

# Nutrition North Canada: Failure and Facade within the Northern Strategy

Madeleine Chin-Yee, BA (Hons) Candidate, Trinity College, University of Toronto

Benjamin H. Chin-Yee, BSc, MA, MD Candidate, Faculty of Medicine, University of Toronto

## Abstract

Food security is a universal human right and key determinant of health that remains elusive for many Canadians, particularly northern Indigenous peoples.<sup>1,2</sup> The Nutrition North Canada (NNC) program was implemented by the Conservative government in 2011 with the aim of making perishable foods more affordable and accessible in remote northern communities.<sup>10</sup> However, to date, this program has failed to meaningfully address the issue of northern food security. This article examines the reasons for NNC's failure, revealing flaws in the program that stem from its retail subsidy model, lack of oversight and community consultation, and restrictive eligibility requirements. In addition to these policy shortcomings, NNC's failure results from the Federal Government's threefold refusal to invest the needed finances for the health of Indigenous communities, to create the conditions for Aboriginal self-determination, and to respect and support First Peoples' traditions and culture. NNC is ultimately ineffective because of its place within a "Northern Strategy" that is necessarily opposed to Indigenous wellness. NNC's failings underscore the need for new initiatives dedicated to tackling the issue of northern food insecurity to protect the health and flourishing of Indigenous peoples.

## Introduction

Food security is a fundamental human right and crucial determinant of health that remains elusive for many Canadians.<sup>1,2</sup> The link between food security and health outcomes is well-established; food insecurity is a risk factor for a number of chronic medical conditions, including diabetes, obesity, cardiovascular diseases, and major depression.<sup>3-7</sup>

As such, food insecurity is a major public health issue, which deserves the attention of health care professional and policy-makers alike.

In 2011, nearly four million Canadians experienced food insecurity. Of these individuals, a disproportionate number were Indigenous, particularly Indigenous peoples residing in northern communities, where over half of Aboriginal households are food insecure.<sup>8</sup> Northern Indigenous food insecurity is a complex issue, not simply because of the exorbitantly high food costs in northern locations but also because food security is inextricably linked with Aboriginal peoples' unique connection with their ecosystems, cultures, and health, which has been devastated by colonization and the resulting disassociation from land and cultural heritage.<sup>9</sup>

This article focuses on the federal initiative to address northern Indigenous food insecurity, the Nutrition North Canada (NNC) program, implemented by the Conservative government in 2011 with the aim of making perishable foods more affordable and accessible in remote northern communities.<sup>10</sup> We argue that NNC is flawed and ineffective because of its place within a "Northern Strategy" that treats Indigenous wellness as an afterthought rather than an intrinsic good. We examine NNC's current pitfalls, most notably its defective retail subsidy model, lack of oversight and community consultation, and restrictive eligibility requirements. Ultimately, NNC's failure results from the Federal Government's threefold refusal to invest in the health of Indigenous communities, to create the conditions for Aboriginal self-determination, and to respect and support First Peoples' traditions and culture. NNC's failings underscore the need for new initiatives dedicated to tackling the issue northern food insecurity in order to protect the health and flourishing of Indigenous peoples.

## Nutrition North Canada: Policy Failures

### A Defective Market-Based Subsidy Model

NNC's major policy failing is its retail subsidy model, which relies on independent retailers to ensure that the full federal subsidy is passed on to consumers. From its conception, the transparency of this market model has been a central concern, evidenced by the witness recommendations to the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development (AAND), which studied the new program before its implementation. These witnesses, who included represen-

Corresponding Authors:  
Madeleine Chin-Yee  
madeleine.chinyee@gmail.com

tatives from Chiefs of Ontario and Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, expressly indicated their expectation that the Federal Government “establish and provide a fully transparent control mechanism, and communicate this with the public, to ensure that all retailers are passing on the full value of the subsidy”.<sup>11</sup> In his 2010 announcement of the NNC program, former minister of AAND Chuck Strahl declared reassuringly that the department would “make formal arrangements with retailers ... to ensure that the subsidy is given visibility and savings are passed-on to consumers”.<sup>12</sup>

