



BACKGROUND PAPER

FOOD INSECURITY IN NORTHERN CANADA: AN OVERVIEW

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Food Insecurity in Northern Canada: An Overview
(Background Paper)

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Food insecurity is generally defined as a situation that exists when people lack secure access to sufficient amounts of safe and nutritious food. In 2017–2018, 12.7% of Canadian households were food insecure, representing at least 4.4 million individuals. Food insecurity is disproportionately worse in the North than elsewhere in the country, with rates of household food insecurity reaching 16.9%, 21.6% and 57% in the Yukon, the Northwest Territories and Nunavut respectively.

Among Northerners, Indigenous peoples are particularly at risk of being food insecure. The high rates of food insecurity among northern and Indigenous populations can be explained by several factors, such as the relative remoteness and isolation of their communities, financial hardship and socioeconomic inequities, the legacy of colonial policies, climate change and environmental dispossession and contamination. Food insecurity has severe consequences on health and well-being; it has, for instance, been linked to malnutrition, infections, chronic diseases, obesity, distress, social exclusion, depression and suicidal ideation.

By providing a subsidy to eligible retailers in remote and isolated communities, Nutrition North Canada, a federal program, targets one of the causes of food insecurity: the high cost of perishable and nutritious food in the North. Introduced in 2011, the program has been criticized for several reasons over the years, with critics noting that the cost of perishable and nutritious food in the North remains too high for too many families. As of March 2019, the average cost to feed a healthy diet to a family of four in the North was \$422.07 per week.

Regional and local initiatives have been implemented to address food insecurity in the North. These include a wide range of measures, from culturally appropriate food guides to comprehensive poverty-reduction initiatives. Communities have their own solutions, from food banks and soup kitchens to hunting and harvesting support programs.

Food insecurity is a serious public health issue that risks worsening in coming years. To reduce food insecurity in the North, the government will need to address its social, economic and environmental roots.

FOOD INSECURITY IN NORTHERN CANADA: AN OVERVIEW*

1 INTRODUCTION

In Canada, at least 4.4 million individuals were food insecure in 2017–2018.¹ Due to several factors, Northerners – in particular, women, children and Indigenous peoples – are more at risk of experiencing food insecurity than other Canadians. This situation has substantial impacts on their health and well-being.² This paper provides a brief overview of the factors contributing to food insecurity in northern Canada³ and the consequences resulting from this situation. Additionally, it looks at initiatives directly or indirectly addressing this issue.

2 CONTEXT

Food security is generally defined as a “situation that exists when all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life.”⁴ Conversely, food insecurity is defined as a “situation that exists when people lack secure access to sufficient amounts of safe and nutritious food for normal growth and development and an active and healthy life.”⁵

Some researchers have argued that these broad definitions of food security and insecurity may not fully address considerations that are unique to Indigenous peoples, such as the place of food in their cultures, identities and ceremonies, as well as the nutritional and sociocultural value of traditional (or country) foods.⁶ Others have instead proposed to define food security as “a condition where all community residents obtain a safe, culturally acceptable, nutritionally adequate diet through a sustainable food system that maximizes community self-reliance and social justice.”⁷

2.1 SCOPE OF FOOD INSECURITY

Since 2004, data on food security has been collected through the Household Food Security Survey Module of the Canadian Community Health Survey.⁸ The most recent results, collected in 2017–2018, indicate an increase in food insecurity in the North, with rates of household food insecurity reaching:

- 57% in Nunavut (compared to 52.3% in 2015–2016);
- 21.6% in the Northwest Territories (compared to 20.3% in 2015–2016); and
- 16.9% in Yukon (where data were not collected in 2015–2016).⁹

By comparison, rates of household food insecurity in the provinces in 2017–2018 ranged from 11.1% (Quebec) to 15.3% (Nova Scotia).¹⁰ The national rate of household food insecurity was 12.7%.¹¹ Households with children are generally more at risk; 17.3% of Canadian children aged 18 and under lived in a food-insecure household in 2017–2018. In Nunavut, the Northwest Territories and Yukon, 78.7%, 30% and 18.3% of children lived in a food-insecure household.¹²

