

Participants

With deep gratitude, we raise our hands in thanks to the 25 research participants who generously shared their experiences, insights, knowledge, and wisdom. We humbly acknowledge the privilege of engaging with you and the profound lessons learned through our interactions.

We would also like to thank the Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) for the financial support to conduct this important work.



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Executive Summary

Unique Challenges Faced by Inuit Women in Urban Centres Regarding Housing and Homelessness

Pauktuutit initiated this project to better understand the unique challenges related to housing and homelessness for Inuit women in urban centres. This work sought to explore how urban Inuit women deal with housing challenges in southern Canadian urban centres and to understand the unique obstacles they encounter. The research was conducted following the principles of Inuit Qaujimuituqangiit, Pauktuutit's Inuit-Specific Gender-based Analysis Plus (GBA+) framework, intersectionality, and distinctions-based understandings.

Project Overview

A total of 25 interviews were conducted for this research project, including 21 Inuit women who had or were currently experiencing homelessness and housing insecurity. Participants were based in Ottawa, Edmonton, Montréal, St. John's, Yellowknife, Toronto, Winnipeg, Vancouver, and Halifax. To gain perspective on the systems intended to assist Inuit women in navigating homelessness and housing insecurity, seven interviews were held with individuals with experience as service providers. Three of the seven participants experienced homelessness and housing insecurity firsthand as well as being service providers. The research aimed to examine the problems with policies and programs that affect the lives of urban Inuit women, especially in terms of housing. It was designed to identify their needs, make suggestions to fill the gaps, and consider other important factors.

CMHC Objectives

The primary goals of Canada's National Housing Strategy are to improve housing affordability and choice, facilitate access to financing for housing, promote competition and efficiency, ensure the availability of low-cost funding for housing, and contribute to the well-being of the housing sector within the national economy. This project sought to improve housing affordability and choice for Inuit women in southern urban centres by identifying and addressing barriers to accessible and supportive housing.

Key Findings

The interview findings revealed:

- Inuit women experience challenges when finding housing related to administrative barriers, including requirements of personal identification, completion of personal taxes, unclear application processes, limited resources of service organizations, lack of Inuit-specific resources, limited awareness of services provided, and discrimination from private landlords.
- Inuit women expressed a need for service providers to prioritize culturally relevant and holistic supports that help to preserve and promote Inuit culture.
- Discrimination against Inuit women is a major barrier to accessing housing in urban centres. This discrimination includes both anti-women discrimination and anti-Inuit racism.
- Participants spoke of the push and pull factors that led them to move to southern urban centres. Push factors include a lack of affordable housing, overcrowding, limited healthcare resources, and traumatic experiences in Inuit Nunangat. Specialized medical care, educational resources, and new opportunities were identified as pull factors.
- Many participants recounted feelings of culture shock when they moved south, based on a lack of knowledge on how to navigate urban centres, transit systems, and a lack of awareness about how to access resources.

Fast Facts

- Participants experienced housing difficulties because of administrative barriers and discrimination but experienced fewer barriers if they were familiar with the city or had employment set up before moving.
- Housing insecurity is a threat to Inuit cultural survival. Inuit women risk losing their culture when they are focused solely on meeting their basic housing needs.
- Participants emphasized holistic approaches to address housing needs that consider the intersecting challenges faced by Inuit women, including gender, race, colonization, land claim beneficiary status, language, and culture.

Expected Outcomes

Based on the interview findings, a series of recommendations were developed to identify improved ways to meet the housing needs of Inuit women. Targeting multiple stakeholders, service providers; housing developers; federal, provincial, and territorial governments; and CMHC, the recommendations were drawn from the needs and concerns voiced by Inuit. Reflecting a comprehensive approach to address housing issues, these conclusions centre around housing requirements, community and culture, required supports, training and education, and offer a path forward to address the systematic barriers faced by Inuit women. Considering the intersections of gender and experiences of homelessness, this research also points to the need for future work that explores the experiences of gender-diverse Inuit. Undertaking this research will be crucial to meaningfully understand the full spectrum of barriers to housing faced by this demographic.

Definitions

Statistics Canada offers the following definitions related to housing in its census data:

Affordable housing: The indicator of housing affordability is the proportion of household total income that is spent on shelter costs, also referred to as the shelter-cost-to-income ratio. Farm households and on-reserve households cannot be assessed for housing affordability because the concept is not applicable.

Core housing need: Core housing need refers to whether a private household's housing falls below at least one of the indicator thresholds for housing adequacy, affordability or suitability, and would have to spend 30% or more of its total before-tax income to pay the median rent of alternative local housing that is acceptable (attains all three housing indicator thresholds). Only private, non-farm, non-reserve and owner- or renter-households with incomes greater than zero and shelter-cost-to-income ratios less than 100% are assessed for 'core housing need.'

Suitable housing: The indicator for housing suitability (a topic often referred to as crowding) is whether the dwelling has enough bedrooms for the size and composition of the household. 'Housing suitability' refers to whether a private household is living in suitable accommodations according to the National Occupancy Standard (NOS). A household is deemed to be living in suitable accommodations if its dwelling has enough bedrooms, as calculated using the NOS.

Adequate housing: The indicator for housing adequacy is the dwelling condition. 'Dwelling condition' refers to whether the dwelling is in need of repairs. This does not include desirable remodelling or additions. The category 'major repairs needed' includes dwellings needing major repairs such as dwellings with defective plumbing or electrical wiring and dwellings needing structural repairs to walls, floors or ceilings.

The Canadian Observatory on Homelessness (Gaetz et al. 2012) has developed four categories of living situations that describe homelessness. These are:

Unsheltered: This includes people living in public or private spaces without consent or contract, such as public spaces, sidewalks, squares, parks, or forests. It also includes people living in spaces not intended for permanent human habitation, such as cars, garages, attics, closets, or makeshift shelters.

Emergency sheltered: This refers to people who are accessing emergency overnight shelters for individuals or for families impacted by violence, or individuals fleeing a natural disaster where their normal accommodation was destroyed.

Provisionally accommodated: This refers to people that do not have permanent shelter but are temporarily housed. This includes people who have temporary housing provided by the government or the non-profit sector, or those who may have arranged short-term accommodation.

At imminent risk of homelessness: This category recognizes the precarious situation that can contribute to individuals and families being at imminent risk of homelessness. These factors include precarious employment, sudden unemployment, discontinuation of housing supports, facing eviction, division of household through circumstances such as separation or divorce, violence or abuse and inadequate institutional care.

Definition of Indigenous Homelessness in Canada

The Canadian Observatory on Homelessness indicates that Indigenous homelessness is “best understood as the outcome of historically constructed and ongoing settler colonization and racism that have displaced and dispossessed First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Peoples from their traditional governance systems and laws, territories, histories, worldviews, ancestors and stories” (Thistle 2017). They provide the following summary definition of Indigenous homelessness in Canada:

Indigenous homelessness is a human condition that describes First Nations, Métis, and Inuit individuals, families or communities lacking stable, permanent, appropriate housing, or the immediate prospect, means or ability to acquire such housing. Unlike the common colonialist definition of homelessness, Indigenous homelessness is not defined as lacking a structure of habitation; rather, it is more fully described and understood through a composite lens of Indigenous worldviews. These include individuals, families and communities isolated from their relationships to land, water, place, family, kin, each other, animals, cultures, languages and identities. Importantly, Indigenous people experiencing these kinds of homelessness cannot culturally, spiritually, emotionally or physically reconnect with their Indigeneity or lost relationships. (Aboriginal Standing Committee on Housing and Homelessness, 2012). (Thistle 2017)

The *Definition of Indigenous Homelessness in Canada* further outlines twelve dimensions of Indigenous homelessness:

- Historic displacement homelessness
- Contemporary geographic separation homelessness
- Spiritual disconnection homelessness
- Mental disruption and imbalance homelessness
- Cultural disintegration and loss homelessness
- Overcrowding homelessness
- Relocation and mobility homelessness
- Going home homelessness
- Nowhere to go homelessness
- Escaping or evading harm homelessness
- Emergency crisis homelessness
- Climatic refugee homelessness

Each of these dimensions of Indigenous homelessness is relevant to the experiences of Inuit, First Nations, and Métis across Canada.

Introduction

According to the 2021 Canadian census, a third of Inuit now live outside of Inuit Nunangat. Of the population living outside the Inuit homeland, 15.3% live in urban centres, with Ottawa, Edmonton, and Montréal having the largest number of Inuit (Government of Canada 2022), followed by St. John's, Yellowknife, Toronto, and Winnipeg (George 2022). The census also showed the population increase for Inuit outside of Inuit Nunangat is growing faster than those within. Further 32.6% of the Inuit population is in core housing need (Government of Canada 2022). Based on this information, Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada (Pauktuutit) identified the need to better understand the unique challenges related to housing and homelessness for Inuit women in these urban centres.

Pauktuutit set out to learn how Inuit women confront unique challenges in urban centers, such as renting, transitional housing, homeownership, homelessness, overcrowding, and interaction with support services, based on participants' experiences.

Further, this project aimed to:

- Analyze the potential policy and programming gaps that impact Inuit women's experiences in urban centres, particularly regarding housing.
- Determine their needs and provide recommendations to remedy these gaps.
- Identify any other critical points of consideration.

A mixed-methods approach was applied. This involved conducting a literature review of relevant research on housing insecurity for Inuit women and gender-diverse Inuit in urban areas. The results of the literature review helped shape the interview process and guided ways to address the gaps in existing research.

This report includes an Executive Summary, Research Approach and Principles, Information on the participants in this research including demographics, Summative Analysis of Participant Experiences, Summary of Literature Review and Interview Findings, Key Findings, Recommendations, and the Conclusion.

The recommendations developed are directed towards a variety of stakeholders including Pauktuutit; service providers; housing developers; federal, provincial, and territorial governments; and the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC). Recommendations were developed based on the needs and concerns of the Inuit women who contributed their valuable time and perspectives.

The research was pursued according to the principles of Inuit Qaujimuituqangiit; Pauktuutit's Inuit-Specific Gender-based Analysis Plus (GBA+) framework; intersectionality; distinctions-based understandings; and other Indigenous methodologies.

Summary of Literature Review

The literature review acted as a foundational guide for subsequent portions of this work. It began by identifying existing academic literature related to these seven priority areas of inquiry.

1. Dependency on governmental financial assistance
2. Violence and discrimination faced by Inuit gender-diverse people in urban centres
3. Overcoming challenges imposed by the North-South divide
4. Racial prejudice in the South
5. Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls
6. The need for culturally appropriate housing in the South
7. Other challenges

The literature was analyzed through Pauktuutit's Inuit-Specific Gender-Based Analysis Plus (GBA+) framework to build an understanding of Inuit women and gender-diverse Inuit's unique experiences related to each of these topics. In many cases, viewing the literature through an Inuit-specific GBA+ lens allowed researchers to identify gaps in the existing literature related to Inuit women and gender-diverse Inuit. In this way, the literature review provided helpful context to guide the development of the engagement plan and interviews that comprised the next stage of the project. The literature review is in the Appendix of this report.

Please note: The literature review includes research related to gender-diverse Inuit as this was included in the initial scope of this project. As explained later in the Limitations and Areas for Further Research section, while we sought to speak with gender-diverse Inuit in the engagements for this project, we were unable to include any gender-diverse participants. Thus, the findings of this report are limited to Inuit women, except for the literature review.



Research Approach and Principles

Inuit and Indigenous-specific engagement methodologies rooted in Indigenous ways of knowing (epistemologies) and ways of being (ontologies) as well as gender-based analysis (GBA+) were essential to this research. The principles detailed below supported a transparent, open, and caring process that allowed participants to participate in ways they felt most comfortable.

1. Inuit Qaujimuituqangiit: Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (IQ) is the term used to describe Inuit epistemologies. The term translates directly as “that which Inuit have always known to be true.” (Cauchie, 2024). It is a unified system of beliefs, values, and principles that set the foundation for how Inuit live and interact with one another and the world. While collectively, all IQ principles were incorporated into the research project, the following Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (IQ) principles informed the process.

- Inuuqatigiitsiarniq: “Respecting others, relationships and caring for people.” With a team of Inuit women who will be interviewing fellow Inuit women, this principle will provide a communal and relational aspect through the conversations that will be happening. We understand that in speaking about such personal experiences, there is a level of comfort and care that comes from those who have similar kinship ties.
- Tunnganarniq: “Fostering good spirit by being open, welcoming and inclusive.” Echoing the comments above, researchers recognize the importance of creating safe environments that allow participants to discuss their experiences. While the interviews will be held virtually, we hope that through internal relationships, we can accomplish this virtually.
- Qanuqtuurniq: “Being resourceful and persistent to solve problems, recognizing that we must constantly explore many different opportunities in order to find the best ways to move forward.” Though we are challenged in doing face-to-face interviews, we hope to find innovative ways to ensure that other IQ principles such as Inuuqatigiitsiarniq and Tunnganarniq are met through: relationship building, having Elders present, creating less ‘hierarchical’ and formal style interviews and post-care packages.
- Aajiiqatigiinni, the concept of consensus decision-making: With a special focus on consensus decision-making, each step (internally within Archipel) of the project is facilitated through a roundtable approach. This allows for the perspectives of the diverse team members, including Indigenous and non-Indigenous researchers, as well as researchers from other equity-deserving groups, to contribute to the research.

2. Pauktuutit’s Inuit-Specific Gender-Based Analysis Plus (GBA+) Framework: This research process works to assess the systematic inequalities that may be experienced by a participant. In this context, GBA+ works to understand the realities faced by Inuit women, recognizing the multiple factors that influence how any individual may be perceived and treated as they navigate the existing systems and colonial context. A GBA+ framework works to close the gaps between diverse groups. In the context of this work, facets of an individual’s identity and context that are specific to Inuit women were considered including race, gender, sexual orientation, culture, colonization, geographic location, land claim beneficiary status, and language. Further, IQ principles are foundational to Pauktuutit’s Inuit-Specific GBA+ framework.

Guiding Framework

Throughout the research process, the following topics were considered as areas of inquiry within the broader research question.






- 1. Dependency on government financial assistance** such as welfare assistance and family allowances (Boult 2004; Harder & Wenzel 2012).
- 2. Violence and discrimination** faced by Inuit gender-diverse people in urban centres. According to Tungasuvvingat Inuit, “Indigenous 2SLGBTQ+ people are more likely to experience violence than heterosexual Indigenous peoples. We’re talking about the marginalized of the marginalized. Twice as many are likely to experience assault, including physical and sexual assault, than non-Indigenous LGBTQ+” (Wright 2022, October 20). Many queer Inuit move away from their home communities and seek out more welcoming spaces, sometimes in bigger northern cities, but also often in larger southern urban centres like Toronto (Walley 2018).
- 3. Overcoming challenges imposed by the North-South divide.** Inuit life has unique attributes, including distinct language, culture and traditions that could impose challenges for the Inuit in the South, such as linguistic barriers and cross-cultural misperceptions (Moore, Tulk & Mitchell, 2005). Particularly, incarceration requires Inuit offenders to leave their communities to travel “down south” to face justice (Shalaby 2015). For many Inuit offenders traveling “down south” to serve their sentence invokes intense feelings of fear and frustration and puts a great distance between them and their community and culture (Shalaby 2015).
- 4. Racial prejudice in the South.** Because of anti-Indigenous racism, apartment hunting in the tight rental market in urban areas like Toronto is ‘demoralizing and dehumanizing’. For example, as an Indigenous person in Ontario said in an interview for CBC, some landlords would want assurance that the couple would not be drinking on the property upon discovering their Indigenous identity. They also said no smoking was allowed when the couple explained they would smudge and drum for the ceremony (Johnson 2019, February 24).
- 5. Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls.** Indigenous women are most likely to go missing in urban areas and “are almost three times more likely to be killed by a stranger than non-Aboriginal women are” (NWAC n.d.a, p. 5 as cited in Hansen & Dim 2019). Also, human trafficking poses a significant threat to Inuit women, gender-diverse Inuit, and all other Indigenous females in Canada. Among many other factors that contribute to their vulnerability to being trafficked, colonialism is key (Bourgeois 2015).



6. The need for culturally appropriate housing in the South. Inuit women and gender-diverse Inuit need more culturally appropriate accommodation (Perreault 2020). Culturally relevant housing models should accommodate large common spaces, windows that allow more daylight, larger sinks etc. (Semple 2020) Southern Canadian housing model is based on the concept of a nuclear family (two parents, two kids), which is culturally inappropriate for Inuit (Knotsch & Kinnon 2011). Shared spaces are too small for hunting preparation or collaborative domestic activities (Knotsch & Kinnon 2011). The physical configuration of housing should facilitate Inuit ways of living and contribute to a sense of home (Baron, Fletcher, and Riva 2020). While these considerations are important, it should be noted that the Inuit lifestyle in the south does not typically include traditional activities such as hunting and fishing. Nonetheless, it is still crucial to the type of housing that could best fit the needs of Inuit in the south, to foster community amongst Inuit of all ages and stages of life.

7. Other challenges. Any additional insights that might emerge through the consultations that are relevant to the research question.

These areas of focus were compiled into five distinct themes and several subthemes. These include:

|  Resources and Programming |  Discrimination and Violence |  North-South Divide |  Inuit-Specific GBA+ Considerations |  Opportunities for Further Research |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Government financial assistance • Relationships with service providers • Culturally appropriate services and housing • Gender-specific services and housing | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Anti-Inuit racism • Prejudice from landlords • Human trafficking • Violence while using services • Discrimination based on gender and sexuality | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Language barriers • Cross-cultural misconceptions • Necessary travel for healthcare, education, incarceration, etc. • Other challenges | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gender • Race • Sexual orientation • Colonization • Land claim beneficiary status • Culture • Language • IQ Principles | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Existing knowledge gaps • Other challenges that may arise |

Methodology

The qualitative method of semi-structured interviews was used to speak with Inuit women who have experiences with homelessness, housing insecurity, and navigating the housing system in southern urban centres. Qualitative methods are essential to hold space to develop narrative-based understandings of participants, as stories and knowledge are inseparable (Kovach 2021, Creswell 1994). This includes Tunnganarniq (fostering good spirits by being open, welcoming, and inclusive) and Piliriqatigiinniq/Ikajuqtigiinniq (working together for a common cause).

This method was selected to gain a deeper understanding of how participants experience homelessness, and housing insecurity, and navigating the existing housing system. The aim was to discover the experiential knowledge of participants and capture insights into the varying dimensions and pillars of Inuit women as they navigate housing insecurity.

All research was conducted in a way that incorporates the Ownership, Control, Access, and Possession (OCAP)[®]. This included:

- Informing the participants about where and how their data would be used.
- Allowing participants' participation to be known if they would like to ensure their credit and contribution to the work.
- Sharing that data will only be used for this project and not for any other project without their consent.
- Informing participants that they can withdraw their participation and information at any time.

We recognize that OCAP[®] is a First Nations-based approach to data management and data sovereignty. As there are no existing Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK) guides or regulations related to data management, and because the researchers are trained in the OCAP[®] principles, they informed this work. Participants were made aware during the registration process that they have access and control over the information that they share.

Interview Process

The primary objective of the participant engagement was to ensure the inclusive and holistic involvement of Inuit participants, guided by the principles of Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit. As such, the researchers' interactions with participants were crucial, especially given the sensitive subject matter of the interviews both for the participants and the Inuit women researchers who led the interview facilitation process. Establishing rapport with participants throughout the research process and creating a safe space for them were central to this work. Before the interview, participants were informed of the purpose of the research, and their right to discontinue their participation at any time. Participants were informed that they would receive an email explaining the availability of aftercare resources. If required, follow-up care, such as a debrief with an Elder would be available.

