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INUIT INVOLVEMENT
IN THE MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT OF
FROBISHER BAY

A Paper Prepared for the Government of the Northwest Territories

Bertram Dyck, M.S.W.

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PREFACE

"We live in a translated world; borrowed, on-loan, democracy."

Ann Hanson, ex-Councillor

While this report in my opinion constitutes an honest reflection of peoples feelings with respect to Inuit participation in municipal politics, a number of qualifying statements must be made. This report has been liberally spiced with quotations from the interviews I have had with various people in the community. Many of the interviewees were fluent in Inuktitut only; thus I had to use the services of an interpreter from the Government of the Northwest Territories Department of Information. Therefore the quotations I have included in the study from these people are the words of the interpreter rather than a direct quotation. I have over the years worked extensively with interpreters however, and I am confident that my words of the Inuktitut are original.

The reader will further note that, although I have interviewed a relatively equal number of whites and Inuit, I rely on Inuit quotations and opinions in this report much more than I do on white opinion. The reasons for this are clear. The purpose of this study was to examine Inuit participation, it was therefore necessary to give in this report much more strength to Inuit opinion; the picture of the total municipal situation as well as alternative ways of dealing with that situation. It was also most valuable to note the fairly complete corroboration by the white people of the largely Inuit opinion reflected in this report.

In the writing of this report, I have been extremely conscious of the need for objectivity. I hope the report will be read with that fact in mind. Throughout the report I have avoided the mention of names to retain as much as possible the anonymity of any statements made. I recognize that some portions of the report may be read by some individuals as referring directly to them. This is unintentional and cannot be avoided in a small community such as Frobisher Bay where recent municipal political events have drawn so much public attention.

It would further have been useful to do a comparative analysis between the Frobisher Bay situation and other northern, bi-cultural municipalities. Unfortunately, time considerations did not permit this.

I was further only able to complete one initial draft of this report because of time considerations. I have not as yet been able to complete a somewhat reduced study, however, I will be prepared to do so if that is desirable. In any case, it is crucially important that this report be translated into straight-forward, understandable Inuktitut.

I have enjoyed working on this report, and hope that it will be seen as useful.

Bertram Dyck
March 31, 1977

INTRODUCTION

The Frobisher municipality has held the status of a Village for three difficult years. Early on, plagued by administrative weakness, the affairs of the Village deteriorated to the point where authorities in Yellowknife deemed it necessary to dissolve Council. Later, the revived youthful Council was heavily beset with problems of communication and conflicting purposes resulting in the termination of three of the Inuit Council members. The subsequent call for nominations for the December 1976 election turned up only Kadlunaat candidates, and the Yellowknife authorities found it necessary, again, to intervene in order to preserve democratic representation at all costs. Village Council's image was then further burdened by the efforts of a bloc of angry whites who intended to ridicule and damage Council by flooding the elections with an imponderable number of all-white candidates. Having survived all these obstacles, the present Village Council enjoys balanced, mature representation from both dominant cultures; the functioning of Council over the next several meetings will be crucial; Council must demonstrate its ability to work as a body and deal with priority issues; Council cannot afford another of the serious setbacks with which it has been battered in the recent past.

The Government of the Northwest Territories (Baffin Region) through its Local Government Branch does carry responsibility to assist and advise developing municipalities. In recognition of this fact, and in appreciation of the trend within Council and the Frobisher community problems to polarize along cultural (Inuit-Southern Canadian) lines, the Government of the Northwest Territories (Baffin Region) has commissioned this report. The purpose of this report is to:

investigate the history, extent and nature of participation by the Inuit residents of Frobisher Bay in the village's municipal affairs; the cause of any discontent felt by the Inuit residents about present conditions as they relate to participation and ways in which these conditions could be improved to make the municipal systems more responsive to their needs.

(Appendix A)

Those that have spent any amount of time in cross-cultural living situations will quickly realize that this is no simple assignment. The task to be undertaken by this report, vis a vis Village Council, is one that nations have agonized over without arriving at workable solutions. The two cultures (one of which is aggressively dominant) co-exist demographically the increasing profile of the dominant culture and the concomitant withdrawal of the weaker culture has been witnessed many times over throughout America and the World. Efforts to deal with this kind of a trend, both in the specific (as this report intends to do) and on a more global basis have proved in the main fruitless.

The dominant culture moves over the years from an initial dependence on the less dominant culture through intermediate interdependence with the less dominant culture to an eventual independence from the less dominant culture. Concurrently the first two stages (dependence and interdependence) are characterized by close association with the less dominant culture, however, the less dominant culture will find it impossible to participate effectively in the affairs of the dominant culture. Participation therefore gradually becomes token and eventually ceases altogether. Beset by all manner of non-adjustment problems (family breakdown, alcoholism etc) the less dominant culture searches for escape (eg. back to the land and the past), and channels its aspirations through racially exclusive organizations (I.T.C., native brotherhood).

The above scenario is not a new one. One has only to look West. Where is the native participation on the municipal councils of Yellowknife, Hay River, Fort Simpson, Inuvik, Fort Smith and others? Are the native people there apathetic? Certainly not the ones that manage to express themselves so eloquently through the Indian Brotherhood. While it is not the purpose of this paper to engage in this kind of a broad, sociocultural analysis, it is necessary to set the stage so the reader may see the background against which the Village Council of Frobisher Bay is profiled.

Frobisher and its Village Council fall somewhere within the pattern; as it is clear that there still exists a lot of common interest between the two major cultures. Contrary to the pattern of communities in the West, Inuit people continue to let their names stand for election to Village Council.

Approximately 60% of the population in this community is Inuit; thus they are the largest consumer bloc both for private enterprises and government agencies. Politically too, the local native population by virtue of its numbers is a power to be reckoned with.

In the fast changing North of today it is clear that the Southern culture for the most part has moved swiftly over the past ten years in Frobisher from a position of close interdependence to a position of relative independence. Thus the danger of fairly complete polarization of the two cultures over the next several years is very real. This report intends to examine the recent history of council with a view towards stemming this trend towards polarization and revitalizing representative interest in the Frobisher Bay Village Council.

METHODOLOGY

The Time-Line Projection and the Research Model contained in Appendix B serve as a basic outline of the methodology that was chosen at very early stages in this project. I felt this kind of an action plan to allow for the broadest possible amount of coverage of the topic in a relatively short space of time.

The Research Model

The three levels of intensity identified in the Research Model appear to be the logical divisions for research of the Village Council. The core people were all people that had first hand inside experience of Village Council matters; (i.e. they were all councillors, or ex-councillors or secretary managers), it was essential that as many as possible of them be interviewed. Because of their close proximity to the Council, it was expected that the interviews to be carried on with this group would be more thorough and productive than the dialogue with those in the other two levels of intensity. While I felt it likely that the contact with the core group would be most productive, I also anticipated that the risk of interviewee bias would be strongest in this group and was able to make allowances for this.

The second level of intensity, as designated in the Research Model, was intended to pull in a cross-section of people and groups or agencies that appeared to be significant forces in the community, irrespective of their affiliation with Village Council.

Included among people in this level were expected to be some of the traditional leaders who had chosen not to become involved in Village Council in spite of their leadership position, agencies that dealt regularly with Council (government, C.B.C., etc), other major institutions such as the church and individuals who appeared to have strong interests in what goes on in Council without taking any direct part in the affairs of Council. I expected the interviews with these people to be somewhat more superficial by virtue of their relative distance from Council. Although this held true for most of the people there were several in the secondary category who provided extensive, most

valuable information, and who in fact assisted me in defining and inter-relating some of the major issues which will appear later in this report.

The general public, by open invitation to a public meeting, was to constitute the third, most general level of intensity for this project. I did, however, have some reservations about the usefulness of a public meeting. These I discussed with a variety of people in the first two weeks of March 1977. The older Inuit from which I sought advice re this public meeting suggested strongly that I forego the meeting in favour of more interviews. Reasons given for this included:

- a) the likelihood of poor attendance at the meeting
- b) the likelihood that several outspoken people would dominate the meeting
- c) the real possibility of a bloc effort to manipulate any public meeting
- d) the value of personal (two-way) discussions in contrast to a public meeting.

My own reservations supported by this kind of advice from some of the older Inuit people persuaded me to drop the third (public) level and restrict myself to the first two. To partially offset this decision not to hold a public meeting, I determined to increase the number of people I intended to interview from thirty to forty to over fifty.

Finally, the research model indicates that a part of my time would be devoted to a review of records. Throughout the period of this project I have been engaged in a very thorough review of all issues of the local newspaper (back to September 1975, shortly before the dissolution of Council). The other local media (C.B.C.) did not have the ready accessability to their records that the newspaper permitted, however, I was given access to a range of vital information. The Village gave me access to all of their minutes as well as other records that I requested. The files of the Department of Local Government were also opened to me and I spent some time gleaning information from that resource.

Interviews

In a letter to the Interpreter Corps (Appendix C) I outlined the format that I expected the individual interviews to take. All interviews were expected to respond to questions in three broad categories:

- 1) What do you know about Council?
- 2) How do you feel about some of the things that have happened in recent council history (dissolution, resignations, postponement of elections)?
- 3) How can Council be improved?

While the letter in Appendix C goes into some detail under each one of the above headings it is stressed that the interviews were open-ended. That is, efforts were made to develop a ranging, open discussion with each interviewee. Only in the absence of dialogue was some of the detail brought in, to encourage discussion. The most significant recommendations presented during the interview were not included in my detailed breakdown and originated entirely with the interviewees. At no time was an effort made to lead the interviewees, although comment on issues such as a Development Officer and the Ward System were requested from all the interviewees.

As indicated earlier, the interview outline suggested for the people in the second level of intensity was somewhat more superficial than the interview outline of those in the first level of intensity (the core group). I had originally anticipated that I would be able to carry the distinction between first and second level of intensity throughout my analysis. Clearly, however, the information and community strength was so evenly spread through both groups that I determined to drop this distinction in analysis. The section that presents and analyses the data will therefore give relatively equal weighting to significant information regardless out of which level it originated. The most significant recommendations were, in any case, mentioned by individuals at both levels.

Appendix C also contains the list of all the interviewees. The beginnings of this list was arrived at from my personal knowledge of the community and the North (having lived here for 2 ½ years), and was added to

as some of the significant people I talked to made specific suggestions for people to interview. In view of the temporary non-availability of interpreters at a crucial time (the week of the Housing Conference), I was unable to interview five older Inuit people that had been added to my list. This should not have significant affect on the study, however, as half of the interviewees were Inuit, and fully twelve of them were older people that required interpreters. That elder body of Inuit opinion has therefore been well represented.

Observation of Council

A meeting of Village Council and a meeting of the Town Planning Subcommittee of Council were held while I was in Frobisher on this project. It was therefore essential that I attend and observe these bodies in action. My observation at both of these meetings enabled me to confirm items that were raised in interviews.