Among Northerners, Indigenous peoples are particularly at risk of being food insecure. In 2012, the United Nations Special Rapporteur on the right to food reported that the Inuit of Nunavut had “the highest documented food insecurity rate for any [A]boriginal population in a developed country.”¹³ Across Inuit Nunangat (the area covering the land, water and ice of the Inuit homeland in Canada), the rate of food insecurity among Inuit aged 25 and over was 52% in that year.¹⁴

Similarly, rates of food insecurity are higher in First Nations communities, compared with the rest of Canada. According to the First Nations Food, Nutrition and Environment Study, which collected data from 2008 to 2016 in 92 randomly selected First Nations south of the 60th parallel, “[t]he prevalence of food insecurity is very high in First Nations communities (48%)” with “rates [being] also significantly higher in remote communities with no year-round road access to a service centre (58%).”¹⁵

It is more difficult to be precise about the situation of the Métis population, as peer-reviewed data about its experience of food insecurity in the North are limited.¹⁶

2.2 CAUSES OF FOOD INSECURITY

Several interconnected factors contribute to food insecurity in the North. The relative remoteness and isolation of northern communities contribute to a high cost of living, coupled with high costs to ship and store perishable and nutritious food. Another important factor contributing to food insecurity is socio-economic status. Research shows that poverty, financial hardship, unemployment or underemployment, low income and low educational attainment contribute to food insecurity.¹⁷ In Canada, First Nations, Inuit and Métis populations generally have a lower socio-economic status than non-Indigenous Canadians.¹⁸

Indigenous peoples are also particularly at risk of experiencing food insecurity due to the long-lasting and ongoing effects of colonial policies – including forced relocations and residential schools – that disrupted their relation to the land and to their traditional food systems.¹⁹ These policies also negatively affected intergenerational knowledge transfer of harvesting and hunting skills, and of healthy eating habits.²⁰ Access to (and consumption of) traditional foods is further affected by environmental dispossession (that is, diminished access by Indigenous peoples to the resources of their traditional lands), climate change and the presence of contaminants in the environment.²¹

2.3 CONSEQUENCES OF FOOD INSECURITY

The consequences of food insecurity are far-reaching; it can have negative effects on physical and mental health for both children and adults. Among other things, food insecurity has been associated with malnutrition, infections, chronic diseases and obesity, as well as with distress, social exclusion, depression, suicidal ideation and suicide attempts.²² Some researchers have identified food insecurity as being the “largest [contributor] to the concentration of psychological distress and suicidal behaviours among low-income Indigenous peoples in Canada.”²³ In the case of children, hunger caused by food insecurity has been found to have a negative impact on the ability to learn, thus contributing to poor educational outcomes.²⁴

Indigenous peoples in Canada’s North have also been experiencing changes in their dietary habits.²⁵ The transition from nutritious, traditional diets to store-bought processed foods has been found to potentially “increase the risk for diet-sensitive chronic diseases and micronutrient deficiencies in northern Aboriginal communities.”²⁶

Finally, Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami notes that food insecurity is not only a threat to public health, but also to the “overall social and cultural stability in Inuit communities.”²⁷

3 CURRENT INITIATIVES

At the provincial/territorial, regional and local levels, there have been efforts to address the causes of food insecurity and mitigate its consequences. For its part, the federal government is playing a role through the Nutrition North Canada (NNC) program,²⁸ which provides retail subsidies to improve access to perishable, nutritious and traditional food in certain communities. It should be noted, however, that reducing food insecurity is not part of NNC’s mandate. Rather, the program targets one of its causes: the high cost of perishable and nutritious food in the North.

Additionally, the federal government recently launched the Food Policy for Canada (the policy), which sets out a vision where “[a]ll people in Canada are able to access a sufficient amount of safe, nutritious, and culturally diverse food.”²⁹ The policy identifies four areas for short- and medium-term actions, one of which is the need to support food security in northern and Indigenous communities.³⁰ The development of a national food policy has been described as “a critical opportunity to address food insecurity,” in part because of the need for coordination among several federal departments and agencies along with other levels of government.³¹