During the interview process, Inuuqatigiitsiarniq was a central tenant. Care for the respondents was of the highest concern because participants were speaking about some of the most challenging experiences they had or were currently experiencing. Leading the interviews with the utmost diligence, care, and compassion, facilitators were attentive to participants throughout the interview process, and every effort was made not to trigger participants or to delve further into uncomfortable experiences.

Data Analysis

Pauktuutit's Inuit-Specific Gender-Based Analysis Plus (GBA+) framework was used to assess the systemic inequalities that a participant may be experiencing. Inuuqatigiitsiarniq was central to data analysis in that it guided the process to be rooted in respect and caring for the participants who shared their experiences with us.

All interview data was collected in the qualitative approach of the Conversational Method. During the interview process, in the spirit of Inuuqatigiitsiarniq, note-takers read back the notes they had taken at the end of the interview, encouraging participants to correct anything they felt did not accurately reflect what they had shared and to invite them to elaborate on anything they wished to detail further.

Following the guidance of Free, Prior, and Informed Consent (FPIC), participants were asked if they consented to their interview being recorded both in the registration form and in the interview process, where they were also informed that they could revoke their consent at any time. Notes were taken during and after each session. Participants were told exactly how the data would be used and by whom, as well as where the data would be housed and for how long.

The process of familiarization with the data was iterative, as the researchers met frequently as a team to debrief and discuss emerging themes. This facilitated the initial open coding phase, where the team went through the data collected to identify and distill themes that were emerging from the information shared by participants. From there, codes were generated, and a codebook was created, which then became the thematic areas covered in this report. This coding relied on the principle of Aajiiqatigiinniq, conversation-based consensus decision-making.

Contributions of Inuit Community Members

Inuit researchers and Inuit women made vital contributions to this research. They enriched the entire process with their unique perspectives and expertise. Inuit women researchers led the development of the research methodology and approach, forming the foundation of this work. Their deep understanding of their culture, environment, and societal dynamics provides valuable insights that shaped the narratives of this report. An Inuk Elder conducted most of the outreach for this work, using personal connections with Inuit community members to engage participants. The Elder was chosen to lead the outreach and interview process for this project due to her professional experience and cultural understanding. Her language skills in English and Inuktitut helped participants engage comfortably.

The Inuit women who took part in this research shared their stories and experiences and played a key role in connecting researchers to more participants. Both Inuit researchers and Inuit women who contributed to this report were committed to promoting understanding and improving the well-being of their communities. Their exceptional leadership, collaborative spirit, and commitment to creating positive change for the Inuit communities demonstrated inclusive research practices and empowered the community.

Limitations and Areas for Future Research

The findings of this study are limited to the information shared by the participating individuals. The results should be viewed as a partial representation of the full range of perspectives of Inuit women navigating the housing market and housing support services. Respondents were not obligated to answer any questions they declined and could leave the focus groups at any time. The findings within this study are limited to what participants were able and willing to share.

Several limitations to the data collected were identified. The findings of this report should be considered through the broader lens of these limitations. These limitations largely stem from the framing of the project in the request for proposals, which focused mainly on the experiences of Inuit women and gender-diverse Inuit navigating homelessness and housing support services. As such, the following topics were not prioritized in the research. These limitations include:

Limited understanding of Inuit that are born in the South

Most of the participants consulted for this study were Inuit women who were born and had lived for some time in Inuit Nunangat before moving south. As the Inuit population in southern Canada continues to grow, an area for research is the experiences of Inuit who were born in the South. Their experience navigating housing supports and services are distinct from those who moved South, and further research would ensure that their perspectives are reflected in data on Inuit women and homelessness and housing insecurity.

Limited perspectives that speak to the broader housing market and financial institutions

Most participants spoke from their experiences as individuals navigating housing service supports, including Inuit-specific, pan-Indigenous, women-specific, and non-Inuit support services. Given this, participants did not discuss topics that may be of interest to the project funder, CMHC, including interest rates, cost of living, and broader discussions of housing costs.

Lack of details about home ownership

The participants focused on navigating housing support services or their experiences as renters, and only one mentioned the aspiration of buying a home. This indicates a priority on addressing immediate housing needs. Further study is needed to ensure that the perspectives of current or prospective Inuit homeowners are better reflected.

Limited conversations with gender-diverse Inuit

While this project intended to connect with gender-diverse Inuit, all research participants identified as women. The experiences of gender-diverse Inuit are not reflected in this report. Additional research is required to determine how the experiences of gender-diverse Inuit differ from Inuit women.

This research indicates that our understanding of homelessness and housing insecurity is limited. There are various ways to define homelessness, but currently, there is no standard way to define experiences with housing affordability. This includes situations for renters and homeowners, housing quality, living costs compared to income, and basic housing needs.

To help Inuit women meet their housing needs, future research will be required to develop a more comprehensive approach to addressing housing insecurity, housing support services, and homelessness.



Participants

Recruitment

Researchers intended to reach a maximum of 25 participants, representing diverse Inuit women from these seven Canadian urban centres:

- Ottawa
- Montréal
- Winnipeg
- Toronto
- Edmonton
- Yellowknife
- St. John's

Outreach Process

Inuit and Indigenous women researchers led the project's participant recruitment process using purposive and snowball sampling. They identified community members in target cities with experience in homelessness and housing insecurity. Initial participants then referred other potential participants to the registration page.

The research team connected with community organizations in each of the seven cities. Service providers were encouraged to register themselves and to inform Inuit women and gender-diverse Inuit of the opportunity to participate.

Additionally, all participants were offered an honorarium of \$175 in appreciation and respect for their time and sharing their experiences and knowledge. Participants were given the option to participate in Inuktitut or English.

Demographics

The interviews took place virtually during the winter and spring of 2024 with 25 participants from across Inuit Nunangat who were in the urban centres listed below.

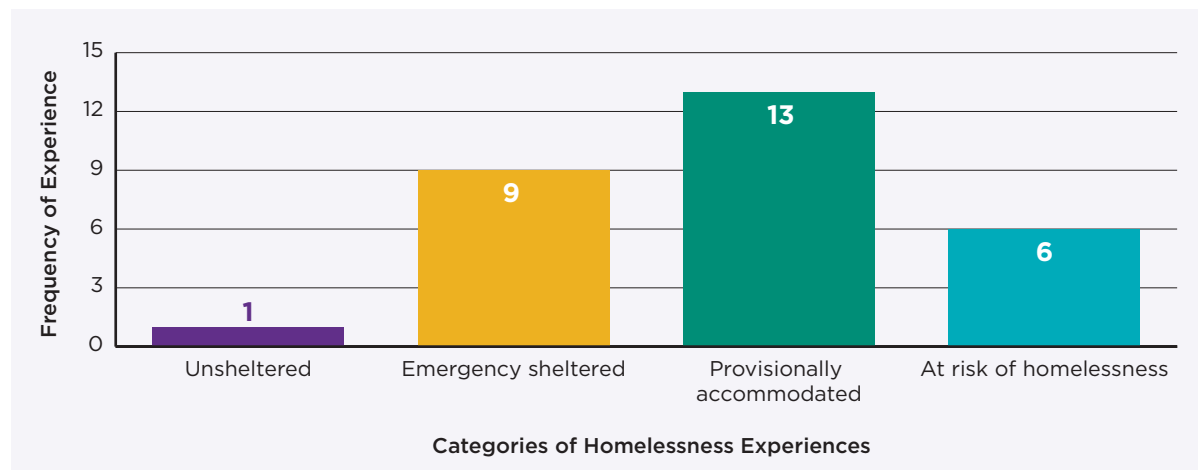
| Urban Centre(s) Participants Had Housing Experiences In: | Count |
|----------------------------------------------------------|-------|
| Montréal, QC | 6 |
| Ottawa, ON | 8 |
| Edmonton, AB | 3 |
| St. John's, NL | 2 |
| Winnipeg, MB | 4 |
| Yellowknife, YT | 3 |
| Toronto, ON | 2 |
| Vancouver, BC | 2 |
| Halifax, NS | 1 |

- Twenty-two participants identified as Inuit and three did not. The three who did not identify as Inuit were service providers in the housing sector.
- The list included:
 - Seventeen Inuk women with solely firsthand experiences of housing insecurity or homelessness in urban areas.
 - Four with firsthand experiences of housing insecurity or homelessness in urban areas and experience as service providers in the housing sector.
 - Four service providers in the housing sector, including one Inuk woman, and three non-Inuit.
- Three Inuit women participants identified as members of the queer or 2SLGBTQQIA+ community. Of those who indicated they identified as part of the queer or 2SLGBTQQIA+ community, no one indicated they are gender diverse.

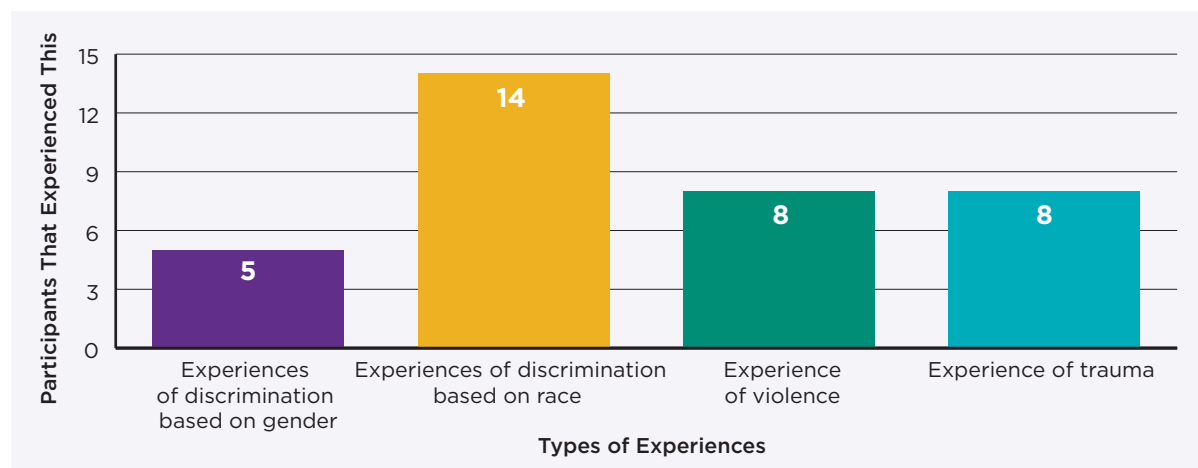
Summative Analysis of Participant Experiences

Homelessness and Housing Insecurity

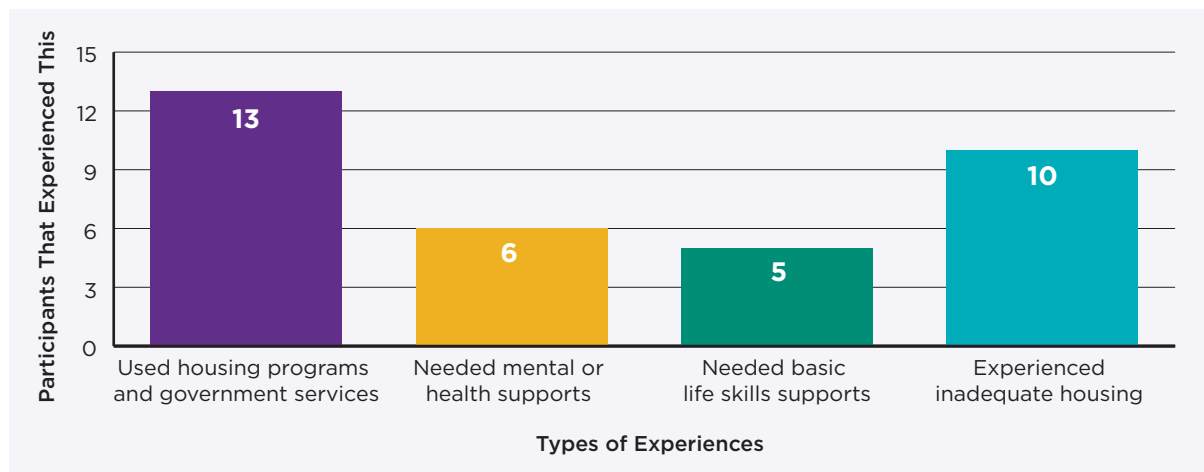
Out of the 25 interviews conducted, 21 participants were Inuit women who had firsthand experience with homelessness and housing insecurity. Most of the interview participants could be classified as provisionally accommodated. The chart below displays the frequency of homelessness experiences, as defined by the Canadian Observatory on Homelessness in the definitions section. Several participants shared multiple experiences of homelessness. For instance, an Inuit woman in her lifetime could have been unsheltered at various times and later used emergency shelters. In the tally below, researchers counted both experiences. Four participants, who were service providers in the housing sector, didn't have firsthand experience with homelessness and housing insecurity. One was an Inuk woman, and three were non-Inuit.



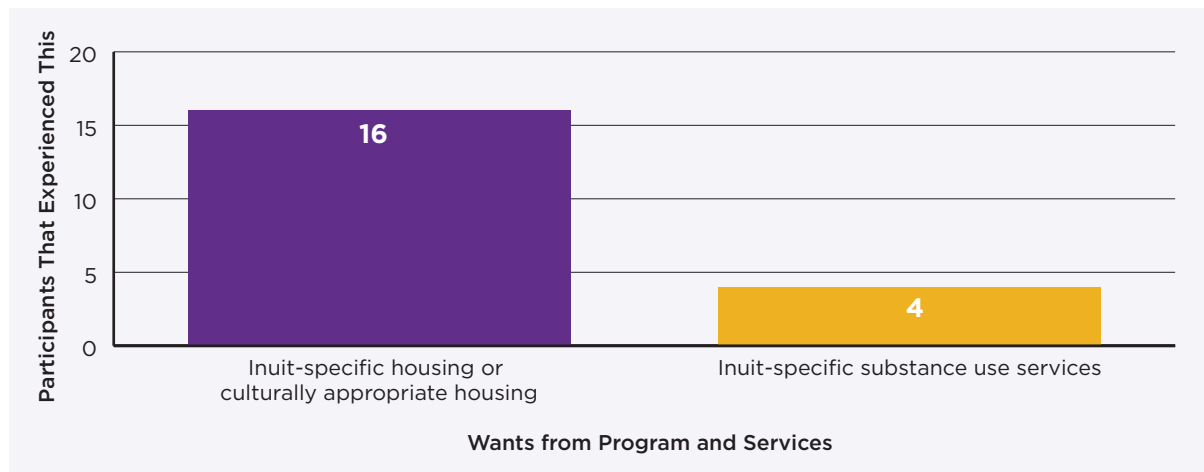
Experiences of Discrimination



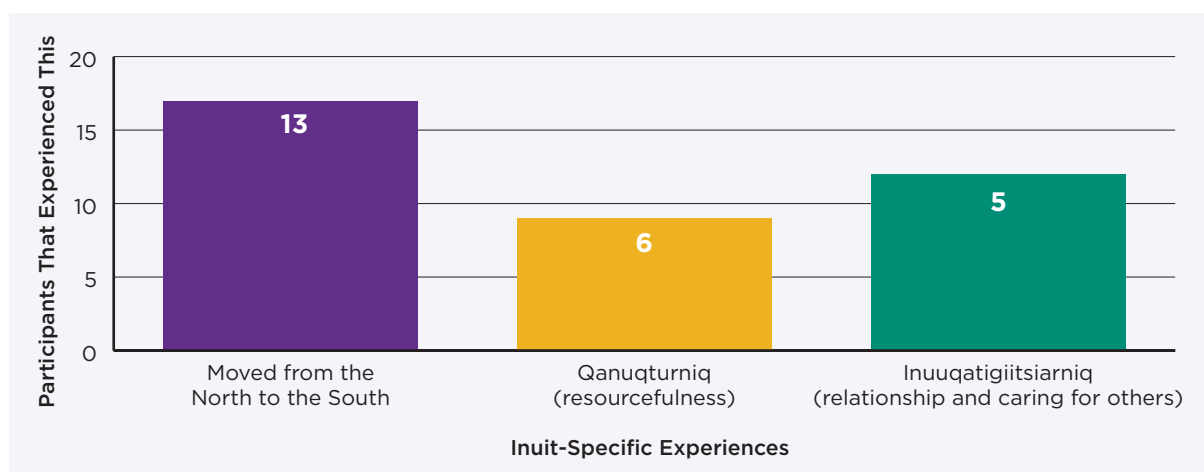
Experience with Programs and Services



Wants from Programs and Services



Inuit-Specific Experiences



Key Findings



Resources and Programming

The participants shared their experiences in accessing support, resources, and programming. When some participants first moved to an urban centre, they had no support. They mentioned that they lacked knowledge about available services, especially Inuit-specific services. Finding shelters and navigating a new city were difficult for them. Despite these challenges, the participants showed resourcefulness in searching for the support they needed. These experiences are detailed throughout this section.

Inuit-Specific Housing Services

Participants shared both positive and negative experiences related to Inuit-specific housing services. The need to expand services for Inuit women and their families was a key concern, as participants noted a general lack of Inuit-specific services. A participant identified Ontario as a region that needed to enhance Inuit-specific support services, as the Inuit population is growing rapidly. Another noted that there are currently only 1,000 housing units in Ottawa designated for Inuit, a number they felt should increase to at least 5,000. These concerns were also raised by participants in Montréal, who explained that there are currently no Inuit-specific housing services in the city. Participants further noted that there were often long waitlists to access Inuit housing services. These concerns were validated by the service providers who were interviewed. They explained that a lack of housing led to long waitlists, severely limiting their abilities to help clients.

It was also noted how a lack of continuous housing and having to move frequently contributed to an overall sense of instability. It also led to instances of overcrowding and having to navigate difficult family dynamics. Some participants also had concerns about

the safety of housing provided by Inuit-specific housing services, noting that they had experienced instances of intoxicated people being disruptive and banging on their doors at odd hours. Although they were living in Inuit-specific housing, these conditions contributed to their being and feeling unsafe.

A participant who came to Ottawa to seek medical care for a family member spoke highly of the support they received from staff at Larga Baffin, a medical boarding home for Inuit from the Qikiqtani Region of Nunavut who must travel to Ottawa for medical care. A participant also expressed some frustration with an Inuit-specific housing organization in Ottawa, noting that they did not always follow up on requests for support. Language barriers were identified as a barrier even within Inuit organizations, with one participant explaining that a family member could not apply for affordable housing because they were not able to fill out the form in English. Some participants spoke of the difficulties they faced furnishing their apartments after they found a place to live. One participant expressed a desire to see

more furnished apartments, as well as financial support for moving or purchasing items in unfurnished apartments.

One participant explained that they did not seek support from Inuit-specific housing services. They felt that they were “better off” than other Inuit because they had a slightly higher income and, therefore, did not want to take the limited services away from those who may be in greater need: “I try to think about others, and I don’t want to take away from Inuit in worse situations”.

Participants clearly stated that support for Inuit living in the South is a bigger challenge than providing housing. Participants wished to see more Inuit-specific housing for young Inuit so that they could explore their autonomy in a supportive environment. They also spoke of their desire to see Inuit housing designed in a way that can foster a sense of community, especially for young families. Culturally based and integrative architecture should be incorporated into the housing supports so that

they are reflective of Inuit in different stages of life. Similarly, participants expressed a desire to see more support in seeking employment, including job training. They also wanted to see enhanced services related to learning budgeting skills.

Participants also expressed the need for expanded support services for Inuit seeking housing. Specifically, there were calls for Inuit-specific services and programming, such as a liaison role to assist and provide culturally grounded and circumstantially tailored support for a variety of scenarios like single-family households, large families, those fleeing abuse, or requiring financial support, and medical-related assistance. Continued follow-up and follow-through with organizations that Inuit seek out for support would be ideal. Respondents also suggested that integrated youth and Elder programming in urban Inuit spaces be established to continue the connection and community-building aspects that are foundationally based in Inuit culture.

