

RESEARCH/INFORMATION PRIORITIES  
AND CONCERNS FOR IMPLEMENTATION  
OF SECTION 24 OF THE JAMES BAY  
AND NORTHERN QUEBEC AGREEMENT  
AS VIEWED BY THE INUIT.

Submitted to  
Bureau de la Baie James  
et du Nord Quebecois

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## Introduction

The purpose of this report is to describe the information considered necessary in order to carry out the mandates and programs in Chapter 24 and related sections of the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement. Much of the information needed is not yet available, and this raises concerns at three levels. First, what information is really needed; second, how much information is it possible to collect; and third, how much are the priorities and control of the research needed to gather the necessary information to be allocated between northern and southern interests.

The ideas set out in this report are based on discussions with Inuit who are associated with the Research Department of Makivik and with the Environmental unit of Kativik Regional Government. The report is organized around four themes. First, is a general discussion of Inuit concerns about the need for, and conduct of, research. Second, is a discussion of the information needs and research priorities that the Inuit view as important. These concerns have been grouped into eight areas of possible study. The section also briefly reviews the present level of available information for northern Québec. Third, is a description of the purpose and approach for specific studies that could be carried out. This section is an expansion on five of the eight points set out in the above. Fourth, is a brief discussion of the particular role that

could be played by the Bureau de la Baie James et du Nord Québécois.

The results that are presented in this report may go somewhat beyond the intent of the original contract. In many ways this report expresses a point of view more than it provides a catalogue of required studies or information needs. To this end, the report highlights issues that must be carefully considered prior to any major efforts to acquire information, especially if this involves field research. It is probably not difficult to compile a long list of information needs or even to collect data sources. What is needed, however, is a framework and direction, not a shopping list or random compilation of documentation. It is hoped that this paper will contribute to such a goal.

In this report all of the references are to the Inuit party, which shares a responsibility for establishing and maintaining a hunting, fishing and trapping regime north of the 55th parallel. It is assumed that if the point of view, and the specific information needs and priorities of the Inuit are clearly stated, then other agencies that share responsibility for the Agreement such as the Bureau de la Baie James et du Nord Québécois will be able to define better, the directions they choose to take and the responsibilities they choose to initiate for the administration and implementation of Section 24.

### Inuit Concerns

The Inuit are affected by problems or conflicts that may arise when decisions about what to study are made without consultation. A basic element of this conflict is that the problems considered to be important are usually defined from the outside. Consequently, the research findings are applied to the management of the environment and wildlife resources, without reference to Inuit concerns, knowledge and points of view. Such attitudes on the part of scientists are countered by the Inuit perception that many methods used in scientific studies are inappropriate. Therefore, the findings are considered, at best, incomplete. Some recent studies and comments on northern research indicate signs of change. The question is not one of establishing an exclusive jurisdiction for Inuit but rather one of establishing the most appropriate association between Inuit and others involved in research. Section 24 of the Agreement has set up certain structures to facilitate Inuit participation, but structures can not automatically create change. Northern science must address itself to new issues and to a reallocation of priorities. The power base must be shared if progress is to be made.

### The Agreement

The general view held by the Inuit is that the Agreement does not provide an open mandate to any one party or joint body, for conducting studies or for compiling large quantities

of information, unless there is a well defined structure or procedure for accessing the reasons why such information is needed, and specifically how it will be utilized in order to solve particular problems. The need for information is recognized but this need is balanced with some apprehension about control over its acquisition and use.

It is also felt by the Inuit, that the conditions and programs set out in the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement should not become the only or perhaps even the primary reason for establishing information and research needs in northern Québec. The Agreement represents a particular point of view about the utilization and management of wildlife resources and about the organization of hunting, fishing and trapping activity. It is the result of negotiated interests around values and issues that were often far removed from the understanding of Inuit hunters. The results of the negotiations were also often far removed from practical application and solutions. It is felt that the basis for establishing research needs requires greater flexibility and should be oriented towards the requirements that arise from within northern communities or northern organizations and not only be dominated by the often complex requirements of the Agreement.