This promise has not been fulfilled – no adequate mechanism exists to ensure the visibility of the subsidy transfer. In response, northern communities erupted in protest months after the implementation of NNC, staging ongoing demonstrations against high food costs. Protesters’ comments indicate that retailers’ lack of transparency is at the root of much of the scepticism surrounding the program.<sup>13</sup> The issue drew international attention: Olivier de Schutter, United Nations Special Rapporteur on the Right to Food, echoed Northerners’ concerns that NNC’s “retail subsidy [was] not being fully passed on to the consumer” during his visit to Canada in May 2012.<sup>14</sup> Suspicions have been heightened by the most recent audit of the program, in which the Auditor General concluded that the contribution agreements, which northern retailers sign with AAND in order to participate in the program, do not require retailers to provide all of the information needed to determine whether or not the entire subsidy is being deducted from the selling price of the item, namely profit margins.<sup>15</sup> Although AAND responded to the Auditor General’s remarks by claiming they would amend the requirements to include profit margins, it is unclear as to whether or not retailers’ are indeed compelled to disclose information on profit margins because of “commercial confidentiality”.<sup>15</sup>

Another critical concern with the retail model is that there is no effective disciplinary measure should retailers fail to comply with passing on the subsidy.<sup>16</sup> Thus, even if businesses were compelled to disclose commercially sensitive information such as profit margins, AAND lacks a mechanism for penalizing non-compliance outside of potentially removing the subsidy, which would have adverse effects on the entire community it serviced.

Furthermore, the market-based subsidy model seems to harbour an increased potential for corruption, especially among larger businesses operating in the North. This concern is better understood by appreciating the history of the retail subsidy model. The Food Mail Program (FMP), which operated in various forms since the 1960s, was a transportation subsidy exclusively with Canada Post. Criticized for being “monopolistic” and not allowing for competition among businesses, major retailers were among the primary advocates for a new program, “collectively pounding the table for substantive change”.<sup>17</sup> Unlike the FMP, NNC promised to allow suppliers and retailers to independently negotiate freight rates, thereby promoting fair competition and economic growth.<sup>18</sup> However, it is worth noting that the North West Company (NWC), one of the main corporations that lobbied for the change in model, owns three chains – “Northern,” “Northmart,” and “Quickmart” – that operate the majority of retail stores in the

territories, and are the only available stores in numerous communities.<sup>19</sup> Moreover, NWC owns Sealift Express, which is the principal marine freight carrier for northern Canada, as well as a grocery distributor and several other northern pharmacies. To add further perspective, NWC received over 50% of the NNC subsidy in the 2012-2013 fiscal year – \$31.6 million of the \$60 million dollar budget.<sup>19</sup> As Tracey Galloway points out, “it is difficult to view this high degree of market concentration as ... less monopolistic than under the old Canada Post contract”.<sup>19</sup>

Many northern citizens are concerned that their well-being relies on the business practices of large corporations, as is evidenced by the recent boycott of NWC.<sup>20</sup> In response to the boycott, president and CEO of NWC, Edward Kennedy, made it clear that retailers cannot be responsible for making food affordable for all Northerners, highlighting the many pressures that northern businesses face with high costs of electricity, fuel, and transport, and stressing other factors that affect people’s ability to afford food: “...we have to get around to looking at incomes as well, and equity of incomes within Nunavut, and within Canada”.<sup>21</sup> Although Kennedy is certainly correct to point out that the NNC retail subsidy alone will not resolve the issue of food insecurity, one might doubt the sincerity of his commitment to income equity given his total compensation of \$2,104,445 for the fiscal year of 2013.<sup>22</sup> The dismissive attitude of the Conservative government has only heightened Northerners’ discontent surrounding the retail model; Minister Leona Aglukkaq recently deflected government responsibility over the retail model in her comment that “[a]t the end of the day, the retailers have to ensure that the federal subsidy is being passed on to the consumers”.<sup>23</sup> Therefore, the central objective of the program – to make food more affordable – is being hindered by the retail model, which lacks transparency and breeds antagonisms between retailers and the communities they serve. Overall, the market emphasis of NNC is inherently deficient because of issues of commercial confidentiality, coupled with lack of incentives for compliance, which places the administration of social justice in the hands of profit-driven businesses.