Presentation of Data

It appears that most of the dropping-off of interest in the Village Council has occurred since Frobisher became a village, (which was three years ago) especially a few months before and after the dissolution of Council (November 1975). The presentation of material will therefore begin with a brief history of Local Government in Frobisher Bay focusing primarily on the period since Frobisher became a village to the present. From that short-term, historical perspective the presentation will lead into an examination of the broader, cultural causes of discontent along with appropriate recommendations and/or alternatives. The presentation will include quotes where applicable, however, no statistical analysis of data will be undertaken.

Limitations of this Study

1. Time factors did not permit a highly sophisticated, statistically supported piece of research; further, the kind of information being sought does not readily lend itself to accurate statistical reduction, particularly in a cross-cultural situation where the reliance on interpreters is heavy and nuances are often regretablely lost. The reader is therefore encouraged to accept my conclusions and recommendations as having been borne of a sound mixture of education, local experience and accepted exploratory research methods.

A risk of author bias in this kind of an approach is readily minimized by the broad cross section of interviewees as well as by my unformed, yet outside perspective.

2. It may be argued that an effort should have been made to go to the public in a public meeting or a public questionnaire. Here again, time factors intervened and the advice of the Inuit people persuaded me that there was more to be gained from one-on-one interviews.

3. This study does not include a review of the relevant literature. While some relevant material was read prior to this report (see Bibliography), I did not analyze it and present it in this study. This deficiency is balanced by my familiarity with much of current literature on the Arctic whose assimilation will be reflected in this study regardless of whether or not it has here been specifically reviewed.

THE VILLAGE COUNCIL

History

Before 1965. There is no real evidence of any planned, systematic community council in Frobisher Bay prior to 1965. During this time there existed an Eskimo Advisory Council, which did not meet regularly and was not able to exercise any significant clout vis-a-vis the government. It was totally Inuit in composition and spent most of its time (when it met) discussing matters of concern to the Inuit. From time to time its recommendations were carried forward to the Federal Government Administration; these were, however, only arbitrarily responded to, thus leaving the Council to function basically in a power vacuum.

1965 - 1970. In 1965 a tragic fire in the Frobisher Bay community triggered the development of a Frobisher Bay Advisory Council. A constitution was drafted and Ottawa was officially advised of its existence. This council held elections, undertook its business in a planned, organized manner and met regularly. It was recognized by the Federal Government as reflecting community opinion and therefore, managed to exercise some persuasive influence in local matters. Both Inuit and Whites participated actively on this council and it was seen as an effective body by both segments of the Frobisher Bay community. The Advisory Council received funding on a per capita grant basis and was therefore able to administer a limited budget.

1970 - 1971. A Development Officer was employed by the Territorial Government in September 1970 with the specific assignment of developing the Advisory Council to Hamlet status. The Development Officer did his job well, and within a few months (April 1, 1971) the Frobisher Bay Advisory Council declared itself ready for Hamlet status.

1971 - 1974. Frobisher Bay functioned as a Hamlet under the Territorial Municipal Ordinance. As a Hamlet, they employed their own Secretary Manager and were given annual grants by the Territorial Government to undertake a variety of municipal responsibilities, with the notable exceptions of local improvements and the various taxation and debenture authorities. Participation during this period of Council's existence appears to have been significant with ongoing representation from both major cultural groupings of Frobisher Bay.

April 1974 - November 1975. Village status was granted to Frobisher Bay on April 12, 1974. This status enabled the Village Council to not only take charge of the traditional municipal responsibilities (eg. highways, recreation, public health, animal ~~council~~, fire protection, business licenses, garbage disposal, zoning) but it also permitted the Council to move into the areas of local improvements, money by-laws and the raising of revenues through taxation. Unfortunately, a new Secretary Manager, employed shortly after Frobisher became a Village, lacked a variety of management skills, the most significant of which was that he did not keep Council consistently up to date on financial matters. Furthermore, the business of Council was increasingly carried out in the English language thus leaving many of the Inuit councillors in an information vacuum with respect to the business of Council. The white members of Council too were not kept up to date on Council finances, as well as other administrative matters. This kind of maladministration resulted in errors such as a forced delay in the first election held by Village Council.

By the summer of 1975, it became evident that interest in Council matters by the Inuit councillors was waning:

....it is unfortunate that the first things a municipal council take over are financial and technical things such as water and sewage which Inuit find difficult to understand. Inuit would be more interested and have more input into cultural matters such as education.

(Inukshuk, September 1975)

This apparent waning of interest occurred concurrently with a further decline in the administrative situation. While the Department of Local Government was aware of this decline and suggested assistance and problem solving sessions such as workshops (Inukshuk, September 24, 1975) no concerted effort was undertaken by either Local Government or the Council; the administrative situation therefore continued to deteriorate until a wholly inadmissible budget was presented by council in the fall of 1975 and the Commissioner on November 10, 1975 invoked section 302 of the Municipal Ordinance dissolving the Village Council

and replacing it with a Government of the Northwest Territories appointed Administrator. In commenting on the dissolution the Inukshuk reported:

Mr. Creery feels that Local Government may share some of the blame for this Council's failure to cope. Maybe they invited Frobisher Bay to become a village too soon. He said the results were not surprising; a Hamlet Government, which discusses its budget with the Government before decisions are made is very different from a village which runs its own show and must raise its own taxes, he said.

(Inukshuk, November 12, 1975)

November 1975 - April 1976. During this time the affairs of Frobisher Bay were handled by an administrator (G.N.W.T.). The administrator worked closely with a non-elected Advisory Board and soon brought the local administration back into line. On January 20, 1976 the administrator announced the election for a new village council to be held on April 12, 1976. The same day a Local Government Development Worker arrived in Frobisher Bay with the task of working on a municipal education programme to enable the future council to run more "smoothly and effectively". At a public meeting to discuss the upcoming election, one of the senior Inuit Councillors (and recognized community leader) is quoted by the Inukshuk as saying:

Mr. ----- expressed great concern over the frequent lack of interpreters at past council meetings. Unless there is to be a regular interpreter, he said, no Inuk who does not speak and write English should run for council.

(Inukshuk, January 28, 1976)

In spite of the previous council's dissolution, the campaigning for the election turned out to be lively, spiced by some ten "Know Your Village Council" articles, as well as workshops undertaken by the Development Worker, and April 12, 1976, saw the election of a new cross-cultural Village Council with youthful Inuit representation. During his period of incumbency, the Administrator had relieved the previous Secretary Manager of his duties, and, with the help of his Advisory Body, had appointed a new person to fill that position.

April 1976 - Present. The new Village Council got right down to business and for a short time things appeared to function reasonably well with constructive activity in all subcommittee areas. A generous Local Government (G.N.W.T.) determined to offer this nascent council a Development Officer on a one years secondment basis which was graciously accepted; however, the position of the Development Officer was redefined by the Council (Administration Committee) to carry a heavy research and library building workload. They have to date not been able to fill that redefined position. Innovative efforts to involve the public in matters such as town planning and council meetings were made. Further, a move early in the Council's term to employ an Inuit Assistant Secretary Manager spoke well for the future.

Problems in Council functioning, however, began to appear within several months. In September the Chairman strongly recommended a revision to Hamlet status, citing an irrelevant municipal ordinance, lack of budget guidance by Yellowknife and the "railroading" of village status in the first place (Nunatsiaq News, September 1, 1976). Waning interest is further suggested by a cancelled meeting in October (no quorum) (Nunatsiaq News, October 20, 1976) and a strong statement by an Inuit councillor in November 1976:

Council is progressing well in English. But we forget that we're leaving behind what is most important, the Inuktitut speaking people.

(Nunatsiaq News, November 10, 1976)

A Local Government Council Workshop held in the same month was heralded as a success but did not prevent further deteriorations of feelings within, and with respect to, Council.

When nominations for the annual December Council elections closed, there were only four people (all white) contesting the three vacant seats. One of the whites ran on the following platform:

... It's my turn to do whatever they do up there. Mostly they do nothing so it's my turn to do nothing.

(Nunatsiaq News, December 8, 1976)

A C.B.C. talk show (December 8, 1976) focussed on the resignations and, at some length, vividly reiterated the opinions expressed in the above quotation.

At the same meeting another Inuit councillor moved postponement of the election to allow time for more Inuit to stand for nomination. The motion was carried, and while it drew heavy protest and divided the community, the Commissioner invoked sections of the Municipal Ordinance and acceded to this request. The elections was postponed for over a month.

The chief protesters appealed to the Supreme Court which eventually backed the Commissioner. They also attempted then to hold the entire election process up to ridicule by fielding 72 (eventually 38) candidates. The elections, however, proceeded in an orderly fashion, several Inuit people were nominated, and the end result was a culturally balanced mature council with the chief protest candidate gaining a seat. The election controversy however resulted in significant public pressure on the Inuit councillor who had proposed the motion for postponement; so much so, that he found it necessary to resign prior to the election.

This new Council is now in its early months of operation, however, is already beset by problems. In March 1977 alone two scheduled Council meetings had to be cancelled for lack of a quorum. In view of the stormy recent history of Village Council, an extra-ordinary effort on the part of all councillors will be required if its future is to be marked with success.

Reasons for Low Interest and Recommendations

In dealing with this most important section of the report, my research to date has led me to divide the most significant reasons for low interest in Village Council into two general categories. The first category is broad and falls largely along cultural lines. Factors of discontent in this category are deep and often difficult to change because of their broad, sociocultural base. Just as important, however, are a variety of specific factors unique to the Frobisher Bay Village Council all of which have apparently contributed significantly to the waning of interest in Village Council by Inuit people in Frobisher Bay.

I fully recognize the ease with which criticisms can be made, particularly retrospective criticisms. Slightly more of a creative challenge is involved in the drafting of recommendations intended to deal constructively with the problem areas. The real burden and challenge however lies with the individuals who digest the criticisms and endeavour to implement recommendations in such a way as to achieve the intended results. May the recommendations contained in this section be sufficiently steeped in realism to become workable tools for the members and staff of Village Council.

Cultural Issues

A. Language

One of the most concrete and defineable of the cultural issues that operate to stifle Inuit interest in Village Council is the issue of language. It is given priority treatment in this section for the simple reason that it is the one issue which must be overcome if any progress at all is to be made in the resolution of Village Council's operating problems. It is an issue that has long been recognized by both cultures, yet one over which Village Council has recurrently stumbled, and fallen. My observations of one Village Council meeting and one Town Planning meeting provides ample indication that this issue is as yet not resolved and that Village Council, if the status quo continues, stands every chance of falling over this issue once again.

It is painfully clear that a Council which is bound to have a significant membership fluent only in Inuktitut (currently three councillors) must have a very comprehensive and thorough system of interpretation or translation if the interest of the Inuit members is to be sustained. Everything that is presented to Council must appear in both languages, whether spoken or written. Complicated items (e.g. bylaws) must be reduced to translatable language as it is crucially important that the Inuit councillors understand fully all business items on which they are expected to vote. Similarly, efforts must be undertaken to translate (possibly in simplified, summarized fashion) complex documents such as the Municipal Ordinance.