There is much apprehension about accumulating information in places or in ways, that are not easily accessible to understanding and decision making within local communities. The concern over the need for information is seen by the Inuit to be a problem of the north and not of the south. They assume

that if the south is expert in anything it is certainly expert in acquiring and storing details about northern people and environments. Although Inuit opinion about the value and size of southern data banks may be somewhat exaggerated it is nevertheless important to understand the context of their concern, which implies that the accumulation and storage of data in the south will automatically limit their access to this data except through an even greater dependence upon southern professional staff.

Coupled closely with this concern is the Inuit concept that just to be guaranteed access to information sources is not to guarantee an equal ability to utilize these resources in the best possible way. The problem therefore is not one of accumulating information but one of accumulating information in such a manner that it is of direct use to northern people. It is felt that as long as the mentality of information collection and presentation is "southern", its ultimate use will remain "southern". The mere translation of "southern" conceived documents is no solution.

Finally, there are two other concerns that should be stated. First, it is felt by Inuit that the various bodies designated or assumed to be "expert" bodies are in fact not expert at all. The constant use of the epithet "so called" in reference to experts or expert opinion is some indication of the problem and suspicion that currently exists. Second, it must be stated once again that the Inuit are not prepared to actively participate in programs that will encourage more

research than necessary. They are aware that there is need for information in order to make good evaluations and decisions. They are also aware that there is a real danger of simply using this as an excuse to undertake studies that go far beyond the real demands of the programs, projects or policies associated with a hunting, fishing and trapping regime. The only protection that the Inuit are prepared to accept is that they themselves have greater power in decision making that affects the kind of information that is needed and the type of study that may be undertaken. Closely aligned to this point of view is the concern with participation in all phases of research. Only through the selection of research priorities that allows for cooperative efforts, will an indigenous scientific community evolve that includes both traditional expertise and acquired "southern" scientific skills and procedures. Without a cooperative approach, decisions will remain totally in the sphere of politics and bureaucracy.

It is clearly stated in discussions that in the long term, the best use of information will be made by each individual party alone or in a well defined cooperative effort. Under these conditions problems can be understood, the need for information can be clearly determined and the application of the information can be evaluated. With these commentaries in mind, it is felt that the primary goal of government bodies, especially those closely associated with Chapter 24 of the Agreement, is to encourage the development of indigenous - local sources of information rather than to encourage the

growth of large data banks in the south. All of the information that is needed will never be available in the format or quantity to meet all of the demands over the next decade. The need to make good decisions must be balanced with the danger of knowing too much.

#### Revised Guidelines

The concerns and objectives set out in this section require the development of a new set of guidelines. The Man and the Biosphere program undertook a review of ethics on the conduct of northern research by southern scientists. These guidelines are extremely important but they only cover one part of the total problem.

An additional set of guidelines must be developed that go beyond the M.A.B. criteria for the conduct of northern enquiry by southern personnel. This involves two types of guidelines. The first relates to those which would encourage Inuit to actively participate, and eventually to carry out research that is in their field of interest. This would involve creation of a new arrangement with funding sources so that there is access to research funds by northern groups. A second area of change must involve the traditional structures that have encouraged the creation of scientific expertise in the south. Universities through the development of graduate degrees and research projects, government scientific bodies and now consulting companies all are participants, often on behalf of native organizations. The shift is in emphasis



from having the studies done to actually doing them. Even if studies are requested by native groups it does not mean that the lack of Inuit involvement, except for the request, is justified.

Finally, it is necessary to assure that not only do Inuit have the right to participate, but they must also become aware of how to react to the proposals or conclusions of others.

### Information Needs and Priorities

A series of specific studies are considered by the Inuit to be important in order that they have an adequate knowledge about certain elements associated with hunting, fishing and trapping that will enable them to develop an information base that can be applied to the establishment of land use and management plans and which may be useful for solving particular problems or for resolving conflicts that may arise.