### Lack of Oversight and Community Consultation

NNC’s lack of oversight from its advisory board is another major weakness of the program. Although designed to involve Indigenous community members in program development and adjustment,<sup>24</sup> NNC’s advisory board – a volunteer panel, which has dwindled from seven to five members since its creation has not fulfilled its mandate.<sup>25,26</sup> For example, the board was responsible for conducting reviews to re-evaluate community eligibility for NNC; four years after the declaration of this mandate, eligibility continues to be based on past usage of the FMP rather than current need.<sup>27</sup> The Auditor General recently revealed that the board “rarely met,” and though the program website has a link entitled “Find out how the Advisory Board gives Northerners a direct voice in the program,” the committee produced only a single report synthesizing community concerns for February 2011 to March 2012 and has not produced any reports since.<sup>18,28</sup>

Moreover, the board’s political affiliations have been called into question in a recent report, which revealed that five of its

then six members donated to the federal Conservative Party.<sup>29</sup> For example, board member Elisabeth Cayen has donated twice to the Party and is also the executive director of an organization that received significant funding from the Federal Government in 2014.<sup>29</sup> Thus, NNC's advisory board – the only mechanism by which Northerners have any control over the program – has not only failed to provide adequate oversight, but is further plagued by conflicts of interest, which may prevent its members from accurately representing the interests of their communities.

### Restrictive Eligibility Requirements

Finally, NNC suffers from significant issues surrounding eligibility, both with regards to which communities and which foods qualify for the subsidy. Whether or not a community qualifies for the subsidy depends on past usage of the FMP rather than on a community's current need. Communities that did not use the FMP cannot qualify for any subsidy.<sup>15</sup> In addition to the past usage requirement, communities can only be considered eligible if they also lack year-round surface transportation, meaning no permanent road, marine, or rail access.<sup>15</sup> Currently, 103 communities qualify for NNC, nineteen of which are only eligible for a partial subsidy (\$0.05/kg), and ten of which are Quebec North Shore communities that only qualify for the subsidy from January to March, when there is no marine service.<sup>30</sup> According to the Auditor General's report, there remain at least fifty fly-in communities that are not serviced by NNC, not to mention the struggling communities that have surface transportation for part of the year but would still greatly benefit from a subsidy.<sup>15</sup> Likely anticipating the release of the Auditor General's condemning report, the Federal Government announced an additional \$11.3 million in funding for the 2014-2015 budget to extend the program's scope, but Dennis Bevington, MP from the Northwest Territories, claims funds have only risen by \$2 million.<sup>31</sup>

Furthermore, the nutrition education component of NNC is only carried out in communities that are eligible for the full subsidy.<sup>32</sup> This is the only component of NNC that is specifically aimed at addressing Indigenous food insecurity through activities such as culturally appropriate nutrition workshops and cooking classes. It is also key in promoting the acquisition and consumption of local country food – foods hunted and gathered from the land such as caribou, seal, or berries – which are more accessible, nutritious, and sustainable for Northerners.<sup>32,33</sup> No Aboriginal community should be excluded from this important health education component, regardless of whether or not they qualify for a full subsidy.

Making country foods eligible for the NNC subsidy was boasted as another major improvement over the FMP.<sup>27</sup> Although subsidizing traditional foods is an admirable goal, this feature is less effective than it purports, because in order for country food to be eligible for the subsidy, it must be “produced in northern commercial food processing plants that are federally regulated”.<sup>34</sup> By definition, traditional foods – hunted, fished, or gathered from the land – are seldom commercially processed. As Jose Kusugak explained, “Inuit do not buy commercially produced country food, so the NNC coun-

try food component does not generally work for Inuit”.<sup>24</sup> Mary Simon and other witnesses further emphasized this point, asserting that the majority of northern communities do not indeed have facilities to commercially package country food.<sup>11</sup> Suggestions for more effective sponsorship of country food consumption were made during the program deliberations, such as subsidizing intercommunity trade of country foods or sponsoring community walk-in freezers to store country foods. Despite these suggestions, NNC continues to subsidize only commercially packaged country food, which significantly restricts this benefit to a select few communities.

