rights on their lands, believing that these resources would allow them to participate fully in the oil and gas

**Table 2: Economic and Political Institutions of the Two Agreements**

Land Claim Agreement	Economic Institution	Traditional Programme	Political Institution
Northern Quebec Cree	Board of Cree Compensation	Income Security Programme	Cree Regional Authority
Northern Quebec Inuit	Makivik Corporation	Inuit Hunters Support	Kativik Regional Government
Northern Quebec Naskapi	Naskapi Dev. Corporation	Income Security Programme	Naskapi Regional Government
Western Arctic Inuvialuit	Inuvialuit Reg. Corporation	Inuvialuit Game Council	None

industry in the Western Arctic (Nuttall, 1991:60). On the other hand, the Cree and Inuit sought to protect their land based economy and received compensation for the loss of their hunting grounds and the social disruption caused to their way of life by that loss (Feit, 1980).

The amount of cash compensation received by the James Bay Cree and Inuit differs significantly from the Inuvialuit. The Cree and Inuit received \$225 million from the Government of Canada, the Government of Quebec and the Hydro-Quebec (Robinson *et al.*, 1989). This translates to \$29,000 per capita. On the other hand, the Inuvialuit were granted a total cash payment of \$152 million (\$60,800 per capita) payable over a thirteen year period (1984-1997). Additionally, NQAs contain provisions for financial support for the land-based economy while the IFA is silent on this subject. A key element of NQAs is the establishment of Hunters and Trappers Income Security Programme (ARA Consulting Group, 1995). Through financial support for the land based economy, the Cree and Inuit have been able to maintain a hunting economy.

A fifth difference is that power to create community and regional governments exists in the NQAs but not in the IFA. Regional and local governments in northern Quebec control education, health, and social services. There are no parallel institutions in the Western Arctic. Instead, the Government of the Northwest Territories remains responsible for administering and delivering local government and public services in the Western Arctic.

## Modern Treaties and Economic Development

Economic development is a complex process. As such, there are different meanings and interpretations of economic development. What development actually means to an individual depends on personal orientation and perceptions. Within Aboriginal communities, different development theories have been used to analyze issues dealing with economic and social development (see for example Bone, 2000; RCAP, 1996(a); Bone *et al.*, 1992; Bone, 1992; Stabler and Howe, 1990; Stabler, 1989; Robinson and Ghostkeeper, 1987; Mellor and Ironside, 1978). Despite the differences, broadly speaking, there are two perspectives of development theory. One school of thought sees development as a top-down process. In this case, economic and social development occurs within the framework of a core-periphery relationship. The relationship tends to be highly unbalanced with the core dictating the nature of economic development of the periphery. Within the Canadian society, Aboriginal communities may be regarded as peripheries. The other approach is the bottom-up or local development. This approach strongly encourages the participation of local residents in the

planning and implementation of economic development. There has been an extensive debate as to the suitability of each of these approaches.

In the 1970s, a number of theoreticians and policy analysts questioned the effectiveness of the top-down approach (Coffey and Polese, 1982). Proposals for "alternative development" in rural and remote regions involved arguments for Indigenous, traditionally and locally controlled economic systems (Bebbington, 1993; Ekins, 1992; Adams, 1990). In the 1980s, community development approach was proposed to address these issues. This approach involves the promotion of local development with greater emphasis on the provision of basic needs for specific communities. Within the context of Aboriginal economic, political and social development, strong arguments have been advanced for community development strategies (Franks, 2000; Sandberg and Sloggart, 1989; Robinson and Ghostkeeper, 1987; Ironside, 1982). In the past, government initiated projects and private development were not successful in maintaining sustainable economic development in Aboriginal communities. The only alternative therefore is community development initiatives.

Community development emphasizes local economic growth and structural changes. This approach is local because it involves grass root participation. Development policies are designed by and for the communities. Residents of such communities share common cultural, political, social and economic aspirations. Since communities are collectively involved in the direction of their development, through empowerment, the communities identify a common objective and focus on specific issues related to their basic needs. Ironside (1990) observed that the fundamental objective of community development is one of organizing the collective resources, ingenuity and spirit of neighbouring small communities which are not viable individually.