Discussion with the Inuit concerning research needs have resulted in eight areas in which they expressed basic interests. The first five of these are considered most important, and they have requested that work go ahead on them as quickly as possible given that the controls will be properly developed and that cooperative efforts are assured. The three remaining points represent more general areas of concern that are associated either directly with the hunting, fishing, trapping regime or indirectly through its administration.

1. Land-water use and ecological information on the territory used for hunting, fishing and trapping activity, on the Inuit knowledge of the ecological systems that support this activity over time and on the general level of exploitation by harvesting.

2. Land-water classification information on the lands and its resources that is based upon the data on land use and ecological knowledge that will allow for the classification of

land areas into categories that are useful for planning and management locally around communities, and for the territory as a whole.

3. Biological evaluation information on selected species that provides data needed to evaluate the numbers and general "health" of the population under study. Caribou, beluga whales, arctic char and eider ducks are considered to be most important.

4. Perceptual and opinion information on the principle of conservation which would include the attitude of hunters about the meaning of conservation, as well as the application of its meaning to resource management; and which would also include a better definition of the principles by southern scientists.

5. Economic and nutritional information on the cost of hunting and on the quality of indigenous food and its replacement value in order to establish the potential for self sufficiency in the subsistence sector of the economy.

6. Outfitting and non-native harvesting information on the potential for outfitter development and on the resource and land use requirements for outfitting and, an estimation of potential numbers of tourists along with the economic benefits that could be derived from the development of a resource oriented tourist industry. Non-native land use and harvesting in addition to outfitting involves information on this group and on their potential pattern and level of harvest activity.

7. Demographic information on the projected growth of the Inuit population and the implication of growth for

harvesting, land use and diet.

8. Administrative information on the structures, procedures, and organization that are involved with administering the implementation and continuing development of the hunting, fishing and trapping regime in the north including documentation. Of greatest importance would be the development of services that would enable Inuit to understand better the nature of bureaucratic structures and controls and to facilitate their use of administrative services to more productive goals.

The requirements for documentation and further research in the eight areas should provide a substantial role for the Bureau de la Baie James et du Nord Québécois, and a broad mandate for intervening on behalf of Inuit research and information needs. Research should be organized around these topics as quickly as possible, since they will create an information base that is essential for a wide range of decisions and interactions. If Inuit involved research can be established on areas one and two, then baseline data is available for developing impact assessment that has meaning in so far as it could reflect decisions that are grounded in data rather than procedures. It would also create a better balance in the data base. Coupled with the data that would come available from the studies carried out by the Inuit, there would have to be a review of administrative structure as suggested in area eight. It is here that training would occur for using the data to develop an argument and structure the presentation of the arguments. In other words even if the Inuit themselves

carry out the work needed to provide a data base it can not be assumed that a community can automatically understand the role of data for impact assessment or other applications.

Areas three and four are closely related to the creation of the primary data base from one and two. Area three allows for the general patterns or concerns to be formalized through particular specie related studies. It is here that a closer cooperation between northern and southern expertise and experience can begin to emerge and where a northern scientific skill based upon acceptable southern scientific principles can be established. A perception and opinion about the nature of conservation (area four) will emerge from this process and thus to facilitate development of a conservation and management strategy. With this as preparation, it should become possible to have necessary resource monitoring as a logical activity to emerge from the community itself.

The other research areas, especially those involving diet, and the economy of hunting are important in that they are an expression of a social and economic infrastructure built around harvesting and land use. The evaluation of hunting costs will no doubt become a more important factor in determining land use patterns and intensity. Data on outfitting and on sport hunting must be incorporated into decisions of land and resource allocation by the community.

The pursuit of these recommendations in a correct manner, will fill a critical need to return information to the communities in a format that is relevant for facilitating their

active participation in northern resource management and land use planning. When completed, it is expected that the information base will provide a means for equalizing access to, and utilization of, needed data for identification and resolution of problems related to the conservation and management of biological resources. The availability of such information will significantly reduce the potential for conflicts and assist in creating a more productive relationship between the parties that share responsibilities in Chapter 24.