In many ways, NNC's misguided subsidy of ‘commercially processed’ traditional foods reveals how out of touch government policy is with issues of northern food security. This ‘made-in-Ottawa’ government program privileges a conservative belief in market solutions over local knowledge and a culture of interdependency that has allowed for the survival of northern Indigenous communities for millennia. The failures of NNC were arguably predictable: the opaque retail subsidy was not passed on to consumers; attempts at community oversight were corrupted by political cronyism; and the communities in highest need were left out by antiquated eligibility requirements.

### The “Northern Strategy” and The Facade Of Indigenous Health

#### Key Points

- Food insecurity is a risk factor for a number of medical conditions and represents a significant public health issue
- Northern Indigenous communities experience higher rates of food insecurity than the rest of Canada
- The Nutrition North Canada (NNC) program was implemented by the Federal Government in 2011 to address food insecurity in the North; its failures are manifold:
  - NNC utilizes a market-based subsidy model with poor transparency
  - NNC suffers from a lack of oversight and community consultation
  - NNC operates with restrictive eligibility requirements
- NNC is situated within a “Northern Strategy” that is incompatible with Indigenous wellness:
  - Lack of federal funding indicates an unwillingness to invest in the health of Indigenous communities
  - The federal agenda of resource development is hostile to Aboriginal self-determination
  - “Northern Strategy” rhetoric reveals a fundamental lack of respect for First Peoples’ traditions and culture

Figure 1. Key Points

The Conservative government has announced that it is working to improve NNC.<sup>35</sup> However, NNC's problems extend beyond the policy failings described above. As Harriett Kuhnlein asserts, the existence of a “nutrition-friendly policy envi-

ronment” and a genuine political commitment to protect the food systems of Aboriginal peoples are the most crucial factors for the success of any program.<sup>9</sup> Consideration of these contextual factors is sorely lacking at the federal level. NNC is merely a facade for the Canadian government’s indifference towards Aboriginal health within a “Northern Strategy” whose primary focus is on arctic sovereignty and resource exploitation with little regard for environmental preservation – an essential prerequisite for the health of Indigenous peoples.

Analysis of the allocation of funding within the Northern Strategy reveals that the food security of Indigenous peoples is not a priority. The first pillar of the strategy, “exercising Arctic sovereignty,” takes precedence as evidenced by the Harper government’s enormous military expenditures. These include the controversial \$16 billion commitment to purchase 60 F-25 fighter jets and \$7.4 billion for Naval Patrol Vessels, among other expenses.<sup>36, 37</sup> NNC’s \$60 million annual budget seems trivial by comparison. Furthermore, the government’s recent failure to deliver the promised additional \$11.3 million in funding for the 2014-2015 budget reveals its lack of commitment to combat food insecurity. Even if NNC’s defective policies were rectified, the apparent political unwillingness to prioritize the health of Indigenous peoples by increasing the program finances would continue to pose a significant barrier to northern food security.

As explored previously, the involvement of northern Indigenous peoples in a program’s development, adjustment and management is vital for its success, something the government itself has conceded in its ostensible commitment to support a new “made-in-the-north” version of NNC.<sup>38</sup> However, the Federal Government has a poor track record for considering local needs and creating conditions for the self-determination of Indigenous communities. Although “improving and devolving northern governance” is one of the Northern Strategy’s purported pillars, in reality, devolution is only pursued when local views do not conflict with the federal agenda, as is evidenced by the government’s recent negotiations for the control over lands and resource management, which have shown that devolution over resource control is only permitted when territorial governments cooperate with federal resource development legislation.<sup>36, 37</sup> Thus, Indigenous communities’ control over food security – a basic human right and core determinant of health – has become a bargaining chip for the government to secure access to natural resources, and attempts by Aboriginal communities to control their own health through resource management are being overridden by the federal agenda.