Administrative Barriers When Accessing Support

Administrative barriers proved to be one of the initial stumbling blocks for many participants when seeking shelter and housing. These included access to necessary documents and identification, a requirement to complete taxes before receiving shelter, and unclear or confusing application processes with little guidance from administrators.

Participants noted that the requirement to have personal identification was an obstacle. Some organizations were able to help with this. Another participant shared similar concerns about having the proper documentation to access housing and other services in Québec. They did not have the necessary documentation, including their social insurance

card, birth certificate, and tax forms, because they were fleeing violence in their home. The participant detailed,

“It was hard for me, doing everything by myself and juggling all the things I’ve been through. Especially because I was diagnosed with depression. Having depression really takes a toll on you. I wish somebody was there for me. I wish somebody was there to remind me what the next step is, you know?”

This caused difficulties when trying to access support services. Other participants noted that they needed an email and access to a computer to apply for affordable housing.

One participant explained that they were only able to obtain housing after receiving a large sum of back pay from the Child Tax Benefit. Another participant shared how they had attempted to apply for Second Stage Housing but could not because they had not filed their tax returns for previous years. This was echoed by another respondent who experienced barriers applying for affordable housing because they had not filed their taxes. They further asserted that they knew many other Inuit in this position because they were not aware they needed to file their taxes to access support services. These experiences point to the need to provide more assistance with taxes to Inuit women who receive support from housing organizations.

As many Inuit face discrimination in the private rental market, and others may be unaware of their tenant rights, participants were clear that Inuit need to be informed of their tenant rights. This is especially important so that they can recognize when there is any mistreatment or prejudice. A participant mentioned that Inuit must be informed of their tenant rights, as many Inuit may find themselves in precarious situations where they need to exercise terminate the lease due to unsafe living conditions. One participant mentioned that Tungasuvvingat Inuit (TI) in Ottawa was a helpful resource in their journey regarding tenant rights education.

Pan-Indigenous Support Services

A participant spoke of the personal and supportive relationship that they had formed with their housing worker at Minwaashin, explaining that they had been working together for many years:

“I still have the same housing help worker as from 19 years ago. She still helps me. I have a good housing help worker, the best in town”. Participants also explained that Minwaashin also helped by paying insurance, paying for moving expenses, help with resumes and work placements, and replacing personal belongings after a pest infestation. However, it should be noted that Minwaashin is a support centre for all Indigenous women and is not Inuit-specific.”

A participant explained that Indigenous-specific services were not adequate because the workers were not always well-versed in the unique experiences and traumas of Inuit. One participant shared: “Indigenous housing is not very understanding of our traumas – we need Inuit workers who are understanding of the intergenerational traumas of our people.”

This points to the need to expand Inuit-specific supports, and employ more Inuit workers at non-Inuit-specific organizations. Additional training and education for non-Inuit workers could also help to close the knowledge gap between these workers and Inuit service users.

Finally, a participant expressed their appreciation for an Ottawa-based Indigenous Women’s Support Centre, which, along with Victims’ Services, fast-tracked their housing transfer application after a domestic violence incident.

Food Support

One participant shared that Minwaashin, an Indigenous Women's Support Centre in Ottawa, started providing bi-weekly grocery delivery at the start of the COVID-19 pandemic and has continued doing so since. This participant spoke very highly of this support, even noting that they had formed relationships with the Centre's delivery drivers. Another participant spoke of a similar food basket program through the Southern Quebec Inuit Association, which

they found helpful. A participant who spoke as an Inuit woman with experience within an Inuit organization stated that:

"With community members the need is food. I think anybody struggling with houselessness or homelessness could definitely appreciate being fed, and seeing how food prices nowadays are getting pretty high. It's either, 'Am I gonna pay a bill or am I gonna buy food?'"

This further highlights the connection between housing insecurity and food insecurity, and the need to address both holistically.

Support for Elders

One participant explained that Elders should get priority treatment to secure housing. This participant had Elder family members who had been on the housing waiting list for five years, during which they were struggling to pay rent with their old age pension:

"I got them to apply to an Inuit non-profit housing and First Nations, Inuit, and Métis (FNIM) non-profit housing and they have been waiting for 5 years now. The rent is not cheap, and they live off of old age pension."

This participant also shared that when they approached Inuit housing for help filling out the forms for Elders, no one offered to help them. Others mentioned that there should be more housing specifically for Elders.

One Inuk Elder shared her struggle, recounting how she had to resort to finding roommates for safety, following repeated break-ins by fellow residents in her building. She stated,

"I think having security guards available would have made a big difference. I've seen it where they have security guards living [on-site], while not working 24/7. But I don't know why they don't do that. [Then] you're not alone. I haven't called [the police] but I'm gonna have to call them. I just fear... because I'm a minority. It made me not want to call them because [the people breaking in] they're white."

Her reluctance to involve law enforcement because of concerns about racism underscores the need for Inuit Elders to have access to supportive housing environments that provide safe housing, and avenues for liaising with the systems they may need to navigate related to their housing.

Low-Income and Private Housing

While not specific to the Inuit community, some individuals found community housing and rental subsidies to be beneficial, particularly those offered through provincial disability income support programs. Others mentioned that income support programs such as Ontario Works assisted them in finding and affording housing. However, they expressed difficulty in managing their expenses on a limited budget, often having only \$300 a month to spend.

The prohibitive cost requirement to pay first and last months' rent in some provinces, being denied rentals because of low credit scores, substandard housing conditions, inability to pay high market rent due to difficulties finding adequate employment, and challenges navigating online applications were all reported as major barriers faced in the private housing market.

Culture and Community

Another participant explained that they lost a lot of their Inuit culture while they were homeless because they were in survival mode. During that time, they were unable to partake in many of their cultural activities, like sewing and cooking traditional foods. They would like to see shelters and other forms of supportive housing offer country food and cultural events to help Inuit remain connected to their culture and community. The importance of access to country food was also highlighted by other participants. One participant mentioned that this could take place through an Inuit-specific community centre. Similarly, a participant

expressed that having more cultural support for Inuit youth, specifically related to cultural revitalization, would help youth:

“They are already at a disadvantage due to how far their home community is, have specific teachings for Inuit youth in schools.”

Respondents also emphasized the importance of offering additional educational support for Inuit women who are transitioning to life in southern or urban regions. This includes providing guidance on utilizing public transportation systems and how to understand and navigate urban environments.

Women's Shelters

One participant mentioned that they stayed at a women's shelter when they first arrived in Ottawa. Another participant detailed her experience with women's shelters in Montréal:

“I was fleeing from violence. I ended up in a women's shelter after trying to find women's shelters, trying 25 locations, which I was turned away from all 24 except for the one.”

Further, there was a limit of three months at the shelter, meaning that they had to find alternate housing during that period, or they would be homeless. The staff at the shelter were able to assist them with making applications for apartments and applying for welfare, but this participant felt that this was not enough help. At the end of the three months, they had not found alternate housing, left the shelter, and were homeless again. Participants noted that

the support they received to access more permanent housing from shelter staff was some of the most critical support. Many learned about other services they would not have otherwise known about.

A participant explained that a women's shelter in Montréal helped them find housing when

they gained custody of their grandchildren. They also discussed the difficulties they encountered when trying to find housing after their child turned 18, as they had a criminal record and faced challenges in finding a place of their own.

Help From Family and Friends

Due to a lack of support, several participants were forced to live with friends or family members because they could not find housing. Despite the current lack of their housing, they considered themselves fortunate, as most Inuit in the city where they did not have family members to rely on for support. Other participants mentioned staying with family when they first came down South until they could find housing. Respondents noted that these situations led to overcrowding in homes. Escaping overcrowding was a motivating factor in leaving Inuit Nunangat for some. One participant explained that they had spent the last two years staying with friends and couch-surfing after losing their

apartment when they separated from their partner. An unexpected cost associated with not having an apartment was having to pay for a storage unit to keep their belongings.

Similarly, a participant mentioned the many restrictions that some public or housing support services when navigating the housing system and trying to support their family was challenging. This included rules concerning days and times that family members were allowed to visit, as well as restrictions on having family members move in with them. For this participant, this meant that two of their children remained homeless as they were unable to accommodate them in their housing.

Staff Turnover

The continuous turnover of staff was identified as a challenge with some support service providers. This situation posed challenges for users, particularly when they had not yet formed relationships with staff members who were not fully versed in their duties. A

participant explained that over their time in a group home, they had 26 different case workers. The experience of having to continuously relive their trauma "over and over" for their worker to understand was difficult.

Mental Health and Substance Use Programming

Participants widely spoke of the need for increased substance use counselling and support, as this was often identified as a challenge to finding and maintaining housing. As one participant explained:

"I was an addict at that time and had to get help through the shelter for everything. Before

I got my kids back, I was drinking heavily. If I had received help for my addictions, it would have been easier. I try not to think of it, but I remember it here and there, no choice."

Participants specifically mentioned substance use support, family or group therapy, and access to Elder support as important needs.

Although not directly within the scope of this project, participants were clear in their desire to see more support for Inuit men. Specifically, participants wanted more mental health and

substance use counselling and support. As they noted, “[Inuit men] should have the same choices as us women. They are humans like us”.



Discrimination and Violence

Experiences of Violence and Discrimination

Inuit women face many complex and intersecting factors that affect their experiences with homelessness. Discrimination against Inuit women is a major barrier to accessing housing in urban centres.

The voices of participants resonate with the harsh realities of discrimination. One participant explained:

“Racism happens every day here. Racism exists here every day. I get it every day.”

Such pervasive discrimination, as articulated by another participant, compounds the challenges faced by those who are new to urban environments, emphasizing the difficulty of navigating such spaces for the first time.

Domestic and family violence further exacerbates housing insecurity and homelessness among Inuit women. For some, these experiences act as a reason for relocation, a theme explored in subsequent discussions on push and pull factors.

Participants shared poignant narratives of losing their housing due to domestic violence, recounting experiences ranging from fleeing to southern urban centres to escape abuse to being forced to leave or relocate within cities due to violence within their homes.

For instance, one participant recounted an experience of enduring domestic conflict

and violence while residing in Inuit Housing Services, culminating in involvement with child support services and the removal of children into care. Seeking refuge with their family in a time of desperation, this participant reflected on the scarcity of positive housing experiences, emphasizing the multi-generational cycle of violence and abuse within their familial home, including physical abuse endured during pregnancy.

Key barriers identified by participants include the scarcity of safe housing options, exacerbating relational strains, and the lack of cultural family resources for those fleeing violence. Situations of domestic and family violence often result in homelessness.

Participants also highlighted the daunting wait times for subsidized housing, averaging five years, further compounding the challenges faced by vulnerable individuals. Single mothers fleeing violence are particularly overrepresented among those seeking support.

Furthermore, victims of domestic violence grapple with additional obstacles, such as navigating systems while dealing with trauma and physical injuries, including traumatic brain injuries (TBI). As poignantly expressed by one participant, “The idea of helplessness is indescribable when you don’t even know what place you’re in.”

Gender-Based Discrimination and Anti-Inuit Racism

Gender-based discrimination and anti-Inuit racism manifest in various forms within the housing rental market, with participants recounting instances of prejudice and injustice, particularly perpetrated by landlords. These discriminatory practices often intersect, amplifying the challenges faced by Indigenous renters, especially Inuit women.

A recurring theme among participants was encounters with landlords who not only made derogatory remarks but also monitored them unfairly and made unwelcome sexual comments. One participant recounted a distressing experience where the landlord subjected them to racist surveillance and offensive language, creating a hostile living environment. As one participant shared,

“The landlord I experienced was very racist [...], he would keep tabs on me for no apparent reason. [...]. He would make racial remarks and on top of that make sexual remarks.”

Negative stereotypes about Indigenous renters, particularly Indigenous women, were prevalent among landlords. These stereotypes led to unjustified suspicions about rent payments, frequent property inspections, and baseless eviction attempts. For instance, one participant described being prejudged as incapable of paying rent solely based on being a single Inuit woman with a child, illustrating the pervasive nature of these discriminatory attitudes:

“Sometimes I’ve faced discrimination when trying to access housing from a particular area. And oftentimes, they’ll look at me as a single woman... with a child and they’ll often say, no, she won’t be able to pay rent.”

Additionally, participants faced rental denials based explicitly on being Inuit and factors such as having face tattoos or being associated with First Nations or Black partners. These narratives shed light on the systemic discrimination faced by Indigenous renters, highlighting the urgent need for comprehensive measures to address gender-based discrimination and anti-Inuit racism within the housing sector.

Many Inuit women struggle to enter urban housing markets and find themselves at the intersection of the affordable housing crisis and anti-Inuit racism. Lack of available and affordable housing as well as experiences of discrimination, racism, gender-based inequity, and colonialism when relocating from Inuit Nunangat to urban centres are unique factors that increase the risk of Inuit women experiencing housing insecurity and homelessness (Pauktuutit 2022). One participant shared that she felt that because she was visibly Inuit in her Facebook profile photo, prospective landlords would not even respond to her inquiries.

Participants also shared their experiences of discrimination from landlords once they had secured housing. One participant shared that their landlord seemed to continuously find reasons to be knocking at her door, and she felt intimidated by this. She went on to say, “I felt like he was being racist, and I didn’t feel comfortable staying there anymore”. Another participant shared:

“Because the father of my child is First Nations and I’m Inuk, there was often a question like, ‘Oh, these people, they’re not going to pay for their rent’, or they would come [into] our unit more than the other units to inspect... just to make sure we’re not destroying the house...”

you can really tell the situation. They weren't saying it to our face, but it was already there."

Participants also shared that they were spoken to rudely and disrespectfully for their lack of knowledge about how to use appliances and features (e.g., how to use the heater); made assumptions that participants were uneducated; discriminated against Inuit renters, including that they have lots of funding, so they try to increase rent.

In one instance, a participant and their cousin were initially welcomed in their rental application process until the landlord's demeanour noticeably changed upon meeting them in person. Subsequently, they were informed that the property had been rented, only to discover it was back on the market shortly afterward:

"Me and my cousin were looking to rent a house together. The landlord had emailed us, we were emailing

back and forth. And we thought it was going great. Until we went to go [see the apartment]. The person who was showing us the place seemed surprised when we got out of my car. He was like, oh, okay, hi and tried to be overly nice. After we [saw the apartment], I emailed the landlord back and... [asked] if I would be fine to [rent the place]. He said, "Right after you viewed, somebody took the place." Me and my cousin wondered if somebody actually got the place [...] by the next month [the apartment] was back on the market and nobody had moved in. So that confirmed to me and my cousin that after the landlord seeing us that was, he didn't like who we were, and denied the rental."

This incident underscores the insidious nature of discrimination, revealing how landlords arbitrarily deny rentals based on their biases.

Violence and Prejudice While Using Services

In Pauktuutit's 2022 report *National Urban Inuit Homelessness and Housing Needs*, the pervasive issues of discrimination and violence faced by Inuit women when accessing housing or housing support services were underscored. These challenges compound existing difficulties, making it even harder for individuals in need to secure safe and stable housing.

One participant, who had firsthand experience of homelessness and worked within an Inuit housing organization, recounted experiences of racism and discrimination from security guards at her workplace. She described instances where security openly discussed confidential information and engaged in derogatory discussions about service users. Furthermore, she highlighted how administrative staff

also participated in gossiping about service users, fostering an environment of mistrust and discomfort.

Participants shared instances where their gender identity was disregarded when accessing services. For example, one participant recounted being placed in an all-male housing unit despite being a young single woman fleeing domestic violence.

A non-Inuk participant who worked at a housing organization providing services to individuals experiencing homelessness and housing insecurity spoke about the challenges she faced in building trust with Inuit women. She expressed empathy, acknowledging the reasons behind their mistrust, particularly citing

negative experiences with white men. She emphasized her approach of providing peer support rather than a clinical one, recognizing the importance of establishing a supportive and understanding relationship with those seeking assistance.

These experiences not only hinder Inuit women from accessing crucial services but also contribute to their sense of vulnerability and isolation. Despite navigating extreme difficulties, they encounter prejudice and mistreatment from organizations meant to provide support.

Discrimination from social workers, including those affiliated with children's aid agencies, further exacerbates the challenges faced by Inuit women. One participant shared their struggle with healthcare involvement during pregnancy due to difficulties securing housing, leading to wrongful accusations of homelessness and continued discrimination, eventually involving children's aid agencies.

Inuit women also face racism from government staff, who often lack understanding about the distinctions between First Nations, Inuit, and Métis identities. This lack of knowledge results in misidentification and further marginalization of Inuit women, compounding their experiences of discrimination and erasure.

The narratives shared by participants underscore the urgent need for comprehensive measures to address the systemic issues of discrimination and violence faced by Inuit women in urban housing contexts. Fast-tracking housing for those fleeing domestic violence, providing emergency support services, and increasing the availability of gender-based housing supports are essential steps toward mitigating housing insecurity and homelessness within this community. Furthermore, fostering culturally sensitive approaches within housing organizations and government agencies is imperative to ensure equitable access to housing and support services for Inuit women.



North-South Migratory Patterns, Divides, and Challenges

Push and Pull Factors

In sharing their experiences moving to southern urban centres, the participants noted a number of factors for why they left the north, including challenges with life in the North (push factors) and opportunities in southern urban centres (pull factors).

Participants frequently spoke of the difficult living conditions in the North as a reason to leave the region. This included lack of housing, overcrowding in housing, and lack of affordable housing. Others noted the high cost of living in the North, including costs associated with travel to and from northern communities. Participants also noted that they found life in the North isolating and noticed increasing colonization in the region. Others left because they had limited employment opportunities in their northern communities.

Another major factor that many of the Inuit women participants explained led to them leaving the North is the limited healthcare resources. Specifically, participants had to leave because of the lack of accessible mental health services and specialized medical services.

While the factors outlined above are well-known in extant literature as key causes for Inuit to migrate to southern urban centres, a large proportion of participants also spoke of personal, family, and community factors as the primary reason they left their northern communities. Some participants shared that when they initially moved south, this was to flee from domestic violence and unsafe living situations. Others shared that they had gone through a series of difficult life experiences that forced them to uproot themselves. Participants frequently cited trauma as a key factor compelling their migration south.

Trauma and violence were also reasons that Inuit women moved between different southern urban centres. These perspectives are important contributions to understanding why Inuit move to southern urban centres.

Further, it is worth noting that for those participants who left Inuit Nunangat because of such extreme circumstances and trauma, they often did so with little to no preparation or support in place, leaving them particularly vulnerable and in challenging situations while securing housing in southern urban centres. One participant who left her home community when faced with overwhelming personal challenges, grief, and trauma explained, “I did not prepare to leave. It was more spontaneous. I just literally ran away”.

In addition to factors that pushed them to leave, participants also identified several reasons why they chose to move to southern urban centres (pull factors). Numerous participants shared that they moved south to access more educational opportunities, either with their families (when they were young) or for their children. In addition to providing more educational opportunities for children, participants also shared that they thought they could better provide for their children in the south where they anticipated a lower cost of living. One participant initially moved to seek specialized medical care for their child. Another participant sought “change and adventure” in the South, where she perceived there were more opportunities. Others moved to seek employment opportunities, including receiving a job offer or transferring to a southern urban centre.

For the participants, employment was a major determining factor in accessing housing. Participants who had employment already secured when they arrived saw this as key to

their ability to access housing. This was either because staff housing was provided by their employers, or they had adequate income to afford private rentals.

Culture Shock

Some participants discussed experiencing culture shock when they first moved to a southern urban centre. One participant who migrated with her anaana (mother) as a youth shared that she experienced culture shock, but she had been prepared for this by her mother and was ready for the shift. Another participant noted there was a significant difference in

experiences of culture shock and needs for those who are familiar with southern urban centres and those who are not. Namely, for participants who had previously travelled to the southern cities they ended up moving to, the transition was easier because they knew better what to expect.