#### Available Information

Available information of the type needed to carry out many of the mandates set out in Chapter 24 is almost non-existent for northern Québec. When attempting to review and access the data base it becomes readily apparent that there is no consistent or up-to-date body of information for either the ecology of the resource base or for the economic and cultural elements involved with the exploitation of these resources. In many areas the people of northern Québec have been excessively studied, but the total of findings does not provide a wide range of understanding. In particular there are not any specific studies or reports that deal with the resource base or resource oriented activity of the people in a way that is useful to current applications.

A small body of information is scattered throughout various documents and reports concerned with northern Québec. For example, the Department of Anthropology at Laval University may be able to provide some useful material, but since a

collection of data on topics such as land use and ecology was incidental to other research interests, there is no indication that the available information can be consolidated into the kind of documentation that communities now require. One exception to this situation is a report prepared by Laval University on the food habits and nutrition of the Wakeham Bay Inuit.

Some very general reports that were early contributions to the Area Economic Surveys carried out by what was then the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, were completed in 1958 for the entire Ungava Bay region and subsequently an additional report was published in 1963 for the western shoreline of Ungava Bay. No such report, however, was produced, or at least published, for the Hudson Strait or east coast of Hudson Bay areas, with the exception of a community study carried out in Port Harrison in 1958. In 1958 a report was also produced for the Leaf Bay Area which covers a wide range of environmental, resource and economic - cultural factors. Prior to these reports much of the information was based upon the 1887 to 1890 work of L.M. Turner, who published material on both the environmental and ethnographic aspects of the Ungava district.

More recent works of importance to resource assessment have been written on the salmon of the Koksoak River through a series of unpublished studies for the period 1960 to 1969 and there have been the occasional papers written on the physical and biological conditions of the marine environment,

again stressing the Ungava Bay region.

A thorough review of the material in the bibliography, Bibliographie de la Peninsule du Québec-Labrador by Cooke and Caron indicates that although material has been produced on hunting, fishing and trapping, or on the resource base, much of it is in manuscript form or constitutes very small contributions often in the form of limited observation, to larger manuscripts. Unfortunately, much of the unpublished material for all intents and purposes are not available except to those with the time and resources to search out material in collections such as that of the Arctic Institute Library which is now located in Calgary.

The most recent systematic and detailed information that may have direct value to understanding northern Québec exists for part of the Hudson Bay coast waters between Great Whale River and Inukjuak and for the Ungava Bay Region between George River and Port Burwell. These areas were mapped as part of the N.W.T. land use and occupancy program. Material provided by these surveys can serve as a point of reference for expanding the data base throughout the territory, although their format should be changed to meet the requirements that follow rather than proceed a land claim agreement.



### Specific Needs

In this section of the report, the five areas of research needs will be discussed in greater detail. The general research/information requirements will be described, a purpose and approach will be stated and, when necessary, particular questions that need to be addressed in order to further define the information needed. All of these areas have been selected around the criteria for Inuit participation and local use. The projects are also stated in somewhat of a progressive order partly in terms of immediate need and partly in terms of the logic of the data required.

### Land Use Mapping

Baseline data on land use is the first level of information that is required in order to develop either policy or programs concerned with planning and management. Northern Québec is the one major area that has not been involved in a systematic research effort on this topic. A complete documentation on past and present patterns of land use exists for the Northwest Territories and for Labrador. It is especially critical for northern Québec because of the existence of detailed harvest studies.

It is reasonable to assume that an integration between land use, harvesting and ecological data is essential, for any decisions that involve the development of plans for land/water use and resource management. An independent source of this

data must exist for every community in the form of an atlas. At present the approach is inconsistent and often repetitive. Yesterday people were asking questions about one type of land use or ecology, tomorrow it is for something else similar but not quite the same. There is no interpretation of the material collected and no attempts to consolidate or systematize such diverse efforts. The data collected in this study would provide the information needed to create a series of land/water use atlases that would be available in every community for use by that community. The information would be presented on 1:500,000 and when detail requires 1:250,000 map series. Particular areas of importance would be indexed and a descriptive text would be included in order to reference the land-water areas to particular uses. The purpose of these maps is to illustrate the special geographic nature of land-water use and not simply to establish the outer boundaries. Consequently the data to be displayed cartographically will emphasize points and lines as well as areas. Intensity should be developed from the ideas put forward by the community and not simply "built up" through a series of individual land-water maps, since the latter can often be misleading because of use over time.