Furthermore, community development promotes the integration of local institutions. The approach has the potential of bridging the gap between the traditional and modern economic institutions. For example, bringing hunters, trappers and fishermen together in the promotion of sustainable resource management. Through this approach, economic and social development are mutually initiated. That is, attempt is made to minimise conflict between economic development and social goals by the traditional and modern sectors. To minimize conflict between the traditional and modern sectors, modern treaties involve the creation of parallel institutions responsible for each of the sectors. For example, the IFA created the Inuvaluit Regional Corporation and the Inuvaluit Game Council responsible for the modern and traditional sectors respectively.

Modern treaties exhibit the characteristics of community development. These agreements are designed to promote the full participation of Aboriginal people in the process of maintaining a sound economic and social development within their communities. Modern treaties have provided Aboriginal people the financial and administrative means to begin creating a new economic future in their regions through community development schemes (ARA Consulting Group, 1995). The mobilization of local labour force, capital, entrepreneurship and natural resources are particularly important elements of modern land claim agreements. Also, job creation through investment in local enterprises is one of the principle underlying modern treaties.

Notwithstanding its potentialities in explaining Aboriginal economic development, the bottom-up approach is prone to criticisms. The main weakness of the bottom-up approach to development is its emphasis on a closed economy. As the world economy becomes globalized, it is impossible to maintain. All economies in the 21st century are closely interrelated and therefore economic isolation is a thing of the past. Also, within Aboriginal communities, the approach is hampered by structural problems. For example, the local population base is extremely small, making most types of economic activity unprofitable (see Franks, 2000). Another structural problem is embedded in the population distribution—settlements scattered over a large area. There is, therefore, high overhead cost in terms of production and distribution.

### **Data Sources, Analysis and Discussion**

As a complex process, the measurement of economic and social development involves the use of different techniques and variables (see for example DiFrancesco, 1998; Bone *et al.*, 1992; Stabler *et al.*, 1990; Stabler and Howe, 1990; Stabler, 1989; Oppong and Ironside, 1987; Bone and Green, 1987; 1986; Mellor and Ironside, 1978;). In this study, the Canadian censuses represent the principal sources of data for the analysis. Overall, 23 variables were selected from the 1981, 1986 and 1991 census of Canada (Table 3). These variables represent a combination of economic, demographic and social conditions. While eight variables are economic, seven are demographic and six are social. The decision to select 23 variables is based on variable reoccurrence in the three censuses and a mix of economic, demographic and social variables.

Principal Component Analysis (PCA) is the statistical technique used for the analysis. This technique is chosen because it provides a means for combining several variables into an index. The aim of PCA is to group a number of related variables, that is, to identify a number of common

**Table 3: Variables Used in Principal Component Analysis****Economic**

LFP	Labour force participation
PEREMP	Percentage employed
UNR	Unemployment rate
PERHI	Percentage of household with income lower than 14,999
PERSP	Percentage of labour force in primary sector
PTI	Percentage of labour force in trade industry
AMI	Average male income
AFI	Average female income

**Demographic**

TOP	Total population
PERM	Percentage of immigrants from other provinces
PERPFO	Percentage of population 15 years and over
ANPR	Average number of persons per room
HWF	Percentage of husband-wife families with three or more children at home
ANPPH	Average number of persons per household
DR	Dependency ratio
CPR	Child population ratio

**Social**

PERPSE	Percentage of population speaking English/French
PERAPLNE	Percentage of adult population with less than Grade 9 education
PERAPGTE	Percentage of adult population with Grade 13 education
PHOP	Percentage of houses privately owned
PERPWUD	Percentage of adult population with university degree
ANRPD	Average number of rooms per dwelling
PSAH	Percentage of people speaking Aboriginal language at home

components. "Each observed variable is described linearly in terms of a new set of components that represent new hypothetical variables" (Davies, 1978:275).