Navigating Resources in Southern Urban Centres

Beyond culture shock, participants across all interviews shared the difficulties Inuit women face in trying to find resources to help them secure housing and cope with homelessness. The difficulty in accessing resources and the need for support was elevated for Inuit women who had newly migrated to southern urban centres.

First, this is because Inuit women may be unprepared for life in their new cities. As one respondent explained, she often notices that Inuit who move to Edmonton do not have necessities like food, furniture, and other housing supplies. These needs are exacerbated for those who do not have employment or adequate finances to purchase these items.

Second, participants shared that they faced significant challenges in navigating and accessing resources because they were unfamiliar with their new cities. This includes not knowing how to use transit systems, lacking knowledge about different neighbourhoods, not knowing what programs and services are available for support, and not knowing where to find shelters. One participant shared, “The biggest challenge to moving to Montreal was

not knowing where things are.” This means that newcomers potentially need more support and help navigating the resources available to them, and, more generally, how to get around in their new cities.

By comparison, when participants were familiar with the city they moved to—for example, if they had travelled there previously—they experienced less difficulty meeting their housing needs. One participant shared that she had previously travelled to Edmonton before deciding to move there, so she was able to use public transit to move around the city and find an adequate apartment in a neighbourhood she liked.

In addition to a lack of knowledge about available resources, for newly arrived Inuit the challenge of finding support may be compounded by several factors. One participant said that it can be harder to find resources while also experiencing culture shock and isolation, which are common experiences for Inuit when they first move to a southern urban centre. Others shared how disabilities, neurodivergence, mental health and substance use challenges, and experiences of trauma can

make it harder for Inuit women to navigate systems to access support. Considering participants indicated access to health services and trauma as common factors for why they moved to southern urban centres, this means newcomers may also experience these additional challenges. One participant shared that she moved to a southern urban centre that was entirely unfamiliar to her because she was fleeing from violence; while dealing with a traumatic brain injury from this experience, she was turned away from 24 shelters before one was able to offer her a place to stay.

One participant was familiar with efforts to increase awareness of housing and other support services to newly arrived Inuit in southern urban centres. This participant shared that she had previously been on the Board of an Inuit organization in a southern urban centre that used to place English pamphlets at the airport to direct Inuit arriving in the city to services and programs that could help

them. Unfortunately, this group no longer has resources available to help in this way. This indicates a need for Inuit organizations, when they do exist, to have access to resources to help Inuit with emergency needs. Instead of having formal support available to help meet these needs, this participant shared that she sees Inuit using online groups to ask for help and resources, such as Facebook groups.

According to some respondents, relationships were key to them finding support when they arrived in southern urban centres. Some shared that shelters were able to offer them a sense of direction, connecting them with housing programs. Others found relationships with employers and Inuit organizations, such as Tungasuvvingat Inuit, helped them gain knowledge about available housing supports. This participant recommended organizations develop liaison roles within housing support and services organizations that can connect with Inuit moving south.





Inuit-Specific GBA+ Considerations

While Inuit-specific GBA+ considerations are interwoven throughout the findings in this report, this section synthesizes some of the challenges and experiences that are unique to Inuit women. It considers how different and intersecting factors affect these experiences related to housing and homelessness including gender, race, sexual orientation, colonization, land claim beneficiary status, language, and culture. While some of these factors have been included in previous sections of the findings, bringing them together here serves to build an understanding of how and why Inuit women may need to be taken care of in specific ways when it comes to housing.

While all participants discussed the importance of understanding the unique experiences of Inuit women in southern urban centres to adequately address their housing needs, participants did not feel this had been part of their experience when accessing housing services. Their unique needs were not understood. For instance, while some participants had accessed Indigenous-specific services, they noted a lack of understanding of the distinctions between Inuit, First Nations, and Métis, which meant their unique needs as Inuit were not met.

Gender

Gender is a key factor shaping Inuit experiences with housing and homelessness. The Inuit women we spoke to shared how their gender affects issues of safety related to housing. Some lost their housing while fleeing domestic violence. Inuit women who are homeless are at increased risk of violence. Inuit women participants shared their experiences of being sexualized by landlords or feeling otherwise unsafe in their housing situations. One participant shared that after fleeing domestic violence, she was given emergency housing, but was placed in a men's housing facility where she feared for her safety and was afraid to leave her apartment.

Many of the Inuit women participants are also mothers, meaning they carried additional responsibilities and challenges in caring for their

children while navigating housing insecurity. Looking out for the welfare and future of their children was also identified as a reason for some Inuit women to move to southern urban centres in the first place.

We did not speak to any gender-diverse Inuit in the engagement process, so their unique experiences are not part of this research.

Race

Participants shared that they regularly face anti-Inuit racism and discrimination in navigating housing. Race-based discrimination often came from landlords who refused to rent to Inuit or made their living situations in rentals difficult. In this way, race is a significant barrier to Inuit women in accessing private rentals.

Discrimination based on race was also experienced by some participants when

accessing housing services, including shelters. For example, one participant shared witnessing discrimination from security guards and staff. Experiences like this highlight how the racial prejudices of those within the housing sector exacerbate the challenges Inuit face in accessing housing, as well as their feelings of insecurity.

Sexual Orientation

Participants did not speak directly about how their sexual orientations affected their experiences with housing and homelessness. In addition to experiences of sexual harassment

from landlords, as outlined above in the subsection on gender, some participants shared feeling more vulnerable as single women in terms of safety in housing.

Colonization

Colonization is a major factor underlying why Inuit women migrate to southern urban centres, including both the push and pull factors outlined in the North-South Migratory Patterns, Divides, and Challenges section of the findings. Colonization is at the root of Inuit women's experiences of race- and gender-

based discrimination. Colonization underlies the MMIWG crisis, which disproportionately affects Indigenous women and gender-diverse individuals, including Inuit. Colonization also contributes to cultural loss, which—as participants discussed—is exacerbated by housing insecurity.

Land Claim Beneficiary Status

Participants discussed the need for programs to reflect the diversity of Inuit women in terms of their land claim beneficiary status and the regions they are from within Inuit Nunangat.

For example, one participant noted that in Montreal there are programs available for Inuit from Nunavik but there are no Nunavut-specific organizations in the city.

Language

Many participants identified the need to provide housing services in Inuktitut languages, and especially Inuktitut, which is the language the majority of Inuktitut speakers use in all Inuit Nunangat regions except the Inuvialuit

Settlement Region. The 2021 Census recorded 40,320 Inuktitut speakers in Canada, including 39,620 Inuktitut speakers (98.3%). Inuit speak Inuktitut languages outside of Inuit Nunangat as well. The 2021 Census indicated that 8.7% of

Inuit over the age of 65 residing outside of Inuit Nunangat are Inuktitut speakers. When services are not offered in Inuktitut, this presents a major barrier to access and awareness. For instance, one participant shared that she had to fill out a housing application form for her aunt who did not speak or read English, she stated:

“There was nobody there that offered to help us fill out the

application form and they didn’t explain to us what the process is and how things work. You know, there should be somebody in one of these offices that is fluent in Inuktitut enough to do that in an empathetic way. They should [help the applicant to] keep up to date with what’s going on.”
(Participant Interview 3)

Culture

The intersection between culture and housing for Inuit women was a strong connection made throughout the interviews. Participants were clear that housing insecurity is a threat to Inuit cultural survival. As they expressed, there is a risk of cultural loss when Inuit are in survival mode and focused on meeting their basic housing needs rather than practicing their culture. There is a need for more Inuit cultural support, including Inuit-specific services and programs.

The connection between culture and housing may also be strengthened by facilitating the fostering of community for Inuit women in the south. Participants offered suggestions to create Inuit community centres, Inuit-specific cultural programming, and programs that bring together Inuit youth and Elders. One participant shared:

“I would really like to see Elders and youth programs running again, in tandem... when our Elders and our Youth connect, they have a bond and like, they both inspire each other.”

The need for cultural supports may be exacerbated for Inuit in southern urban centres who are more disconnected from their community and families in the North.

Participants also spoke of how Inuit in southern urban centres want to live near other Inuit and in community. This could mean living in Inuit-specific housing or in neighbourhoods where there are other Inuit. Participants spoke about how the experience of isolation that Inuit women feel when they are displaced from southern urban centres may increase the need to find community.

Inuit Quajimajatuqangit

Despite the challenges they face related to housing and homelessness, including the intersecting factors outlined above, Inuit women shared key frameworks for understanding and addressing their needs. In their responses, they embodied principles of Inuit Quajimajatuqangit

that should be embedded in housing and homelessness services to meet the distinct needs of this group.

Qanuqtuurniq: “Being resourceful and persistent to solve problems, recognizing that we must constantly explore many

different opportunities in order to find the best ways to move forward.” In the experiences participants shared with us, they demonstrated resourcefulness and persistence in finding ways to meet their housing needs, despite facing numerous obstacles and often having limited material resources. In this way, the Inuit women who contributed to this research offer a model for housing service providers, Inuit organizations, CMHC, and all levels of government to explore pathways to move forward to better meet their needs related to housing even when material resources are scarce.

Inuuqatigiitsiarniq: “Respecting others, relationships and caring for people.” The respondents demonstrated care and concern for other members of the Inuit community in southern urban centres. This was expressed in the call to prioritize ensuring the most vulnerable community members have access to adequate housing, such as Elders. Because resources are scarce, some participants shared that they do not access services they are eligible for because they know there are “Inuit that deserve it more than I do,” as one participant put it.

Many of the participants demonstrated care for others in sharing resources and knowledge about housing services. One participant who was only recently in a secure housing situation

shared that she drops off pamphlets about housing supports at different shelters so the women there can learn about programs that may help them. Other participants discussed ways to help Inuit be informed of housing services when they move south. Understanding how housing insecurity can contribute to cultural loss, one participant shared that she gives sewing and craft supplies to Inuit women experiencing homelessness in her city. Others spoke of wanting to shape their employment to help other Inuit women; for instance, seeking employment at organizations that had supported them in the past or gaining work skills that they could use to support Inuit navigating housing services (e.g., helping with taxes).

Participants’ experiences emphasize the centrality of relationships in improving access to housing, whether this was the role of friends and family in offering them a place to stay when they were experiencing homelessness, or building a long-term relationship with an individual case worker at a housing organization that helped them navigate housing supports. Relationships with Inuit women in particular—sisters, mothers, grandmothers, and friends—were held up by respondents as sources of strength and love. Participants also emphasized the importance of supporting housing models that can keep families together.

Holistic Approaches to Housing

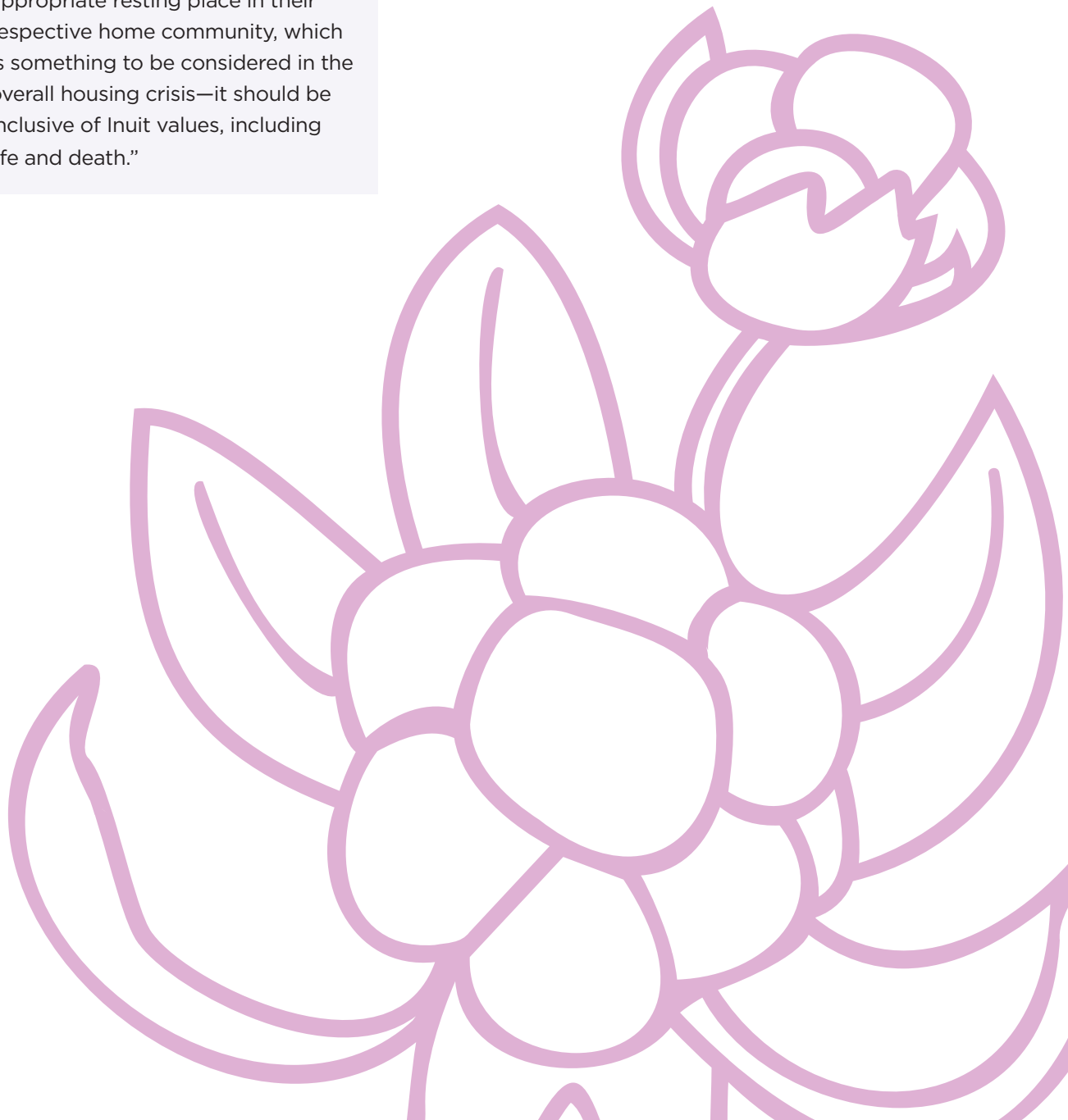
Participants emphasized the need for holistic approaches to meeting their housing needs. This includes considering that Inuit women are often navigating multiple intersecting issues that may be at crisis levels—such as housing insecurity, mental health challenges, substance use disorders, disability, inadequate employment, unsafe housing, trauma, and

domestic violence, among others. Integrating services that address the material, health, cultural, and relational needs of Inuit is required.

Holistic frameworks for understanding urban Inuit women’s housing needs may even extend to those who have died. One participant expressed a need for support for repatriating

Inuit remains to their home community. It is often difficult for the direct family of the deceased to do this due to their challenges in navigating grief and the financial costs. This participant explained:

“As Inuit we approach life from a holistic approach and death and aftercare are part of life, and it would make sense that loved ones and relatives are housed in an appropriate resting place in their respective home community, which is something to be considered in the overall housing crisis—it should be inclusive of Inuit values, including life and death.”





Service Provider Perspectives

Eight interview participants shared perspectives on urban Inuit women's experiences with housing and homelessness from their experiences as service providers in the housing sector. Three of these participants were non-Inuit and spoke solely as service providers. Five were Inuit women. Of these five Inuit participants, one spoke solely as a service provider, while four spoke as service providers and from their firsthand experience with housing insecurity and homelessness.

Findings from these interviews focused on sharing how the participants' organizations support Inuit women and gender-diverse Inuit, access to services, barriers related to providing housing support, and what resources are needed to better serve these communities.

Resources and Programming

The services provided by each participant's organizations varied. The participants currently and/or previously worked for organizations that provided the following services:

- Case management
- Shelter beds
- Transitional housing
- Specializing housing for elderly Inuit with dementia
- Housing for those travelling south for medical treatment
- Support for independent living
- Housing support
- Street outreach
- Daycare
- Family programming
- Help to access required identification
- Laundry services
- Clothing
- Medical and dental care
- Counselling
- Employment support
- Transportation to medical appointments
- Advocacy for the Inuit community (e.g., to prevent eviction from housing, to have Inuit identification recognized as a form of valid identification)
- Support for furnishing housing
- Moving support
- Elders programming
- Youth programs
- Financial literacy
- Support for substance use disorders
- Food hampers
- Foodbank, including providing country food
- Community gatherings, including drop-ins
- Inuktitut language programming
- Inuit-specific programming such as language, crafts, beadwork, throat singing, and country food
- Arts and cultural programming (not Inuit-specific)

One organization is also researching social services, homelessness, and urban experiences of Inuit.

Five organizations represented by the service providers interviewed for this project were Inuit-led. While the three other organizations served Inuit women and gender-diverse Inuit, they were neither Inuit nor Indigenous-led. Only the Inuit-led organizations have Inuit staff or leadership. These five Inuit organizations also provide services in Inuktitut or can provide translation support as needed, with staff who are fluent. All the organizations represented in the findings serve Inuit

women and gender-diverse Inuit, though not necessarily with women and gender-diverse specific programming.

Inuit-specific programming was predominantly offered by Inuit-led organizations. Inuit-specific programming included events, services, and programs related to language, crafts, art, and country food. When organizations that are not Inuit-led or Indigenous-led offer Inuit-specific programming, they do so in partnership with Inuit and Indigenous organizations, as discussed below.

Partnerships

The service providers interviewed discussed partnerships their organizations have that help them support service users. For participants representing non-Indigenous organizations, partnerships with Indigenous organizations were key to meeting the needs of Indigenous service users, including Inuit women and gender-diverse Inuit. Participants representing these organizations spoke about how having Indigenous leadership was key for running any Indigenous-specific—or potentially Inuit-specific—programming, services, and events. When they did not have Indigenous leadership internally at their organization, they worked with external Indigenous partners. For example, one participant's organization partners with local Inuit drumming groups and community members who do Qulliq practices. Another participant's organization partners with a regional Inuit corporation to provide fish and meat to service users and partners with a local Indigenous organization to provide translators to those accessing services that are not available in Inuktitut. One participant representing a non-Inuit organization shared that they provide Indigenous-led programming as requested by service users: for example, they currently have Indigenous programming led by an Inuk woman focused on crafts, and they are

working to provide Elder circles at the request of the community of Inuit women connected to the organization.

Non-Inuit organizations that do not currently provide Inuit-specific programming shared that they refer service users to other local Indigenous and Inuit organizations for culturally relevant support. Partnerships with Indigenous organizations were also cited to provide language support for Inuit who need or prefer to access services in Inuktitut.

Participants representing Inuit organizations were optimistic about the potential for partnerships. For example, one participant thought a partnership with the provincial Inuit organization in their region would help alleviate the pressure their organization currently faces in serving a large Inuit population.

Participants also shared how they collaborate with local organizations that provide services and support in the realm of housing and homelessness. One participant noted that these peer partnerships are a way to build internal organizational capacity as organizations can skill share and develop their programming. Partnerships were also seen by respondents to share resources among local non-profits.

Two participants' organizations work in coordinated access systems, which they noted has helped to build connections between different organizations. One participant noted that coordinated access systems have improved communication between different services and organizations and awareness about who to go to for certain services or

programs. Another participant shared that coordinated access allows for better sharing of services and resources.

Participants also shared difficulties with partnerships with other organizations. For example, one participant's organization has connected with another local organization that provides subsidized housing, but they have not been able to successfully place an Inuk service user in a unit.

Access to Services

Participants noted the following ways that service users access the services of their organizations.

- Coordinated access system and service coordinators
- Emergency shelter hotline
- Coordination and pre-planning with the provincial or territorial health authority for those needing housing support while travelling to a southern urban centre for medical care
- Outreach
 - Flyers
 - Social media, especially Facebook to promote programs and events and respond to messages

Additionally, participants whose organizations were in central, downtown locations noted that service users were likely to hear of them through word of mouth and visibility in the community. Organizations located outside of the downtown core make it harder for community members to access their services.