The areas shown on these maps will then have the spatial configuration of the "observed environment" which will define the area for collecting ecological information as suggested in the next section.

### Purpose and Approach

A standard set of procedures for carrying out land use studies was developed during the Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project in the Northwest Territories, and this was later refined for Labrador. A similar project in northern Québec should, however, be developed around a different application. Whereas the N.W.T. and Labrador studies were developed for future land claim negotiations, the Québec study must emphasize planning, and it must recognize certain conditions that are established by the Agreement. In particular, it is not necessary to simply document broad areas of land use, but rather to document a system of land use. Such a documentation will explain the process by which people use territory rather than illustrate the general pattern that emerges from a composite of individualized land use maps. Specifically, the project would:

1. Provide a detailed cartographic representation of individual land use divided into relevant historical periods, but stressing areas of land use that are significant to present and future patterns of utilization.

2. Determine particular places of intensity of use within general areas; and to establish the interconnections between these places; to determine reasons why they are important and; to

3. Illustrate specific seasonal shifts in land use and to try to determine the pattern of shifts in territory that are to be expected because of shifts or cycles in animal

resource base itself would be monitored. It is assumed that the detailed monitoring of activity now going on through the harvest studies cannot continue, partly because it is too demanding on the individual hunters and partly because it may not provide the type of information needed.

The monitoring that should continue on harvesting, should be limited to those species that require constant attention such as migratory birds, polar bear, and some marine mammals. The nature of recording and reporting will have to change. The Bureau de la Baie James et du Nord Québécois has a special role in much of this procedure in so far as the important species under review are federally controlled.

The biological monitoring program, if proven to be necessary, must be developed out of research programs that involve Inuit participation. It is here that there will be a special relationship between northern and southern expertise, and where a mutual "sense of problem" must be developed. It is not possible to specifically state what monitoring will involve, since it implies a reaction to very particular situations or problems. Several points can be raised:

1. to minimize the need to constantly require hunters to register their harvest in a detailed format,

2. to develop, where necessary, a sampling and reporting procedure for the harvest of particular species that are controlled locally and which are understood as to purpose and application and which has a well structured system of controlling the purpose for collecting the data.

The approach to be used in this type of a presentation implies a selection of scale adequate to define local areas and to also show necessary relationships between locals since the final analysis must imply responsibilities at a regional and not only a local level - especially in the case of migratory species. Specifically the project would:

1. Provide a plan of land-water use and protection that is derived from defineable criteria, and which respects both local and regional concerns and responsibilities.

2. Provide a systematic document that would allow for local decision making on the basis of consistent documentation, and therefore, hopefully, eliminate much of the randomness that presently must occur when a community is asked to react, give permission or otherwise establish a relationship between outside activity and their territory.

3. Determine critical habitat/resource areas on the basis of non-related and natural threats and to establish priorities and plans of action with respect to potential threats.

4. Define the entire area of the critical habitat, support system locally, and seek information necessary to extend the concern outside of the region when necessary because of the nature of the threat or of the species.

#### Biological Monitoring

This area of potential information need covers a wide range of studies and approaches. At one level it is the place where harvests would be monitored, at another where the

4. Establish a description of the resource areas and establish the observed relationships between species and between species and habitats.

5. Description of observed changes over time including changes in distribution, abundance and behavior and note perceived causes of these changes.

#### Land-Water Classification

The data base provided by the previous two studies create the foundation for specific interpretations that enable land use and ecological information to be converted into some particular categories of land-water classification. It is here that some movement towards a management and conservation strategy can begin. The question is how can the "facts" of a land-water use and its ecology, be converted into the criteria for planning and for establishing a preconceived idea of what the "used/observed environment" should look like in the future.