Using PCA, six components were derived from the original twenty-three variables. With the six components, the data is transformed into a simple structure, that is, rotated to maintain an acceptable grouping of the variables (Tables 4-6). If groups of variables share common variance, the rotation discovers them as approximations to the simple structure (Johnston, 1986). In this case, the component loadings are interpreted as the correlation between each variable and the factor to which it is closely related. Each variable is assigned to a component with which it has the highest loading. Variables which load strongly on the same component are highly interrelated. For example, in 1981, seven variables including PERPWUD, AFI, AMI, LFP, TOP, PERAPGTE and PERM loaded strong and positively on component 1 (Table 4).

Community component scores for 1981, 1986 and 1991 were derived from the component loadings. To simplify the analysis, regional average scores are calculated from the community scores for the five regions, that is, the Inuvialuit, Northern Quebec Inuit, Cree and Naskapi, Keewatin and Kitikmeot. Two regions, that is, Keewatin and Kitikmeot are census divisions in the Northwest Territories which did not achieve a modern treaty prior to 1991. The Inuvialuit, Northern Quebec Inuit, Cree and Naskapi Regions belong to communities with an agreement prior to 1991.

The regional composite indices represent an average of community social and economic development (Tables 7-9). These scores reveal regional differences in the socio-economic development over the ten year period (1981-1991). The performance of the Inuvialuit and Northern Quebec communities are very similar, that is, the scores show an increasing trend. In 1981, the level of development of the Inuvialuit communities was -0.09. In 1986, the Inuvialuit score increased to 0.62 and in 1991, the score was 0.85. The Inuit of Northern Quebec scored -2.50 in 1981, -1.17 in 1986 and -0.13 in 1991. These scores show a consistent progression from 1981 to 1991. On the contrary, Keewatin and Kitikmeot communities which represent those communities without an Agreement by 1991, showed a declining trend in development. For example, the scores of Kitikmeot region are 1981 (-0.23), 1986 (-0.47) and 1991 (-1.12).

The scores of the three regions with an agreement increased persistently over time. The remarkable performance by the Cree, Inuit, and Naskapi of Northern Quebec and the Inuvialuit can be attributed to the economic and social transformations in the regions. These activities may be related to modern land claim agreement. For example, each Agreement

Table 4: Rotated Component Loadings, 1981

Components	1	2	3	4	5	6
PERPWUD	.84	.32	-.10	-.04	-.26	-.14
AFI	.83	.33	.34	.13	.14	-.29
AMI	.83	.44	.37	.05	.05	-.13
PERALGNE	-.83	-.55	-.08	-.22	.43	.37
ANPPH	-.75	-.23	-.04	-.04	.46	.60
LFP	.72	.59	.10	-.20	-.25	-.15
HWF	-.68	-.11	-.11	-.43	.44	.56
TOP	.68	.27	-.10	.14	-.18	-.18
PERAPGTE	.61	.32	.25	.28	-.59	-.21
ANPR	-.39	-.96	.10	.01	-.02	.17
ANRPD	.22	.86	.05	.02	.20	.15
PEREMP	.21	.69	.11	-.21	-.22	-.35
PERPSE	.43	.62	-.20	.53	-.12	-.43
PSAH	-.52	-.54	.13	-.53	.29	.52
PERPS	.28	.07	.71	.25	-.18	.10
PTI	-.04	-.02	-.69	.03	.04	.15
PHOP	-.09	-.15	.11	.79	-.03	-.02
PERHI	-.01	.18	-.13	.01	.86	.13
DR	-.59	-.32	.15	-.30	.67	.57
PERPFO	.38	.23	-.21	.47	-.58	-.46
PERM	.52	.31	-.01	.01	-.15	-.81
CPR	-.27	-.30	.33	-.29	.54	.68
UNR	.10	.04	-.25	-.43	.26	.59
<b>% Variance</b>	<b>36.9</b>	<b>12.9</b>	<b>8.9</b>	<b>6.7</b>	<b>5.5</b>	<b>4.6</b>