I am aware that Council has agonized over the language problem at great length; further that they currently appear to be unable to locate an

interpreter/translator with sufficient funding (whatever is necessary) it should, however, be possible to locate the right person for the job. The complex, voluminous work required of an interpreter/translator at the Village Council level should qualify him/her for salaries in the same range as the high ranking interpreter/translators employed by the Interpreter Corps of the Government of the Northwest Territories.

The language issue was strongly addressed by the bulk of interviewees all of whom felt that it was a major stumbling block to effective Village Council functionary. This widespread concern leads me to the following recommendations:

1. A HIGH QUALITY INTERPRETER/TRANSLATOR EMPLOYED BY THE VILLAGE COUNCIL ON A FULLTIME BASIS. (A SALARY RANGE OF \$17,000.00 to \$20,000.00 SHOULD DRAW THE KIND OF SEASONED PERSON IN THIS FIELD THAT IS REQUIRED.
2. UNTIL THE EMPLOYMENT OF AN INTERPRETER, THE INTERPRETING/TRANSLATING SERVICES OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES BE MADE AVAILABLE AS REQUIRED.
3. UNTIL THE EMPLOYMENT OF AN INTERPRETER/TRANSLATOR, THE RATES FOR INTERPRETING AT COUNCIL MEETINGS SHOULD BE SIGNIFICANTLY ESCALATED FROM THE CURRENT RATE OF \$7.00/HOUR. A FLAT RATE OF CIRCA \$25.00 FOR THE FIRST TWO HOURS IS SUGGESTED.
4. EFFECTIVE IMMEDIATELY ANYTHING PRESENTED TO COUNCIL OR THE COMMITTEES OF COUNCIL SHOULD BE PRESENTED IN ENGLISH AND INUKTITUT (WEATHER VERBAL OR WRITTEN).

B. Models of Decision-Making

Almost as strongly manifested within the functioning of Village Council, though somewhat more difficult to define, is the difference in functioning of "southern" trained people and Inuit people in a council forum. This issue was alluded to by a bulk of the people I interviewed. Because of its comparatively abstract nature, however, it was only clearly defined by a handful of people I interviewed. The issue is nevertheless a significant one, again corroborated by my observations of the Village Council and the Town Planning Committee in action.

"Southerners" have been trained to adopt an adversary, debate-orientation to business items that are presented to Council for decision. After a short period of preliminary discussion, a member of the Council grasps the issues with sufficient clarity to propose a motion. The discussion of the motion normally takes on a comparatively aggressive, debating style. Then, after the Chairman deems the motion to have been sufficiently discussed (regardless of consensus) the question is called and a 51% majority vote will render the decision. This is the normal, "southern" way of deciding issues.

The Inuit way of group decision making has been described to me (and to my observations and experience corroborates this) as drastically different from this adversary model. In an Inuit forum or council when faced with a decision, an idea will be advanced in a tentative, open-ended fashion. This idea will then be discussed at length, examined and amended. The nature of the discussion is highly consensual and strongly opposing views are rarely evidenced. After considerable discussion and when no significant new factors are added, the decision is considered to have been made. This format of decision making is often more time consuming than the "southern" format described above; it does, however, usually reflect a 100% consensus as opposed to a 51% majority.

That these two approaches cannot peacefully co-exist within the same forum is self-evident. Invariably those with the more aggressive approach wind up playing the dominant role in any discussion. Those with the consensus approach will tend to withdraw into polite silence. When they do speak, they will deliver a relatively quiet-spoken, open-minded opinion which the debate-oriented people will be unlikely to respond to. Their suggestions thus are often spoken into a vacuum, valid though they may be.

There is no ready solution to this issue. It is, however, possible to make adjustments in the Village Council system as it stands that would serve to balance the weight of their participation in council with that of the

"debate" faction. Several Inuit people in addressing this issue and describing the disadvantages they felt in council recommended some kind of an all-Inuit adjunct to council. Other Inuit people went as far as to suggest an all-Inuit Council, affiliated with no one and finding its own linkage at whatever level. If handled properly the more moderate of the two suggested recommendations may be a significant factor in dealing with this crucial cultural issue.

5. IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT AN ALL-INUIT ADVISORY COUNCIL BE SET UP AS A SUBCOMMITTEE OF VILLAGE COUNCIL. THAT THIS ADVISORY COUNCIL IDENTIFY ITS OWN WAY OF DETERMINING ITS SIZE AND MAKEUP. FURTHER, THAT ONE MEMBER OF THIS ADVISORY COUNCIL SERVE AS A LINKAGE WITH VILLAGE COUNCIL. THAT VILLAGE COUNCIL BE CHARGED WITH RESPONDING TO THIS ADVISORY COUNCIL.

There are two further recommendations that may help to bridge cultural gaps of debate versus the consensus orientation described here.

Presently the vast majority of matters appearing before council are presented first in English and then translated into Inuktitut. This invariably gives the English speaking component of Village Council an edge in the discussion. While the Inuit people are still groping with the interpretation the English speaking component is already engaged in full fledged discussion and/or debate. If the language order were to be reversed (and with high quality interpretation/translation services this should be possible) then it would seem probable that some of the discussion edge would be taken off the English speaking component, particularly if the staff resource person in attendance at the council meeting is an Inuit person.

6. IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT AS FAR AS POSSIBLE ITEMS OF BUSINESS BE PRESENTED BEFORE COUNCIL IN INUKTITUT FIRST AND THEN TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH, RATHER THAN THE PRESENT ENGLISH FIRST SYSTEM.
7. IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT HIGH PRIORITY BE GIVEN TO DEVELOPING THE SECRETARY MANAGER TRAINEE TO BE THE STAFF PERSON IN ATTENDANCE AT COUNCIL MEETINGS. IT IS FELT THAT THIS SHOULD OCCUR WITHIN A THREE-MONTH PERIOD, THE SECRETARY MANAGER FUNCTIONING AS BACKUP FOR SEVERAL MONTHS AFTER THE ADJUSTMENT.

C. Polarization of the Cultures

Polarization of the two dominant cultures has already been touched on in the introduction. It warrants further mention under the heading of cultural issues, however, as has been specifically pointed out by several of the interviewees (both white and Inuit), it lies at the base of problems with Village Council. The following translated comments from some of the elder Inuit people (family patriarchs) will demonstrate some of the feeling that exists:

Kadloonags always control everything; seems to be more control by the Kadloonags; white systems always seem to be on top.

- approx. 55 year old Inuit

When he was on Council it was hard to agree because the Kadloonags were like Gods.

- approx. 60 year old Inuit

When they started councils there used to be more power to the Inuit. Now they aren't able to help people because the Inuit don't have any power.

- retired Inuit

It seemed to be a Kadloonag council and we were just sitting there. Most everything involved whites. Never was there any training.

- middle aged Inuit councillor

- very significant community leader

Don't like the way it's operated right now because the white is on top. Inuit concerns are at the bottom of the list. Because we get so much from the south. Racism is getting worse.

- current Inuit councillor

- community leader

- middle aged.

All of the quotations were taken from that age group of Inuit people (middle aged and older) who have normally been seen as most accommodating to the southern systems. My interview series (I spoke with about 25 Inuit, and 25 whites) very strongly brought this feeling of polarization into focus.

It is further clear that as this feeling grows (and there are no indications that it will not) the tendency on the part of the Inuit people towards participation in Village Council will proportionately decrease. One of the most significant things I witnessed at the March 1977 council meeting

I attended was one of the middle aged Inuit councillors stating that the Council was discussing more and more white man's concerns and that Inuit concerns weren't dealt with adequately. A major Inuit concern for a considerable period of time had been the dredging of a channel from the low tide mark to the beach and that this had never been dealt with. He said he would work for this channel and if it wouldn't happend maybe there would be no more Inuit running for council.

Several other Inuit interviewees mentioned this channel to me in a comparatively forceful manner. One of these was an ex-councillor whose efforts to deal with the channel issue had proved fruitless and whose decision not to let her name stand for re-election, had been precipitated by her failure in this area. It is clear that the channel is, for many Inuit, becoming a flagship issue; an issue whose disposition will give people an indication of the responsiveness of Council to Inuit people's needs. This issue therefore warrants a separate recommendation:

8. IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT THE VILLAGE COUNCIL VIEW THE POSSIBLE CONSTRUCTION OF A LOW TIDE CHANNEL AS A PRIORITY ITEM AND UNDERTAKE A THOROUGH INVESTIGATION AS TO THE FEASIBILITY OF SUCH A VENUTRE. (If such a channel is not feasible, then a proper feasibility study should still the voices of discontent.)

If this cultural polarization continues over the foreseeable future, then it will become likely that Inuit people will turn increasingly to the exclusive native organizations (I.T.C. and its loose affiliates) for their political expression. The growth of the native organizations over the past year and a half has been astounding, and at least two top grade G.N.W.T. employees (one of them a councillor) have left their civil service jobs for jobs with these organizations. Clearly therefore an encouragement to these organizations to involve themselves, to whatever degree, in Village affairs, must be seen as a positive step - a step which not only will impede the polarizing drift, but may also have a moderating effect on some of these organizations.

9. IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT NATIVE ORGANIZATIONS BE ENCOURAGED TO PARTICIPATE IN VILLAGE COUNCIL MATTERS.

Specific Issues

A. Community Power Realities

An examination of the distribution of community power in Frobisher Bay reveals a confusing unrelated network of agencies and organizations, all of which can have crucial effects on the life of the residents of Frobisher, particularly the longer-term residents, the bulk of whom are Inuit. The Housing Association, the Hunters and Trappers Association, the hospital, the police, the airport, the Government of the Northwest Territories agencies, the native organizations, Northern Canada Power Commission, and Ministry of Transport and others all play a large role in the life of the residents of Frobisher Bay. The power that directs these agencies lies either in Ottawa, in Yellowknife, or to a degree, with local groups not affiliated with Village Council.

Village Council is left with responsibility for rather residual areas (roads, Town Planning, sewage, business licenses, dog control, fire fighting, tax collection, recreation). The councillors when they assume office often expect to have strong input into many of the areas where they do not have jurisdictional authority. They are crucially concerned about matters such as housing, education, social development and fish and wildlife, yet find that as Village councillors they have virtually no impact in any of these areas.

Most of the business was about rock crushing land leases, business licenses, etc. Most of the white man seems to be concerned about owning land; not the Inuit way. Didn't discuss very many concerns that were the concerns of the people.

- young Inuit
- ex-councillor

All organizations seem to be pulling away from each other. That's where Inuit people lose their faith in all these bloody committees.

- young Inuit
- community leader

Council should be dealing with things that have social impact.

- Inuit leader
- native organization

Inuit people are more concerned about people things; Kadloonag more concerned about dollar things.