Two participants discussed how they are working to adapt intake forms to be more culturally relevant for Indigenous service users through the leadership and guidance of local Indigenous organizations.

One participant shared how providing a peer support model that facilitates personal, face-to-face relationships between service providers and service users is key to combatting prior experiences where housing and other social supports were heavily institutionalized.

Finally, participants shared that Inuit women themselves are key to facilitating access to housing in the community, including connecting others with available housing and housing services. As one participant shared: “[The Inuit community’s] connection with each other is the biggest support they have.”

Barriers to Accessing Services

Language Barriers

When services are not provided in Inuktitut, participants noted that there may be language barriers to accessing housing. For instance, one organization gets referrals through an emergency shelter hotline, but it is unclear if the phoneline provides services in Inuktitut.

Administrative Barriers

Participants also discussed administrative barriers to accessing housing services. Multiple service provider participants identified the intake process as a major barrier. As one respondent explained, this process requires that applicants provide “proof” of housing need—such as notice of eviction or 90-day bank statements—that those in crisis may not be able to access. The provincial housing intake system in this participant’s region also asks questions like, “Have you exhausted every housing option? Do you have income?”. This participant thought questions like this were inappropriate to ask, explaining that it is very difficult to choose to reach out for housing support and that questions like this may cause those in need to doubt their eligibility. Another participant noted that there are different intake questions and processes for each service, which can be difficult to manage. These requirements create challenges for both service users and providers.

In addition to the difficulties of completing the intake process, another participant shared that limited transparency with service users about intake waitlists means they do not know where in the queue they are to receive support.

As noted in the sub-section above on access, two participants discussed how the intake process needs to be updated to reflect Indigenous, including Inuit, perspectives and to be culturally appropriate. One explained that the current system their organization works with uses a scoring system to determine

where someone falls on the waitlist, which they described as a “colonial process that needs to be changed”.

Further, one participant spoke about how eligibility requirements may disqualify some from receiving support even though they may be in need. This presents barriers to accessing low-income housing for people who are making “too much money” according to the eligibility criteria but are still living pay cheque to pay cheque.

Respondents identified that the non-profit organizations they work for have limited internal resources, including staffing and funding, which can be barriers to meeting service users’ needs.

Lack of Adequate Housing

The lack of adequate housing was identified as a major barrier to Inuit women’s access to housing. This includes not enough beds at emergency shelters for those in need, a lack of enough affordable housing, a lack of housing for seniors, and a need for housing that meets the culturally specific needs of Inuit. This could include housing where extended family can be hosted, or other culturally relevant activities can take place.

Additionally, respondents noted that the housing available may not be adequate. Reports included homes that participants could attain were not safe to live in, because of pests, mold, inadequate housing features, and potential violence due to other tenants in the space.

Challenges Accessing Private Rentals

The service providers noted that Inuit women find it challenging to access private rentals. They explained that this is due in part to discrimination and stigma on the part of landlords who do not want to rent to those

receiving income support. This stigma is part of a broader system of discrimination that is embedded within rental application processes. Others noted that it can be difficult to build credit when paying rent through income support and other government programs, which can further affect landlords' willingness to rent. In general, credit was considered by

service provider participants as a major barrier for Inuit women accessing private rentals, as well as difficulties paying first and last month's rent when required. One participant shared that their organization is working to educate landlords about how low credit does not affect prospective tenants' ability to pay rent on time.

Gaps in Gender-Diversity Inclusion

None of the service provider participants' organizations provide specific support for gender-diverse Inuit, although gender-diverse individuals can access their general services.

One participant shared that their organization does not have a specific policy for gender-diverse individuals, but they do not allow any intolerance. Their organization follows three guiding principles that promote inclusion, namely "Respect self. Respect others. Respect the property".

Another respondent noted that their organization is adding gender inclusivity to their strategic plan and is hoping to work with a local organization that works with gender-diverse people.

One participant shared that their organization's leadership includes gender-diverse individuals, which guides gender inclusivity within the organization. For example, the organization takes part in advocacy efforts related to supporting gender-diverse Inuit.

Participants also shared efforts to make their buildings more gender-inclusive, by having gender-inclusive washrooms.

Community Relationships

Participants shared perspectives on difficulties in building relationships with those in need of housing support. Some noted that it was hard to connect to communities in need when they were not located downtown. One participant

from an organization that does not provide walk-in services shared that this makes it hard to help those in emergencies. One participant discussed how stigma may be a barrier to accessing housing services, with those in need not wanting others to know they have accessed such support. Another indicated that some people in need do not want to use the emergency shelter system because of negative past experiences.

Further, one participant also reflected that it is difficult to build relationships with Indigenous communities, including Inuit when organizational staff and leadership are not from these communities. They shared that it takes a long time to build relationships, and many Indigenous people in need have a reasonable distrust of non-Indigenous organizations because of past experiences. They additionally noted that it can be hard to retain Indigenous staff and leadership at non-Indigenous organizations because of barriers to inclusion within these organizations.

Resources Needed

In addition to the barriers outlined above, the service provider participants shared the following suggestions for what is needed to better support Inuit women's access to housing:

- Need for more Inuit staff at housing and social service organizations
- Need for more culturally appropriate activities

- More language support, including providing language learning programming and offering services in Inuktitut
- Providing country food at service organizations
- Need for peer support and community to combat the isolation Inuit women can experience in urban centres
- More funding to support services for Inuit
- More funding to support staff at housing and social service organizations to improve retention: e.g., increased salaries
- More centralized services that do not require transportation to access
- Providing transportation to access those services outside of the downtown core
- More affordable housing for all Inuit, including those not experiencing homelessness
- More support and secure housing for Elders: e.g., a retirement home or co-operative living centre for Inuit Elders
- More support to address housing insecurity: e.g., food donations, gift cards to grocery stores; bigger facilities to provide hot meals
- Need for holistic and wraparound support. Many who need housing support are “chronically homeless” and need mental health and substance use support, sometimes more urgently than housing.
- Need to prioritize Inuit. As one participant said, “[Inuit] are pushed aside when they’re houseless or homeless”.
- Need for Pauktuutit, CMHC, and other national bodies to speak directly with Inuit women and Inuit organizations, especially in regions in western Canada where Inuit communities do not have the same resources as in Inuit Nunangat or Eastern Canada (e.g., Ottawa and Montreal).
- Need for Inuit associations and organizations in western Canadian provinces
- Need for national Inuit organizations like Pauktuutit to host events in western Canadian provinces
- Need for local Inuit housing associations
- More support to address financial barriers to housing, including developing service users’ financial literacy

Recommendations

This section provides recommendations to address Inuit women's housing needs, organized thematically for clarity. However, to better address the needs of Inuit women, understanding the interconnectedness of all areas is imperative.

Recommendations are directed to the groups best positioned to address them, which include:

- Service providers
 - Inuit organizations
 - Pan-Indigenous organizations
 - Non-Indigenous organizations
 - Women-specific organizations
 - Senior support organizations;
- The private housing industry;
- The federal government;
- Other levels of governments;
- CMHC; and
- Pauktuutit.

Support Needs

These recommendations centre around the acute support needs expressed by participants when accessing housing support. Inuit women facing homelessness require culturally sensitive support, including safe housing, trauma-informed care, specialized programs, and connections to Indigenous-led resources.

| # | Recommendation | Audience |
|----|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | Offer Inuit women assistance in tax filing so that they have access to payments like the Child Tax Benefit and so that they can apply for housing programs where proof of income is required. | Service Providers |
| 2 | Assist Inuit women in obtaining the necessary documentation to apply for housing support, including the application form, birth certificates, and Social Insurance Numbers. | Service Providers, Federal Government |
| 3 | Ensure that unilingual Inuit are supported in filling out housing applications and other forms in Inuktitut. This could include a translator and providing application forms in Inuktitut. | Service Providers |
| 4 | Arrange to move belongings or provide funds to have belongings moved when moving between housing arrangements. | Service Providers |
| 5 | Provide weekly or bi-weekly grocery delivery for users who may struggle with food access due to financial mobility constraints. | Service Providers |
| 6 | Expand mental health counselling available to service users and remove barriers to access. Ensure that this care is culturally relevant. Focus specifically on expanding services related to: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Family and group counselling • Drug and alcohol treatment • Youth • Elders • Men | Service Providers |
| 7 | Develop liaisons with housing support and services organizations that can connect with Inuit moving South before their arrival. | Service Providers |
| 8 | Develop and implement gender-sensitive housing policies and programs designed to address the unique needs and challenges faced by Inuit women, including trauma-informed care, access to culturally relevant services, and specialized support for survivors of violence. | Service Providers |
| 9 | Work to build relationships between Inuit and non-Inuit specific service providers to share resources, build understanding and knowledge amongst non-Inuit service providers, and better meet the needs of Inuit women. | Inuit Organizations and Non-Inuit Organizations |
| 10 | Adapt intake forms to be more culturally relevant for Indigenous service users, and Inuit service users specifically. | Service Providers |
| 11 | Provide more transparency about waitlists for Inuit service users. | Service Providers |

| # | Recommendation | Audience |
|----|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|
| 12 | Provide peer support programs to combat the isolation Inuit women can experience in urban centres. | Service Providers |
| 13 | Increase funding to: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improve and expand support services tailored to the needs of Inuit women and gender-diverse Inuit • Support staff at housing and social service organizations to improve retention | Federal and Provincial Governments |
| 14 | Centralize services so that users do not require transportation to access those services or offer transportation to the site. | Service Providers |
| 15 | Consult with Inuit organizations and communities across Canada—including regions where Inuit are underserved (e.g., Western Canada)—when developing national strategies related to Inuit housing needs. | Federal and Provincial Governments, Pauktuutit, CMHC |

Training and Education

These recommendations stem from participants' interactions with service providers who needed additional education on the needs and experiences of Inuit women to deliver culturally sensitive care effectively. Additional recommendations in this section originate from participants' desires for access to education and training opportunities that would enable them to navigate new urban settings more effectively and enhance their access to employment opportunities.

| # | Recommendation | Audience |
|----|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 16 | Hire more staff at Inuit housing organizations that are fluent in Inuktitut. | Service Providers |
| 17 | Ensure that Inuit service users at non-Inuit housing organizations have access to a translator as needed. | Service Providers |
| 18 | Improve training for non-Inuit workers at both Inuit-specific and non-Inuit-specific housing organizations so that they are more aware of the issues facing Inuit clients, especially Inuit women. | Service Providers |
| 19 | Provide education to Inuit women about their rights as tenants and ways to address issues with their housing or landlords. | Service Providers, CMHC |
| 20 | Provide education on living in urban centres for those who have recently relocated to the South. For instance, guidance on how to navigate a public transportation system. | Service Providers |
| 21 | Provide job training and placements, assistance with resumes, and job searching for Inuit women seeking employment. | Service Providers |
| 22 | Provide financial literacy training to Inuit women related to housing (e.g., credit, budgeting, mortgage qualifications). | Service Providers, CMHC |
| 23 | Address racism and discrimination in the private housing market and among landlords by providing education that combats stereotypes. | Private Housing Market |

| # | Recommendation | Audience |
|----|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|
| 24 | Create an avenue for Inuit renters to report instances of racism and discrimination by landlords. | Private Housing Market |

Housing Requirements

These recommendations are based on the specific needs of participants to create housing environments that are supportive, accessible, culturally relevant, and adaptable to changing needs. They primarily emphasize the necessity of aligning housing support services with the distinct needs of Inuit service users.

| # | Recommendation | Audience |
|----|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 25 | Offer furnished apartments for those who do not have furniture or other essential items, whether due to fleeing a dangerous situation or facing financial hardship. | Service Providers, Municipal Public Housing Services |
| 26 | Offer a fast track to housing for those in the following situations: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Those fleeing domestic violence • Those with children • Elders | Service Providers, Municipal Public Housing Services |
| 27 | Provide specified housing for Inuit Elders. This should include supportive housing like retirement homes, long-term care, and co-operative living centres. | Service Providers, Municipal Public Housing Services, Provincial Government |
| 28 | Establish dedicated emergency support services equipped to provide immediate assistance, including temporary shelter, legal aid, counselling, and financial assistance, to individuals fleeing domestic violence. | Service Providers, Municipal Public Housing Services |
| 29 | Build housing in a way that fosters a sense of community between residents. This includes culturally-based, integrative architecture that allows Inuit of different ages to live close to one another to foster sharing of culture. | All Levels of Government, CMHC, Private Housing Industry |
| 30 | Build youth-specific housing units in supportive environments specifically for young Inuit seeking to build autonomy. | All Levels of Government, CMHC, Private Housing Industry |
| 31 | Provide more rental subsidies to those who do not have a place in housing services or public housing, especially for those who are new to the South. | All Levels of Government, CMHC, Service Providers |
| 32 | Advocate for the expansion of affordable and culturally-appropriate housing options in urban centres, addressing the acute shortage of housing that disproportionately affects vulnerable populations like Inuit women. | All Levels of Government, CMHC, Service Providers |

Community and Culture

The importance of Inuit culture in housing needs was widely emphasized by participants. Many participants explained that housing insecurity hindered their ability to stay connected to their Inuit culture and community, these recommendations centre around the need for service providers to prioritize and facilitate cultural programming in their work.

| # | Recommendation | Audience |
|----|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|
| 33 | Ensure that Inuit are more aware of the supports available to them. Undertake outreach to connect with Inuit women who may need support through Facebook. | All Levels of Government, Service Providers |
| 34 | Prioritize outreach for service users who may live outside of the downtown core so they are aware of services. | Service Providers |
| 35 | Include access to country food when working with Inuit women. | Service Providers |
| 36 | Foster Inuit culture and knowledge sharing by hosting opportunities for crafting, beading, and other traditional activities. | Service Providers |
| 37 | Ensure that service users have regular opportunities to meet with Elders. Create programs that allow youth to connect with Elders. | Service Providers |
| 38 | Provide Inuktitut language learning programs for service users. | Service Providers |
| 39 | For national Inuit organizations, facilitate events across Canada, particularly in areas where Inuit are underserved (e.g., Western Canada) | Pauktuutit, Inuit Organizations |



Conclusion

There are pressing challenges faced by Inuit women regarding housing and homelessness in southern Canadian urban centres. Through rigorous adherence to principles rooted in Inuit *Qaujimuituqangiit*, Pauktuutit's Inuit-Specific Gender-based Analysis Plus (GBA+) framework, intersectionality, and other Indigenous methodologies, this project has unveiled significant insights into the multifaceted obstacles encountered by this demographic.

The findings underscore the interplay of administrative barriers, discriminatory practices, and cultural dislocation contributing to housing insecurity among Inuit women in urban environments. From unclear application processes to anti-women discrimination and anti-Inuit racism, the barriers to accessing suitable housing are stark and deeply entrenched.

Moreover, the narratives shared by participants highlight the complex dynamics of migration from Inuit Nunangat to urban centres, driven by a myriad of push and pull factors. While seeking improved access to healthcare and educational resources, many individuals faced significant challenges in navigating unfamiliar urban landscapes and accessing essential services.

The recommendations from this study are a critical step toward addressing these systemic deficiencies. By targeting various stakeholders, including Pauktuutit, service providers, housing developers, and governmental agencies like CMHC, these recommendations aim to foster a more inclusive and culturally responsive approach to housing provision.

Moving forward, the insights garnered from this project must inform policy reforms and programming initiatives aimed at improving housing affordability, accessibility, and cultural relevance for Inuit women. By centering the voices and experiences of these communities, we can strive towards a future where all individuals, regardless of background, can access safe, supportive, and culturally affirming housing options in urban centres across Canada.



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Introduction

Pauktuutit has identified that Inuit women and gender-diverse Inuit who live in southern Canada face a set of unique challenges regarding housing and homelessness. These housing challenges require a specific and intersectional research approach to understand. In partnership with Pauktuutit and with funding from the Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC), Archipel Research & Consulting is conducting research to address the following priority areas of research specified by Pauktuutit:

- Dependency on governmental financial assistance
- Violence and discrimination faced by Inuit gender-diverse people in urban centres
- Overcoming challenges imposed by the North-South divide
- Racial prejudice in the South
- Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls
- The need for culturally appropriate housing in the South
- Other challenges

Research into these areas of inquiry will be conducted using a Gender Based Analysis Plus (GBA+) framework. GBA+ is an analytical process that helps to assess systemic inequalities and “how diverse groups of women, men, and gender-diverse people may experience policies, programs, and initiatives” (Government of Canada 2022a). The Government of Canada explains that the “plus” in GBA+ acknowledges that gender and sex are not the only identity factors that determine our experiences. Other identity factors such as race, ethnicity, religion, age, and disability also intersect and influence how we experience different policies, programs, and social realities. In this analysis of Inuit women’s experiences related to housing and homelessness, it is important to consider factors that may be unique or especially pertinent to Inuit, including: race, gender, sexual orientation, culture, colonization, geographic location (including living in remote Northern communities as well as migration from the Inuit Nunangat to the South), land claim beneficiary status, and language.

Pauktuutit’s Inuit specific Gender Based Analysis Plus (GBA+) framework is a key model for this analysis. This approach ensures that research reflects the unique needs, voice, and social experiences of Inuit women. This is a strengths-based tool that centres on the understanding that Inuit women and their communities have existing strengths, experience, and capabilities that make them adaptable and vibrant.

The research project utilizes a mixed-method research approach beginning with a literature review as the first stage of the project. The literature review acts as a foundational guide for subsequent portions of the project by identifying existing academic literature related to the seven areas of inquiry stated above. Additionally, the literature is analyzed through a gender-based framework in order to build understanding of Inuit women’s and gender-diverse Inuit’s unique experiences related to each of these topics. In many cases, viewing the literature through a GBA+ lens allowed researchers to identify gaps in the existing literature related to Inuit women and gender-diverse Inuit. In this way, the literature review provides helpful context to guide the development of the engagement plan and interviews that comprised the next stage of the project.

The literature review identified considerable gaps in existing research regarding the intersectionality of Inuit, Inuit women, gender-diverse Inuit, Urban Inuit, and homelessness. From the literature, we can draw parallels between separate studies to determine the socio-economic positionality of

urban Inuit women and the challenges regarding housing and homelessness. However, the lack of urban Inuit women-centered research leaves the population largely understudied and the solutions convoluted (Kishigami 2008).

From this literature scan, the following research gaps were identified:

- Research is vague in its exploration of urban Inuit women's homelessness.
- Much research—as well as housing and homelessness services discussed in the research—encompasses a pan-Indigenous approach that does not consider Inuit-specific context, culture, and needs.
- The research that exists does not take into consideration the specificity of each urban centre and the diversity of Inuit in each city. For example, Montreal has a large number of Inuit from Nunavik and the largest Inuktitut-speaking population outside of Inuit Nunangat, compared to cities with relatively smaller Inuit populations.
- Research on Inuit housing, homelessness, and culture remains focused on Inuit in the North rather than in urban centres in the South.
- Research that considers Inuit women's experiences in urban centres primarily focuses on Inuit women who have migrated from the North to urban communities in the South. However, it does not examine the generation of Inuit women in urban centres who have never lived up North.

These research gaps present significant limitations in secondary sources on Inuit women and gender-diverse Inuit's experiences with housing and homelessness. There is a critical need to engage in targeted research on this topic, including the present project.

Methodology

The goal of the literature review was to explore existing research pertaining to urban Inuit women and gender-diverse Inuit and their experiences with housing and homelessness. In so doing, the literature review provided a foundational understanding that guided the second phase of this project, including the design of the engagement plan and data analysis.