The underlying assumption in such an approach is that both species and habitats must be managed/conserved, but the criteria must be grounded in data and the plan developed independently of random projects in order to evaluate the impact of incremental developments regardless of scale (outfitting or hydro projects) or of source (Inuit and non-Inuit). It also creates a responsibility on the part of communities to think about future events, to evaluate their role in these events and, to establish a basis of responsibility and devise a plan of action.

populations and because of changing economic conditions or technological capacity.

4. Establish a documentation of land use in relationship to land selection and to the rights granted to Inuit for carrying out management practices on Category I and II lands and/or special rights such as outfitting or category III.

#### Ecological Mapping

The assumption underlying this area of research is that the pattern of land and water use exists because of certain ecological conditions that allows for productive seasonal harvests. Baseline data on the ecological systems is vital, especially in the northern territories, where the disturbance is still minimal. The emphasis of this research is to establish the Inuit knowledge of the ecological system and to assure that the observations which, over time, have led to their system of classification and explanation are systematically recorded. The boundaries for defining the areas of ecological knowledge are determined by the land use maps described above. The land use maps therefore bound both the areas of activity and the extent of observational knowledge.

The significance of Inuit ecological knowledge is for the insights it brings to the nature of resource behavior, fluctuations and interrelationships. It is not offered in place of southern scientific knowledge, but it must be assumed that for much of northern Québec it will provide the only useful data base since it is unlikely that southern scientific

activity will be able to cover areas outside of development zones. As well, there are certain areas, such as patterns over time that outsiders will never be able to adequately describe from the limited observations of today's "northern scientific work". The collection of Inuit knowledge provides as well, the most appropriate baseline from which other scientific studies can be defined. If long term monitoring is important, it can only begin from the record of Inuit observations on patterns of distribution, behavior and change.

The research when compiled will yield a catalogue of ecologically important regions, and it will establish the base from which land use needs can be evaluated in the face of impact from developments, technological change and economic circumstances. The data will also be the only systematic record of a vast system of knowledge that has accumulated over time. Specifically the project would:

1. Provide through the use of maps and descriptive text, a systematic inventory of the biological resources and of their marine, freshwater and terrestrial environment that provide the habitat of these resources.
2. Develop a classification of northern biological resources including the type, names and other characteristics of the important species harvested by Inuit.
3. Determine the geographical areas of concentration, the seasonal pattern of concentration and distribution and the migration routes and associated life cycle activities including the times and places for feeding, resting, breeding and birth.



3. to establish biological monitoring on the basis of research findings that were developed cooperatively with Inuit and southern scientists and to assure that this monitoring is part of local training and the creation of local scientific skills,

4. to assure the frequent review as to why monitoring activity is taking place and to terminate programs when conditions no longer require,

5. to assure that evaluations and decisions based upon the findings of monitoring programs are jointly made and that the data are jointly controlled.

#### Perception and Opinion

In order to assure that the data collected from the project described above are properly utilized, it is necessary to assure that the framework of meaning understanding is compatible with the data. Consequently information on land use and ecology, on numbers or characteristics can not be useful to Inuit communities if it is fit into policies that are devised from an outside perspective. If management and conservation is to be affective, it must be acceptable. The basis for acceptance is partly through participation in structures that have been established, but these will only be affective if the structure can facilitate and develop a perspective that originates from within the north. Such a perspective does not exclude "southern" values or scientific opinion, rather it incorporates them around themes of northern

relevance and responsibility. Specifically the project would:

1. develop the basis of themes and principles that can be incorporated into northern planning and management,
2. determine the basic objectives that relate Inuit concerns to the process of management and conservation,
3. formulate arguments necessary to counter southern scientific opinion that the Inuit consider to be based upon inference rather than findings,

#### Economy and Nutrition

The realm of potentially useful economic data is vast, but two specific problems are of vital importance in their relationship to land-water use and shifting ecological conditions. These questions involve clearly establishing the relationship of hunting productivity to the monitoring costs involved, and evaluating the equivalent costs for replacing northern food with southern food. Basic to this is the need to determine the actual nutritional value of indigenous foods and to the patterns of consumption and use both on the hunt and within the household.