- Inuit leader

Too much power in Yellowknife. A lot of cases of native people wanting to do things and told they have to go to Yellowknife; along the way the original idea gets lost.

- Inuit ex-civil servant

These quotations are illustrative of a message that was repeated over and over by the Inuit interviewees, and understood by most of the white interviewees. It is clear that there is a strong need for some of the power that now confuses and entangles those attempting to deal with it to be made logical, simple and accessible if Village Council is to be seen as responsible from an Inuit perspective. The Territorial program of "devolution" (a program whereby authority in some program departments may be delegated to municipalities) is certainly a partial step towards bringing some of this power home. The following recommendations arise.

10. THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES ENGAGE IN DIALOGUE WITH THE FROBISHER BAY VILLAGE COUNCIL IN ORDER TO ASSESS TO WHAT DEGREE THE IDEA OF DEVOLUTION CAN BE LOCALLY APPLIED.
11. THAT VILLAGE COUNCIL UNDERTAKE TO FAMILIARIZE ITSELF WITH MAJOR POWER STRUCTURES IN THE COMMUNITY. THAT A HANDBOOK CONTAINING THIS INFORMATION BE PRODUCED.
12. THAT LINKAGES BE SET UP BETWEEN VILLAGE COUNCIL AND THE MAJOR COMMUNITY POWER GROUPS IN ORDER THAT COUNCIL MAY FEED INTO THESE FREELY AS THE NEED MAY ARISE.
13. THAT, WHEREVER POSSIBLE, ESPECIALLY AS IT RELATES TO MUNICIPALITIES, DECISION-MAKING AUTHORITY IN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES BE TRANSFERRED FROM YELLOWKNIFE TO THE BAFFIN REGION TO ENABLE VILLAGE COUNCIL TO MORE EXPEDITIOUSLY CARRY ON ITS BUSINESS.
Eg. Bylaw approval authority, planning approval authority and others.

B. Exercise of Executive Power

Twice in the past year-and-a-half the Commissioner exercised his executive mandate in a rather forceful way with respect to the affairs of the Frobisher Bay Village Council. The dissolution of Village Council in November 1975 is the first instance of this use of executive authority. It is not the purpose of this paper to debate the necessity of this drastic action; it is, however, clear that such strong, unilateral action will inflict casualties that last long after the act itself. The reaction on the part of Inuit and whites to the dissolution was largely negative. The following comments typify the overall response.

It wasn't a good idea when the Commissioner stopped the Council.

- older Inuit person

When people heard council fired they were confused. Why Council fired? Commissioner just sent a person; didn't come in person. This persuaded the older people not to run for council anymore.

- older Inuit ex-councillor

Dissolution was justified; finances were in a bad state. Auditors gave warnings but no one did anything. Partial trusteeship may have been preferable. Dissolution probably caused feeling that council was something only white people could handle.

- white councillor

I guess we were doing a poor job, but we were dissolved without even being told by anyone that we were doing a poor job.

- Inuit ex-councillor

The older people that were gonna run for council got very discouraged when the Commissioner dissolved Council.

- Inuit resident

- middle aged

My observations over the past month lead me to the conclusion that the dissolution of council was a most significant deterring factor for the further involvement of the older Inuit leaders in council. Statements

to this effect were carried over the media (C.B.C. and the newspaper):

-no Inuk who does not speak and write English
- should run for council.

- statement made by Inuit
ex-councillor and community leader
(Inukshuk, January 28, 1976)

This feeling was definitely prevalent among many of the older people. The significance of this is compounded when one keeps in mind that real power among Inuit people is vested solely in the older generations. Though young people are often used as spokesmen, it is the older Inuit that are seen by their people to have the real power. One can therefore appreciate the long range impact of the dissolution of council. It is of interest to note that no older Inuit participated in the succeeding village election.

The December 1976 postponement of the Village Council elections were the second instance of a rather drastic use of the executive authority, by the Commissioner. The postponement however cannot be seen as a unilateral action, as the Village Council had requested him to take this action. Nor was the people's reaction, particularly the reaction of the Inuit, strongly negative, though a storm of white protest was unleashed.

It was o.k. when the Commissioner changed the election because of no Inuit.

- Inuit ex-councillor

Postponement was a good idea because there wasn't enough Inuit.

- Inuit resident
- middle aged

I did not like the idea of postponing the election on election day.

- Inuit ex-councillor

I had a feeling that it was a good idea because at least there's someone that cares about the Inuit.

- Inuit ex-councillor

I was thinking we don't need election anymore; I almost quit even though I was nominated.

- Inuit councillor

How can you postpone an election? A real breach of faith. They say there wasn't time to get the Eskimo involved, yet they had a majority for a whole year. Now they wanna postpone.

- white councillor

It is clear that the Inuit reaction ranged from praise to a mild negative reaction. A group of white people however, reacted strongly to the postponement. Efforts were made by this group to ridicule the election process by flooding the field with candidates, and later to invalidate the election through the courts. It is fortunate that neither of these strategies succeeded, if for no other reason than the retention of some stability within the Village Council.

Both of the above situations could have been avoided if the relationship between the higher level of government (Government of the Northwest Territories) and the municipal government had been closer. Nothing magical happens when a hamlet gains village status. Most often you have the same people sitting on the municipal council; yet they deal with a much greater range and complexity of matters. Particularly in cross-cultural situations, where communication (and adjustment to new situations) is difficult at best, a high amount of sensitivity to such a transition (from Hamlet to Village) should be exercised. Without eroding any of the authority of the Village, help should be extended in an ongoing manner in order to prevent crises such as the administration fiasco of 1975 and the election fiasco of 1976 from occurring. In time (possibly years) as the Village demonstrates its ability to function without the need for consultative help from the Territorial level, this help can be withdrawn.

14. IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES RETAIN A CLOSE INFORMAL LIAISON WITH THE FROBISHER VILLAGE COUNCIL, IN ORDER TO PROVIDE ADVISORY AND FACILITATIVE ASSISTANCE IN ANY AREA OF VILLAGE COUNCIL FUNCTIONING THAT REQUIRED IT: THAT THIS LIAISON BE OPEN-ENDED, AND THAT IT NOT BE WITHDRAWN UNTIL VILLAGE COUNCIL HAS SUCCESSIVELY DEMONSTRATED ITS ABILITY TO FUNCTION COMPLETELY WITHOUT IT.

This kind of liaison should be provided through the Government of the Northwest Territories Regional Office. It should perhaps operate in a manner that parallels the liaison that presently exists between the Government of the Northwest Territories Regional Office and the Hamlets without encroaching in any way on Village power and Village responsibility.

15. THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES BE EXTREMELY SENSITIVE TO THE USE OF DRASTIC EXECUTIVE POWER WITH RESPECT OF THE VILLAGE COUNCIL, THAT THIS POWER NEVER BE EXERCISED UNILATERALLY WITHOUT INTENSIVE PRIOR CONSULTATION AND WORK TO REMEDY PROBLEMS.

The executive power that dissolved council could have, for example, been much more sensitively exercised if the Commissioner had advised the Village Council that he would deputize an administrator to the Village Council for a period of several months to assist them in dealing with their administrative turmoil. This administrator could have recommended drastic measures such as gross budget revisions or even the discharging of personnel if warranted. This kind of action in response to the Village Council situation of 1975 would not have had the far-reaching implications for participation that the dissolution appears to have had.

C. Dialogue with the Community

I don't feel I can speak to Council when I want. Council should hold more public meetings.

- Inuit senior citizen

I like to see much more public meetings. If they can answer the questions, that way it would be much better between Kadloonag and Inuit.

- Inuit Church elder

Chairman never organizes any public meetings.

- Inuit middle aged

Never any people coming to watch

- Inuit ex-councillor

....in a district (ward) system maybe people (council) would listen more.

- Inuit resident

Council should talk more to people about the things that are happening in Frobisher Bay. They should go to the people themselves.

- Inuit ex-councillor

Councillors, once they get into Council, appear to find it difficult to establish and maintain dialogue. On the one hand the business that is discussed in council meetings often times does not seem terribly relevant to the concerns (as they see them) of the people. On the other hand, Inuit councillors are concerned that people don't often make approaches to them about matters to be brought before councillors. The councillors therefore begin to feel like they are functioning in a vacuum, without a people sounding board to provide feedback. As they are drawn more into the comparatively complex, financially oriented aspects of Village Council business, their feeling of isolation from the concerns of people they are there to represent grows.

Clearly the Frobisher Village Council must respond to this need for more communication; they have in fact over the past attempted to do so. At one time efforts were made to hold advertised Town Council meetings in various locales throughout the community. It was however determined that council functioning was impeded by this approach because of the non-accessibility of documents that might be needed. The local newspaper, as well, makes efforts to cover all the council meetings, however, as one Inuit interviewee expressed it, "There are never any Inuit reporters and not many editorials about Village Council".

It is felt that an effort must be made to bring the individual councillors closer to their constituency. The possibility of a ward system has been previously discussed by Village Council and was included in all of my interviews. The idea of a ward system received widespread support. Each councillor would have clear knowledge about who he/she is responsible to and would be charged with responsibility to be fully informed on the priority concerns in his/her ward.

16. IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT THE VILLAGE COUNCIL SET UP ELECTORAL DISTRICTS (WARDS) WITHIN ITS BOUNDARIES AND USE THESE DISTRICTS AS A BASIS FOR REPRESENTATION ON COUNCIL.
17. IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT COUNCILLORS FROM EACH WARD HOLD WARD MEETINGS AT LEAST QUARTERLY TO ENSURE THAT SOME FORM OF DIALOGUE WITH THE PEOPLE IS MAINTAINED.

This issue of consultation with the people was brought clearly into focus at a Town Planning meeting I attended this month. In discussing housing development, one of the Inuit councillors spoke rather eloquently on the need for consultation with people of the community prior to determining where housing development was to occur. In discussing this issue and planning generally, the planners (who were present) indicated that they would be consulting with a growing list of people in the development of a town plan. There was however no community consultation process included in their plan at that stage. I therefore drew up a brief community consultation proposal (Appendix D) which has been submitted to the Government of the Northwest Territories (Executive) and which is herewith being submitted to Council. It is crucially important in my mind that a strong effort (sponsored by the Village Council) of community consultation occur in the early stages of the development of a Frobisher General Plan. The community consultation process would last only a short time (for or five months) could possibly be done using local people (Frobisher has an Inuit community organizer) and would require a budget of no more than ten to fifteen thousand dollars. This kind of people participation in planning is what will encourage people (Inuit and white) participation in the future.

18. IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT THE VILLAGE COUNCIL SEEK FUNDING FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES TO UNDERTAKE THE SPONSORSHIP OF A COMMUNITY CONSULTATION PROCESS WHICH WOULD INVOLVE PEOPLE IN APPROPRIATE INPUT INTO THE PLAN BEING WORKED ON BY THE SAFDIE GROUP.