3.1 FEDERAL INITIATIVES

3.1.1 Nutrition North Canada

In place since 2011, NNC aims to improve access to perishable and nutritious food in northern communities lacking year-round ground or marine access (see Appendix A for a map of eligible communities).³² “Perishable” refers to “food that spoils quickly especially if it is not stored at the proper temperature,” while the notion of “nutritious food” refers to the items and quantities prescribed by the Revised Northern Food Basket³³ (see Appendix B). NNC subsidizes the cost of traditional food at a single subsidy rate (which varies by location) and other types of nutritious food coming from the South at three subsidy rates, according to a scale of importance:

- a lower subsidy rate for staples;
- a higher subsidy rate for nutritious food; and
- a targeted (highest) subsidy rate for frozen vegetables and fruits, fresh milk and infant food and formula.³⁴

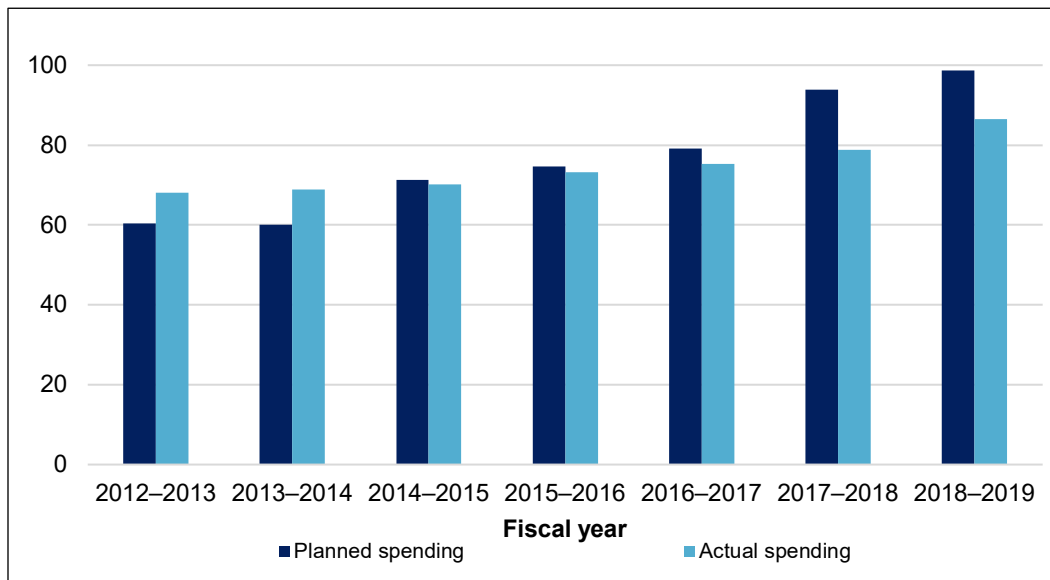
NNC also provides funding for nutrition education initiatives, though these activities only account for a small portion of the program’s annual budget. The program’s main objective is to offset the “inherent disadvantage faced by isolated northern communities which have no other option but to fly in perishable foods.”³⁵

By offering a subsidy to eligible food retailers, NNC replaced the Food Mail Program (also known as the Northern Air Stage Program), which had subsidized the cost of shipping food to eligible northern and isolated communities since the 1960s.

3.1.1.1 Program Spending

To contain costs, NNC’s annual budget was initially fixed at \$60 million in 2011. However, in subsequent years, the federal government committed to enhancing the program and increased its funding. An annual compound escalator of 5% was also added to the food subsidy budget in 2014 to account for growing demand and population growth.³⁶ As such, planned program spending increased steadily over time (see Figure 1). Program spending should reach \$109.2 million in 2020–2021.³⁷ Changes to the program in 2019–2020 include a revised list of subsidized products, increased subsidy rates and the creation of a new Harvesters Support Grant “to help lower the high costs associated with traditional hunting and harvesting activities.”³⁸

Figure 1 – Annual Spending on Nutrition North Canada, 2012–2013 to 2018–2019 (\$millions)



Sources: Figure prepared by the author using data obtained from Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, [Departmental Plans and Results Reports](#); and Government of Canada, [Departmental Plans for Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada](#).