Basic to this program is the assumption that monitoring cost and return is only one measure, albeit an important one. Only if these factors of cost (money and time) and of return (money, kind or satisfaction) are balanced against alternative sources of food, income and time consumption can new patterns of activity that are related to established land use and ecological conditions evolve.

Specifically the project would:

1. determine the present time and place pattern of hunting in order to determine the intensity of seasonal exploitation and the basis for this intensity,
2. define the primary costs that are required to hunt and evaluate the potential within the hunting population for meeting these costs,
3. Establish the role of costs in determining patterns of land use, and to assess the potential role of different technology for cost and efficiency of changing land use patterns
4. undertake the collection and analysis of northern foods in order to clearly determine their nutritional benefits and to standardize the results,
5. evaluate patterns of consumption and "waste" especially to determine the logical or expected level of waste that is fundamental to annual hunting practices and to determine how these levels of waste must be incorporated into a management/conservation perspective and how they relate to costs and technology.

## SUMMARY

## THE ROLE OF THE COORDINATION OFFICE

This report has attempted to define both the substance and context for developing the information base necessary to implement Section 24 of the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement. Final answers to questions about the quantity, type and procurement of information are elusive - perhaps even impossible to establish.

It must be assumed that it will never be possible to react to every issue or to develop every program or policy from a complete or often even adequate information base. Added to this difficulty is the language of information sources either in terms of the actual language used (Inuktitut, French or English) or in the technical level of writing.

Even more important than role language and the technique of communication is the structure within which communication of information takes place. The ultimate presentation must be related to the Inuit categories of "common sense understanding". To allow access to information without allowing for the expression of a special image which gives it meaning is simply another way of moving people away from some measure of reasonable control over the forces that affect their lives. It is dangerous to facilitate a cooperative collection of information and

then leave everything else to chance. To do so is to involve ourselves in the exercise of "beating the people with the peoples' stick".

It is within this context that some type of strategy must be developed for short and long term goals.

The discussion presented in this report, relates to a strategy that can be developed around the following conclusions:

1. That the information base of northern Quebec will never be adequate for native users.
2. That this inadequacy is based upon an absolute of no information and upon a relative of information selection and interpretation.
3. That information can always be used more effectively by outsiders who, as part of their culture, can manipulate the meaning and interpretation of the written word.
4. That a program to simply collect and store potentially useful data in a southern data bank will only facilitate the work of consultants or other scientific personnel, rarely that of the northerner.
5. That the primary attention should be given to developing an indigenous control over the information/research process rather than worrying about massive documentation.
6. That control over information/research should help to minimize the number of outside personnel, including those who

are working within Native groups and to help maximize Inuit participation.

7. That a stress should not be placed on monitoring the Agreement, but rather facilitating a situation in which monitoring is almost an automatic function of understanding.
8. That the creation of a capacity to collect information and carry out research must utilize two types of expertise.
  - i) that expertise which reflects traditional knowledge based on personalized experience.
  - ii) that expertise which will emerge from education and training that will allow for a strengthened response to research; one that will enhance but not replace the special knowledge of Inuit.
9. That there must also be a capacity for Inuit to understand and respond to scientific studies.
  - i) to be able to have some access to research agencies in order to influence priorities and approach at an early stage.
  - ii) to participate in the allocation of funds and to be assured that funding includes costs associated with developing an Inuit response to outside studies.
  - iii) that the capacity to critically respond to the findings of outside

researchers is developed.

10. That a formal recognition of the Inuit research capacity should be created based upon:

- i) the development of a northern scientific centre.
- ii) the creation of active training and education programs in all phases of research from technique to policy.
- iii) the assurance of funding for Inuit designed research and the development of standards and procedures to evaluate funding requests.