Table 5: Rotated Component Loadings, 1986

Components	1	2	3	4	5	6
ANPR	-.86	.50	.29	-.48	-.27	-.10
ANRPD	.81	-.02	.11	.15	-.15	-.16
LFP	.66	-.26	-.26	.64	.55	.17
PERPFO	.02	-.88	-.17	.26	.14	.08
PERPSE	.25	-.82	.15	.31	.29	.25
PSAH	-.36	.81	.13	-.38	-.39	-.27
CPR	.01	.74	.30	-.33	-.17	-.14
DR	-.32	.74	.34	-.60	-.33	-.09
HWF	-.38	.70	.29	-.52	-.54	-.12
ANPPH	-.49	.69	.46	-.52	-.49	-.25
PHOP	-.43	-.58	.20	.11	.47	.18
UNR	-.06	.23	.95	-.27	-.29	-.05
PEREMP	.12	-.27	-.92	.36	.20	.05
AMI	.35	-.27	-.28	.91	.01	.10
AFI	.21	-.23	-.27	.89	-.04	.21
PERAPGTE	.41	-.34	-.38	.78	.36	.25
PERALGNE	-.51	.53	.42	-.70	-.50	.04
PERM	.05	-.45	-.05	.68	.31	.02
TOP	.35	-.31	-.23	.65	.19	-.44
PERPWUD	.39	-.16	-.49	.56	.51	-.19
PERHI	-.09	.03	.46	.04	-.78	.01
PTI	.13	.28	.01	-.11	-.64	.04
PERPS	-.01	-.28	-.06	.26	.01	.91
<b>% Variance</b>	<b>39.7</b>	<b>11.4</b>	<b>9.3</b>	<b>7.2</b>	<b>5.5</b>	<b>4.7</b>

Table 6: Rotated Component Loadings, 1991

Components	1	2	3	4	5	6
ANPPH	<b>-90</b>	<b>-24</b>	<b>-31</b>	<b>-32</b>	<b>-24</b>	<b>-48</b>
ANPR	<b>-84</b>	<b>-25</b>	<b>.21</b>	<b>-40</b>	<b>-17</b>	<b>-23</b>
PSAH	<b>-84</b>	<b>.13</b>	<b>-43</b>	<b>-34</b>	<b>-15</b>	<b>-38</b>
HWF	<b>-80</b>	<b>-27</b>	<b>-09</b>	<b>-58</b>	<b>-20</b>	<b>-51</b>
LFP	<b>.76</b>	<b>.34</b>	<b>.30</b>	<b>.47</b>	<b>.50</b>	<b>.31</b>
PERPSE	<b>.57</b>	<b>-41</b>	<b>.32</b>	<b>.11</b>	<b>.18</b>	<b>.50</b>
PEREMP	<b>.20</b>	<b>.96</b>	<b>-09</b>	<b>.33</b>	<b>.18</b>	<b>.10</b>
UNR	<b>-21</b>	<b>-93</b>	<b>.03</b>	<b>-30</b>	<b>-25</b>	<b>-08</b>
PTI	<b>-34</b>	<b>-06</b>	<b>-71</b>	<b>-37</b>	<b>-13</b>	<b>-06</b>
PERM	<b>.38</b>	<b>.13</b>	<b>.63</b>	<b>.42</b>	<b>.27</b>	<b>.45</b>
ANRPD	<b>.06</b>	<b>.33</b>	<b>-62</b>	<b>.39</b>	<b>.15</b>	<b>-19</b>
AFI	<b>.44</b>	<b>.26</b>	<b>.16</b>	<b>.94</b>	<b>.18</b>	<b>.26</b>
AMI	<b>.41</b>	<b>.29</b>	<b>.24</b>	<b>.92</b>	<b>.35</b>	<b>.13</b>
TOP	<b>.37</b>	<b>.30</b>	<b>-11</b>	<b>.72</b>	<b>.12</b>	<b>.53</b>
PERALGNE	<b>-56</b>	<b>-49</b>	<b>-02</b>	<b>-68</b>	<b>-32</b>	<b>-26</b>
PERAPGTE	<b>.48</b>	<b>.20</b>	<b>-02</b>	<b>.62</b>	<b>.59</b>	<b>.40</b>
PERPWUD	<b>.38</b>	<b>.46</b>	<b>-17</b>	<b>.52</b>	<b>.41</b>	<b>.35</b>
PERHI	<b>-09</b>	<b>-27</b>	<b>.23</b>	<b>-07</b>	<b>-79</b>	<b>-15</b>
PERPS	<b>.17</b>	<b>-01</b>	<b>.39</b>	<b>.23</b>	<b>.75</b>	<b>-03</b>
CPR	<b>-37</b>	<b>-10</b>	<b>-11</b>	<b>-28</b>	<b>-22</b>	<b>-88</b>
PERPFO	<b>.73</b>	<b>.14</b>	<b>.24</b>	<b>.37</b>	<b>.13</b>	<b>.82</b>
DR	<b>-69</b>	<b>-31</b>	<b>-09</b>	<b>-51</b>	<b>-33</b>	<b>-74</b>
PHOP	<b>.33</b>	<b>-38</b>	<b>.49</b>	<b>-05</b>	<b>-06</b>	<b>.58</b>
<b>% Variance</b>	<b>38.8</b>	<b>13.9</b>	<b>7.1</b>	<b>5.8</b>	<b>5.7</b>	<b>5.1</b>