Further disregard for community input and self-determination can be seen in the process of geo-mapping the ocean floor for mineral, oil and gas resources. Several mapping exercises have been completed in Nunavut, nearly all of which generated intense community concern over socio-environmental harm, including fears about “the effects of seismic technology on wildlife and subsequently on hunting, trapping, and fishing activities” – ultimately, concerns about health that were ignored in the interest of economic expediency.<sup>39</sup> The government’s disregard for community input and unwillingness to create conditions for self-determination

where local needs conflict with the federal agenda – especially with regard to land and resource control – certainly impacts the effectiveness of a program that is supposed to enhance the Aboriginal right to food, which is inextricably linked to Indigenous sovereignty over lands and resources.

Finally, a successful program requires a policy environment that recognizes the importance of the unique Aboriginal relationship to the land and ecosystems, and the pertinence of this relationship to food security and health. The preservation of Indigenous traditions and cultures, and consequently food practices, is fundamentally incompatible with the Federal Government’s Northern Strategy. This is perhaps best exemplified by the Federal Government’s attitudes towards climate change in the arctic. Climate change is one of the primary challenges for Indigenous food security and food sovereignty, as it is impacting sea-ice access routes to hunting areas and the health of ecosystems, thereby contributing to the erosion of important cultural practices, and affecting the accessibility and availability of nutritious country food, which is often rich in “protein, vitamins D and E, riboflavin, vitamin B6, iron, zinc, copper, magnesium, manganese, potassium” and other micronutrients that are increasingly lacking in the diets of northern Indigenous peoples.<sup>33</sup> Additionally, climate change is beginning to affect the reliability of the transportation of market food.<sup>33</sup> Central to the Northern Strategy, however, is the defence of Canada’s sovereignty over the arctic so that the government may claim dominion and unlock the non-renewable resources – primarily fossil fuels – which further contribute to climate change.<sup>40</sup> It is clear that a program such as NNC, which attempts to subsidize and promote the consumption of country food through education initiatives, is opposed by the primary goals of the Northern Strategy, whose policies impede access to country food, an essential part of the health and well-being of northern communities.

Prime Minister Stephen Harper’s rhetoric surrounding the Northern Strategy reveals an underlying lack of respect for Indigenous peoples. In his 2010 “Speech from the Throne,” Harper continuously made reference to “Northerners,” “the North,” and “Canadians,” failing to recognize the role of Indigenous groups in the North or acknowledging the social conditions facing First Nations, Inuit, and Métis communities.<sup>41</sup> His repeated comments that the arctic is a place to “use or lose” is a distasteful instrumentalization of the North and its resources, which betrays a lack of respect and understanding for the Indigenous peoples who have been inhabiting the land for millennia.<sup>41</sup> A program that is meant to promote Indigenous food security will not flourish within a neo-colonial arctic policy that encourages assaults on Indigeneity.

### Conclusion

This article has revealed severe policy flaws in the NNC program stemming from problems with the retail subsidy model, the program’s lack of oversight and community consultation, and its restrictive eligibility requirements. We have further shown how contextual factors, namely a refusal to invest in the health of Indigenous communities, to create the conditions for Aboriginal self-determination, and to respect

and support First Peoples' traditions and culture, are what ultimately render federal initiatives such as NNC ineffective. Efforts by the Conservative government to reform the program are unlikely to be successful in contributing to Indigenous holistic health and flourishing as long as they remain situated within an exploitative, neo-colonial Northern Strategy.

At best, NNC represents a misguided attempt by the Federal Government to solve the problem of northern food insecurity, which ignores how Indigenous self-determination and environmental protection are necessary to achieve these goals. At worst, NNC is a political façade – a program that pays lip service to food security in order to further the government's economic and geopolitical agenda. Despite this troubling image, reflecting on NNC's failings allows us to more clearly define the challenge ahead: new initiatives for northern food security must not only have transparency, oversight and community engagement, but also recognize the contexts in which such programs are implemented, and operate with a sincere commitment to protecting the health and flourishing of northern Indigenous peoples. Health care professionals must play an important role in the dire issue of northern food insecurity moving forward; they should be aware of the failure of current policies and apply their expertise to develop more effective initiatives that will properly address this crucial determinant of health.