At first, NNC went over its budget by 12.9% in 2012–2013 and 14.6% in 2013–2014. These variances were attributed “to growth in demand for subsidized food” and changes to the subsidy rate in the program’s first year.³⁹ According to the Office of the Auditor General of Canada (OAG), the department responsible for NNC (then Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada [AANDC]) had to transfer funds away from other programs and activities to cover these variances.⁴⁰ The trend gradually reversed and the program spent 12.4% less (\$12.2 million) than planned in 2018–2019. Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada, which succeeded AANDC as the lead department for NNC, explained that the variance between planned and actual spending in 2018–2019 was “due to a late implementation of program updates announced in December 2018.”⁴¹ Notwithstanding these variances, actual program spending grew by 27% (or \$18.4 million) from 2012–2013 to 2018–2019.

3.1.1.2 Concerns and Criticisms

In 2014, the OAG concluded that AANDC “ha[d] not managed the Program to meet its objective of making healthy foods more accessible to residents of isolated northern communities” and “that the Department ha[d] not done the work necessary to verify that the northern retailers are passing on the full subsidy to consumers.”⁴² The NNC’s Advisory Board, tasked with providing Northerners with a direct voice in the program, noted similar concerns.⁴³

NNC has also been criticized for its inadequate evidence base and accountability structure, its lack of responsiveness to concerns by community members and experts, and its failure to address inequities in food availability and affordability between regions and communities.⁴⁴ Furthermore, a 2019 assessment of NNC “suggests that food insecurity has worsened in Nunavut communities after the introduction of the program.”⁴⁵ According to the researchers who conducted it, their study “raises serious concerns about the federal government’s continued focus on food-subsidy initiatives to improve food access in the North.”⁴⁶

In 2016, the federal government sought input from community members and stakeholders in the program. Despite participants being “largely appreciative of the program,” it was noted that “many families are [still] not able to afford healthy food” and that the “subsidy is not having a big enough effect on the price of food.”⁴⁷ The program has been successful at maintaining stable prices; however, prices have not decreased significantly since it was implemented. From March 2011 to March 2019, the average weekly cost of the Revised Northern Food Basket decreased by only 1.03% (from \$426.48 to \$422.07).⁴⁸

3.1.2 Food Policy for Canada

On 17 June 2019, the Minister of Agriculture and Agri-Food announced the Food Policy for Canada. With a commitment of more than \$134 million by the federal government, the policy’s stated aim is to “shape a healthier and more prosperous future for Canadian families and communities.”⁴⁹ The policy is the result of consultations held in 2017, which outlined several priorities, including the need to:

- increase food security in northern communities;
- support community-based food security initiatives;
- recognize food as a significant determinant of health; and
- acknowledge the impacts of climate change on hunting, harvesting and access to traditional foods.⁵⁰

The policy also confirms the commitment made in Budget 2019 to allocate \$15 million over five years to create the Northern Isolated Community Initiatives Fund to support community-led food production projects.⁵¹ The Canadian Northern Economic Development Agency will be responsible for this initiative.

3.2 PROVINCIAL/TERRITORIAL, REGIONAL AND LOCAL INITIATIVES

In a 2014 report, the Expert Panel on the State of Knowledge on Food Security in Northern Canada noted that “[l]ong-term alleviation of food insecurity requires drawing on the assets, talents, and abilities of northern communities.”⁵²

These communities, alongside regional organizations and provincial/territorial governments, are already developing and implementing their own strategies to address food insecurity in northern Canada.⁵³

Examples of provincial/territorial and regional initiatives include the strategies and action plans developed by organizations such as the Nunavut Food Security Coalition;⁵⁴ the culturally appropriate food guides prepared by the Nunavik Regional Board of Health and Social Services and the Department of Health of Nunavut;⁵⁵ and comprehensive poverty-reduction initiatives, such as the Makimaniq Plan.⁵⁶ Local community initiatives also offer short-term (e.g., food banks and soup kitchens) and medium-term (e.g., nutrition education and knowledge-sharing programs, and hunting and harvesting support programs) solutions.⁵⁷

Given that each northern and Indigenous community has its own needs and circumstances, any sustainable solution to food insecurity must build on local knowledge and existing initiatives.

4 CONCLUSION

Food insecurity remains a severe public health and human rights issue in northern communities and among Indigenous peoples. To date, the federal government has yet to develop and implement a strategy to address the social, environmental and economic determinants of northern food insecurity in a holistic way. The phenomenon is rooted in complex issues, such as socio-economic gaps, climate change and the long-lasting and ongoing effects of colonialism. Addressing food insecurity in northern Canada will thus require a comprehensive, multi-faceted and coordinated approach that fully takes into account these issues.