**Table 7: Regional Averages of Component Scores, 1981**

Components	1	2	3	4	5	6	Dev.
Keewatin	-0.02	0.39	-0.08	-0.68	-0.27	0.10	-0.56
Kitikmeot	-0.17	0.50	0.27	-0.34	-0.23	-0.26	-0.23
Inuvialuit	-0.33	0.81	-0.39	0.49	-0.55	-0.12	-0.09
Northern							
Quebec Inuit	-0.28	-0.99	0.22	-1.04	-1.00	0.59	-2.50
Northern Quebec							
Cree and Naskapi	-0.57	0.73	-0.90	0.12	-0.08	-0.49	-1.19

**Table 8: Regional Averages of Component Scores, 1986**

Components	1	2	3	4	5	6	Dev.
Keewatin	0.61	0.11	0.17	-0.03	-0.65	-0.42	-0.21
Kitikmeot	0.60	-0.43	0.09	-0.39	-0.56	-0.17	-0.47
Inuvialuit	1.20	-0.60	-0.08	-0.76	0.24	0.62	0.62
Northern							
Quebec Inuit	-0.39	0.76	-1.21	-0.20	0.13	-0.26	-1.17
Northern Quebec							
Cree and Naskapi	0.40	-0.24	0.16	-0.23	-0.53	-0.73	-1.17

**Table 9: Regional Averages of Component Scores, 1991**

Components	1	2	3	4	5	6	Dev.
Keewatin	-0.12	-0.25	-0.27	0.35	0.22	-0.46	-0.97
Kitikmeot	0.48	-1.02	-0.45	0.52	0.08	-0.73	-1.12
Inuvialuit	1.64	0.16	0.40	-0.24	-0.25	-0.86	0.85
Northern							
Quebec Inuit	-0.30	0.94	-0.14	-0.69	-0.01	0.07	-0.13
Northern Quebec							
Cree and Naskapi	-0.47	0.16	-1.13	0.24	-0.31	0.89	-0.62

created an Aboriginal economic institution, such as the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation (IRC), designed to fight poverty and economic marginalization within the community. The IRC is responsible for managing the cash benefits flowing out of the IFA by several subsidiary companies. These subsidiaries of IRC are involved in economic development projects including technology and communications, health and hospital services, environmental services, manufacturing, real estate development and transportation.