## References

1. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights: Article 35 [Internet]. [Cited 4 Mar 2015]. Available from: <http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/>.
2. Marmot, Michael et al. Closing the gap in a generation: health equity through action on the social determinants of health. *Lancet* 2008; 372: 1661-69.
3. Seligman, Hilary K, et al. Food Insecurity is Associated with Diabetes Mellitus: Results from the National Health Examination and Nutrition Examination Survey (NHANES) 1999–2002. *J Gen Intern Med.* 2007 Apr 11; 22(7): 1018-23.
4. Drewnowski A, Specter SE. Poverty and obesity: the role of energy density and energy costs. *Am J Clin Nutr.* 2004 Jan; 79(1): 6-16.
5. Seligman HK, Laraia BA, Kushel MB. Food Insecurity Is Associated with Chronic Disease among Low-Income NHANES Participants. *Journal of Nutrition.* 2010 Jan 20; 140(2): 304-10.
6. Huddleston-Casas C, Charnigo R, Simmons LA. Food insecurity and maternal depression in rural, low-income families: a longitudinal investigation. *Public Health Nutrition.* 2008 Sep 15; 12(08): 1133.
7. Che J, Chen J. Food insecurity in Canadian households. *Health Reports.* 2001;12(4):11-22.
8. Council of Canadian Academies. *Aboriginal Food Security in Northern Canada: An Assessment of the State of Knowledge.* Ottawa, ON: The Expert Panel on the State of Knowledge of Food Security in Northern Canada; 2014. 40 p.
9. Kuhnlein, Harriett. What food system intervention strategies and evaluation indicators are successful with Indigenous Peoples? *Indigenous Peoples' Food Systems & Well-Being: Interventions and Policies for Healthy Communities.* Rome, Italy: Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations and Centre for Indigenous Peoples' Nutrition and Environment; 2013. 242-243 p.
10. Government of Canada. *How Nutrition North Canada Works* [Internet]. Last updated 18 Nov. 2014 [Cited 4 Mar 2015]. Available from: <http://www.nutritionnorthcanada.gc.ca/eng/1415538638170/1415538670874>.
11. Meeting No. 32: Evidence before the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development [Internet]. House of Commons Canada. 40th Parliament, 3rd Session (2010 Nov 1). Available from: <http://www.parl.gc.ca/HousePublications/Publication.aspx?DocId=4746510&Mode=1&Language=E>.
12. Government of Canada. Minister Strahl delivers a speech on the New Food Retail Subsidy Program [Internet]. Last updated 15 Sept 2010 [Cited 4 Mar 2015]. Available from: <https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100016145/1100100016146>.
13. Nunavut residents protest high food prices. *CBC News.* (Online). 2012 Jun 9. Available from: <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/nunavut-residents-protest-high-food-prices-1.1170565>.
14. De Schutter, Olivier. Preliminary Remarks on Visit to Canada at press conference in Ottawa [Internet]. Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. Special Procedures of the Human Rights Council. 2012 16 May. 8 p. Available from: <http://caid.ca/UNSpeRap-FoodCan2012.pdf>.
15. Auditor General of Canada. Fall Report [Internet]. Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada. Fall 2014. 48 p. Available from: [http://www.oag-bvg.gc.ca/internet/docs/parl\\_oag\\_201411\\_06\\_e.pdf](http://www.oag-bvg.gc.ca/internet/docs/parl_oag_201411_06_e.pdf).
16. Government of Canada. Compliance Report for Labrador Investments Ltd [Internet]. Nutrition North Canada. Prepared by Samson and Associates. December 2013 [Cited 4 Mar 2015]. Available from: <http://www.nutritionnorthcanada.gc.ca/eng/1411149822434/1411149851308>.
17. Dargo, Graeme. Food Mail Program Review: Findings and Recommendations of the Minister's Special Representative [Internet]. 31 Dec 2008. 24 p. Available from: <http://caid.ca/FoodMailRev123108.pdf>.
18. Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development. Report: From Food Mail to Nutrition North Canada [Internet]. House of Commons Canada. 40th Parliament, 3rd Session (Mar 2011). 14-15 p. Available from: [http://publications.gc.ca/collections/collection\\_2011/parl/XC35-403-1-1-02-eng.pdf](http://publications.gc.ca/collections/collection_2011/parl/XC35-403-1-1-02-eng.pdf).
19. Galloway, Tracy. Is the Nutrition North Canada retail subsidy program meeting the goal of making nutritious and perishable food more accessible and affordable in the North? *Can J Public Health* 105.5 (2014): 395-397. 397 p.
20. Feeding My Family calls for 1-day boycott of North West Company. *CBC News.* (Online). 2015 Jan 20. Available from: <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/feeding-my-family-calls-for-1-day-boycott-of-north-west-company-1.2919006>.
21. Varga, Peter. NWC boss says he can't make food affordable for everyone in Nunavut. *Nunatsiaq.* (Online). 2 March 2015. Available from: [http://www.nunatsiaqonline.ca/stories/article/65674nwc\\_boss\\_says\\_he\\_cant\\_make\\_food\\_affordable\\_for\\_everyone\\_in\\_nunavut/](http://www.nunatsiaqonline.ca/stories/article/65674nwc_boss_says_he_cant_make_food_affordable_for_everyone_in_nunavut/).
22. Bloomberg L.P. North West Co. Inc: Executive Profile. *Bloomberg L.P.* (Online) [Cited 15 Feb 2015]. Available from: <http://www.bloomberg.com/research/stocks/people/person.asp?personId=5509166&ticker=NWC:CN>.
23. Lum, Zi-Ann. Aglukkaq's Nutrition North Comment Criticized As 'Dangerous Political Thinking'. *Huffington Post.* (Online). 11 Feb 2015 [Cited 4 Mar 2015]. Available from: [http://www.huffingtonpost.ca/2015/02/11/nutrition-north-subsidies-aglukkaq\\_n\\_6659334.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.ca/2015/02/11/nutrition-north-subsidies-aglukkaq_n_6659334.html).
24. Meeting No. 35. Evidence before the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development [Internet]. House of Commons Canada. 40th Parliament, 3rd Session. (2010 Nov 17) Available from: <http://www.parl.gc.ca/HousePublications/Publication.aspx?DocId=4790537&Language=E&Mode=1>.
25. Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development. Report: From Food Mail to Nutrition North Canada [Internet]. House of Commons Canada. 40th Parliament, 3rd Session (Mar 2011). 3-4 p. Available from: [http://publications.gc.ca/collections/collection\\_2011/parl/XC35-403-1-1-02-eng.pdf](http://publications.gc.ca/collections/collection_2011/parl/XC35-403-1-1-02-eng.pdf).
26. Government of Canada. Advisory Board Members' Biographies [Internet]. Last updated 3 Mar 2015 [Cited 4 Mar 2015]. Available from: <http://www.nutritionnorthcanada.gc.ca/eng/1415895398726/1415895877126>.
27. Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development. Report: From Food Mail to Nutrition North Canada [Internet]. House of Commons Canada. 40th Parliament, 3rd Session (Mar 2011). 22-27 p. Available from: [http://publications.gc.ca/collections/collection\\_2011/parl/XC35-403-1-1-02-eng.pdf](http://publications.gc.ca/collections/collection_2011/parl/XC35-403-1-1-02-eng.pdf).
28. Government of Canada. *Nutrition North Canada Advisory Board* [Internet]. Last updated 18 Nov 2014 [Cited 4 March 2015]. Available from: <http://www.nutritionnorthcanada.gc.ca/eng/1415649204233/1415649240039>.
29. Rennie, Steve. Nutrition North: 5 of 6 advisory board members donated to federal Tories. *CBC News.* (Online). 2015 Jan 17. Available from: <http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/nutrition-north-5-of-6-advisory-board-members-donated-to-federal-tories-1.2892711>.