NOTES

- * This background paper is largely based on Olivier Leblanc-Laurendeau, *Food Insecurity in Northern Canada: An Overview*, Publication no. 2019-18-E, Parliamentary Information and Research Service, Library of Parliament, Ottawa, 5 July 2019.
- 1. Valerie Tarasuk and Andy Mitchell, [Household food insecurity in Canada, 2017–18](#), PROOF – Food Insecurity Policy Research, 2020, p. 3.
- 2. Expert Panel on the State of Knowledge of Food Security in Northern Canada [EPSKFS], [Aboriginal Food Security in Northern Canada: An Assessment of the State of Knowledge](#), Council of Canadian Academies, Ottawa, 2014, p. 193.
- 3. There are no clearly defined boundaries for what is known as “northern Canada” or “the North.” As explained by Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami [ITK] president Natan Obed in a June 2019 commentary, “[t]he North’ means different things to different people in different contexts; Thunder Bay, Churchill and Grise F[i]jord are all ‘northern’ from various policy perspectives, but have very different and distinct needs.” See Natan Obed, “Inuit Nunangat policy space would be a sign of genuine reconciliation,” *Hill Times*, Ottawa, 10 June 2019.

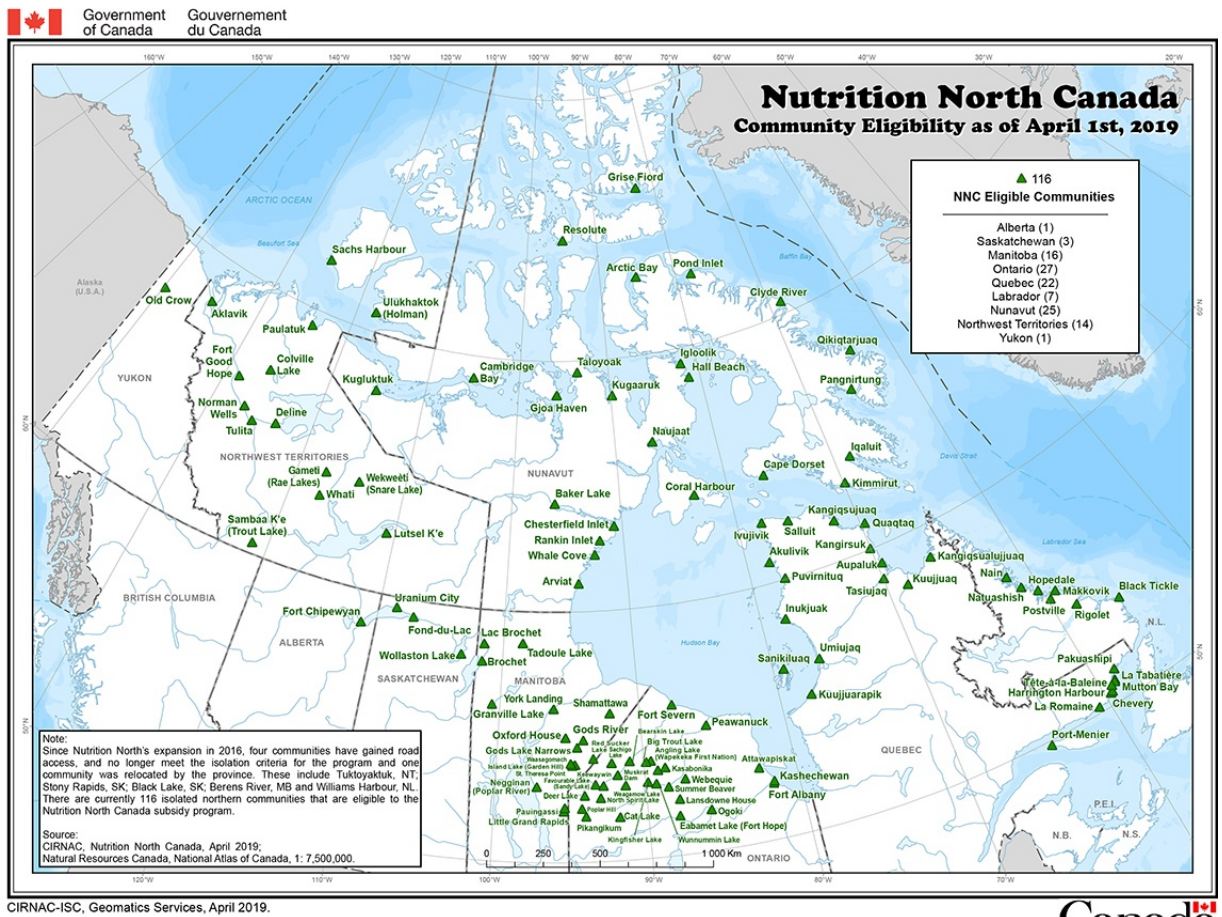
4. Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations [FAO] et al., [The State of Food Security and Nutrition in the World: Building Climate Resilience for Food Security and Nutrition](#), Rome, 2018, p. 159.
5. Ibid.
6. Elaine M. Power, "[Conceptualizing Food Security for Aboriginal People in Canada](#)," *Canadian Journal of Public Health*, Vol. 99, No. 2, 2008, pp. 95–97.
7. Renata Rosol et al., "[Prevalence of affirmative responses to questions of food insecurity: International Polar Year Inuit Health Survey, 2007–2008](#)," *International Journal of Circumpolar Health*, Vol. 70, No. 5, 2011, p. 489.
8. Although according to Statistics Canada the target population of the Canadian Community Health Survey is said to represent approximately 98% of the Canadian population aged 12 and over, it does not include First Nations living on reserves and Crown Lands or those living in some remote areas. See Statistics Canada, [Canadian Community Health Survey – Annual Component \(CCHS\)](#).
9. Tarasuk and Mitchell (2020), "Appendix D – Prevalence estimates and confidence intervals for Provinces and Territories," p. 24.