To understand this subject, Archipel compiled a selected list of resources that are applicable to the intersections of urban Inuit women and gender-diverse Inuit and their experiences with housing and homelessness. Where possible, we sought to prioritize including literature that is relatively recent (published within the last 10 years) as well as Inuit-focused research such as research by Inuit organizations. The sources include peer-reviewed academic publications and grey literature, such as government reports and policy research, primary research, and literature reviews by Inuit and Indigenous organizations.

The resources were divided into four thematic groups based on Pauktuutit's identified areas of study outlined in the introduction. We have also incorporated additional relevant sub-topics identified by Archipel researchers, which include:

- Resources and programming related to housing and homelessness
- Need for housing and homelessness support in the North and South
- Need for Inuit specific programming and services
- Need for gender-specific programming and services
- Need for culturally appropriate housing

- Dependency on governmental financial assistance
- Gender and sexual discrimination and violence
- Inuit women and gender-diverse Inuit's adverse experiences of housing and homelessness
- Violence and discrimination faced by gender-diverse Inuit in urban centres
- Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls
- North-South migratory patterns, divides, and challenges
- Migration of Inuit women to the South
- Overcoming challenges imposed by the North-South divide
- Racial prejudice in the South
- Recommendations for further considerations
- Other challenges
- Gaps in the research

Relevant information was pulled from each resource to contextualize urban Inuit women's unique challenges with housing and homelessness.

The sources comprising this literature review were analyzed using a gender-based framework in two ways. First, where sources address topics related to gender, such as the unique experiences of Inuit women and gender-diverse Inuit related each of the themes and sub-topics outlined above, this content is integrated into the discussion of the literature. Additionally, each source has been analyzed according to an Inuit-specific GBA+ rubric, which indicates which of the following relevant identity factors are included in the research: women, gender and sexual diversity, culture, colonization, geographic location, language, and other Inuit-specific factors. Primary sources, such as news articles and government policies, are not analyzed with this rubric as they are included in the review only to describe particular programs and services. The evaluation of sources using the Inuit-specific GBA+ rubric is included in Appendix A. As this gender-based evaluation of sources shows, there are significant gaps in research particularly related to Inuit women's and gender-diverse Inuit's experiences related to housing and homelessness; a more fulsome outline of research opportunities based on these gaps is included in section four on recommendations for further considerations.

1. Resources and Programming Related to Housing and Homelessness

Need for Housing and Homelessness Support in the North and South

The literature analyzed in this review strongly suggested that there is a great need for housing support and homelessness programs and services for Inuit women, both in the North and for those who live outside of Inuit Nunangat in urban communities in the South.

North

Housing for Inuit in the North is largely inadequate. In 2016, the Nunavut Housing Corporation found that close to 3000 additional houses were needed to provide housing for the Inuit population in Inuit Nunangat. This housing shortage results in severe overcrowding, meaning even when houses are available, they provide inadequate living conditions. Statistics Canada indicated in the 2017 census that 56 percent of the population of Nunavut lives in overcrowded dwellings. Some of the reasons for inadequate housing include the high cost of construction in the North and

the high cost of living, as well as the fact that many house designs do not suit the needs of Inuit domestic and social life. This is outlined below in the sub-section on culturally appropriate housing (Knotsch and Kinnon 2011, Minich et al 2011).

Inadequacy of housing is a key dimension of understanding homelessness in the North. The Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation's (CMHC) concept of "core housing need" aims to "identify households living in dwellings considered unsuitable, inadequate or unaffordable" and also "considers if income levels are such that they could not afford alternative suitable and adequate housing in their community" (CMHC 2019). Core housing needs include affordability, the suitability of the house to meet the needs of the residents, and its adequacy and state of repair (CMHC 2019). According to the CMHC, while 12.7 percent of households across Canada are in core housing need, 44.7 percent of Inuit households in Nunavut were in core housing need in 2006 (CMHC 2009). This puts many at risk of homelessness.

Nathanael Lauster and Frank Tester (2017) used a more expansive and qualitative understanding of homelessness in a community-based survey conducted in Kinngait, Nunavut, to estimate the prevalence of different forms of homelessness in the Eastern Arctic. This understanding of homelessness included other dimensions of the experience of being at home—including feeling sheltered from the elements, physically secure, secure in the storage of one's possessions, secure in one's privacy, a sense of belonging and meaning, and a connection to one's homeland. From the community survey, Lauster and Tester estimate that 87 percent of the Inuit respondents experience some dimension of homelessness. This was true even of participants who were not considered in core housing need.

Housing and homelessness services and programming in the North are lacking. The Qullit Nunavut Status of Women Council's 2007 report "Little Voices of Nunavut: A Study of Women's Homelessness North of 60" (Elliott et al 2007) identifies six key trends in the literature related to the effectiveness of such services, particularly in reducing homelessness among women and reducing the harm experienced by homeless women. These trends are:

- Inadequate stock of adequate and affordable housing
- Inadequate or inappropriate services for homeless women and families as well as those at risk of becoming homeless
- Inadequate funding for shelters and other types of services
- Emergency and transitional housing are not adequate
- Lack of coordinated service delivery
- Judgmental attitudes and discriminatory behaviour on the part of service providers (Elliott et al 2007, 99-100)

A significant development responding to the need for more housing in the North is the *Igluliuqatigiingniq: Building Houses Together* strategy, also known as Nunavut 3000. This strategy was announced by the Nunavut Housing Corporation on behalf of the Government of Nunavut and outlines a 7 year plan to increase housing in all communities in Nunavut by 3000 units. This housing will be supplied by government, Inuit organizations, communities, private developers, and community housing sector groups ("*Igluliuqatigiingniq: Building Houses Together*" Nunavut 3000 Strategic Plan Frequently Asked Questions [FAQ] 2022).

South

Inuit women and gender-diverse Inuit face barriers to accessing adequate housing in urban centres as well. Presently, research on Inuit women's and gender-diverse Inuit's experiences in southern cities is severely lacking. Pauktuutit's existing research on this subject is an important contribution to this area of inquiry, including its 2021 and 2022 studies discussed here. Further analysis of Pauktuutit's research on urban Inuit women and gender-diverse Inuit is incorporated in section 3 on North-South migratory patterns, divides, and challenges.

In Pauktuutit's 2021 study of Inuit women in Ottawa, one in seven of the research participants identified that they were currently homeless, with over half (56 percent) sharing they had felt the need to leave their home but had no safe place to go (5). In Pauktuutit's 2021-2022 study of urban Inuit women and gender-diverse Inuit in 12 urban centres across Canada (Ottawa, Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, St. John's, Happy Valley-Goose Bay, Halifax, Regina, Edmonton, Yellowknife, Victoria, and Fredericton), 64 percent of survey respondents shared that they had used shelters in their city, with 43 percent indicating they had been turned away from a shelter because it was full between two to five times and 38 percent stating they had been turned away more than five times due to capacity constraints (2022, 11, 25). Many (62 percent) shared that they choose to avoid shelters because of safety concerns and exclusionary access rules (Pauktuutit 2022, 25-26). Thus, Inuit women and gender-diverse Inuit either stay outside or stay temporarily with acquaintances and family, which may mean "remaining in dangerous or substandard conditions, unable to leave abusive relationships, and/or trading sex and companionship for a place to stay" (Pauktuutit 2022, 11).

Inuit face unique and compounding factors that increase the risk that they will experience housing insecurity and homelessness. Pauktuutit (2022) identifies these factors as including:

- Lack of available and affordable housing
- Minimal education and employment opportunities
- Shortage of culturally specific supports to address mental health and substance use disorders
- Experiences of trauma, including gender-based and partner-based violence
- Experiences of discrimination, racism, gender-based inequity, and colonialism when relocating from Inuit Nunangat to urban centres (Pauktuutit 2022, 3)

These factors are exacerbated when there are inadequate Inuit-specific, gendered support services, a reality for many Inuit women and gender-diverse Inuit, especially those living in the South. For these reasons, the need for improved gender-specific, Inuit-specific, and culturally relevant housing and homelessness support is urgent. The factors listed above suggest that in order to adequately address homelessness wrap-around services are needed that offer a 'full systems solution' which includes (Pauktuutit 2022, 30). This would ensure services are culturally appropriate, rooted in community, take the families' unique needs into account, and offer a wide range of services and support (Pauktuutit 2022, 30).

Need for Inuit-Specific and Gender-Specific Programming and Services

The literature indicates a strong need for Inuit-specific and gender-specific programming and services related to housing and homelessness. Inuit-specific supports are especially important in

urban centres in the South, where Inuit may be far away from their home communities and family networks. The push and pull factors that influence Inuit, including women and gender-diverse Inuit, are discussed further in section three on North-South migratory patterns, divides, and challenges.

A key resource on this topic is Pauktuutit's 2022 report "*National Urban Inuit Homelessness and Housing Needs*," which compiles primary research conducted in 12 urban centres (Ottawa, Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, St. John's, Happy Valley-Goose Bay, Halifax, Regina, Edmonton, Yellowknife, Victoria, and Fredericton) across Canada and secondary sources to address gaps and issues regarding housing and homelessness support available to Inuit. This research identified major gaps in policies, programs, and services for Inuit living in urban centres outside of Inuit Nunangat. Based on the research, this report makes a set of policy recommendations to support "women and gender-diverse Inuit who face housing insecurity or homelessness outside of Inuit Nunangat" (29). On the level of governance and administration, the report recommends the implementation of integrated support and wrap-around services (Pauktuutit 2022, 30). To address lived experiences and pathways to homelessness, the report recommends providing economic integration services and basic needs services. To recognize diverse experiences of homelessness, the report highlights how prevention and shelter diversion services should work towards increasing the availability of culturally appropriate supports for Inuit. To address homelessness, the report insists that housing services must "include enhanced culturally appropriate responses to the diverse needs of service providers [and] Inuit" (Pauktuutit 2022, 32). Importantly, the Inuit women and gender-diverse Inuit who participated in this research project themselves called for Inuit-specific services that are "built for Inuit by Inuit" (Pauktuutit 2022, 10). In this survey, 59 percent indicated it was "very important" that housing support services are provided by Inuit.

Pauktuutit also calls for culturally competent programming in urban centres in the South in its submission to the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, made jointly with Anânaukatiget Tuminqit, Saturviit, The Ottawa Inuit Children's Centre, and the Manitoba Inuit Association (Pauktuutit et al n.d.). The need for culturally appropriate housing services for urban Inuit is addressed explicitly in this report:

124. Health care, education, housing, social services and child welfare are not staffed to provide services to Inuit women and girls in these southern urban centres. Whether it is language, culture or traditions, the needs of Inuit are unique. To provide competent services, health care professionals, teachers, social workers, lawyers and judges must become culturally competent to provide the necessary services. (Pauktuutit et al n.d., 34)

Pauktuutit also makes the following recommendation to "ensure that Inuit women and girls living in southern urban centres have the same rights and opportunities as all Canadians" (Pauktuutit et al n.d., 39):

- e. Establishing Inuit services in southern urban centres, including health care, education (early learning years and post-secondary), employment and training (trades), housing and child and family services. These services must be available to all Inuit living in provinces or territories and accessible in their own language;
- f. Rejecting First Nations services as being 'good enough' for Inuit; such services are not in the same language, not the same culture or traditions of Inuit and are not developed through an Inuit-lens that takes into consideration Inuit history of colonization and Inuit healing (Pauktuutit et al n.d., 39-40)

In this submission, Pauktuutit connects the need for culturally appropriate housing to the MMIWG crisis, with such services being essential to support the safety of Inuit women and gender-diverse Inuit in the South. Pauktuutit identifies that insufficient housing is one of the root causes of Inuit family violence (Pauktuutit et al n.d., 37).

The importance of Inuit-specific services is echoed in other studies as well. For instance, the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls' 2019 report "Reclaiming Power and Place: The Final Report of the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls" (Inquiry into MMIWG 2019) highlights that for Inuit women in the sex trade seeking support in programs in the South, a "lack of understanding of Inuit culture and history often leads to tensions between Inuit women and support workers" (Inquiry into MMIWG 2019, 368). This prevents Inuit women from accessing the support they need. Nobuhiro Kishigami's 2008 article "Homeless Inuit in Montreal" describes how the Native Friendship Centre of Montreal, and the Association of Montreal Inuit support urban Inuit in Montreal who are experiencing homelessness, but there is a need for an Inuit community centre. Although this study is nearly 15 years old, such a centre has yet to be established. In Winnipeg, Tunngasugit Inc. is an example of an Inuit-specific resource centre that was formed in 2017 by urban Inuit who saw a need for this kind of support (Hobson 2020). Tunngasugit—meaning "welcome" in Inuktitut—assists with health and social services, housing, employment, and income and runs cultural and language programming.

One of the reasons Inuit-led housing solutions are important is because Inuit know best the needs of their communities and what works for them. The 2021 report to Parliament "Indigenous Housing: The Direction Home" by the Standing Committee on Human Resources, Skills and Social Development and the Status of Persons with Disabilities (Casey 2021) affirms this position as it outlines the effectiveness of Indigenous-led housing solutions. This report specifies that Indigenous-led means that housing "solutions must be designed, governed, managed, administered, operated, and delivered by Indigenous peoples"; that diverse groups of Indigenous people such as women are involved in the solutions; and that Indigenous peoples sit at the table as equal partners alongside governments to design housing solutions (Casey 2021, 44). For Inuit, this means Inuit-led and not pan-Indigenous led housing solutions.

Pauktuutit has also identified the need for Inuit-specific services to also be gender-specific, namely that there be services specifically for Inuit women and gender-diverse Inuit. Pauktuutit's 2022 report "*National Urban Inuit Homelessness and Housing Needs*" indicates that there is currently a lack of 2SLGBTQIA+ programming (31), culturally appropriate resources for Inuit women and gender-diverse Inuit experiencing violence, and gender-specific housing in Canada, such as "low-barrier and harm reduction-focused supportive housing programs accessible to women and gender-diverse people" (27). "Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada's Consultation Report for the Urban, Rural and Northern Indigenous Housing Strategy" (Pauktuutit 2023) builds on this earlier research as it recommends "identifying available housing for specific groups such as Inuit women and gender-diverse Inuit" (13) and "improv[ing] access to safe and affordable housing for Inuit women and gender-diverse Inuit" (25) that meets the specific needs of these groups including emergency housing options and rent subsidy programs. Recognizing that many Inuit women and gender-diverse Inuit experiencing housing insecurity also experience trauma and violence, Pauktuutit further recommends increasing "access to culturally appropriate and holistic services" that address the "interconnected factors that contribute to trauma and violence, such as poverty,

inadequate housing and lack of access to education and employment” (Pauktuutit 2023, 28). In this effort, Pauktuutit advocates for a coordinated and comprehensive approach including working with government departments and community organizations (Pauktuutit 2023, 28).

Need for Culturally Appropriate Housing

For housing services and programs to be effective for Inuit women and gender-diverse Inuit, they must also be culturally appropriate, as well as gender based. This includes the importance of Inuit-led programming that incorporates Inuit values and ways of life, such as the need for Inuit-specific services as outlined in the sub-section above. Housing designs themselves must also reflect the needs of Inuit, in particular women and gender-diverse Inuit.

Cathleen Knotsch and Dianne Kinnon define culturally appropriate Inuit housing as “dwellings that suit the needs of Inuit family activities and behaviors and take into account the style of home-making” (2011, 36). Presently, housing solutions in the South tend to reflect nuclear family models that do not accommodate Inuit family and housing structures (Knotsch and Kinnon 2011). Houses in the North also follow this style of build, meaning that most dwellings in Inuit Nunangat do not reflect the realities of Inuit life, with Inuit families having different spatial conventions than Euro-Canadians, such as “butchering seals in the living areas, storing seal meat in bathtubs, using dining room tables as work benches, and repairing snow machines indoors” (Dawson 1995, 79). Houses often have insufficient space for these communal domestic activities.

For housing to meet the needs of Inuit, the physical configuration of houses should make Inuit feel a sense of home and allow them to engage in domestic and cultural activities that are important to Inuit ways of life (Baron et al 2020; Perreault, Riva, Dufresne, and Fletcher 2020). As Pauktuutit has established, Inuit culture remains strong in the North, with many opportunities for youth to learn traditional skills such as “hunting and fishing, how to travel safely, how to make clothing and the importance of treating the land and its resources with respect” (Pauktuutit 2006, 6). The strength and continuance of Inuit culture affects domestic life, including requiring the need for space to undertake cultural practices as well as family arrangements. In “Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada’s Consultation Report for the Urban, Rural and Northern Indigenous Housing Strategy,” Pauktuutit outlines what culturally appropriate housing for Inuit women might look like, summarizing that,

New homes for Inuit women should include culturally appropriate food preparation areas that support traditional Inuit food and skinning activities. This could involve incorporating space for storage of country foods such as seal and caribou, and areas for cleaning and preparing the food. (Pauktuutit 2023, 38)

Regarding family arrangements that need to be accommodated in culturally appropriate housing, Pauktuutit asserts that many households include immediate family members, but also extend to other relatives and community members (2006, 26). It is important to note that while Inuit maintain their traditional and cultural practices, they have also adapted to modern ways of life which have affected family dynamics and household structures (Pauktuutit 2006, 26). With these points in mind, housing structures must take traditional and modern familial and communal dynamics into consideration.

Additionally, for housing to be appropriate for Inuit women specifically, Pauktuutit further suggests the importance of addressing safety concerns (2023). They recommend ensuring that “homes include safe spaces that allow Inuit women to protect themselves and their children from violence” (Pauktuutit 2023, 38). This may include features like “secure entrances, strong locks and windows

that provide clear lines of sight to the outside” and locating houses in safe and accessible areas (Pauktuutit 2023, 38). This report does not include gender-diverse Inuit in this discussion, but similar features may be important for their housing as well.

Government Financial Assistance and Policy Development

While a comprehensive overview of government policies, programs, and funding related to Inuit housing is beyond the scope of this literature review, it is clear that the government has a role to play in housing solutions for Inuit. Furthermore, concern for Inuit women and gender-diverse Inuit should be part of any policy development and determinations around funding allocations. This is in adherence with the facts that 1) the usage of GBA+ is central to all Ministers’ Mandate Letters at the federal government level, and 2) gendered responses to the social determinants of health have been included in recent federal budgets.

Government support is cited in the literature as a key mechanism to improve Inuit experiences with housing and homelessness. For instance, the 2021 Report of the Standing Committee on Human Resources, Skills and Social Development and the Status of Persons with Disabilities “Indigenous Housing: The Direction Home” outlines the roles and responsibilities of different levels of government for housing for Indigenous Peoples living off reserve (Casey 2021). This report focuses especially on the role of federal departments including Employment and Social Development Canada (ESDC), and the Crown Corporation the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC), in delivering programming and funding for Indigenous housing, including for Inuit. A comprehensive list of these programs is included in appendix A of the “Indigenous Housing: The Direction Home” report. A present shortcoming is that not all of these housing strategies have specific Inuit or Northern focuses. For example, the CMHC’s Rapid Housing Initiative, which “proposes to provide \$1 billion to address urgent housing needs by quickly building affordable housing,” includes no dedicated funding for the North (Casey 2021, 16).

It is important to note that the CMHC’s lack of dedicated funding for the North is a direct contravention of the Inuit Nunangat Policy entirely, and specifically the “Federal Funding” sections 6.6.1 and 6.6.2 (Government of Canada 2022b):

6.6.1 As part of supporting Inuit self-determination, federal departments and agencies are directed to consider a distinctions-based approach to directly fund Inuit Treaty Organizations or organizations appointed by them to administer a federally-funded program, policy or initiative over which they seek to exercise their right to self determination.

This may include altering existing funding mechanisms and/or creating new mechanisms, such as carve-outs, set-asides, or Inuit-specific funding programs.

6.6.2 Where funding is intended to be delivered to Inuit, including as a component of funding for a program of general application or a program focused on Indigenous peoples broadly, the Inuit-specific funding allocations will be clearly identified and reported upon.

The Government has set forth commitments in this policy that need to underlie its role in housing solutions for Inuit.