D. Complexity of Pace of Council Business

A standard criticism I encountered by Inuit councillors and ex-councillors with respect to the business of Village Council was that it was too complex and too rushed. Councillors were often faced with a bulk of raw, technical data that was extremely difficult to comprehend. The Village Council meeting I attended provided a good instance of this. Passage of two readings of a fairly complex borrowing bylaw was requested. Though passage of this bylaw occurred without any hitches, it was sufficiently complex that I found it difficult to understand the bylaw when it was read; I am certain that it was impossible to interpret directly from the English language without first being reduced to a less "jargonistic" form. Similarly items relating to contracts and the more complex aspects of Village administration are very difficult to interpret, and thus for the unilingual Inuit to comprehend.

...when things get down to technical matters,
council often reverts to white control.

- White councillor

It was very difficult, especially when financial things were talked about.

- White councillor

As long as it's nothing but roads, equipment, finances and what kind of houses should be built, they're not going to be interested. It's too complicated and it's boring.

- White councillor

Council is too formal and complicated. Inuit people are informal.

- Inuit ex-councillor

You have no interest from a financial aspect; therefore you should farm out most of the financial things.

- White ex-councillor

Business is so complex that it may be difficult to deal with it. Interpreting complex business is very hard.

- Inuit council interpreter

...the pace is so fast that Inuit person has a hard time understanding the interpretation and thinking what he gonna say. He maybe want to say something.

- Inuit ex-councillor

To a large degree the concerns of complexity expressed above relate to the cultural issue of language and interpretation. It must, however, be stressed that direct interpretation by itself may not be enough for some of the complex items. It may be necessary to summarize and reduce to non-jargonistic terms some of the complex matters that are brought before council. The Municipal Ordinance, for example, is a document that is difficult to understand in English, almost impossible to translate and impossible for an Inuit to understand once interpreted. A ten to fifteen page summary in both languages would still provide the basic, easily understandable, information.

19. IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT COMPLEX DOCUMENTS AND INFORMATION WITH WHICH COUNCIL HAS TO DEAL, BE REDUCED TO SIMPLIFIED TRANSLATABLE FORM PRIOR TO TRANSLATION AND THAT IT BE TRANSLATED FROM THAT FORM RATHER THAN FROM THE ORIGINAL.

A further more serious question that must be faced in addressing the issue of the complexity and pace of council business is the basic question of whether or not the village is able to handle all the responsibilities with which it is charged. My discussion of this question over the past month revealed a fairly vocal body of opinion that felt a reversion to Hamlet status would be one of the best things for this community. Significantly, however, most of the people that voiced this opinion were rate-payers. The majority of people with whom this issue was discussed did not feel that the problem was one of ability or inability to handle Village affairs. To a large degree a Hamlet must deal with business that is similar in complexity to village matters. Most people appeared to agree that the key issue was one of organization and presentation, rather than the native status of the municipal council. In the absence of any overpowering evidence one way or another I will merely acknowledge that this may now be an issue, however, it should disappear as an issue as some of the recommendations in this report are implemented.

The proper use of an Inuit Advisory Subcommittee along with the adoption of some of the recommendations pertaining to language should ensure the inclusion of the people-oriented, local priority agenda items on Village Council. As well, the recommendations with respect to language (eg. Inuktitut first) should have a moderating effect on the pace of council meetings. This slowdown of pace is essential if the two cultures are going to work side by side in the management of this village. What is gained in participation by this change of pace will be sacrificed in time; it is the price which must

be paid to allow meaningful Inuit participation to take place. In the end, however, you gain much more than you sacrifice.

E. Role of the Chairman

The Municipal Ordinance defines the role of Chairman as follows:

"The Mayor or Chairman as the case may be will be the chief executive officer of the municipality.

It is the duty of the Chairman:

- a) to be vigilant and active in causing the laws for the government of the municipality to be duly executed and obeyed,
- b) to oversee the conduct of all officers and employees in the municipality, and, as far as practicable, cause any negligence, carelessness or violation of duty to be prosecuted and punished; and,
- c) to communicate to council from time to time such information and recommend such measures as may tend to the improvement of the finances, health, security, cleanliness, comfort and ornament of the community."

(Municipal Ordinance Section 131)

The above definition of the Chairman's role can be interpreted in various ways; in fact, differing local interpretations of the Chairman's role have contributed to some misunderstandings and may, if they are not resolved, lead to serious difficulty in the future.

The present Chairman adopts a liberal interpretation of Section 131 and thus sees himself as "overseeing the conduct of all officers and employees etc". In that regard he feels it to be his responsibility to be aware of, and take necessary action, with respect to, any facet of the operations of Village Council. He may, for example, see it as his duty to take a deficient vehicle off the road or reprimand a negligent employee. As the Chief Executive Officer he sees himself as falling short of his responsibilities (as defined by the ordinance) if he does anything less.

The Secretary Manager is the Chief Administrative Officer of the Village Council and has responsibility to oversee the entire Village administration. It is clear therefore, that administratively, he sees a part of his responsibilities as doing exactly the kind of things that the Chairman feels are his responsibilities. Further, as Chief Administrative Officer, he recognizes that the Chairman's intervention in what he sees as his area of responsibility can have far-reaching implications for staff morale and administrative efficiency. A shrewd employee, perceiving an erosion of the Administrator's authority, could theoretically manipulate these two positions against each other with disastrous effects.

That this difference of opinion has to date not resulted in a serious conflict speaks strongly for the flexible, accommodating nature of both gentlemen occupying these positions. As long as this difference of opinion exists, however, the Village Council and its administration is seriously weakened. This can have implications for participation in council in the future.

It is most important that the working relationship between the Village Chairman and the Secretary-Manager be strong and trustful. It is further crucial that the Secretary-Manager be vested with complete management leadership authority in the areas for which he is responsible. Sound administrative theory dictates that nothing should be done to weaken the authority within the Village Administration.

20. IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT THE VILLAGE COUNCIL CHAIRMAN EXERCISE HIS AUTHORITY (SECTION 131, MUNICIPAL ORDINANCE) ONLY THROUGH THE SECRETARY-MANAGER EXCEPT IN THE CASE OF EXTREME EMERGENCY.

F. Council Meeting Decorum

In discussing meetings of council with many of the Inuit councillors, I was advised that at times they were taken aback, even insulted by the behaviour of some of the white councillors to other members of council. Perhaps this is

a function of the white people's tendency to engage more freely in the "cut and thrust" of debate. The need for a co-operative, problem-solving atmosphere within council cannot be overstressed.

A council that is dealing with difficult matters in a cross-cultural situation can be seriously damaged by negative remarks directed at other councillors. This topic does not require extensive discussion; its significance should be self-evident.

21. IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT COUNCILLORS IN VILLAGE COUNCIL MEETINGS RELATE TO EACH OTHER WITH DIGNITY AND RESPECT.

G. Education about Municipal Councils

Lack of knowledge about municipal matters was often identified by the interviewees as a basic problem that had a serious inhibiting effect on participation in Village Council. This lack of knowledge is not restricted to councillors or aspiring councillors but covers the whole Inuit (and to a large degree White) community.

Never was there any training.

- Inuit ex-councillor

Each was handed an ordinance, but no effort to teach it.

- Inuit ex-councillor

Yellowknife had workshop about council, but too many college words, and a little bit too fast.

- Inuit ex-councillor

For the local people there should be classes about council; night classes and high school.

- Inuit ex-councillor

I never been taught about council laws.

- Inuit councillor

Political education should come first (before local politics were introduced).

- Inuit leader

- native organization

Has to be a lot more workshops. I ask for education to the public and to the schools and it was ignored.

- Inuit councillor

The number one problem is a lack of education. Government expects to have the village run itself without telling them how to do it. They have a few workshops but why did they stop?

- White councillor

An ongoing low-key campaign to educate all levels of the community in the area of municipal affairs is clearly felt to be a significant current need. Over the past scattered attempts have been made to meet this need, and to a degree they proved valuable. A council in the sensitive situation in which the Frobisher Bay Council finds itself requires more than the occasional workshop.

This kind of responsibility would normally fall into the role of a Development Officer. In spring, 1976, the Government of the Northwest Territories determined to second the position of a Development Officer to the Frobisher Village Council for a one-year period. In dealing with this offer the Administration Committee of the Village Council determined that they could use this position for purposes other than just 'Development' and redefined the position to include a significant research focus. Although the subsequent competition was widely responded to and a candidate was located, he only stayed for a short while.

A Development Officer at this period in the Frobisher Bay municipality could play a most important role. His major responsibilities could be in the area of education and development not only in the Village Council, but also in the school and the community. Further, most of the recommendations in this report require that some person takes on the responsibility to ensure that efforts are made to implement them. Unquestionably recent history of Council attests to the difficulties that can beset a representative council in a community comprised of two major cultures with fundamental differences in language, values and economic base. In many respects the pitfalls that lie ahead are far more treacherous than the ones that have already been endured. The recommendations of this report are intended to serve as suggestions that might avoid, or at least minimize the negative effect of some of those pitfalls. A Development Officer would be able to work with the recommendations as part of his/her overall responsibilities.

22. IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT A DEVELOPMENT OFFICER BE EMPLOYED BY THE VILLAGE COUNCIL TO UNDERTAKE COUNCIL AND COMMUNITY EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT IN MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS AS PER THE JOB DESCRIPTION CONTAINED IN APPENDIX E.

It is strongly recommended that the duties of this Development Officer not be divided between research and development as has been previously done by Village Council. It is for this reason that a basic job description is included in the appendix. The task of education and development will be sufficiently difficult without complicating it further by added responsibilities. It is further important that the Development Officer report to the Council as a whole rather than to individuals on it. He/she is the one person who should not have any reporting relationship to the Secretary-Manager, although it is imperative that these positions work closely together. Further, the Development Officer should not engage in any administrative duties.

CONCLUSION

The Frobisher Bay Village Council is fortunate in being one of the only, of not the only, Village Councils in the Northwest Territories today that has balanced, committed representation from both the native and the white culture. This Council has suffered strong shocks in its short life that seriously threaten its future. If the Council members work together to overcome these difficulties and still hang together as a truly representative body, they will have achieved a great deal. If, however, the present trend towards polarization continues it will be only a short time before Inuit participation falls off completely.

That this trend towards polarization of the cultures is no joke, was made very clear at the Village Council meeting that I attended, at which one of the older Inuit made several significant points:

....white people are visitors in this land

....the white man and the Inuit people have been separated for a long time

....an all Inuit Advisory Council is needed. The white man knows what the white people want but doesn't know what the Inuit people want. An Advisory Council would help this.

I would like to suggest a low tide channel. In 1964 this was talked about, but it was never built. I know that if the white man doesn't want this, it will take a long time. I hope this will be carried out this time; if not maybe there won't be any Inuit running in the next election.