10. Ibid. The 2017–2018 Canadian Community Health Survey is the first since 2011–2012 to include data about household food insecurity in all provinces and territories.
11. Tarasuk and Mitchell (2020), p. 8.
12. Ibid., p. 14.
13. United Nations General Assembly [UNGA], Human Rights Council, [Report of the Special Rapporteur on the right to food. Olivier De Schutter: Addendum – Mission to Canada](#), A/HRC/22/50/Add.1, 24 December 2012, p. 16.
14. Paula Arriagada, "[Food insecurity among Inuit living in Inuit Nunangat](#)," *Insights on Canadian Society*, Catalogue no. 75-006-X, Statistics Canada, 1 February 2017, p. 3.
15. Laurie Chan et al., "[FNFNES Final Report for Eight Assembly of First Nations Regions: Draft Comprehensive Technical Report](#)," Assembly of First Nations, University of Ottawa and Université de Montréal, Ottawa, November 2019, p. 54.
16. EPSKFS (2014), p. 44.
17. ITK, [Social Determinants of Inuit Health in Canada](#), September 2014, pp. 29–31; EPSKFS (2014), p. 193; Government of Canada, [What We Heard: Consultations on A Food Policy for Canada](#), Ottawa, 2018, p. 14; Tarasuk and Mitchell (2020), pp. 10–13; Arriagada (2017), p. 5; and Charlotte Reading and Fred Wien, [Health Inequalities and Social Determinants of Aboriginal Peoples' Health](#), National Collaborating Centre for Aboriginal Health, 2009, p. 17.
18. National Collaborating Centre for Aboriginal Health, [Poverty as a Social Determinant of First Nations, Inuit, and Métis Health](#), 2009–2010; and Reading and Wien (2009).
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20. EPSKFS (2014), p. 58.
21. Ibid., p. 67; Mary Simon, [A New Shared Arctic Leadership Model](#), Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, March 2017, p. 17; and Inuit Circumpolar Council, [Food Security across the Arctic: Background Paper of the Steering Committee of the Circumpolar Inuit Health Strategy](#), May 2012, pp. 7–9.
22. FAO (2018), pp. 32–34; EPSKFS (2014), p. 50; Tarasuk and Mitchell (2020), pp. 5–6; and Arriagada (2017), p. 6.
23. Mohammad Hajizadeh, Amy Bombay and Yukiko Asada, "[Socioeconomic inequalities in psychological distress and suicidal behaviours among Indigenous peoples living off-reserve in Canada](#)," *Canadian Medical Association Journal*, Vol. 191, No. 12, 25 March 2019, p. E334.
24. ITK (2014), p. 29; and EPSKFS (2014), pp. 50 and 56.
25. EPSKFS (2014), pp. 102–106 and 116–118; and UNGA (2012), p. 17.
26. EPSKFS (2014), p. 54.