30. Government of Canada. Eligible Communities [Internet]. Last updated 18 Nov 2014 [Cited 4 Mar 2015]. Available from: <http://www.nutrition-northcanada.gc.ca/eng/1415540731169/1415540791407>.
31. N.W.T. MP questions promised \$11.3M boost to Nutrition North funding. CBC News. (Online). 26 Feb 2015. Available from: <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/n-w-t-mp-questions-promised-11-3m-boost-to-nutrition-north-funding-1.2972884>.
32. Government of Canada. Eligible Food [Internet]. Last updated 18 Nov 2014 [Cited 4 Mar 2015]. Available from <http://www.nutritionnorthcanada.gc.ca/eng/1415548276694/1415548329309>.
33. Council of Canadian Academies. Aboriginal Food Security in Northern Canada: An Assessment of the State of Knowledge. Ottawa, ON: The Expert Panel on the State of Knowledge of Food Security in Northern Canada; 2014. 53-56 p.
34. Government of Canada. First Report of the Advisory Board for the period February 2011 to March 2012 [Internet] Mar 2013. 13 p. Available from: [http://www.nutritionnorthcanada.gc.ca/DAM/DAM-NUTRIN-NUTRIN-STAGING/texte-text/nncab\\_ab\\_2011-2012\\_1369831619558\\_eng.pdf](http://www.nutritionnorthcanada.gc.ca/DAM/DAM-NUTRIN-NUTRIN-STAGING/texte-text/nncab_ab_2011-2012_1369831619558_eng.pdf).
35. Government looking at changes to Nutrition North food subsidy. CBC News. (Online). 2015 Jan 26. Available from: <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/government-looking-at-changes-to-nutrition-north-food-subsidy-1.2931788>.
36. Greaves, Wilfred. For whom, from what? Canada's Arctic policy and the narrowing of human security. *International Journal*. Winter (2011-2012): 219-240. 230 p.
37. Medalye, Jacqueline. Climate Change and the Capitalist State in the Canadian Arctic: Interrogating Canada's Northern Strategy. *Studies in Political Economy* 90 (Autumn 2012): 87-114. 98-103 p.
38. Skura, Elyse. "Made-in-the-North" changes coming to food subsidy program: AANDC. CBC News. (Online). 2 Mar 2015. Available from: <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/made-in-the-north-changes-coming-to-food-subsidy-program-aandc-1.2977601>.
39. Medalye, Jacqueline. Climate Change and the Capitalist State in the Canadian Arctic: Interrogating Canada's Northern Strategy. *Studies in Political Economy* 90 (Autumn 2012): 87-114. 107 p.
40. Medalye, Jacqueline. Climate Change and the Capitalist State in the Canadian Arctic: Interrogating Canada's Northern Strategy. *Studies in Political Economy* 90 (Autumn 2012): 87-114. 88 p.
41. Dodds, Klaus. We are a northern country: Stephen Harper and the Canadian Arctic. *Polar Record* 47(243) (2011): 371-382. 371-372 p.

## Medical Alumni Association

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

*Membership includes all the graduates of the under-graduate MD programme – approximately 12,000. The Medical Alumni Association provides a link between the graduates, their medical school and their university.*

- The mandate of the Association is to preserve and enhance the educational experience of the medical student body of the Faculty of Medicine through:
  - Student loan program
  - Scholarships, bursaries, awards and prizes
  - Travel grants
  - Medical Society support
  - Other student events and productions
- Medical Class reunions are assisted by our administrative staff
- The Medical Alumni Association liaises with the Faculty of Medicine and the University of Toronto

**Medical Alumni Association  
Room 3249  
1 King's College Circle  
Toronto, ON  
M5S 1A8**

**President  
Dr. Peter Kopplin**

**Vice-President  
Dr. Alexandra Berezowskyj**

**Administrator/Manager  
S. Ruth Gillings**

**Administrative Assistant  
Andrea Santos**

Tel: 416-978-0990 or 416-978-0991  
Fax: 416-978-0959  
Email: [medical.alumni@utoronto.ca](mailto:medical.alumni@utoronto.ca)  
Website: <http://www.maautoronto.ca>