Other programs do specifically target Inuit and Northern housing needs. For example, in Budgets 2017 and 2018, the federal government proposed “\$400 million over 10 years to support the Inuit

Nunangat Housing Strategy and the repair/construction of housing units in Nunavik, Nunatsiavut and the Inuvialuit Settlement Region” (Casey 2021, 17). The ESDC’s Reaching Home: Canada’s Homelessness Strategy, has “four regional funding streams dedicated to addressing local homelessness in the Territories as well as in urban, Indigenous, rural, and remote communities” (Casey 2021, 18). Through this program, the federal government “proposes to provide \$413 million over nine years for Indigenous homelessness” (Casey 2021, 18) including through an Indigenous homelessness funding and programming stream to help organizations provide culturally appropriate services to Indigenous people and through the development and implementation of a distinctions-based approach to homelessness (Casey 2021, 18). The federal government also plans to spend \$40 million on an Indigenous Homes Initiative through the Council for the Advancement of Native Development Officers and Indigenous Services Canada, which aims to “support Indigenous-led, community-driven projects, that could serve as blueprints for new approaches” (Indigenous Services Canada, Follow-ups from HUMA [November 17, 2020], Urban Regional and Northern Indigenous Housing and Homelessness, Written response to questions, p. 3 cited in Casey 2021, 19). Though these programs may be promising, in their recommendations to Parliament, this report also indicates the need for developing an urban, rural, and Northern Indigenous housing strategy as well as the development of an urban, rural, and Northern housing centre led by Indigenous Peoples, governments, communities, and organizations (Casey 2021, 3, 84). Pauktuutit has published its response to this strategy based on its submission to the report, which highlights the needs of Inuit, including Inuit women and gender-diverse Inuit, in “Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada’s Consultation Report for the Urban, Rural and Northern Indigenous Housing Strategy” (2023).

Despite the importance of government support, government programs are often assessed as being inadequate in meeting the needs of Inuit, particularly Inuit women, who are experiencing housing insecurity and homelessness. For example, the literature review of policy and bureaucratic practices related to housing conducted as part of the Qullit Nunavut Status of Women Council’s 2007 report “Little Voices of Nunavut: A Study of Women’s Homelessness North of 60” was largely critical of the role of policy at the municipal, provincial, territorial, and federal levels in making it difficult for Inuit women to maintain housing. There were nine thematic categories identified in this review related to policy and practices that represent barriers to Inuit access to housing, which are summarized in the following points:

- Income support policies and practices that insufficiently cover the cost of housing, reduce benefits, and enforce restrictive eligibility for supports like welfare and employment insurance
- Municipal government policies that displace people during urban renewal projects and under-resource social housing
- Child Protection Services, where inadequate housing is used as justification to remove children from their parent’s custody in discriminatory ways
- Landlord and tenant regulations and their failure to protect tenants from discrimination by landlords and may require tenants, including social assistance recipients to accept unsafe housing
- Public housing policy that has insufficient resources, restrictive eligibility criteria and bureaucratic red tape that serve as barriers to accessing the programs
- Policies around support for people with disabilities do not meet the needs of those accessing the programs

- Policies related to the provision of substance use and personal development services. This includes a lack of support for vocational and education opportunities and access to existing programming, and inadequate services for substance use, health, and mental health
- Bureaucratic climate reduces access to programs due to lack of information and awareness of programs, inaccessibility, and lack of availability of workers, lack of respect by workers within programs toward Inuit accessing the services
- Minimum wage rates are too low to meet basic needs (Elliott et al 2007, 88-89)

These trends reduce the effectiveness of existing government services, particularly in terms of reducing homelessness among women and reducing the harm experienced by homeless women.

2. Gender and Sexual Discrimination and Violence

Gender and Adverse Experiences with Housing and Homelessness

Inuit women and gender-diverse Inuit face complex factors that affect their experiences with housing and homelessness. While much of the research on this subject is focused on Inuit in the North, research on factors leading to homelessness (and the harmful impact of homelessness on these populations) is also relevant to Inuit women in urban and Southern cities. For example, Judie Bopp et al's report "You Just Blink and It Can Happen: A Study of Women's Homelessness North of 60, Pan-Territorial Report," which was produced by the Yukon Status of Women Council, The Centre for Northern Families, YWCA Yellowknife, Four Worlds Centre for Development Learning, Qullit, and the Nunavut Status of Women Council, analyzes social, economic, interpersonal, and geographic factors that place Inuit women in the North at increased risk of experiencing homelessness. This report compiles the findings of three territorial reports related to women's homelessness in the North (Bopp et al 2007). The factors in this report include women's experiences of poverty due to underemployment, inadequate income support and benefits, and lack of affordable childcare; experiences of domestic and family violence; traumatic changes in life circumstances (e.g., separation, illness, job loss); lack of safe, quality, and affordable housing; substance use disorder; and the criminalization of women for "crimes of survival" including, for example, "prostitution, welfare 'fraud,' writing bad cheques, self-defense, theft, drug use (National Working Group on Women and Housing 2006 in Bopp et al 2007, 61); and mental illness (Bopp et al 2007, 61).

Further, many of the same factors outlined above are cited in the literature as reasons why housing insecurity and homelessness also affect women and gender-diverse Inuit more adversely. For example, Bopp et al (2007) outline that homelessness has a range of negative impacts on Inuit women. These include criminalization, stigmatization and a loss of dignity and self-esteem; a loss of community support system and opportunities to gain skills and social capital; an increased risks to health and safety; and a loss of resources to meet basic needs related to shelter, food, clothing, and hygiene; and harm to children (89-90).

More recent studies of women's homelessness in the North continue to draw out the multifaceted dimensions of Inuit women's experiences with housing. Schmidt et al's 2015 article, for instance, summarizes the findings of a two-year, multilevel action research project focused on the "barriers and supports experienced by homeless women in the North when accessing mental health care, shelter, housing and other services" and to inform service providers and policy advocates about how to address these barriers. Importantly, this study focused on the development of culturally

appropriate and gender-specific housing and homelessness services. The importance of specific, targeted programs in this report echoes the findings earlier in this literature review regarding the need for Inuit-specific programming and housing. In this case, gender-specific services are also prioritized.

While the above sources offer essential insight into how gender and sexuality intersect with experiences of housing and homelessness by Inuit, there is comparatively little research on this topic specifically regarding urban settings outside of research conducted by Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada. For this reason, ongoing research must build on Pauktuutit's existing findings. Understanding the Needs of Urban Inuit Women provides a fulsome understanding of the intersectional experience of Inuit Women in urban centres and how their gendered experience leads to a risk in safety. In the study, Inuit women described urban environments as unsafe and when discussing their experiences, the following themes were brought forward; racial profiling, racism, sexual harassment and abuse, and a general feeling of exclusion. Many women included in the report felt that there is a general consensus in urban centres that "Inuit girls belong in the street" (Pauktuutit 2017, 30). As such, Pauktuutit asserts that "[...] women remain highly vulnerable to all forms of abuse and present an easy target for traffickers or abusers" (30). Additionally, Pauktuutit's recent report "*National Urban Inuit Homelessness and Housing Needs*" (2022) identifies this gap in research and makes critical contributions to understanding the unique experiences of Inuit women and gender-diverse people. Key sections of this report's findings related to the topic of equity for women and gender-diverse Inuit are outlined in the next sub-topic.

Fanelli (2021) and Rogers (2014) offer more targeted studies of Inuit women's experiences of homelessness in a specific Southern urban centre: Montreal. Fanelli (2021) describes how Inuit women who have moved to Montreal face barriers to their wellbeing including culture shock, language barriers, employment, barriers to health care, and barriers to accessing shelters. Both Fanelli (2021, 42-46) and Rogers (2014) explain that these factors lead some Inuit women to engage in survival sex work, which may put them at risk for violence and discrimination.

Violence and Discrimination Faced by Inuit Women and Gender-Diverse Inuit in Urban Centres

Inuit-specific studies have drawn out strong links between gender, violence, and access to adequate housing. While focused on the North, Pauktuutit's 2019 "Study of Gender-Based Violence and Shelter Service Needs Across Inuit Nunangat" provides essential context for understanding how inadequate housing is directly associated with gender and violence. This relationship is seen in how many Inuit women become homeless when they are fleeing family violence (see Elliott et al 2007, 4) and how social inequality and inadequate housing are linked to higher levels of violence across Inuit Nunangat (see Knotsch & Kinnon 2011). Indeed, Pauktuutit (2019) includes inadequate housing as one of the social, economic, political, and cultural determinants that contribute to violence (3):

- Disruption of culture;
- Displacement and forced relocation/settlement;
- Inadequate and overcrowded housing;
- Unhealed trauma from residential schools;
- Increased alcohol and substance abuse; and
- Food insecurity.

The study asserts that these determinants of violence are linked to longstanding and ongoing experiences with colonization. Therefore, the systematic causes of violence as it relates to homelessness need to be explored and remedied with a holistic and wrap around approach. Pauktuutit's 2019 study draws out a further dimension to the link between gender, violence, and access to adequate housing in its focus on how the existing shelter systems in Inuit Nunangat do not provide sufficient support and safety to Inuit women and girls, leaving these individuals in dangerous situations. This report makes the following recommendations related to housing and shelters aimed at addressing the link between gender, violence, and adequate housing (Pauktuutit 2019, 17-18):

2. Prioritize funding for the development of appropriate, safe and affordable housing across Inuit Nunangat at all levels of government.
5. Provide adequate, sustainable and flexible funding in Inuit communities for emergency shelters serving Inuit women and children experiencing violence.
 - a. The Government of Canada must reverse its policy that excludes Inuit communities from accessing operational funding for shelters through the Family Violence Prevention Plan (FVPP). Shelter funding must be made available to Inuit communities at a minimum equitable amount to that provided for shelters on First Nations reserves.
 - b. Funding should support the operation and maintenance of existing shelters and the development of new shelters in consultation with communities.
 - c. Eligible costs for shelter funding should include: general operations and maintenance; staff training, retention and professional development; and, programs and supports responsive to the needs of Inuit women.
6. Examine the feasibility and community readiness for transition and second-stage housing services in Inuit Nunangat in consultation with Inuit organizations, shelter directors, service providers, and survivors of violence.
7. Conduct a needs assessment to determine the gaps in culturally safe services for Inuit women experiencing violence in urban centres, including the need for Inuit specific emergency shelters and transitional housing services.

The above recommendations are readily applicable to Inuit women and gender-diverse Inuit living in urban centres, particularly as urban Inuit populations continue to increase to form sizable communities in cities in southern Canada.

While Inuit women and gender-diverse Inuit are increasingly moving to urban centres to pursue opportunities for more careers, education, and affordable living (among other factors outlined in the next section on North/South migration), they can be at increased risk of violence and discrimination in these cities as well.

Pauktuutit's 2022 report "*National Urban Inuit Homelessness and Housing Needs*" reports that 56 percent of Inuit women and gender-diverse Inuit surveyed for this study shared that "they had experienced discrimination or harassment when seeking housing or housing support services" (19). Of these, 52 percent "believed that this was because they were both a woman/gender-diverse and Inuk" (Pauktuutit 2022, 19). This underscores the importance of analyzing the experiences of Inuit women and gender-diverse Inuit through a GBA+ framework, as outlined in the introduction to this literature review, as well as through the lens of intersectionality, a concept from Black feminist

theorists that describes how various parts of an individual's identity compound experiences of oppression; in this case, Inuk identity and gender identity as female or gender-diverse intersect to exacerbate experiences of discrimination.

Experiences of violence play a crucial role in increasing the likelihood that Inuit women and gender-diverse Inuit will face homelessness. Furthermore, homelessness can also lead to instances of violence. In Pauktuutit's 2022 survey related to urban Inuit homelessness and housing needs, 88 percent of participants shared that they were survivors of abuse and 21 percent said they had experiences of trauma from sex trafficking (23). These experiences of trauma may lead some women to leave their living situations, which in turn removes them from support networks and community.

Understanding the unique experiences of gender-diverse Inuit is an important component for research on Inuit housing and homelessness in urban centres because many queer Inuit move to urban centres to find more welcoming communities (Walley 2018). While there is research on Indigenous 2SLGBTQQIA+ discrimination, from the literature surveyed for this review, there is presently a gap in research on Inuit-specific experiences, including in urban centres. This future research may include a focus on the barriers gender-diverse Inuit face in accessing housing and homelessness services. Because 2SLGBTQQIA+ discrimination within and against Inuit communities is a distinct result of colonization, future research may also consider how Inuit culture may support the wellbeing of 2SLGBTQQIA+ Inuit (see Thomas et al 2022 and Walley 2018).

While not a substitute for Inuit-specific research, there is research on 2SLGBTQQIA+ experiences of homelessness. This research includes Indigenous experiences and thus can provide helpful context for understanding Inuit needs. Nelson et al's 2023 reports "Literature Review & Practice Scan: Housing Need & Homelessness Amongst Gender-Diverse People in Canada" and "Research Brief: Housing Needs & Homelessness Amongst Gender-Diverse People in Canada" analyze gender-diverse, Two-Spirit, and trans people's experiences of homelessness. These reports examine how these populations face intersecting human rights violations regarding access to housing and emergency shelters in Canada. While these reports are not specific to Inuit or Indigenous communities, they do offer valuable insights into how gender and sexual discrimination intersect with colonialism and racism, particularly concerning experiences of homelessness. Additionally, the reports include perspectives from 2SLGBTQQIA+ Indigenous research participants.

The risks of violence and discrimination are elevated for gender-diverse Inuit. Jennifer Chafe, the manager of Ilagiiqatigiitsiarniq, a program created by Tungasuvvingat Inuit (TI) to support Inuit families affected by violence and provide help navigating urban Southern centres, explains:

Indigenous 2SLGBTQ+ people are more likely to experience violence than heterosexual Indigenous peoples. We're talking about the marginalized of the marginalized. Twice as many are likely to experience assault, including physical and sexual assault than non-Indigenous LGBTQ+. (Wright 2022)

In light of this, TI has opened a drop-in centre in Ottawa to provide culturally appropriate support for 2SLGBTQ+ Inuit (Wright 2022).

Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls

The crisis of Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (MMIWG) in Canada is an important context within which to situate research on Inuit women's and gender-diverse peoples' experiences with homelessness. This is a crisis that affects all Indigenous Peoples in Canada,

including Inuit in Inuit Nunangat and in the South. The National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls' (Inquiry into MMIWG) 2019 "Reclaiming Power and Place: The Final Report of the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls" recognizes the impact of MMIWG among Inuit throughout, with specific attention paid to Inuit contexts in Volume 2 of the report. This volume outlines examples of successful Inuit-specific services and provides a list of Inuit-specific Calls to Justice (Inquiry into MMIWG 2019 Volume 2, 202-210). Call to Justice 16.19 is especially important to integrate within this research project, as it specifies recommendations related to housing and homelessness services:

We call upon all governments to develop and fund safe houses, shelters, transition houses, and second-stage housing for Inuit women, girls, and 2SLGBTQQIA people fleeing violence. These houses and shelters are required in all Inuit communities and in urban centres with large Inuit populations. Shelters must not require full occupancy to remain open and to receive funding. Further, they must be independent from child and family services agencies, as women may not seek shelter due to fear of agency involvement. This action includes the establishment and funding of shelters and safe spaces for families, children, and youth, including Inuit who identify as 2SLGBTQQIA, who are facing socio-economic crises in all Inuit communities and in urban centres with large Inuit populations. (MMIWG 2019 Volume 2, 205)

Pauktuutit has also examined the connection between housing, homelessness, and the MMIWG crisis. Pauktuutit, Anânaukatiget Tuminqit, Saturviit, The Ottawa Inuit Children's Centre, and the Manitoba Inuit Association's submission to the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls calls for Inuit-specific and culturally appropriate housing and services (Pauktuutit et al n.d., 34, 37, 39-40). This is discussed further in the need for Inuit-specific and gender-specific programming and services sub-section of the first section of this review on resources and programming related to housing.

Additionally, Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami and Pauktuutit's "National Inuit Action Plan on Missing and Murdered Inuit Women, Girls and 2SLGBTQQIA + People" also examines the connection between housing, homelessness, and the MMIWG crisis. This report explains that overcrowding and other forms of inadequate housing and homelessness contribute to the high prevalence of family violence in Inuit communities (Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami and Pauktuutit n.d., 10). It is also difficult to escape violence when there are inadequate shelter services and transition housing, among other programming (Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami and Pauktuutit n.d., 10).

The crisis of MMIWG is additionally relevant to this project as Inuit women and gender-diverse Inuit located in urban centres who are facing housing insecurity are at an increased risk of violence. There are several factors and statistics around MMIWG that are relevant to the demographic this research focuses on:

- "Inuit women and 2SLGBTQQIA+ people who are experiencing homelessness, particularly in urban centres, are at greater risk of being targeted for violence" (Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami and Pauktuutit n.d., 10)
- The majority of MMIWG cases occurred in urban areas: "70% of the women and girls disappeared from an urban area and 60% were found murdered in an urban area" (NWAC n.d., 4).
- "Aboriginal women are almost three times more likely to be killed by a stranger than non-Aboriginal women are" (NWAC n.d., 5)

- “Women involved in prostitution are extremely vulnerable and experience high levels of violence” (NWAC n.d., 5). This would include Inuit women engaged in survival sex work.
- “Poverty and other forms of socio-economic marginalization occurring within racist, sexist, homophobic, and transphobic systems puts all Indigenous 2SLGBTQQIA people at risk for violence” (Inquiry into MMIWG 2019, 451)
- Indigenous women and gender-diverse individuals, including Inuit, are at increased risk of sex trafficking (Bourgeois 2015; Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami and Pauktuutit n.d., 4)
- “2SLGBTQQIA individuals face barriers and discrimination in accessing a broad range of services and in accessing services that are appropriate to their needs, including housing (emergency shelter and safe long-term housing); health, mental health, and substance use treatment; child welfare; Elder care; policing; corrections; criminal justice; and victim and other support services. In particular, there is a lack of appropriate emergency housing and shelters and safe housing to meet the needs of 2SLGBTQQIA individuals in all communities. Therefore, 2SLGBTQQIA people are forced to live in unsafe conditions” (Inquiry into MMIWG 2019, 458)

3. North-South Migratory Patterns, Divides, and Challenges

Migration of Inuit Women to the South

The existing literature as it relates to the migration of Inuit women and gender-diverse Inuit to urban centres provides a comprehensive review of the various reasons for migration to the South. The literature highlights that despite an increased number of Inuit moving down South, there are no effective, widespread, and consistent policies and funding to address the various aspects of this difficult transition. Consequently, there are great socio-economic barriers to housing security.

Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada’s report “Understanding the Needs of Urban Inuit Women” (2017) presents essential research on Inuit women and their migratory patterns down South. The report delves into the gendered experiences of Inuit women and provides a well-informed understanding of the complexities arising from their intersectional experiences, particularly in regard to gender-based violence. It also offers insights into “push” and “pull” factors, and how they manifest for Inuit women migrating to urban centres. The report describes these factors by outlining the socio-economic constraints faced by Inuit women in the North, leading them to leave their communities (push), and explores the various solutions and opportunities available in the South (pull) (Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada, 2017). A key finding here is that multiple push and pull factors can happen simultaneously and that moving South can feel like a “consequence” rather than an autonomous, socially detached decision (19).

The report also examines the adaptation and settlement process in the given urban environment from a gendered perspective. It asserts the importance of various “material” and “nonmaterial” points of consideration, including:

- Housing (material)
- Employment education and income (material)
- Health and access to services (material)
- Identity (non-material)
- Social networks (non-material)

- Cultural practices (non-material)

The conclusion highlights that these points of consideration when moving down South are only superficially addressed. Additionally, it underscores the importance of healing and wellness, particularly in the North. It affirms that “a healthier North would mean that migrants would not find themselves in such desperate need for services (29).”