- Inuit councillor
- March 1977 Meeting

The message here is clearly one of frustration. Although this cultural split has always existed to a degree, it appears now to be growing in strength. My conversations with people over the past month further indicate that the attitudes expressed above are closely related and in response to attitudes and behaviour of some members of the white culture:

The non-Eskimo have no regard for the Inuit. Nobody wants to put in they all want to take out. A belligerent attitude.

- White leader

Cultural polarization is not the only significant factor threatening the Village Council at this time. A bloc of approximately six white people serve as a backup support group to one of the white councillor's positions. It was this group that originally fielded their candidate on a "do nothing" campaign. Later, when the Commissioner postponed the election, it was this group that led an active, surprisingly well organized campaign to discredit the entire election by flooding the field with candidates.

Now, with their man in Council, two members of the support group have indicated what they hope their man will do:

....(he) has a suspicion that Council is not good. Once he confirms this he will do everything to destroy Council.
- White resident

His purpose now is to get the Council to do something and if the Council doesn't do anything, his purpose is to destroy Council.

- White resident

So Council must face a threat from an entirely new quarter. It is unfortunate that this kind of game plan (if that is what it is) has to unfold in a Council that already functions on a fairly sensitive balance. Certainly heavily confrontive situations will only serve to further polarize the two cultural groups in Council. It is nevertheless important that Council be made aware of the full situation.

It is difficult, in the light of all the preceding information to examine what the future hold for the Frobisher Bay Village Council. So many variables exist as well certainly, however, the chief determinant of the future of the Village Council will lie in the kind of commitment that council members, and the community, can muster to support the Council.

If people can pull together to implement some (perhaps most) of the recommendations laid out in this report, it is possible to predict with some confidence that Inuit participation on Village Council will improve. If a Development Officer can be found who is able to blunt somewhat the debating

edge of some of the white councillors and bring the two cultures closer together, a lot will have been achieved. If the language problem can be dealt with as recommended, the entire flavour of council meetings will change for the better.

In the introduction to this report, I briefly described the trend towards native expression through exclusive native groups as their participation in municipal affairs diminished. I feel that these groups should be encouraged to participate in local affairs. This could either be done by direct participation or by cooperative ventures. It is clear that as the native organizations grow (and they certainly do) they will attract an ever growing amount of Inuit participation; in many ways the same kind of participation for which Council is competing.

These organizations are interested in the welfare of their people and would surely respond to an attractive request for participation in a joint venture. It would be a most significant step and, in the long run, beneficial to Council and the native groups.

List of Community People Interviewed in the Course of this Study

Glen Pitman
Roger Cousins
Erwin Pfeiffer
Hugh Stevenson
Paulosie Kilabuk
Atzainak Akeeshoo
Ann Hanson
Joe Akeeshoo
Brian Pearson
Arnaitoo Aipeelee
Flash Kilabuk
Simonie Michael
Ross McKinnon
Martha Noah
Annawakaloo
Simonie Alainga
Napatchie Lyta
Pitsulalaq
Harry Kilabuk
Markosie Peter
Jack Paton
Tom Webster
Jim Fradsham
John Anagualok
Nowdlak Oshweetok

Alethea Foster
Peter Baril
Nipisha Apiq
David Nowdlak
Ainiak Koagak
Fred Conan
Bill Barnie
Des Miklos
Monica Connolly
Dick Bushey
John Fuller
Gilda Mekler
Mark Levesque
Brian Burrows
Jonah Kelly
Tom Dancheson
Frank Cserepy
Ken McRury
Jens Lyberth
Dennis Patterson
Willy Kungl
Ben Ell
John Parker
Mike Moore
David Atagayuk
Joanasie Aningmink

APPENDIX A
Terms of Reference



GOVERNMENT OF THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES
CANADA

Frobisher Bay, N.W.T.
February 11, 1977

Mr. Bryan Pearson
Chairman
Frobisher Bay Village Council
Frobisher Bay, N.W.T.

Dear Bryan:

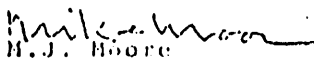
About a month ago the Deputy Commissioner requested the Department of Local Government to document the reasons for the lack of native participation in the municipal affairs of the major N.W.T. centres. A number of factors triggered the request at that time, one of which was the recent electoral controversy in Frobisher Bay.

For our part we felt that, in the case of Frobisher Bay, this topic deserved a serious study rather than a mere compendium of views by our staff. We therefore drew up the attached terms of reference and chose Mr. Bert Dyck, a former Area Supervisor in the Department of Social Development, to carry out a one-month comprehensive study. Mr. Dyck, who is presently working in Bauff, is well known and respected in Frobisher Bay and, along with the interpreter services we shall make available to him, will be able to communicate effectively with both Inuit and non-Inuit residents.

I am attaching his terms of reference for your information and asking that the Village Council and staff co-operate with him in making the study effective. You will see at the bottom that a copy of the report will be sent to the Village Council immediately upon completion, with our compliments.

Looking forward to your co-operation, I remain

Sincerely yours,


M.J. Moore
Regional Director

Att.



GOVERNMENT OF THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES
CANADA

STUDY OF NATIVE PARTICIPATION IN
MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS - FROBISHER BAY

PURPOSE:

To investigate the history, extent and nature of participation by the Inuit residents of Frobisher Bay in the village's municipal affairs; the causes of any discontent felt by the Inuit residents about present conditions as they relate to participation and ways in which these conditions could be improved to make the municipal system more responsive to their needs.

METHOD:

The investigation is to be carried out by means of:

- A detailed scrutiny of G.R.M.T. and Village files as well as the records of the local media on the subject of participation in Frobisher Bay.

- In-depth interviews with G.R.M.T. and Village officials and both Inuit and non-Inuit citizens of Frobisher Bay, using the services of an interpreter where necessary.

- The preparation and submission of a report detailing the author's findings and recommendations.

THE REPORT:

The report, in double-spaced, typed form, is to be submitted by the end of the contract period to the Regional Director and shall become the property of the Government of the Northwest Territories. A copy will be forwarded to the Village Council; the report's release in any other form including publication by the author shall be by approval of the Regional Director.

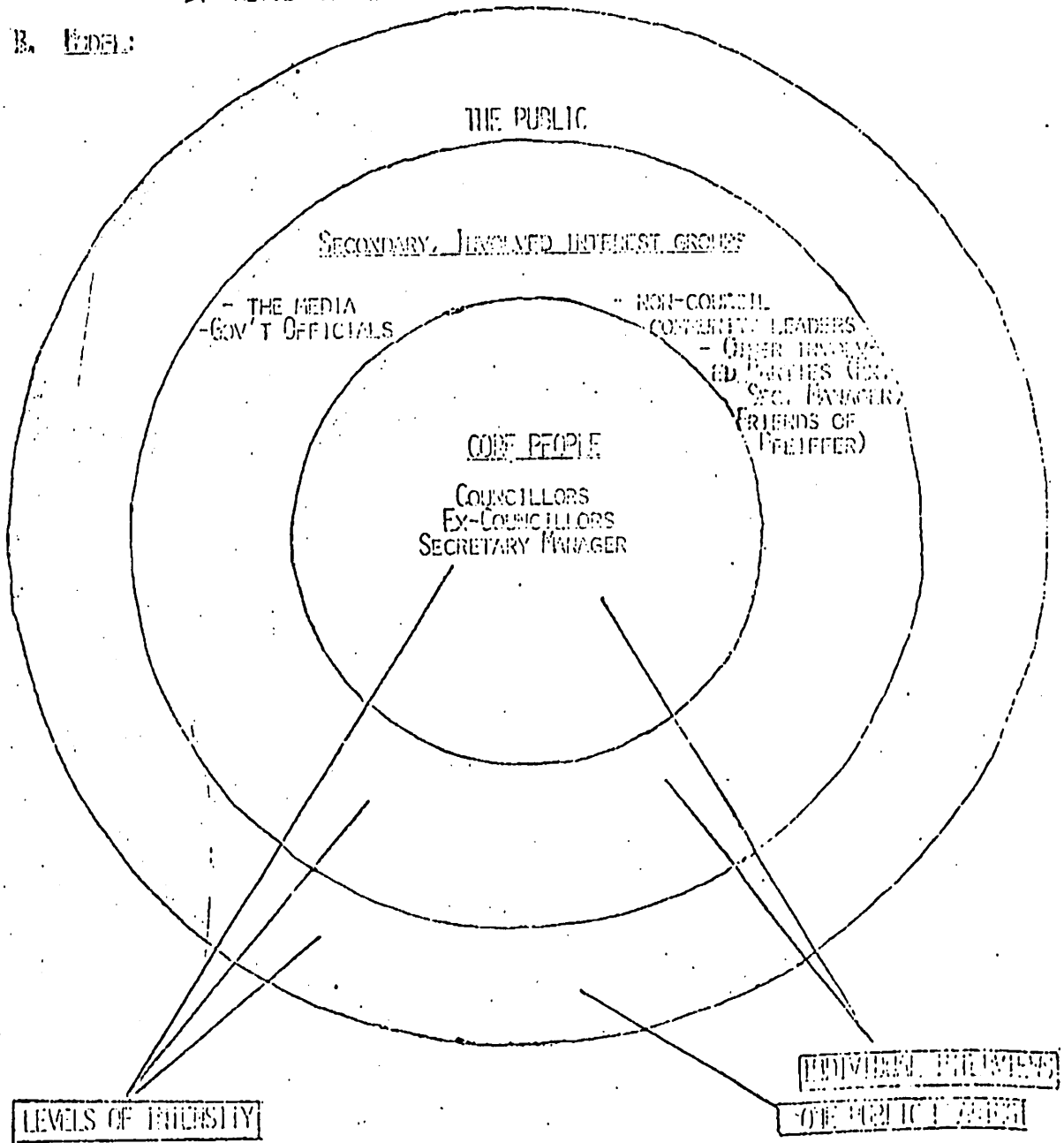
APPENDIX B

Research Methodology

THE RESEARCH MODEL

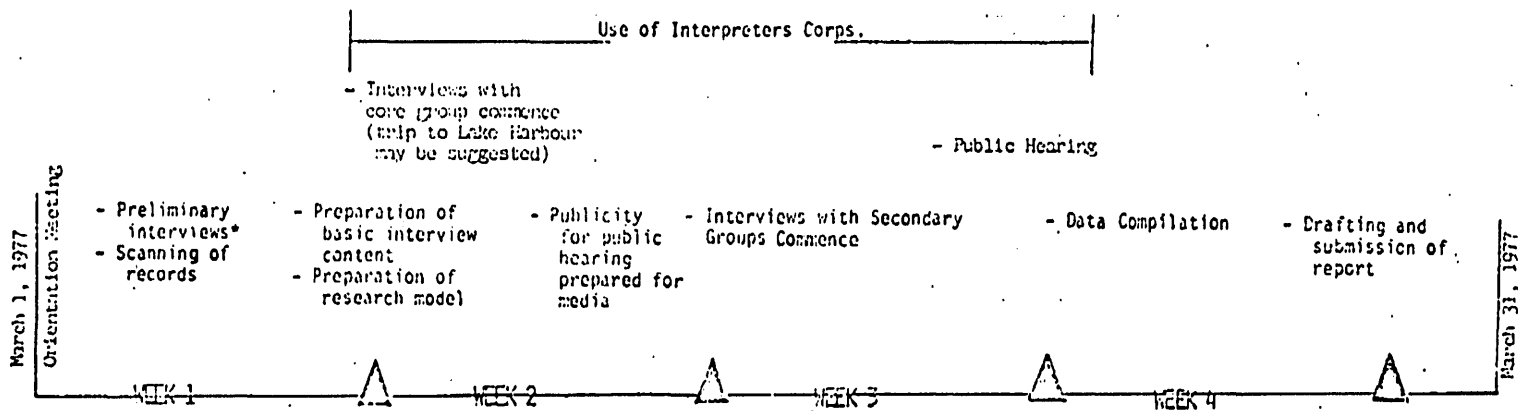
- A. METHODS:
1. INTENSIVE, INFORMAL, INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEWS (LOW LEVEL OF PUBLICITY THROUGHOUT)
 2. ONE PUBLIC HEARING (ONLY PUBLICIZED ITEM)
 3. REVIEW OF RECORDS