27. ITK, [An Inuit-Specific Approach for the Canadian Food Policy](#), p. 12.
28. Government of Canada, [Nutrition North Canada](#) [NNC].
29. Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada [AAFC], "['Everyone at the Table!' Government of Canada announces the first-ever Food Policy for Canada](#)," News release, 17 June 2019.
30. Government of Canada, [Food Policy for Canada](#).
31. Naomi Dachner and Valerie Tarasuk, "[Tackling household food insecurity: An essential goal of a national food policy](#)," *Canadian Food Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 3, September 2018, p. 237.
32. NNC also subsidizes diapers, non-prescription drugs and other non-food products in all eligible communities. It subsidizes additional non-food items in Old Crow, Yukon, due to the community being only accessible by air at all times of the year.
33. Government of Canada, [How Nutrition North Canada works](#).
34. Government of Canada, [Eligible food and non-food items](#); some products shipped by seasonal ground transportation are also eligible for a flat \$1 per kilogram subsidy in all communities benefiting from the program.
35. Government of Canada, [Reflections on the What we heard report by the Nutrition North Canada Advisory Board](#).
36. Government of Canada, [Nutrition North Canada Advisory Board Second Report](#).
37. Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada [CIRNAC], "[Horizontal Initiative](#)," in *2020–21 Departmental Plan*.
38. CIRNAC, "[Immediate Updates to the Nutrition North Canada and Harvesters Support Grant Programs](#)," Backgrounder.
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41. CIRNAC, "[Nutrition North Canada](#)," in *Departmental Results Report 2018 to 2019*.
42. OAG (2014), paras. 6.57 and 6.58.
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45. Fafard St-Germain, Galloway and Tarasuk (2019), p. E556.
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47. Government of Canada, [Nutrition North Canada Engagement 2016: Final report of what we heard](#).
48. Government of Canada, [Cost of the Revised Northern Food Basket in 2018–2019](#).
49. AAFC, "[Food Policy for Canada](#)," Backgrounder.
50. Government of Canada, *What We Heard: Consultations on A Food Policy for Canada*, pp. 6–7.
51. Department of Finance Canada, [Investing in the Middle Class](#), Budget 2019, 19 March 2019, p. 101.
52. EPSKFS (2014), p. 161.
53. Ibid., pp. 171–182.
54. Nunavut Food Security Coalition, "[Overview](#)," *Strategy and Action Plan*.
55. Nunavik Regional Board of Health and Social Services, [Healthy Eating](#); and Nunavut, Department of Health, "[Nunavut Food Guide: Choose country foods and healthy store-bought foods for a strong body](#)," *Healthy Eating*.

56. Nunavut Roundtable for Poverty Reduction, [*The Makimaniq Plan 2: A Shared Approach To Poverty Reduction 2017–2022*](#).
57. EPSKFS (2014), p. 162.

APPENDIX A – COMMUNITIES ELIGIBLE FOR NUTRITION NORTH CANADA AS OF 1 APRIL 2019

Figure A.1 – Eligibility of Communities for Nutrition North Canada as of 1 April 2019



Source: Government of Canada, "Map of community eligibility as of April 1, 2019," Eligible communities.

APPENDIX B – REVISED NORTHERN FOOD BASKET

The Revised Northern Food Basket (RNFB) is a tool developed by the federal government that lists 67 food items and the quantities required to nutritiously feed a family of four for one week. The government uses the RNFB to monitor food prices in northern communities. The RNFB was introduced in 2007 and replaced the Northern Food Basket of 1990.

Not all items in the RNFB are eligible to the Nutrition North Canada subsidies.