While “Understanding the Needs of Urban Inuit Women” speaks to the general experience of women in multiple cities across Canada, *Low-Income and Homeless Inuit in Montreal* provides a location-specific example of push and pull factors in Montreal specifically (Savoie, Donat, and Cornez, 2014). The article highlights the push and pull factors that are Montreal-specific and the history of Inuit who migrate there from Nunavik. It calls attention to the predicted increase of Inuit in the South (and increased rates of homelessness) if Northern-economic conditions are not remedied (15), echoing the need to heal the North (Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada, 2017, 29). This article can also provide clarity that each urban centre’s push and pull factors and solutions to adaptation barriers may differ based on history and geographical location in relation to communities across Inuit Nunangat.

The article “Nuutauniq (Moves in Inuit Life): Arctic Transformations and the Politics of Urban Inuit Mobility” also speaks to Montreal Inuit, including Inuit men, women, and gender-diverse Inuit (2017). It examines the need for an alternative policy solution for Inuit who are migrating South due to a “transformation” of the North, a transformation that includes cohesion and collaboration between multiple jurisdictions (204). This existing gap in policy affects Inuit women’s access to adequate and supportive transitions to Southern life.

In “A Statistical Portrait of Inuit with a Focus on Increasing Urbanization: Implications for Policy and Further Research” (2016), Marika Morris asserts that Canada must support Inuit organizations in continuing to take on the North-to-South transition. This includes support for housing, childcare, health services, family services, employment, language, and cultural services. Morris writes: “Inuit know how to support Inuit” but funding is a barrier for Inuit-specific organizations to take on this work (Morris 2016, 25).

According to Martha Dowsley and Chris Southcott (2017), many Inuit women across Nunavut are choosing to stay in their home communities as communities across Nunavut continue to modernize. They argue that this diminishes the need to move South. This reinforces the previously mentioned assumption that moving down South is a consequence of social conditions, rather than an autonomous choice as maintained by Pauktuutit.

In sum, the migratory push and pull factors for Inuit women and gender-diverse Inuit migration down South are well known. The circumstances surrounding migration down south can be linked to the socio-economic factors in the north. The North and the South, along with migratory patterns between the two are linked and inseparable. There is a need for policy and programming that addresses the North and South migratory divide and a need for funding for Inuit organizations providing services for those who have relocated outside of Inuit Nunangat.

Overcoming Challenges Imposed by the North-South Divide

The literature suggests that there is a distinct set of initial challenges that Inuit who migrate from the North to the South encounter. These barriers are intertwined and can happen simultaneously. All these factors influence access to housing, and coupled together, increase the rate of

Racial Prejudice in the South

Pauktuutit (2022) provides important findings in their report “*National Urban Inuit Homelessness and Housing Needs*,” in which they analyze the experience of Inuit in Southern Canada from a gendered perspective. The report found that 56 percent of participants in the study shared that they had experienced discrimination or harassment when seeking housing or housing support services, and of this 56 percent, 52 percent believe that this was because they were both a woman/gender-diverse and Inuk (19).

Experiences of discrimination for Inuit women and gender-diverse Inuit is compounded by racism. Much of the literature pertaining to racial prejudice in the South highlights that the already competitive and hostile renting market coupled with anti-Indigenous racism leaves Indigenous people in a precarious housing position. The report “*Indigenous Housing: The Direction Home*” (2021) states that “racism in the housing market by landlords continues to be an issue making access to affordable housing difficult for Indigenous peoples” (26). Furthermore, according to Johnson, landlords are refusing Indigenous tenants because of stereotypes that they will not make good tenants (2019). However, existing literature focuses primarily on pan-Indigenous experiences with the housing market. It does not take on an intersectional approach that accounts for how racism and the housing crisis affects Inuit women and gender-diverse Inuit.

Despite this research gap, it is apparent that Inuit women and gender-diverse Inuit face racial prejudice as Indigenous people regarding access to housing. Pauktuutit’s “*National Urban Inuit Homelessness and Housing*” report provides examples of participants who were denied housing due to assumptions that they were on government assistance or because of their visible Inuk identity, leading to discriminatory treatment because of the participant’s quiet voice and education status. Participants in the study detailed extremely blatant racist remarks about not being chosen as tenants because they were “dirty natives.” Participants spoke about feelings of humiliation and shame in these interactions.

The literature points to the need for culturally appropriate housing where Inuit are understood and can therefore engage in safe interactions. According to CBC articles by Johnson and Malley, Indigenous (Inuit) individuals can file complaints through the Human Rights Commission. However, considering the already precarious situation faced by many Inuit women and gender-diverse Inuit in securing housing, it can be concluded that this exhausting process is not sustainable to engage in. Furthermore, Tomiak and Patrick contextualize engaging in non-Inuit based processes within in Ottawa, in which linguistic barrier and racial discrimination deter Inuit from engaging in non-Inuit specific organizations, processes or procedures (61).

4. Recommendations for Further Considerations

Based on the literature analyzed for this review, it is evident that more research has been conducted regarding the experiences of Indigenous people more broadly, rather than specifically focusing on Inuit experiences with homelessness in urban centres. While this points to a gap in scholarship surrounding Inuit women’s experiences with homelessness, it also provides a framework through which the response to addressing homelessness amongst Inuit women and gender-diverse Inuit can be approached. It is therefore helpful to contextualize the previously

reviewed literature on Inuit women and gender-diverse Inuit with homelessness within the broader literature that exists. Furthermore, existing research conducted by Pauktuutit can be relied on as a foundation for further studies.

Other Considerations

Through a review of the literature on Inuit women's and gender diverse Inuit experiences with housing and homelessness, much of the existing research places a focus on Indigenous experiences generally.

Some components of pan-Indigenous research on housing and homelessness are relevant to the experiences of urban Inuit women and gender-diverse Inuit even though they are not Inuit-specific, such as some of the recommendations made in the Report of the Standing Committee on Indigenous and Northern Affairs entitled "The Effects of the Housing Shortage on Indigenous Peoples in Canada." The committee studied the housing shortage's effects on Indigenous Peoples across Canada and agreed to a series of recommendations, including:

- Provide more housing to Indigenous people to mitigate the health, social, educational, and economic impacts of the housing crisis
- Explore ways to reduce the cost of housing and building materials in remote areas
- Consider the rapid growth of First Nations, Inuit, and Métis populations
- Work with Indigenous organizations and communities to explore ways to support homeownership tailored to Indigenous needs

While the report made no Inuit-specific recommendations, nor does it address the experiences of the housing crisis in Inuit communities, it did acknowledge that a lack of housing in Indigenous communities was forcing Indigenous people to leave their communities, an issue that is acutely experienced by Inuit. Overall, these recommendations point to the need to address the systemic causes of homelessness in Indigenous communities and work with community partners to ensure that solutions to homelessness are Indigenous led.

Providing additional useful context, in their 2017 report "*Definition of Indigenous Homelessness in Canada*" author Jesse Thistle echos the Pauktuutit's findings in "Study of Gender-based Violence and Shelter Service Needs across Inuit Nunangat," and explains that Indigenous homelessness extends beyond current housing markets and the crisis of affordability and availability. Instead, understandings of Indigenous homelessness must be viewed as a response to the historic and ongoing colonization of Indigenous people across Canada. Thistle specifically identifies Inuit relocations and territorial dislocations as a cause of homelessness for Inuit (2017 7, 23). Thistle further explains that Inuit face when they relocate South:

For example, an Inuk from Resolute Bay may want to procure identification to work and access education for a planned move to Ottawa, but does not know what an identity clinic is, what forms to fill out, what ID is needed to obtain work or where to acquire such forms for that ID, and may not even speak English or French to be able to fill out the forms or communicate with state representatives. (Thistle 2017, 24-25)

Thistle explains how social barriers, including "language barriers, lack of knowledge, culture shock and racism" (2017, 25) exclude Inuit from being able to have uncomplicated interactions with the housing market, limiting their ability to obtain affordable and accessible housing.

These reports point to the innumerable issues that Indigenous people across Canada face in accessing housing and the many ways in which the ongoing legacies of settler colonialism compound these issues. These reports thus provide a useful framework through which to begin to address housing and homelessness amongst Inuit women and gender-diverse Inuit in urban centres. However, in this literature, little is revealed about the specific experiences of Inuit women and gender-diverse Inuit related to homelessness and housing.

Addressing this gap, Pauktuutit provides an important contribution to Inuit-specific research in its multiple reports that contextualize how Inuit women and gender-diverse Inuit experience housing, homelessness, and violence with a culturally appropriate and distinctions-based lens. However, while Pauktuutit's existing reports situate Inuit women and gender-diverse Inuit's experiences with housing and homelessness, the focus is often placed on the realities within Inuit Nunangat and do not exclusively delve into how homelessness and gender-based violence is experienced in urban centres. More research is required to provide nuance about the experiences of Inuit women and gender-diverse Inuit in urban centres with housing and homelessness. This opportunity for further research, and the importance of building understanding of this specific demographic's experiences with housing and homelessness, is included in Pauktuutit's "Consultation Report for the Urban, Rural and Northern Indigenous Housing Strategy" (2023), which incorporated Pauktuutit's Inuit-specific submission to this pan-Indigenous strategy. Additionally, the present project will contribute to understanding the experiences of urban Inuit women and gender-diverse Inuit.

Identifying Inuit-Specific GBA+ Research Opportunities

Additional insights that have emerged from the study of the literature primarily have to do with identifying gaps in the existing research, which present opportunities for further research that could lead to greater equity for Inuit women and gender-diverse Inuit. These research goals are aligned with those of Pauktuutit and Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, as outlined in the National Inuit Strategy on Research (2018). Some of these research opportunities include:

- Research about the specific experiences related to housing and homelessness of Inuit women and gender-diverse Inuit in urban centres. While there is research that contextualizes Inuit women's and gender-diverse Inuit's homelessness, there is no research that directly addresses this link in urban centres.
- The impacts of identity on homelessness
- What resources currently exist for Inuit women and gender-diverse Inuit experiencing homelessness in urban centres
- Urban community-specific challenges faced by Inuit women and gender-diverse Inuit experiencing homelessness (i.e., how experiences of homelessness differ for Inuit women living in different localities)
- The experiences and needs of intergenerational urban Inuit that have lived in cities for multiple generations
- Inuit homelessness that focuses beyond only Northern housing issues and housing crisis

These gaps and opportunities can help guide the design of the engagement phase of the project by drawing focus to areas where further understanding and research is needed. The need for more Indigenous-led data collection was highlighted in the Report of the Standing Committee on Human Resources, Skills and Social Development and the Status of Persons with Disabilities entitled "Indigenous Housing, the Direction Home." In the context of this research project, this means

research should be Inuit-led. To ensure that data is collected ethically and meets the needs and priorities of communities, research needs to be conducted in a way that is culturally relevant and does not cause further harm to vulnerable populations (House of Commons 2021, 48).

Additionally, there is need for further focus on the unique experiences of Inuit women and gender-diverse Inuit in urban centres related to homelessness and housing. Pauktuutit's Inuit-specific GBA+ framework is a helpful guide in targeting these research areas.

This project is an important step in addressing the gaps in research specific to the experiences of Inuit women and gender-diverse Inuit and homelessness in urban centres, through research that is Inuit and Indigenous led.

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Appendix

GBA+ Assessment of Literature

| Sources | Inuit-Specific GBA+ Factors | | | | | | |
|---------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|---------|--------------|---------------------|----------|------------------------------|
| | Women | Gender and sexual diversity | Culture | Colonization | Geographic location | Language | Other Inuit-specific factors |
| Baron 2020 | X | | X | X | X | X | X |
| Bopp et al 2007 | X | | X | X | X | X | X |
| *Bourgeois 2015 | X | | | X | X | | X |
| *Casey 2021 | X | X | X | X | X | | |
| CMHC 2019 | | | | | | | |
| CMHC 2009 | | | | | | | |
| Dawson 1995 | X | | X | X | X | | |
| Dowsley & Southcott 2017 | X | | | | X | | X |
| Elliott et al 2007 | X | | X | X | X | | X |
| Fanelli 2021 | X | | X | X | X | X | X |
| *Inquiry into MMIWG 2019 | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami and Pauktuutit n.d. | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| Johnson 2019 | | | | | X | | X |
| Kishigami 2008 | X | | X | | X | | |
| Knotsch and Kinnon 2011 | | | X | X | X | | |
| Lauster and Tester 2017 | | | X | X | X | | X |
| Minich et al 2011 | | | X | | X | | |
| Morris 2016 | | | X | X | X | X | X |
| *Nelson et al 2023a | | X | | | | | |
| *Nelson et al 2023b | | X | | | X | | |
| *NWAC n.d. | X | | | | X | | |
| Patrick & Tomiak 2008 | | | X | X | X | X | |
| Pauktuutit 2023 | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| Pauktuutit 2022 | X | X | X | X | X | | X |
| Pauktuutit 2021 | X | | X | X | X | X | X |
| Pauktuutit 2019 | X | | X | X | X | X | |
| Pauktuutit 2017 | X | | X | | X | | X |
| Puketutu 2006 | X | | X | X | X | X | X |

| Sources | Inuit-Specific GBA+ Factors | | | | | | |
|------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|---------|--------------|---------------------|----------|------------------------------|
| | Women | Gender and sexual diversity | Culture | Colonization | Geographic location | Language | Other Inuit-specific factors |
| Pauktuutit et al n.d. | X | | X | X | X | X | X |
| Perreault et al 2020 | | | X | | X | | |
| Savoie, Donat, and Cornez 2014 | | | | | X | | X |
| Schmidt et al 2015 | X | | X | X | X | | |
| Standing Committee on Indigenous and Northern Affairs n.d. | | | | X | X | | X |
| Thistle 2017 | | | X | X | | X | |
| Tunngasuvingat Inuit 2006 | | | X | | X | X | X |
| Walley 2018 | X | X | X | X | | X | X |
| Watson 2017 | | | | X | X | | |

*Source is pan-Indigenous, including Inuit

Facilitator Guide

Session Date:

Attendee:

Facilitator:

Notetaker:

Note for Facilitators:

This document acts as a guide for the interview. Please feel welcome to change questions as you see fit to ensure that the interviewee is comfortable, and the purpose of the questions are being met. Please ensure that notes are being taken throughout the interview, that the post-interview questions below are answered to the best of your abilities and that the post-interview checklist is followed.

Preamble

Introduction

My name is _____ and I am part of the Inuit Women consulting team for Archipel Research and Consulting Inc an Indigenous owned women-led company. Our team is comprised of Black, Indigenous, and racialized researchers and subject matter experts. As part of this specific project, we have a team of Inuit women researchers and facilitators who are leading and guiding this project.

[Personal and professional introduction of the facilitators, and/or notetakers]

About the Project

Archipel is conducting research on behalf of Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada, with financial assistance from the Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) to understand the unique challenges faced by Inuit women and gender-diverse Inuit in Urban Centres regarding Housing and Homelessness. We will be conducting interviews across Canadian urban Centres to better understand these challenges, possible supports and compiling these responses in a final report.

Anonymity

The research team will treat your comments as anonymous when preparing the final research report and other project materials. This means that your name will not be mentioned as a contributor in the research report, as well as in other project materials such as notes and transcripts.

Supports

We acknowledge and understand that when discussing your experiences and topics related to colonialism some may be triggered. In response, the facilitator will do their best to make sure you are comfortable during the interview. If you like, an Inuk Elder is available to you or we can otherwise compensate an Elder of your choosing. If at any time you need to take a break, do not want to answer a question or want to end your participation please let me know.

Consent to Record

Are you okay with this session being recorded for internal purposes, ensuring that we can properly capture what you are saying? These interviews will not be shared outside of the organization and will be destroyed once the final report is complete.

Ask for Consent to Record

Engagement Questions for Individuals with Lived Experience of Housing Insecurity and Homelessness

| # | Question | Purpose |
|----|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. | How did you or your family come to be in _____ (name city)? Prompt: This can include an individual's move South or their family's move if they are from an urban center. | Provide participants with an opportunity to tell their story and for us to understand how the individual migrated down South or if they have been here generationally/ |
| 2. | What influencing factors in your home community made you or your family leave the North? What factors influenced you or your family's move to ____ (city)? | Understand what factors influenced them to move down south (push and pull factors) |
| 4. | How did you or your family prepare for your move down South? What supports were available to you when you first arrived, if any? | This will help us to identify what resources were used or what service gaps are missing. |
| 5. | Part 1: How did you find housing in ____ (city)? Were there any supports that assisted you in securing housing? Prompt: Did these programs take your identity (gender, race, sexual orientation etc.) into account? | Help in identifying what housing-specific programming and assistance looks like. |
| 6. | What challenges did you encounter in securing housing? | Assist in determining clear barriers and challenges in securing housing? |
| 7. | What would make it easier for you to access adequate housing? | Help in developing specific recommendations and pathways forward. |
| 8. | Have you ever experienced discrimination from a landlord or a potential landlord (based on your race, gender identity, sexuality, education status, etc). | Identify what discrimination can look like and how it can impact access to safe and secure housing. |

| # | Question | Purpose |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|
| 9. | Would you like to see more Inuit-specific services and programming? If so, what would you want these programs to include? | Assist in offering recommendations and pathways forward. |
| Before we end is there anything that we have spoken about that you would like to expand on or anything you didn't get to say? | | |

Engagement Questions for Individuals with Organizations Providing Housing and Housing Supports

| # | Question | Purpose |
|----|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. | Can you tell me a bit about your organization's mandate and what you do there? <i>Optional facilitator prompt:</i> E.g., low-income housing, shelter, emergency, money, employment support, mental health support, substance use services, support with applications for other services, food security | To act as an ice breaker and also to allow the participant to give a more in-depth overview of the work their organization does. |
| 2. | Does your organization work with Inuit women and gender-diverse Inuit? What does that work look like? <i>Follow-up questions:</i> a) Do you offer any Inuit-specific services and programs or other culturally relevant programming? Do you offer services in Inuktitut? b) If your organization doesn't offer Inuit-specific supports or services in Inuktitut, are you aware of any such services you could direct someone to? c) Do you have any Inuit working in your organization? | To gain insight into if the organization serves Inuit women and gender-diverse Inuit, and what that entails in their organization. |
| 3. | Does your organization have experience working with gender-diverse Inuit? <i>Follow-up question:</i> a) If so, do you have specific ways you meet their needs (such as protocols, and processes)? | Understand if their organization has any experience working with gender-diverse Inuit and what this support looks like. |
| 4. | How do Inuit women and gender-diverse Inuit learn about your services? | To gain insight into their communications/ outreach approach. |
| 5. | How do your services take into account the diversity of Inuit women and gender-diverse Inuit? <i>Facilitator prompts:</i> e.g., gender, sexuality, age, family status, employment, disability, newcomers to southern urban centres | To gain insight into their organization's approach to providing services to Inuit women and gender-diverse Inuit and if this approach is intersectional. |

| # | Question | Purpose |
|-----|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 6. | What are the barriers you face in providing housing and homeless support services to Inuit women and gender-diverse Inuit? | To identify what organizations, need to better serve Inuit women and gender-diverse Inuit. |
| 7. | What resources do you need to better serve these communities? What do you wish you could do to support these communities? | To gain insight into how funders and other groups can support the organization in doing this work. |
| 8. | Do you collaborate with other services, government agencies, and organizations that provide housing and homelessness support? a) If so, what does this collaboration look like? | To gain insight into the relationship between their organization, governments, and other support services. |
| 9. | Do you have any partnerships with Inuit community groups? a) If so, what do these partnerships involve? | To gain insight into their level of community engagement. |
| 10. | Before we end, is there anything that we have spoken about that you would like to expand on or anything you didn't get to say? | Open-ended question to ensure the participant has had a chance to share everything they want. |



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