B. MODEL:



TIME LINE PROJECTION

MUNICIPAL PARTICIPATION RESEARCH PROJECT



*Preliminary interviews with people previously known by author to get a feel of the total picture

APPENDIX C
Interview Format
and
List of Interviewees

TO: Aimo Hookiguak
Interpreter Corps

FROM: Bert Dyck
Local Government (Research Project)

As I discussed with you yesterday I would appreciate the services of your interpreter corps to assist me in my research project. I hope to be talking to at least ten older Inuit who are not fluent in English. This list of ten may be added to later.

Some of the people I plan to interview have sat on Town Council before. These people I plan to interview on the following broad topics.

1. Their position on Council:

- how did they feel about their position
- were they kept informed as to Council proceedings or were they often left in the dark
- were they familiar with the ordinance; the by-laws
- did they feel Council was run democratically while they were on it
- did they feel they had the support of the people
- their comments on the job of Secretary Manager
- and others

2. How do they feel about some of the things that have happened on Council recently

- the dissolution of Council 1-1/2 years ago
- the resignations of Inuit Council members
- the postponement of the last municipal election

3. Recommendations for the improvement of Council such as

- the Ward System of election
- development officer-
- broadened Council responsibilities
- training sessions for councillors
- public (school as well as community) education on councils and their function
- transcribing of the ordinance and by-laws in Inuktitut in a summarized, straightforward form
- and others

Some of the people I will interview have not sat on Council before; these I plan to interview on the following topics:

1. Their knowledge of Council

- do they know of its existence
- do they feel it has a direct effect on their lives
- do they feel it to be an important body (why?)
- do they know what Council does.
- can the Inuit voice on Council be heard by the people
- and others

2. How do they feel about some of the things that have happened on Council recently

- the dissolution of Council 1-1/2 years ago
- the resignations of Inuit Council members
- the postponement of the last municipal election

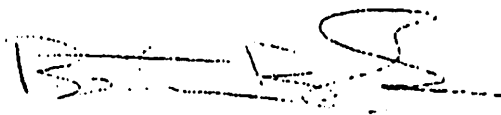
3. General observations

- are there things you would like to see changed
- is it dealing with matters important to the Inuit
- is it supported by the Inuit people
- are they ever kept informed about decisions of Council
- and others

I hope this will be helpful also. To further assist you in planning this I attach a list of the names (in suggested order of interview sequence) of the people I wish to interview for now. As I said earlier, I'd like to get this ball rolling by this coming Tuesday (March 8/77).

Thank you in advance for dealing with this matter.

Sincerely,



Bert Dyck
Researcher
Local Government

RD/nb

F.A.E. Cserepy

List of Community People
Interviewed in the Course of this Study

Glen Pitman
Roger Cousins
Erwin Pfeiffer
Hugh Stevenson
Paulosie Kilabuk
Atzainak Akeeshoo
Ann Hanson
Joe Akeeshoo
Bryan Pearson
Arnaitoo Aipeelee
Flash Kilabuk
Simonie Michsel
Ross McKinnon
Martha Noah
Annawakaloo
Simonie Alainga
Pitsulalaq
Napatchie Lyta
Harry Kilabuk
Markosie Peter
Jack Paton
Tom Webster
Jim Fradsnan
John Amagualok
Nowdlak Oshweetok

Alethea Foster
Peter Baril
Nipisha Apiq
David Nowdlak
Ainiak Koagak
Fred Coman
Bill Barnie
Des Miklos
Monica Connolly
Dick Bushey
Joanasie Aningmink
Gilda Mekler
Mark Levesque
Brian Burrows
Jonah Kelly
Tom Demcheson
Frank Cserepy
Ken McRury
Jens Lyberth
Dennis Patterson
Willy Kungl
Ben Ell
John Parker
Mike Moore
David Atagauk

APPENDIX D
Community Consultation
For Safdie Plan

TO: Mike Moore

FROM: Bert Dyck

Inghisiter General Plan - Professional Town Planners

The Town Planning Committee meeting held last night in the Council Chambers has raised a crucial issue which will be included in my report, which however required early attention as time in this case appears to be of essence. At issue is people participation in local decision making, closely linked to the question of Inuit participation in Village Council which I have been contracted to research.

At the meeting last night I recall Mr. Alaming stressing the need for consultation with the Inuit people prior to the commencement of housing development. In response the planners indicated that they had a list of local people with whom they would consult in the development of a town plan. Their budget however did not allow for an extensive community consultation process which would be required if the kind of dialogue suggested by Simphonie is to occur.

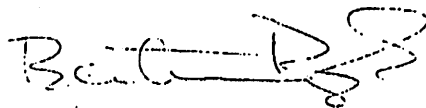
You are aware of the short and long range implications of a general plan. Once endorsed by the local authority an existing town plan becomes the chief determiner of all forms of development for many years. It is therefore highly important that such a plan be developed with the constructive participation of the public; the same public that in the end will be asked to live with that plan. If this kind of participation is not planned and actively stimulated it will predictably lead to greatly increased apathy and frustration with respect to the whole area of local decision making on the part of large numbers of local people.

The above considerations lead me to recommend strongly that the Planning Committee budget for the undertaking of a community consultation process which would over a four month period organize lay input into the development of a Frobisher General Plan. I attach a rough draft copy of a action model for this kind of a process.

A local Inuit person has been trained and has demonstrated her skills as a community organizer. With some ongoing guidance she should be able to successfully move this action model through its various phases. It is further suggested that this project be undertaken independently in order to maintain the necessary objectivity. I recommend that the project be contracted out to two people (one Inuit community organizer and one professional back up). If undertaken in a carefully planned fashion this project will not only provide the opportunity for people participation in planning for Frobisher Bay, but it will also operate to counterbalance the polarization that, at times, appears to be developing between the two dominant cultures of this community.

I plan to submit a simpler, hopefully clearer, copy of this letter to Village Council tonight. I would appreciate your comments on the considerations contained in this letter.

Sincerely,



Bert Dyck

BD/nb
Attachment

TO: Village Council

FROM: Bert Dyck
Research Consultant

As you may know I have been contracted by the Territorial Government to do some research on the Village Council. My job is to examine the area of representative participation in Council, particularly participation by the Inuit people. In working on this project I have attended the last Village Council meeting as well as the Town Planning meeting last night.

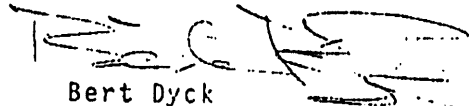
At both of these meetings one of the Inuit Councillors spoke strongly about the need to talk to the people of Frobisher Bay before any planning decisions are made. I strongly agree with this and would therefore like to make a recommendation to Council that would include all the people's opinions in the plan that SAFDIE and his associates will be developing for Frobisher Bay over the next months.

At last night's Planning Committee meeting the SAFDIE people indicated that they had ~~insufficient funds~~ ^{at this time} to go through a process that would raise a lot of public input into the developing plan. I recommend that Village Council think about contracting one Inuit person (we have one trained in Community Work) and one Kadluna, back up person to set up a project that would try to get all of the people's opinions over a period of four months.

The two people would hold neighborhood meetings throughout the village and would get the people to make recommendations they feel are important to town planning in Frobisher Bay. Committees would be set up in each neighborhood to do the planning work. After the committees have completed their jobs they would combine all their

recommendations into one big report which would then be given to the planners.

I have attached a model for action which I suggest be tentatively followed. The total project should last approximately four months and should cost \$ 10,000. to \$ 15,000. The importance of this kind of community consultation (talking to the people) should be very clear. The people of Frobisher and Apex will have to live with any plan that is developed. If we want the people to participate in running this town we have to make sure that we work hard to help them have a say in planning this town.



Bert Dyck

BD/nb

Attachment

ACTION MODEL

INPUT INTO PLANNING

PHASE I

- a) Advance publicity
- b) Organize area meetings (6 meetings)

- Apex
- Row Housing
- Ikaluit
- High Rise
- Beach
- Happy Valley

- meetings - intensive effort to get people to turn out

1 month

-agenda:

- i. Explain town plan
- ii. Explain need for input by people
- iii. Request a committee to organize the input
- iv. Identify chairman of committee
- v. Assign task area to committee

- Task Areas:

1. Apex
2. Community Services
3. Housing Development
4. Commercial Industrial Development
5. Environmental Concerns
6. Limits to growth

- month [c) Committees meet to gather data and formulate recommendations in their topic areas. Prepare a draft report, listing recommendations for each topic area.

PHASE II

- 1/2 month [a) Committee Chairmen meet and all recommendations of all groups are discussed.
 - conflicting recommendations are compromised.
 - organizers draft first compromised report (originals included in appendix).

- 1/2 month [b) All committees meet together to examine first draft.
 - disagreements are once more compromised.
 - compromised recommendations are then accepted (Vote?)

PHASE III

- 1 month [a) Organizers prepare Master Planning brief.
 - b) Master planning brief presented to Village Council.
 - c) Master planning brief presented to planners.
 - d) Master planning brief given intensive local publicity.

CONCLUSION:

Committee Chairmen get together when planners are finished with their work to determine how much of their recommendations have been accepted.

BUDGET: While no specific budget calculation has been made for this kind of a project it is estimated that total project costs will be in the \$ 10,000. to \$ 15,000. range.

APPENDIX E
Job Description
For Development Officer

DEVELOPMENT OFFICER

The Development Officer should be a mature person with a background in Community Development; he/she should have extensive training and experience in this field. The Officer should be employed on a salary grid that compares favourably to salaries earned by other professionals such as teachers and social workers.