Table B.1 – Revised Northern Food Basket (2007) for a Family of Four for One Week

Food Group	Perishable	Non-perishable
Dairy products (Total: 15.35 L ^a)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 2% milk, fresh or UHT (4.76 L) ▪ Mozzarella cheese (485 g) ▪ Processed cheese slices (385 g) ▪ Yogurt (1.67 kg) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Evaporated milk, 2% (1.58 L^b) ▪ Skim milk powder (90 g)
Eggs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Large eggs (8) 	
Meat, poultry, fish (Total: 6.7 kg)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Chicken drumsticks (2.68 kg) ▪ Pork chops, loin (1.21 kg) ▪ Ground beef, lean (1.34 kg) ▪ T-bone steak (470 g) ▪ Sliced ham (135 g) ▪ Frozen fish sticks (135 g) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Canned pink salmon (270 g) ▪ Sardines in soya oil (270 g) ▪ Canned ham (200 g)
Meat alternatives and meat preparations (Total: 1 kg)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Bologna (60 g) ▪ Wieners (100 g) ▪ Peanut butter (90 g) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Canned pork-based luncheon meat (50 g) ▪ Canned corned beef (40 g) ▪ Canned beans with pork (290 mL) ▪ Canned beef stew (180 g) ▪ Canned spaghetti sauce with meat (155 mL)
Grain products (Total: 5.5 kg)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Bread, enriched white (660 g) ▪ Bread, 100% whole wheat (660 g) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Flour, all purpose (1.92 kg) ▪ Pilot biscuits (275 g) ▪ Macaroni or spaghetti (385 g) ▪ Rice, long-grain parboiled white (330 g) ▪ Rolled oats^c (275 g) ▪ Corn flakes (440 g) ▪ Macaroni and cheese dinner (550 g)
Citrus fruit and tomatoes (Total: 4.4 kg)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Oranges (1.23 kg) ▪ Apple juice, frozen (130 mL^d) ▪ Orange juice, frozen (1.13 L^d) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Apple juice, TetraPak^c (880 mL) ▪ Orange juice, TetraPak^c (375 mL) ▪ Canned whole tomatoes (215 mL) ▪ Canned tomato sauce (300 mL)
Other fruit (Total: 9.95 kg)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Apples (4.38 kg) ▪ Bananas (3.58 kg) ▪ Grapes (500 g) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Canned fruit cocktail in juice (855 mL) ▪ Canned peaches in juice (285 mL) ▪ Canned pineapple in juice (285 mL)

Food Group	Perishable	Non-perishable
Potatoes (Total: 3.7 kg)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Fresh potatoes (3 kg) ▪ Frozen French fries (480 g) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Instant potato flakes (220 g)
Other vegetables (Total: 8.7 kg ^e)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Carrots (2 kg) ▪ Onions (695 g) ▪ Cabbage (520 g) ▪ Turnips (350 g) ▪ Frozen broccoli (695 g) ▪ Frozen carrots (260 g) ▪ Frozen corn (260 g) ▪ Frozen mixed vegetables (1.74 kg) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Canned green peas (900 mL) ▪ Canned kernel corn (1.09 L) ▪ Canned green beans (315 mL) ▪ Canned carrots (325 mL) ▪ Canned mixed vegetables (545 mL)
Oils and fats (Total: 1.05 kg)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Margarine, non-hydrogenated (715 g) ▪ Butter (65 g) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Canola oil (185 mL) ▪ Lard (105 g)
Sugar (Total: 600 g)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Sugar, white (600 g)

- Notes:
- a. Calcium equivalent of 2% milk. The weight of dairy products as purchased is approximately 9.2 kg.
 - b. Undiluted quantity.
 - c. Skim milk powder, rolled oats and juice in TetraPaks are eligible for shipment under the Food Mail Program as "nutritious perishable food," but are normally considered non-perishable.
 - d. Quantity as consumed, reconstituted from 33 mL of frozen apple juice concentrate and 282 mL of frozen orange juice concentrate.
 - e. Total is based on the drained weight of canned vegetables (approximately 610 g of peas, 870 g of corn, 175 g of green beans, 175 g of carrots and 350 g of mixed vegetables). Quantities in millilitres are undrained, as purchased.

Source: Table prepared by the author using data obtained from Government of Canada, [The Revised Northern Food Basket](#), Ottawa, 2007, pp. 5–6.