Three economic institutions, namely, the Cree Board of Compensation, Makivik Corporation (Inuit) and Naskapi Development Corporation were created when NQAs were achieved. Like the Inuvialuit, these are elaborate corporate institutions designed to promote economic development in Northern Quebec. The Inuit of Northern Quebec own Inuit Air and First Air, with a fleet of 20 aircraft and the James Bay Cree Air Creebec with an investment of \$12.5 million. These transportation companies provide local and regional air services. Manufacturing and service companies were also established in Northern Quebec. The Makivik Corporation has invested in tourism promotional materials in southern markets (Braden, 1993). In 1990, Cree Regional Economic Enterprises (Creeco) obtained over \$50 million of contracts from Hydro-Quebec (Frideres, 1993). The Naskapi of Northern Quebec established Naskapi Inc. that markets database for managing housing programs in Aboriginal communities ([www.edo.ca](http://www.edo.ca), 1999)

Notwithstanding these economic similarities, unlike the Inuvialuit Region, the expected socio-economic changes in Northern Quebec is occurring at a much slower pace. Perhaps, this may be attributed to the differences in the Agreements. While the IFA emphasized the wage sector development, the NQAs focussed mainly on maintaining the land-based sector. A unique element of the NQAs is the establishment of Hunters and Trappers Income Security Programme. Moreover, the Inuvialuit have access to oil and gas royalties. On the other hand, apart from its long economic isolation from the rest of Canada, Northern Quebec lacks strong natural resource base for economic development. The Inuvialuit are taking advantage of the opportunities of the CLCAs and are investing in economic ventures within and outside the region. These investments appear to be having greater impact on the Inuvialuit in the form of higher labour force participation, average incomes and low unemployment rates.

## **Conclusion**

Aboriginal Canadians are seeking a new place within the larger Canadian society. The settling of outstanding land claims by the Aboriginal peoples of Northern Quebec and the Western Arctic is one step in that

direction. Through the process of modern land claim agreements, social and economic progress has already been made by the Cree, Inuit, and Naskapi in Northern Quebec and by the Inuvialuit in the Western Arctic. Even though the NQAs and IFA addressed similar concerns, a detailed analysis shows a number of important similarities and differences.

In Northern Quebec, the Cree were confronted with the construction of a hydro-electric project on their hunting lands as negotiations took place. In the Western Arctic, oil development at Prudhoe Bay in Alaska and the prospects of similar developments in the Beaufort Sea and the Mackenzie Delta had profound impact on the Inuvialuit before negotiations began. In the 1970s, the Cree and Inuit were compelled to seek compensation for the disruption caused by the James Bay hydro-electric project, including the lost of hunting habitat. The Inuvialuit, on the other hand, benefitted from the events of the 1970s and saw their land claim negotiations as a means to participate aggressively in the market economy. Much land selected by the Inuvialuit contained oil and gas deposits (Nuttall, 1991:60).

The results of the analysis shows differences in the performance between Northern Quebec, the Western Arctic, Keewatin and Kitikmeot regions. While the Western Arctic and Northern Quebec regions show a progressive performance over time, the Keewatin and Kitikmeot regions show a declining trend. However, the Inuvialuit of the Western Arctic performed much higher than the Cree, Inuit and Naskapi of Northern Quebec. This difference may be due to the emphasis of each agreement. While the IFA emphasized economic growth, NQAs focussed more on the traditional sector. The Inuvialuit are utilizing the opportunities from the modern treaties by investing in economic ventures within and outside the region.

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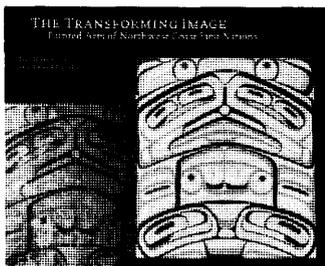
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## The Transforming Image

Painted Arts of Northwest Coast

First Nations

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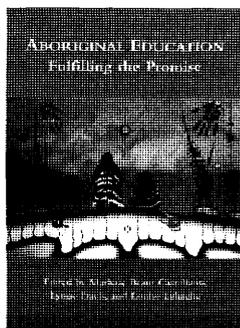
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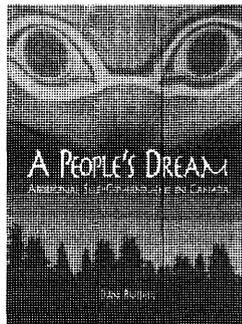
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