It is recommended that the Development Officer report directly to the Council as a whole to avoid the direction of his activities by any person or persons other than the Council. He should be treated with a high amount of professional trust and guided only in general terms. Control must, however, rest with the Council.

Generally the task of the Development Officer would be to develop the Village Council and the community of Frobisher Bay to the point where the Village Council can function effectively and responsively in the community without his/her assistance. (This should initially be a one year contract, with an extension clause which may be required.) Specifically the Development Officer's duties should include:

- the development and maintenance of an ongoing training program with the Village Council and the all-Inuit Advisory Council referred to earlier - workshops, sessions with individual councillors and committee members, etc.
- the establishment of effective communication links between Council and the all-Inuit Advisory Council
- the implementation of the applicable recommendations of this report within the Village Council setting
- development sessions, if necessary, with the Secretary Manager trainee with a focus on the relationship of these individuals to Village Council

- close liaison with the Secretary-Manager and the trainee to ensure the harmonious functioning of these individuals with Council
- close liaison with any interpreting/translating staff to ensure that these assignments are undertaken in the spirit of the applicable recommendations contained in this report
- the development and maintenance of an ongoing multi-level municipal affairs education program within the community (schools, the public) using the media as deemed necessary
- the completion of periodic (quarterly) municipal development program reports for the Council's deliberation.

The duties outlined above should be sufficiently general to allow for specific adjustments. It is, however, crucially important that his duties be nothing more, nor less, than development. The inclusion of specific administrative (eg. research) tasks will seriously confine his ability to work effectively and may lead to reporting confusion.

APPENDIX F

Abstract and Summary Recommendations

ABSTRACT

Frobisher Bay is fortunate and unique in having a municipal administration that has balanced representation from both the Inuit and the White people of this community. Unfortunately, however, the recent history of Village Council contributed to problems on the Council that make it hard for many local Inuit people to work closely with or on Council. Briefly some of the problems that have arisen over the three year history of the Council are:

1. When the Government in Yellowknife dissolved Council in November 1975, many of the councillors, both Inuit and White, felt that they had been let down. Some of the Inuit people thought, "maybe we shouldn't participate in Council because it seems like we're being told that we can't do a good job". As a result no older Inuit people participated in the Council before this one.
2. Some of the White people seem to be very powerful on Council and seem to control the discussions. It seems to be hard for Inuit people to say what they have to say because the White people are so quick to speak and will often speak two or three times on the same topic. When speaking the White Councillors seem to argue more and the Inuit Councillors tend to agree more.
3. Interpretation and translation on Village Council seems to be a real problem. Everything is always presented in English first, leaving the Inuit a few steps behind, trying to understand. Lots of paper that comes before the Council is in English only, and therefore impossible for most of the Inuit Councillors to understand.
4. Inuit people seem to find it hard to get their concerns presented to Council for Council to deal with because of so much financial, and other complex business with which Council has to deal.
5. When the Yellowknife Government postponed the election there was such a strong reaction from a group of white people who flooded the election with candidates, that some of the Inuit people found it very hard to participate as candidates. They seem to think that this hurt Council.

6. One Inuit Councillor expressed concern in a Town Planning meeting that Inuit people be asked where development should go before any plan is made.
7. A low-tide channel has been important to many of the Inuit people for a long time. It seems to be very hard to do something about this. An Inuit Councillor said that he will not stop fighting for this. Also that maybe Inuit people won't want to run for Council if this problem of the channel is not handled by the Village.
8. The business of Council is too fast and too complicated sometimes. Something should be done to make it more understandable.
9. Not enough concerns of the people (social concerns) are brought before Council.
10. People in the community don't seem to know enough about the Village Council, what it does and how it operates.

The above problems were discussed with me by about fifty people (about half Inuit and half White). As a result of these discussions, I make the following recommendations:

1. A HIGH QUALITY INTERPRETER/TRANSLATOR BE EMPLOYED BY THE VILLAGE COUNCIL ON A FULL TIME BASIS. (A SALARY RANGE OF \$17,000.00 TO \$20,000.00 SHOULD DRAW THE KIND OF SEASONED PERSON IN THIS FIELD THAT IS REQUIRED.
2. UNTIL THE EMPLOYMENT OF AN INTERPRETER THE INTERPRETING/TRANSLATING SERVICES OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES BE MADE AVAILABLE AS REQUIRED.
3. UNTIL THE EMPLOYMENT OF AN INTERPRETER/TRANSLATOR THE RATES FOR INTERPRETING AT COUNCIL MEETINGS SHOULD BE SIGNIFICANTLY ESCALATED FROM THE CURRENT RATE OF \$7.00/HOUR. A FLAT RATE OF CIRCA \$35.00 FOR THE FIRST TWO HOURS IS SUGGESTED.

4. EFFECTIVE IMMEDIATELY ANYTHING PRESENTED TO COUNCIL OR THE COMMITTEES OF COUNCIL SHOULD BE PRESENTED IN ENGLISH AND INUKTITUT (WHETHER VERBAL OR WRITTEN).
5. IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT AN ALL INUIT ADVISORY COUNCIL BE SET UP AS A SUBCOMMITTEE OF VILLAGE COUNCIL. THAT THIS ADVISORY COUNCIL IDENTIFY ITS OWN WAY OF DETERMINING ITS SIZE AND MAKE-UP. FURTHER, THAT ONE MEMBER OF THIS ADVISORY COUNCIL SERVE AS A LINKAGE WITH VILLAGE COUNCIL AND THAT VILLAGE COUNCIL BE CHARGED WITH RESPONDING TO THIS ADVISORY COUNCIL.
6. IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT, AS FAR AS POSSIBLE, ITEMS OF BUSINESS BE PRESENTED BEFORE COUNCIL IN INUKTITUT FIRST AND THEN TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH, RATHER THAN THE PRESENT ENGLISH FIRST SYSTEM.
7. IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT HIGH PRIORITY BE GIVEN TO DEVELOPING THE SECRETARY-MANAGER TRAINEE TO BE THE STAFF PERSON IN ATTENDANCE AT COUNCIL MEETINGS. IT IS FELT THAT THIS SHOULD OCCUR WITHIN A THREE-MONTH PERIOD, THE SECRETARY-MANAGER FUNCTIONING AS BACKUP FOR SEVERAL MONTHS AFTER THE ADVERTISEMENT.
8. IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT THE VILLAGE COUNCIL VIEW THE POSSIBLE CONSTRUCTION OF A LOW-TIDE CHANNEL AS A PRIORITY ITEM AND UNDERTAKE A THOROUGH INVESTIGATION AS TO THE FEASIBILITY OF SUCH A VENTURE. (If such a channel is not feasible then a proper feasibility study should still the voices of discontent.)
9. IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT NATIVE ORGANIZATIONS BE ENCOURAGED TO PARTICIPATE IN VILLAGE COUNCIL MATTERS.
10. THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES ENGAGE IN DIALOGUE WITH THE FROBISHER BAY VILLAGE COUNCIL IN ORDER TO ASSESS TO WHAT DEGREE THE IDEA OF DEVOLUTION CAN BE LOCALLY APPLIED.
11. THAT VILLAGE COUNCIL UNDERTAKE TO FAMILIARIZE ITSELF WITH THE MAJOR POWER STRUCTURES IN THE COMMUNITY. THAT A HANDBOOK CONTAINING THIS INFORMATION BE PRODUCED.

12. THAT LINKAGES BE SET UP BETWEEN VILLAGE COUNCIL AND THE MAJOR POWER GROUPS IN ORDER THAT COUNCIL MAY FEED INTO THESE FREELY AS THE NEED MAY ARISE.
13. THAT, WHEREVER POSSIBLE, ESPECIALLY AS IT RELATES TO MUNICIPALITIES THE DECISION-MAKING AUTHORITY FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES BE TRANSFERRED FROM YELLOWKNIFE TO THE BAFFIN REGION TO ENABLE VILLAGE COUNCIL TO MORE EXPEDITIOUSLY CARRY ON ITS BUSINESS
eg: Bylaw approval authority
Planning approval authority and others
14. IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES RETAIN A CLOSE INFORMAL LIAISON WITH THE FROBISHER VILLAGE COUNCIL IN ORDER TO PROVIDE ADVISORY AND FACILITATIVE ASSISTANCE IN ANY AREA OF VILLAGE COUNCIL FUNCTIONING THAT REQUIRES IT. THAT THIS LIAISON BE OPEN-ENDED, AND THAT IT NOT BE WITHDRAWN UNTIL VILLAGE COUNCIL HAS SUCCESSIVELY DEMONSTRATED ITS ABILITY TO FUNCTION COMPLETELY WITHOUT IT.
15. THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES BE EXTREMELY SENSITIVE TO THE USE OF DRASTIC EXECUTIVE POWER WITH RESPECT TO THE VILLAGE COUNCIL. THAT THIS POWER NEVER BE EXERCISED UNILATERALLY WITHOUT INTENSIVE PRIOR CONSULTATION AND WORK TO REMEDY PROBLEMS.
16. IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT THE VILLAGE COUNCIL SET UP ELECTORAL DISTRICTS (WARDS) WITHIN ITS BOUNDARIES AND USE THESE DISTRICTS AS A BASIS FOR REPRESENTATION ON COUNCIL.
17. IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT COUNCILLORS FROM EACH WARD HOLD WARD MEETINGS AT LEAST QUARTERLY TO ENSURE THAT SOME FORM OF DIALOGUE WITH THE PEOPLE IS MAINTAINED.
18. IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT THE VILLAGE COUNCIL SEEK FUNDING FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES TO UNDERTAKE THE SPONSORSHIP OF A COMMUNITY CONSULTATION PROCESS WHICH WOULD INVOLVE PEOPLE IN APPROPRIATE INPUT INTO THE PLAN BEING WORKED ON BY THE SAFFRUE GROUP.

19. IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT COMPLEX DOCUMENTS AND INFORMATION WITH WHICH COUNCIL HAS TO DEAL BE REDUCED TO SIMPLIFIED TRANSLATABLE FORM PRIOR TO TRANSLATION FROM THAT FORM RATHER THAN FROM THE ORIGINAL.
20. IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT THE VILLAGE COUNCIL CHAIRMAN EXERCISE HIS AUTHORITY (SECTION 131, MUNICIPAL ORDINANCE) ONLY THROUGH THE SECRETARY-MANAGER EXCEPT IN THE CASE OF EXTREME EMERGENCY.
21. IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT COUNCILLORS IN VILLAGE COUNCIL MEETINGS RELATE TO EACH OTHER WITH DIGNITY AND RESPECT.
22. IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT A DEVELOPMENT OFFICER BE EMPLOYED BY THE VILLAGE COUNCIL TO UNDERTAKE COUNCIL AND COMMUNITY EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT IN MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS AS PER THE JOB DESCRIPTION CONTAINED IN APPENDIX E.